

KAILONDO'S LUAWA AND BRITISH RULE
with Special Reference to the Period 1880-1930



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E. INTERVIEWS

1. CLARKE, Rev. W.R.E., at York (U.K.) between October 1970 and July 1971. The present writer received regular instruction in the Mende language on Thursdays (with a few breaks) throughout the period. In one interview, in June 1971, Mrs. Clarke joined in.

2. FENTON, Mr. and Mrs. J.S., at York (U.K.), two interviews, February and May 1971.
3. HOLLINS, N.C., at Lewes (U.K.), in April 1971.
4. MALCOLM, J.M., at Stewarton (U.K.), in December 1971.
5. FYFE, C., at Edinburgh (U.K.), in December 1971.
6. WALLACE, Rev. L., at Freetown (S.L.), in June 1972.
7. CROSBY, Rev.K., at Kailahun (S.L.), in April 1972.
8. HILLIARD, S., at Kenema (S.L.), in April 1972.
9. MIMA, Pa Gborie, at Dia, Kissi Kama Chiefdom, in April 1972.
10. NGENDU, Tamba, at Dia, Kissi Kama Chiefdom in April 1972.
11. JABBA, chief Fayia, at Dia, Kissi Kama Chiefdom, in April 1972.
12. TENGBE, Paramount Chief Sellu, at Dia, Kissi Kama Chiefdom, in April 1972.
13. JIBATEH, K.B.S., at Dia, Kissi Kama Chiefdom, in April 1972.
14. Elders of Giema, at Giema, Luawa Chiefdom, in April 1972.
15. JALLOH, chief Momodu, at Mano-Sewalu, Luawa Chiefdom, in April 1972.
16. Elders and chief of Dodo-Cotuma, Luawa Chiefdom, in April 1972.
17. ROGERS, Pastor J.S., at Kailahun (S.L.), in April 1972.
18. BANYA, ex-Paramount Chief Sama Kailondo I, at Kailahun (S.L.) in April 1972.
19. KAILONDO, Maada James, at Kailahun (S.L.), two interviews, April and May 1972.
20. LANGAMA, Pa, at Buedu, Kissi Tungi Chiefdom, in May 1972.
21. TENGBE, T.M., at Kailahun (S.L.), in May 1972.
22. KAITUNGI, ex-Paramount Chief, at Buedu, Kissi Tungi Chiefdom, in April 1972.
23. GBORIE, Pa Kailahun, at Koindu, Kissi Teng Chiefdom, in April 1972.
24. FOYOH, chief of Koindu, and elders of the town, at Koindu, Kissi Teng Chiefdom, in April 1972.
25. COMBEY, B.N., at Kailahun (S.L.), in May 1972.
26. Elders and chief of Ngiehun, at Ngiehun, Luawa Chiefdom, in May 1972.

27. PAMBU V, Paramount Chief K.S.L. Kangoma (of Malema Chiefdom) at Kailahun (S.L.), in May 1972.
28. NGOBEH, ex-Paramount Chief Alpha, and other members of the Ngobeh family, at Kailahun (S.L.), in May 1972.
29. BAYON, Paramount Chief Mohammed, at Buedu, Kissi Tungi Chiefdom in May 1972.
30. SUNDIFU, Pa, at Buedu, Kissi Tungi Chiefdom, in May 1972.
31. GANAWA, Paramount Chief Jibba, at Kangama, Kissi Teng Chiefdom, in May 1972.
32. FABUNDEH III, Paramount Chief, at Kailahun (S.L.), in May 1972.
33. BANYA, S.K. (Lavale of Luawa Chiefdom), at Kailahun (S.L.), in May 1972.

F. PRESENT WRITER'S PERSONAL EXPERIENCE

The present writer lived in Kailahun from September 1965 until July 1970, during which time he was a teacher at the Methodist Secondary School in the town. Whilst living in Kailahun, he took the opportunity to visit (and often to stay the night at) a considerable number of villages in the area, including the following:

Dia	-	in Kissi Kama Chiefdom
Koindu		
Kangama	-	in Kissi Teng Chiefdom
Ngowdu		
Buedu	-	in Kissi Tungi Chiefdom
Dodo-Cotuma		
Sandialu		
Nyandehun		
Giema		
Bandajuma		in Luawa Chiefdom
Mende		
Ngiehun		
Baoma		
Sambalu		
Mofindor		

These visits afforded first-hand experience of village life, and the opportunity for conversations with the village elders.

Between March and May 1972, a further period was spent in the Kailahun area, doing field-work for this thesis. Mano-Sewalu and Bewabu (both in Luawa Chiefdom) were among the places which the present writer visited for the first time whilst engaged in his field-work.

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Note: The front cover of the present writer's copy of this map is marked with the name "A. Becke. Royal Artillery", and on the map itself are marked in pencil several notes, additional places and routes, and a number of sites of battles (X). These pencil references are particularly numerous around Kailahun itself.

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APPENDIX 1 :

A NOTE ON PORO AND OTHER SECRET SOCIETIES

Readers who are familiar with the writings of historians and social anthropologists about Mendeland will quickly become aware of what seems to be a glaring omission in this thesis. There is scarcely any mention of the Secret Societies, particularly the powerful men's society, Poro. The present writer is in no doubt that these Societies (especially Poro) represent an important facet of the social, political and even economic life of the Mendebleisia and Kissia of the Luawa area. No other single institution has such a hold over the people of the area as Poro (together with Sande, the women's society); and they were probably much more powerful a century ago. Why, then, are they hardly mentioned in this thesis? There are three main reasons:

1. THE PRESENT WRITER PROMISED HIS FRIENDS AND INFORMANTS IN THE KAILAHUN AREA THAT HE WOULD NOT DEAL WITH THE 'DEEP MATTERS' OF LOCAL SOCIETY IN THIS THESIS.

Mendebla and Kissia are understandably suspicious of an outsider who seems to be asking a lot of questions about social life, for fear that he is trying to discover information which should not be revealed to an outsider. Consequently, the questioner is given little information in reply to all his questions or, perhaps, no worthwhile information at all. This is particularly true of village elders in the more remote villages, and these were precisely the people on whom the present writer depended for information. It may be respectfully suggested that some foreign researchers who came for just a few months' field-work to Mendeland (with no local contacts and little understanding of the Mende language) failed even to recognize the depth of this problem. In order to minimize the problem in his own case, the present writer made it publicly known, when he returned for field-work to Kailahun in 1972, that he was not attempting to explore those sensitive areas of social life which are surrounded by secrecy. Also, at the beginning of each interview, he periphrastically explained that there would be no prying into those local affairs which are closed to the outsider. As a result, there was a freedom of discussion and a generous provision of information which the present writer is convinced would otherwise have been impossible. Much of the most fascinating detail included in this thesis has been gained at the expense of maintaining a silence on the Secret Societies.

There is another, more subjective element in the decision to leave out the Secret Societies from this historical account. Without exception, the Mende and Kissi friends of the present writer clearly felt deeply that they did not want him to give reign to his inquisitiveness in this area of local life; therefore he did not do so, either when he was living in Kailahun between 1965 and 1970, or during his research-work. To do otherwise would have been a betrayal of trust.

2. THE AMOUNT OF AUTHENTIC HISTORICAL INFORMATION AVAILABLE ON THESE MATTERS IS PROBABLY VERY SMALL.

The preceding paragraphs would suggest that the present writer had deliberately left out of account 'the heart of the matter'. In reality, the position is very different. Even modern accounts of the Societies by trained social anthropologists leave much to be desired. In such elementary points as the translation of Mende phrases into English, considerable errors may be discerned by a person with only a little knowledge of the Mende language. As regards content, the present writer is

convinced (from observation and from hearing unsolicited comments of literate Mendebla over a period of almost nine years) that no modern published description of the Societies even approaches adequacy. If this is true of the present situation, how much less reliable and adequate are historical sources likely to be. The limitations of descriptions by writers like T.J. Alldridge and C.B. Wallis (at the end of the nineteenth century) are fairly evident.

Even if willing, probably few members of Mende and Kissi society in the 1970s could provide historically-significant information about the role of the societies in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. The few people who perhaps could help are those who have risen to positions of greatest power in Poru and other Societies. But the power of these individuals depends in large measure on the maintenance of the secrecy which surrounds the Societies. It therefore follows logically that those who are in the best position to provide a coherent historical account are precisely the people who are least likely to give accurate information to an outsider.

3. 'INFORMATION' IS NOT SYNONYMOUS WITH 'UNDERSTANDING' IN THIS AREA, AND 'UNDERSTANDING' IS VIRTUALLY IMPOSSIBLE FOR THE OUTSIDER.

The present writer's personal point-of-view is that, in areas like the one under discussion, the person who can best provide a convincing account is a someone who is himself 'committed to the cause': the person who is best able to explain the historical position, power and development of Poru as those living in Luawa understood it in the period covered by this thesis is someone who is a member of that Society. But here an insurmountable limitation is reached. Since it is a Secret Society, all those who become members of it are automatically debarred from close discussion of its inner nature. The outsider (if he is a historian who accepts the historiographical view just expressed) has only two courses open to him. Either he can seek to gain more understanding against the explicit wishes of the members of that society; or he can leave aside that whole area of research. The present writer quite deliberately chose the latter alternative as being, for him, the only right course.

For those who want to pursue this subject a little further, the writer would recommend Harris and Sawyerr's The Springs of Mende Conduct and Belief (via its index) as containing the most convincing published comments on the role of Poru and Sande. Consideration of the Societies has not been omitted from this present thesis due to a lack of appreciation of their importance. Rather, the reverse is the case.

APPENDIX 2 :

TABLE OF BRITISH COMMISSIONERS AND OFFICIALS,
PARAMOUNT CHIEFS, AND HOUSE TAX STATISTICS FOR
THE LUAWA AREA FOR THE YEARS 1890 TO 1930.

BRITISH COMMISSIONERS AND OFFICIALS, PARAMOUNT CHIEFS, AND HOUSE TAX STATISTICS FOR THE LUAWA AREA

FOR THE YEARS 1890 TO 1930

Year	British officials	Luawa	Kissi Kama	Kissi Teng	Kissi Tungl
1890	Alldrige, T.J., Travelling Commissioner (visited in March)	Chief Kailondo (since c.1880)	Tax, £-s-d, P.a.	Tax, £-s-d, P.a.	Tax, £-s-d, P.a.
1891	Alldrige, T.J. Travelling Commissioner (visited in February)	"	Tax, £-s-d, P.a.	Tax, £-s-d, P.a.	
1892	Alldrige, T.J. Travelling Commissioner (visited in April)	"			
1893	Alldrige, T.J. Travelling Commissioner (visited in March)	"			
1894					
1895	Cardew, Governor Sir F. Visited Kailahun 26 Feb.- 2 March.				
1896	Fairtlough, Capt. E.D. (AG)				
	Bishop, Asst. Surgeon (AG)				
	Fairtlough, Capt. E.D. (AG)				

NOTE:

British officials who are noted between 1895 and 1906 are mainly District Commissioners

of Panguma District

NOTE:

Protectorate proclaimed
August 1896.

Year	British officials	Luawa	Kissi Kama	Kissi Teng	Kissi Tungi
		Chief	Tax, £-s-d	Chief	Chief
		Fabunde	P.a.	P.a.	P.a.
				Tax, £-s-d	Tax, £-s-d
				P.a.	P.a.
1897	Fairtlough, Capt. E.D. (AG) Blakeney, Capt. J.E.C. (AG)	"			
1898	Blakeney, Capt. J.E.C. (AG)	"			
1899	Blakeney, Capt. J.E.C. (AG) Ferguson, Capt. H.L. (AG) Birch, Capt.	"			
1900	Carr, Capt. E.C. Legg, Capt. Warren, Capt. Eames, Capt.	"			
1901	Warren, Capt. Greaves, (AG) Anderson, Maj. G.D'A.	"			
1902	Anderson, Maj. G.D'A. Greaves (AG)	"			
1903	Anderson, Maj. G.D'A	"			
1904	Cramer (AG) Page (AG) Anderson, Maj. G.D'A	"			

Year	British officials	Luawa Chief	Tax, £-s-d, P.a.	Kissi Kema Chief	Tax, £-s-d, P.a.	Kissi Teng Chief	Tax, £-s-d, P.a.	Kissi Tungi Chief	Tax, £-s-d, P.a.
1905	Anderson, Maj. G. D. 'A.	Fabunde							
1906	Anderson, Maj. G. D. 'A. Boddy, Capt. (AG) Burrows, DR. (AG) Anderson, Maj. G. D. 'A	"	206						
1907	Maxwell, Dr. J. C. Paling (AG) Maxwell, Dr. J. C.	"	232-5						
1908	Maxwell, Dr. J. C.	"	256						
1909	Maxwell, Dr. J. C. Bowden, W. D. (AG) Maxwell, Dr. J. C.	"							
1910	Maxwell, Dr. J. C. Williams, Maj. R. H. K. (AG)	"							
1911	Maxwell, Dr. J. C.								
1912 ?		Bockarie Bunde 8.1.12							
1913 ?		"							
	Maxwell Dr. J. C.								
1914	Bowden, W. D. Warren, Lt. / Col. H. G.	"							

NOTE:

From 1905 until 1922 there was a detachment of W.A.F.F. soldiers permanently stationed at Kailahun under the control of a British Officer. Capt. Murray in mid-1907

NOTE:

Administrative changes 1906-07 brought the Luawa area under the influence of the District Commissioner of Railway District (H.Q. at Kenema)

NOTE:

The whole of Luawa officially brought under British control, 26.3.11.

NOTE:

From 26.3.11, until autumn 1914, Maj. Le Mesurier was Civil Officer with special responsibility for Luawa

There was one separate Kissi Chiefdom created in 1914

Year	British officials	Luawa Chief	Tax, £-s-d, P.a.	Kissi Kama Chief	Tax, £-s-d, P.a.	Kissi Teng Chief	Tax, £-s-d, P.a.	Kissi Tungl Chief	Tax, £-s-d, P.a.
1915	Warren, Lt./Col.H.T.	Bockarie Bunde	1,358-5			Kongor 25.7.15, Chief of Kissi Chiefdom	1,573-15		
	Bowden, W.D.								
1916	Bowden, W.D.	Bockarie Bunde deposited 8.7.16	1,376-10			Kongor	1,652-5		
	Hooker, R.S.H.	Ngobeh 11.7.16							
	Bowden, W.D.								
1917	Bowden, W.D.	"				Kongor	1,711-10		
1918	Craven, Capt.J.	"	1,244-10			Kongor			
1919	Hollins, N.C.(AG)	"				Tengbe 13,6.19	Bandabilla 13.6.19	Sahr Kalla	13.6.19.
1920	Page, J.C.(AG)	Creation of Pendembu District, in which Luawa and the Kissi Chiefdoms were placed	1,289	"	444-15	"	536-10	"	558-5
1921	Hollins, N.C.	"	1,289-15		419-15	"	528-5	Sahr Kalla died 11.7.21	537-15
	Despicht, S.M.(AG)	"				Tengbe resigned		Davowa 24.10.21	
1922	Despicht, S.M.(AG)	"	1,269-15	Jabba 4.2.22	369-15	"	523-10	"	515-5
	Hollins, N.C.	"							
1923	Hollins, N.C.	"				"		"	
	Shaw, J.H.B.(AG)	"				"		"	
	Hollins, N.C.	"				"		"	

NOTE:

Creation of Pendembu District, in which Luawa and the Kissi Chiefdoms were placed

Year	British officials	Luawa Chief	Tax, £-s-d, P.a.	Kissi Kama Chief	Tax, £-s-d, P.a.	Kissi Teng Tax, £-s-d, P.a.	Kissi Tungi Tax, £-s-d, P.a.
1924	Hollins, N.C.	Ngobeh died 19.4.24 Momoh Banya 23.6.24		"		"	
1925 ?		"		"	Tamba Yela 17.9.25	"	
1926	Hollins, N.C.	"		"	"	"	
1927	Hollins, N.C. Page, J.C.(AG) Hollins, N.C.	"		Bundo Belle 25.2.27	Musa Bandabilla 28.2.27	"	
1928	Hollins, N.C. Page, J.C.	"	1,700	"	483-10	"	697-5
1929	Page, J.C. NOTE: Hollins, N.C. District HQ Transferred to Kailahun	"	1,745-5	"	501	"	Fatoma 15.3.29
1930	Hollins, N.C. Page, J.C. Bowden, W.D. Newland, C.H.	Momoh Banya ruled until his death 20.12.42.		"		"	Fatoma died 9.5.30 Kenneth 2.9.30

APPENDIX 3 :

EXTRACTS FROM FILES IN THE
KAILAHUN DISTRICT OFFICE ARCHIVES.

KAILAHUN DISTRICT OFFICE ARCHIVES

LOOSE PAPERS NOT CONTAINED IN A COVERING FILE,
RELATING TO THE ELECTION OF A P.C. FOR KISSI TUNGI
CHIEFDOM, 1942.

Typewritten letter from Kaitungi, submitting his claims
to become the Paramount Chief

"Kai Tungi's Claims

My grandfather Fawuli moved from Kanga in French Guinea. That time this country was under Mende rule. When my grandfather came to this country he met a Chief named Kanjalu at the town of Sunga. He and Kanjalu fought for the country and my grandfather took it from Kanjalu. It was he who changed the country's name from Pendehun to Tungi Tingi. After Fawuli's death his son Kolo succeeded him. Kolo founded a new town called Fangamandu. Kolo's son Bala became Chief in turn and moved to Kabadu. Bala's son Kai Kai then succeeded and moved to Bandawulo. Kai Kai's son Sembe Fawundu succeeded. Chief Kailundu of Kailahun with one European (Mende name - Bulowa) met Sembe Fawundu. The former asked Sembe Fawundu to sign for the Kissi country. He refused. Kailundu begged Fawundu with presents and also promised his daughter was wife. Eventually, Fawundu agreed. All three then went to Bandajuma (Sowa), Bulowa there gave a letter to Kailundu. He also gave a letter to Fawundu giving him the Tungi Tingi country. Fawundu received an annual present of £7. He received this for two years and then died. Fawundu had only a young son Kori Tungi. As Kori Tungi was small Kongo of Dambara came to Kori Tungi at Bandawulo and asked the boy for the letter from Bulowa. The boy refused. Kongo threatened then to take over Tungi Tingi country as he was a big man. The boy was afraid and agreed that Konia (Kango's [sic. Kongo's?]) country) and Tungi Tingi be joined; but he did not give up the letter. Kongo returned to Dambara.

One day Kori Tungi went to Kailahun to see Fabunde who had succeeded Kailundu. He said he had come for the woman Kailundu had promised to Sembe Fawundu. Fabunde asked Momo Banyu (the present Chief of Kailahun) to bring the woman. The woman (Kutu and sister of Momo Banyu) was given to Kori Tungi. These are my parents. They gave me the name Kai Tungi.

When Kutu was given to Kori Tungi, Fabunde asked for and got the Bulowa letter. At this time the Kissi countries were under the Chief at Kailahun. After P.C. Bockarie Bunde, who succeeded Fabunde, was deposed the Kissi Chiefdoms broke away and Kongo became the first Kissi Chief and lived at Dambara. After his death the country was divided into three parts and the following chiefs elected:-

Bandagbla of Kangama (Kissi Teng)

Tengbe of Dia (Kissi Kama)

Sahr Kallan of Buedu (Kissi Tungi)

My father Kori Tungi died before Kongo i.e. before the Kissi country was split up.

After Sahr Kallan died, Seko Davoa became Chief of Kissi Tungi. After Seko Davoa died, I stood for Chief but Mr Bowden advised me I was

too small. Fatoma became Chief. About a year afterwards Fatoma died and I stood a second time. Kenneh succeeded. My brother Ansumana Koba was Section Chief of Tungi Tingi and on his death I was elected as Section Chief. I left Government Service to take up the appointment. P.C. Kenneh died. All the country like me and want me to be Chief. The Tribal Authorities are the people to select their Paramount Chief and I now leave it to them.

Buedu 11/12/42."

EXTRACT FROM A PETITION FROM P.C. MOMO
BANYA TO HIS EXCELLENCY THE GOVERNOR -
RE THE MOVING OF DISTRICT HEADQUARTERS
TO KAILAHUN

"Before the coming of the first British representative to this soil in the person of the late Mr J.T. Alldridge, Luawa was more than a hundred times its present size - for its jurisdiction then under our Great warrior Kailundu extended on the north beyond the Mafissa River in French Guinea, on the east by the rivers Lanwa, Lumbumba in Bereyela in the Republic of Liberia - on the south as far as Nongowa by the river Male, and on the west by Walihun. Bayama, Nyimmi Yema Hills and Bave river in Konno. The towns or chiefdoms now parcelled as independent chiefdoms by the British, were all under the jurisdiction of our Great Warrior Kailundu before and after the Pove Wars. The Pove Wars were attacks or raids led by Mendingra and Bobone who crossed the Guma country on the south eastern borders invaded and plundered the towns of Normor, Gaura, Dama, Nongowa, Jaluahun, Jawi, Malema, Dia Mando, Upper Bambarra and part of the Gau country where Kai-Lundu with his sub-warriors met them and drove them heedlessly with might and main as far as Wandoh, and where he met Niagwa, his colleague and returned. On his return, he rebuilt a town in Jaluahun and named it Kailahun where Segbwema now stands, and he planted several Kola nut trees in Potoru, a village in the Mando Chiefdom, which are still existing in memory of his brave efforts. Next followed another Pove War led by Dawa, the whole of the Guma country. Upper Bambarra, despoilt and burnt everybody fled for their lives - Kailundu took up arms against Dawa, defeated him, and drove him out of that country. In appreciation of which Momo Babaho the chief of Pendembu then, offered to Kailundu his only daughter Lombe Korbai in marriage, and they both begot Momo Banyu our present chief. Later another war broke out from Walihun led by Manye, a Konno Warrior, he invaded the towns of the northern territories, burnt every town he met and invaded the Wunde Chiefdom (now known as the French Guinea), our great warrior with his sub-warriors followed him defeated him as far as Kamayiendo in Konno. The following chiefdoms Banni, Yarweh, Horahun, Kunjo, Peje west and Peje east, and Bane, Bansay, Finama, Gourrama, Kamara, Soa, Nimi, Yema, were all under the jurisdiction of Kailundu. In those days Kailundu and Niagwa flourished as the greatest warriors, the former's principal town being Kailahun, and the latter's Panguma, they both were allies, and the town of Kangama in Fiana chiefdom built by both warriors for their personal retreat. Today Panguma still enjoys that distinction of Governmental importance in memory of Niagwa, but Luawa has been deprived of it whilst Kailundu having signed the treaty with the British Government in 1890 or 1891 kept loyally under them till his death, at his death, he was succeeded by his speaker Fabunde who too kept loyally under the British and displeased with the Anglo-Liberian boundary settlement, petitioned Their Most Gracious Majesties, King Edward The Seventh of Blessed Memory, and King George, The Fifth, for an annexation on Luawa to the British Protectorate. Your humble and loyal petitioners beg to point out to your Excellency that after the death P.C. Fabunde, his son Bockarie Bunde succeeded him by some process of bribery and intimidation through pioneership of the late chief Kutubu of Pendembu but his rule was a very disastrous one for Luawa, until the chiefdom sought the Governor's aid for his deposition the Kissi people who had lived always under Luawa rebelled and after Government's full enquiry were made independent into three chiefdoms there-by Luawa was reduced by twice its present size.

He was succeeded by P.C. Gobe the late, in whose days a contingent of the W.A.F.F. was posted here but in 1921 the very critical financial year, this contingent was withdrawn to Daru, and Kailahun left lonely.

Sgd. P.C. Momo Banya
First Speaker Toko
Second Speaker Pujeh
Sub-Chief Tengba
Sub-Chief Momo Giva etc."

KAILAHUN DISTRICT OFFICE ARCHIVES

PENDEMBU DISTRICT : NATIVE AFFAIR MINUTE PAPER

FILE NO. 29/1924

SUBJECT : LUAWA - UPPER BAMBARA BOUNDARY

[Letter from DC Pendembu (N.C. Hollins) to C.C.P., 1/11/24 -]

"I submit this dispute between the Luawa and Upper Bambarra Chiefdoms concerning the Upper Bambarra sub-chiefdom of Gau for your consideration. I attach copy of agreements made before you [W.D. BOWDEN] on 18th March 1914 and append note. (Railway District Decree Book page 227/8 - Pendembu District Decree Book pages 47/8) ...

3. It appears that the section in dispute consisted of country originally belonging to Luawa; but occupied by Upper Bambarra people and that tax has been paid to Upper Bambarra for the last ten years.
4. It is stated in a note attached to the agreement of March 1914 that the old Paramount Chief Kutubu of Upper Bambarra "begged" this land from Paramount Chief Fabundeh of Luawa and it appears that the formal cession was made by Paramount Chief Bokari Bundeh - this was done, it is alleged by the present Chief of Luawa (Momo Banya) in return for help given by the old Chief Kutubu at Paramount Chief Bokari Bundeh's election."

[EXTRACT FROM DECREE BOOK NOTED ABOVE -]

"At a meeting held at Pendembu on the 18th March 1914 it was arranged between Paramount Chief Kutubu of Pendembu and Chief Bokari Bundeh of Kanre Lahun that the following five towns GONDAMA, KANGAMA, SENGE, SEMBEHUN AND GIEHMA should be handed over from the Gau Section of Luawa Chiefdom to Upper Bombarra. This was not the outcome of a dispute but the carrying out of an agreement come to between the late Chief Fabundeh of Kanre Lahun and Chief Kutubu. These towns had formerly been in Upper Bambarra but when the Liberia boundary was fixed they were cut off from the Sierra Leone Protectorate and were included in Liberia in Gow section of Luawa or Kanre Lahun Chiefdom. It was arranged between Chiefs Fabundeh and Kutubu at the time that should these towns ever fall within British territory in the future they would be returned to Upper Bambarra ...

Done before me at Pendembu this
18th day of March 1914.

(SGD) W.D. Bowden
District Commissioner

Note to above settlement of Gow towns. The people who built the above five towns or villages were from Guma country, chiefly from the town of BUNUMBU who came over to Chief Kutubu when Liberia obtained possession of Guma. As these people were related to other people in Bambarra and as there was no land available for them to form on Chief Kutubu begged Chief Fabundeh to let them build in his sub-chiefdom of Gow adjacent to Upper Bambarra. This was done. It is now stipulated that at any time that at any future date Guma fell under British rule or for any

other reason, the people of Guma shall have no claim to their five towns and their bush, which if taken out of Upper Bambarra must go back to Luawa.

W.D. Bowden."

[Long minute from C.C.P. (W.D. Bowden) to DC Pendembu, written at Luawa - Giehun on 11-12/ix/25, in which the Upper Bambarra-Luawa boundary was settled -]

"This matter has now been settled and I attach the following notes of the case.

A meeting was held for the purpose at Giehu ... Chief Momo Banya on behalf of Luwa [SIC] made his statement first. His claim was as follows.

In the earliest days the land of the Gau section belonged to Guma chiefdom. People from the town of Bunumbu in Guma led by Jung-Hola came over and built Gundama. From there Kangama, Shenge and the other villages were built. When the Pove war broke out Barome, one of Dawa's fighting men, swept over Guma and laid it waste. Not only was Gundama and these Gau villages destroyed but Bunumbu and Vahu, the chief's town, also were burnt Mendingla, another of Dawa's leaders took Pendembu, or Kangama as it was then called, and held it to ransom. Kai Lundu gathered his warriors together and went and drove Barome out of Gau and out of Guma also and himself built a town in Guma. He returned from that expedition and went down and set free Pendembu driving out Mendingla and Dawa himself. Both Dawa and Kai Lundu were wounded in the fight at Giehu (Luawa) when K. Lundu drove Dawa from the place. Thus all this part of the country came under Kai Lundu. When peace was once more established the people from Vahu and Bunumbu returned and built those towns and then sought permission of K. Lundu and Jung-Hola again built Gundama in Gau and sat down with Kai Lundu. About that time Momo Babawo of Pendembu obtained permission from Kai Lundu to cross the Keya river and build three villages in Gau Tumberu, Gigbwema and another villages were thus built. This ground was given with the sanction and approval of the whole tribal authority who were consulted by K. Lundu first. It was Luawa once but has been given to Upper Bambarra and it is not now claimed as it was properly ceded [SIC.]

The portion at present in dispute was under Luawa up to the beginning [SIC] of the year 1914 when it was handed over by Bokari Bunde to Kutubu as payment of a bribe to him for having been instrumental in getting him made chief. The tribal authority was never consulted, not even Dambisa, the sub-chief of the section was told of what was going to be done. The whole thing was secretly arranged between the two chiefs and the paper recording the cession drawn up. The chiefdom was not the private possession of one man as money or clothes were, which could be taken by the owner and handed to whom he liked. The land included people who had a share in the ownership and had a right to be consulted. This had not been. The tribal authority had never

then consented to the transfer of land won in war and did not now assent [SIC.]. It was on these grounds that the land and these five towns were claimed back. They were Luwaw [SIC.] towns and had been given away without the consent or the knowledge of the parties whose consent alone could make the transfer good in native law.

Chief Fomba Kutubu speaking for Upper Bambarra claimed that Gau was not one indivisible section. There were two Gaus. One in Luawa and one in Bambarra ... [P.C. Fabunde] was never happy under Liberia and always besought his father Kutubu to use all his efforts to get the British Government to take the country back again. When the W.A.F.F. was in Kanre Lahu the people of these five towns refused to stay under Fa Bunde and said they were going back to Pendembu to be under Kutubu. Captain Petterson of the W.A.F.F. sent and had them brought in to Kanre Lahu and they there refused openly to stay in Luwawa [SIC.]. When Fa Bunde again made efforts to get his country taken over by the English he promised Kutubu that if he would help him and they were successful then he would give him the whole of the Gau section of Luwawa for Bambarra. In 1910 the English flag was hoisted at Kanre Lahu and the country taken over. It was not many months after this that Fa Bunde died. He was succeeded by his son Bokari Bunde and ... he carried out his father's promise but only gave these five towns instead of the whole Gau section ...

Chief Kutubu recalled was asked how it was that ... Fabunde did not make good his promise and ... in 1910 hand over Gau to Kutubu. The answer was that a meeting was held at which Governor Probyn was present with the two chiefs and their respective tribal authorities for this very purpose. Some one however spread word that the meeting was for the purpose of handing over Gau from Luawa to Bambarra and the whole meeting broke up in disorder ... He [Chief Kutubu] reluctantly admitted that Fa Bunde had himself been aiming at handing over this piece of land without the consent of his T.A. (and was obviously trying to get the Governor unwittingly to sanction an unlawful act) ...

The Chiefs after deliberating [ie. the assessor chiefs] came unanimously to the opinion that the transfer of these towns was not done in accordance with native customary law ... The meeting was then informed of the decision that Luawa had been given right and that the five towns would be returned to Luawa."

APPENDIX 4 :

A HISTORY OF THE KULU-BANYA FAMILY OF LUAWA, BY

SAMA KULU KAILONDO II BANYA

(TRANSCRIPT OF ORIGINAL MS.)

A HISTORY OF THE KULU-BANYA FAMILY
OF LUAWA

BY

SAMA KULU KAILONDO II BANYA

(1914 TO 1972)

WRITTEN IN 1940; WITH MINOR CORRECTIONS,
AT THE REQUEST OF THE WRITER,
BY M. J. McCALL IN 1972.

Notes

In making my chronological table about the Kulu Family, I have without any fault of mine left out the names of some of the wives of my ancestors, for I cannot get my informants to show them to me as they too may have forgotten them.

I have tried just to point out the most important of the real ancestors from whom the Kulu family really descended. It must be remembered that our fore-fathers even down to this present generation are all polygamists, and so had many children from different mothers of different stages of life - that is, a chief or any body of importance can marry the daughter of any person of the same rank or below him, as long as he feels that he has a liking for the daughter of that person.

From this point of view, the native chieftaincy does not therefore always go to the elder son of a chief or the son of another chief's daughter; it may be any one of them among his many sons whose mother had proved faithful to the father, and who has himself done well to please the great men (The Tribal Authority) of the chiefdom. What is wanted more (i.e. in the case of a chief with many wives and children having different mothers) is the blessing from the husband to the son; for this reason the mother always tries her best among her companions to please the husband. One can just imagine how difficult it is for a mother to please a husband who has many children from different wives to such an extent as to get him confer upon her own son The Blessings that are really necessary - How great will be the sacrifices a mother has to make, how great the pains and patience the mother must bear without a word and how great the reward after a life long period of patience and suffering - it is really a very difficult thing for our mothers, but having been born and reared in such social concepts they have some how or other reconciled themselves to this situation, and many have really succeeded in getting for their sons the best part of a father's blessings from their husbands. In many cases, most of these blessed children have risen higher than their own brothers who had little or no blessings.

Many may pity the social life of our ancestors for keeping so many women as wives, and many will think of them as foolish and frivolous, but I beg to put in a word or two as reasons in favour of these actions of our fore-fathers and fathers. As every one knows, every country has its own laws, customs and different ways of living. So at one time as it is even now, our ancestors felt proud to have as many wives as they could get for the following reasons:-

1. To help to do farm work. During war time, the men were wholly and soley responsible for wars and the women the care of the farms - this practise has continued and still prevails, though there are no more wars.

2. It was necessary during the war period to have many children to protect the father's interest and help to beat away their enemies and guard their prestige, property, and all. Hence the necessity of having many wives. The enemies seeing this are always afraid and gain a great respect for the father.
3. It was and is still the thought that to have many wives was a sign of importance and dignity, and a man with only one wife is thought of as a man without means - but this is fast dying out owing to the coming of the Western civilization.
4. The wives help a great deal to make the husbands rich, as they are mostly the labouring class and are responsible for the good care of the farms, the making and spinning of cotton which is woven into native country clothes and gowns. They also help to draw round their husbands any amount of young men who give free labour and help to gather wealth and riches.
5. Our ancestors had and still have the thought that to have many wives taken from here and there joins and extends the relationship between the nobles, middle class and the poor. The having of many wives will draw the mind away from bad thoughts and so prevent the making and giving of troubles.

These are really very weak but important reasons for the act of polygamy, but the African must be forgiven, for the simple reason that he is tied by the bonds of inheritance already existing in the blood, mind and soul, which the Western Civilization is trying to reduce and amend. The African must follow the foot-steps of his ancestors as it is with every other nation, and so seeing his father respected by having many children and wives, he too in his turn will have to gain as many, with the hopes of getting the same honours. It is for this reason that I have left out the many brothers and sisters of each of the Kulu Ancestors, and because I do not know them nor have I gained any information about them.

The Kulu Family of Luawa Chiefdom

It is hard to write anything about a Chiefdom in the Protectorate of Sierra Leone where dates and records have not been kept. This little narrative is assembled from scraps of information given by some of the oldest members of Luawa, who even now, have no idea of reckoning time, and which I have tried to compile together with the help of Paramount Chief Momo Banya. I have done little in the use of dates, as this will tend to spoil the beauty of the facts set down.

In every Chiefdom in the Protectorate of Sierra Leone, or any other country, there must be a real autochthonous racial factor who

settled in that chiefdom long ago, and who during inter-tribal wars were shifted from place to place if not strong enough to repulse the enemy. In the Luawa Chiefdom the "Kulu" family forms the original inhabitants (occupants). This family was not originally known by this name, but it is now called so because it is the name borne today by the only male descendant of this family.

2. The history of the KULU Family, of the finding of Kailahun and of the great warrior Kailundu starts as far back as about 1600 A.D., when the first inhabitants of the piece of land now forming the Kailahun section of the Luawa Salient came and settled there. Where they came from is as yet unknown, but it is believed that they must have come from the north-east as the following narrative will show. During those times, dates were unknown and the years were reckoned by the number of shifting farms made or wars waged up to the time of determining the date. According therefore to information received from the elders and judging from the number of generations, the correct time may have been about 1600 A.D. The first known settlements were said to be founded by a great warrior named "GBANGON" who came from the north-east, likely Kissi Kenema (now in French Guinea), accompanied by brothers, war-boys, wives, children and many other people. This party, on crossing the Moa River that today forms the main political boundary between French Guinea Liberia and Sierra Leone, built a little town on its bank and called it Yebema.

It must be remembered that during this time there were no boundaries, and the present French Guinea, Liberia and Sierra Leone were one vast country covered by dense impenetrable virgin forest. Here they had the advantages of hunting wild beasts, catching fresh fish daily, and had all that they needed to make them happy. They also had the advantage over their enemies, as there was only one path hewn in the thick forest by which they had come. The forest afforded them a hiding place where they could lie in ambush to attack their enemies unawares and the river Moa also offered a great deal of assistance to them, as the crossing enemy made a good target for their poisoned bows-and-arrows and spears. They lived here happily, but the quest for more power and fame made the chief of this happy party move southwards in search of more spoil and slaves to work for them. This march was not an easy one, for there were no roads and they had to make their path through the thick natural forests that then covered that part of the country. This tiresome journey continued for some time, and at last, being wearied and tired, they built shimbecks of thatch roofs and lived there for some time, rested themselves, hunted and dried the meat for the next journey. Seeing the site of their camp was fine, and being near Yebema where they had left their wives and children, Gbangon and his warriors decided to leave some people in the place and make Yebema their headquarters, thereby making communication and retreat easy in case they met with a stronger enemy; or their people they left behind could follow them when ever necessary, getting food along the road as they went.

This new-found town which is about 4 miles from Yebema was named Mano Sewalu.

3. Speed of travelling was slow indeed, and while thus moving small villages were made where ever they rested to refresh and add to their food supply for the next journey. Villages like Kpadonbu, Tailu, Komalu (where the great warrior Kailundu was born and trained, vide The Short History of the Luawa Chiefdom by N.C. Hollins), and many other villages were built, some of which are still found on the Kailahun-Mano Sewalu road. Some of these villages played a great part in the inter-tribal wars, and the great bombax cotton trees that were built round them and used as fences can still be seen today, though for want of space for building, most of these ancient reminders have been felled by man.
4. Gbangon and his warriors trudged on meeting with little or no resistance as it is likely that the country then was mostly inhabited by nature in the form of fine trees, wild beasts, creepers and birds, the kinds of which cannot be seen today. After much tiresome marching the warrior and his men alighted on a single path passing through the very heart of Kailahun of today, where the present motor road runs to the French boundary. With the desire to know where this road came from and where it went, Gbangon sent out his men to explore it in both directions, while they kept in hiding, waiting for the arrival of his scouts. In a few days, the report was brought that the road led to the Moa River on the north, and the possibility of obtaining fresh fish and going in search of slaves tempted them to decide on settling in the place. A fine site was cleared on a rising ground further south from their hiding place and a settlement was started round mud houses and thatched roof shimbecks were put up, and clearing for farm land began. After building the town they named it "KULU" + , the only remains of it today being an old bombax cotton tree that is still to be found on the Kailahun - Pendembu motor road, about 400 feet from the 17th mile stone. While here, they waged war on the Mendi people living around them, and in a comparatively short time, Kulu town became large and prosperous. Large clearings were made all round the high ground down to its foot, so that any enemy advancing on them could be detected far away. This was the beginning of the Luawa history, of the history of Kailundu, Kailahun and what is termed, in this little narrative, the "KULU" family. It is guessed that this town sprang up about 1605. How long Gbangon remained the head of this town and at what age he died is not certain.
5. After his death, among his many sons, Wotay who proved himself an able warrior and leader of men, succeeded him. He fought hard and brought peace and prosperity to the people of Kulu town, and attracted more people to join him, for in those days it was an easy thing for a whole tribe who were unable to defend themselves successfully from their enemies to join the stronger side for protection and help. In this way intermarriage began and the Kissi people learnt to talk the Mendi tongue and the Mendis to speak the Kissi language. Under Wotay's

+ (KULU means to EMBRACE)

leadership, large areas were cleared of virgin forests, and extensive farms were made; the town was fortified and every body was glad and content to live in Kulu town.

6. In those days there were no chiefs; whoever was capable of making himself a good warrior and leader of his men and who had the luck to win and beat away his enemies was considered as the leader; in this way "DWAONJAH", one of the sons of Wotay succeeded his father after the latter had passed away leaving his fame scattered far and wide. By this time the country round Kulu was now gradually becoming inhabited by tribes who had suffered the misfortune of being pushed from their homes, and who could easily call for help from the Kulu leader and warriors. Little villages sprang up, built by prominent men who had the chance of making two or more farms and had a large stock of slaves to work for them.

The inrush of fugitive warriors and their war boys who had been beaten and had come to ask for help and who never returned to their homes again was so great that the town of Kulu became crowded, and little villages and towns like Bandajuma (built by Dwawonjah's brother - Momo Kuwulo) Ndombu, Kenewa and many more were built. In this way Dwawonjah became popular and ruled over a very large stretch of land. His mode of leadership was so good and successful that he was loved in all corners of his little domain, where he ruled well and justly. Farming became extensive and there was happiness wherever you went. During this time the whole country or villages and towns round about Kulu town worked for him by making large farms called "MANJA"; so great was the crop harvested from the Manja farms that he decided to build stores for his rice. These he built near his biggest farm which was made on the site of the present Kailahun. For safety's sake he handed the charge of this place to his brother FARGBANDI KPAKILA's care. Fargbandi Kpakila was one of the heads of the families who handed over the country to Kailondo. He then returned to Yebema, the first town founded by his Grandfather Gbangon, when Kailahun - then called Sakabu or Njaluahun - was taken over by Kailundu. Fargbandi was a good warrior, had slaves and enough wealth, and while thus in charge of his brother's stores, he cleared the forests from the present barracks site and made a farm there. Owing to the shifting farming, he carried on his farming from one place to another until he got as far as the twenty second mile stone on the Kailahun - Dodo road. The store site was then called "NJALUAHUN" (inbetween streams) because the place was surrounded by streams. Njaluahun was bounded on the north by a stream of water called Tongoya, which for many years remained the only source of water supply for Njaluahun and the present Kailahun up to about 1929-1930 when pipes were laid. On the East, West and South the stream Lawua and the head waters of Viawah came out as a spring and were the sources of water supply for the European reserve at Kailahun until the installing of the pipelines.

The new site of Njaluahun was so inviting that soon a large clearing was made and a little village sprang up which kept on

growing until a fine town grew up and it was named SARKABU. This was the beginning of Kailahun, which Dwawonjah little dreamt would become a town of fame, repute and a big trading centre of today; nor did he ever think that an ordinary site for the storing of rice would play such a great part in the life of one of the greatest warriors of Sierra Leone. It was in Dwawonjah's time that the father of the great warrior Dowe Komeh crossed over and went in search of fame and slaves, and it was in Dwawonjah's time that the great Kailundu was born.

While Dwawonjah was now old through very active service in the war field an invading warrior came over to capture the town of Kulu, and after much fighting (for the people loved their old town and chief) they succeeded at last in capturing the town and burning it to its foundation before help could come. Among those that surrendered were Dwawonjah and his youthful son GBANDA NDAWAH. After his death, Gbanda was selected to look after the few loyal subjects of his deceased father. In order not to go far from his birth place and the place where his father was buried, he went northward and built a little village about one mile away from the old town site of Kulu and called it FORGBOMA (FOR is a prefix and GBOMA means "Help") where they lived happily till his death in about 1917. Those who knew him when he was a young man told me that he died at the ripe old age of 84 years. The other inhabitants of Kulu who had the chance to escape joined the already rapidly growing town of Sarkabu.

7. Thus was formed a family that was later on to be known as the "Kulu Family" the off-spring bearing this name today (who is commonly known as Kailondo II) is the only eminent grandson of Gbanda Dawa.
8. Gbanda Dawah - Gbanda means to stick in the "mouth" and Dawa a big "mouth" - was from the meaning of his name a lawyer and talkative; he was not easily beaten in any case and was always ready to give good counsel and sound advice to those who seek such from him. He was tall, handsome and straight, broad of chest and firm in limbs. His mouth and jaws were not only made to suit those of a warrior in the field, but a hero in the court of wisdom and good judgment, for the writer knew him and played boyish pranks on his knees.
9. Before his father Dwawonjah died, he got a wife for Gbanda called MANGULU (meaning as black as an african black snake). She was a very beautiful woman with straight nose, thin lips and had all the bearing that a negro woman has about her, she was hardworking and proved to be a good mother. She had three children, the eldest of whom brought forth Sama Kulu. They were Jue Siangay, Nyagonga and Ngagba Dawa, the present village headman of Forgboma. Mangulu died at a ripe old age of 70 years on the 23rd May, 1931, when the writer, her only grand-son, was in the Lower Sixth Standard at the Government Bo School. Among all Mangulu's children none resembled the mother and the father like their eldest daughter Jue Siangay.
10. While Gbanda was still alive, Kailundu had risen to the height of his fame, and had changed the name of Sarkabu into Kai's town or

Kailahun. Jue Siangay, then a very little girl, was handed over together with the country as a pledge of homage, loyalty, obedience and peace to Kailundu according to the customs of our forefathers. While she was still a young girl, Kailundu died, and a struggle arose among the eminent men as to who should marry her next. Before Kailundu died he had married the daughter of Chief (for then the post of chief had become recognised) Momo Babawo of Pendembu called LUMBE KORBALI, and they had a son whom Kailondo christened MOMO BANYA. When Kailundu died in about 1895, Fa Bunde was crowned Chief and Momo Banya his right-hand Regent. By this time Jue Siangay had grown up to be a woman and she was handed over to Momo Banya as wife, a symbol of faithfulness and loyalty to Kailundu and his son (Momo Banya), the rightful heir apparent to the Chieftaincy of Luawa. While Fa Bunde was yet Chief, things went on smoothly with Momo Banya and his wife Jue Siangay, the heir apparent of the Kailahun section, until Fa Bunde's death. When his son Bockarie Bunde assumed the crown, things became bad for Momo Banya, and there was separation between him and Jue Siangay for some time. By this time they had brought forth a child whom they christened TEWO (meaning "they had said"). The reason for giving their first child this name was because there was a rumour that since many suitors had come out to gain the hand of Jue Siangay in marriage and she had refused, they had sworn her never to bring forth children, forgetting that was the work of God and He alone can say and it will be done.

While Jue Siangay was thus bringing forth and training her daughter Tewe, Bockarie Bunde, then the Paramount Chief of Luawa called her and asked her to part with Momo Banya and choose a new husband, and when she refused, the paramount chief became enraged and calling her father Gbanda Dawa threatened to punish him very severely if he did not persuade his daughter to choose another husband. Gbanda then replied that he owned his daughter, but could not on any account force her to do what she did not like, and for this answer, Bockarie Bunde who had all the power then in his hands, took away all the villages that had belonged to Gbanda and gave them away: some of the inhabitants of the villages taken still respect his daughter and are doing well to please her. These villages are Ndombu, Kawolu and Gbandivulahun, Bandajuma and others. With all these punishments, Gbanda stood by his words, for he was not the sort of man who had two sayings; for when he had said one thing, he always kept to it. Bockarie Bunde's idea of doing this was plain. He had with him at that time an Islamic Morray man who worked for him, and in return for his work, he had promised to do anything that this Morray man would ask from him; and it was for this man that Bockarie Bunde had treated Jue Siangay and her father in the manner described above, for the Morray men refused to do any more work unless he had in his possession Jue Siangay as wife. This she refused to do, and when forced she openly declared that she would marry no other man but Momo Banya. This open remark struck the tender parts of the tyrant chief, who from that time developed a deep hatred for Momo Banya, and seeing that he was the paramount chief and could do anything that he pleased without interruption he seized on Momo Banya and gave him the most painful punishments that were only able to be borne by a soul

that has been purposely made by God to withstand them. Momo Banya bore all the troubles and punishments without a word, for he had a guiding voice that always cried in his ears:- "Be patient, bear everything that is done to you, for this country and what has been your father's belong to you".

Despite these troubles, the love between him and Jue Siangay, for whom he was suffering so much, seemed to grow more and more daily, and by the time their first daughter Tewa was six years of age they had another child whom he christened DORWU (meaning "hide"). It was not until about 1916 when Bockarie Bunde was deposed that Momoh Banya had time to be free and become an independant man, and then took Jue Siangay into his own house, for during all the time of his troubles she was with her father and mother at Forgboma.

Two years after Bockarie Bunde was crowned, about 1914, they had a son whom they called "SAMA KULU" (the writer) who afterwards became known as KAILONDO II. (SAMA means "High Born" and KULU to "Embrace").

12. Thus was once more linked the fruits of the first inhabitants of the land to that of the reformer and known ruler of the present Luawa Chiefdom. This linking brought back to the Kulu house all that had been lost and all that was thought could not be found again.

13. The little Family brought forth by Jue Siangay comprised of two daughters, Tewa, Dorwu and a son - Sama Kulu. These were made happy until the separation of Sama Kulu from the main body, he being taken to Panguma for training and afterwards in 1924, on February 11th, he was admitted into the Government Bo School. On leaving School in 1935, he was appointed a Forest Guard in the Forestry Department in 1937, and as he writes, he is a Forester, a post he attained in 1938 a year after his Forest Guard post.

This little family was very happy up to the 3rd August, 1938, when the eldest daughter Tewa departed from them for the next world, where the remaining family thinks she is well, and has gone to prepare a place for her mother and other sister and only brother. Tewa died at about the age of 30 years, then in her prime of womanhood and leaving behind her two daughters, Banbanya 12 years and Toma 5 years.

14. The old site on which Kulu Town was built is still called Kulu Tomboiya (an old town site). The Pendembu Kailahun motor road passes right through the middle of what was once a very prosperous and happy town. It is the last high ground that one climbs before entering Kailahun about three-quarters of a mile away from the town or the first to be climbed when returning to Pendembu about 400 feet away from the 17th mile stone. I refer you to sub-paragraph 1 of "A Short History of Luawa Chiefdom" by Mr. N. C. Hollins, ex-D.C. where he made mention of this hill, and page 180 paragraph 5 in "A Transformed Colony" by Mr. T. J. Alldridge.

The Kulu Family, its relationship to the Ruling House of Luawa"The Coming of Kailundu" or Gendeme (very short man)

I am sure any body who has studied the history of Sierra Leone and who is interested in its warriors must have heard about Kailondo, a good fighter and one of the many famous warriors of his time. Kailondo was the son of a warrior who came over from French Guinea on the River Moa which is the present political boundary between the French territories and the British, for the sake of fame and to get more slaves, for then the slave trade was the only trade of importance and anybody who had the power and influence to get more slaves was considered a very rich and powerful man, and he was feared and respected by everybody. This caused DOWE KOME to leave Dukono his native land to go in search of slaves. He became a famous man and on arriving where Kailahun is now, passed to a town called Komalu where he got married to the daughter of a very strong man known by the name of SOLI who was then the headman of Komalu. Dowe Kome and his new bride KEFUI lived together until he was called to go and help to drive away from Kissi Tungi the fierce warlike Tenge Kisis and the Bandis of Vassa Chiefdom. After a great struggle, Dowe succeeded in defeating his enemies. While here at Tungi, news reached him to say that his wife Kefui had brought forth a child, and while rejoicing together with a famous Gbandi Chief, Kailundu, who came as peace-maker between the Tungi Kisis, Tenge Kisis, and Bandis of Vassa (both chiefdoms now in Liberian territory), he was summoned to go home, he and his war-boys returned the next day. His joy knew no bounds when he found that his child was a good healthy boy, and he wasted no time in christening the child with the name of KAILUNDU in honour of the great friendship that grew up between the great Bandi chief and himself. Kailundu the child grew up to be a healthy fine boy, and he was trained to wrestle, fight, and run, and to complete his training more thoroughly, he was sent to an old experienced, retired though active warrior called Kpawu Bundor who was residing at Grema, a town still in the Luawa Chiefdom. Here Kailundu grew up among the great men, and he was given lessons in all that was needed to make a man of a boy. When his training was over, and while still a young man, Kailundu made up his mind to try his skill he had obtained from Kpawo Bundor, in the field. He therefore joined a war party that was being sent out by Chief Nyangbi of Blama, Small Bo chiefdom, against the people of Nongowa chiefdom. In this war Kailundu fought so hard that his leader grew jealous of him, as reports were sent to chief Nyangbi that his men would have lost the war had it not been for the pluck shown by the young man Kailundu. Thus began the life and history of one of the best men in the arts of war when war was the only means of living in Sierra Leone. He took part in many other little wars not worth mentioning, and in each, he proved himself an able fighter and a good leader. His fame grew up so quickly that men began to follow him, and soon he became a "Kugbai", that is, a great warrior.

16. Whilst the fame of Kailundu was growing, another great warrior from Wunde, south of Blama, was trying to force the countries or rather chiefdoms round about him to submission, and to extend his power over them. This the warrior, Dawa (meaning "big mouth") by name, succeeded in doing, and not being content with his spoils, moved on to other chiefdoms, capturing the chiefs and making slaves and burning towns. His success was not interrupted until he had as his victims Manowa (Peje East - though at one time it was known as Peje but has now been divided for administrative purposes into Peje East, Peje West and Bongi chiefdoms), Pendembu (Upper Bambara) which he burnt, and got to a town called Mendi (Luawa chiefdom), burnt that town, and went on ravaging the country until he got as far as Kenewa, a village built close to the Pendembu - Kailahun motor road just near the 14th mile stone. Here he stopped and sent to Kailundu to join him in his cruel wars.
17. With the fame Kailundu had already gained, he earlier made up his mind to return to his home and see his mother and father, who were still staying at Komalu, a town on the Kailahun-Mano Sewalu road in the Sewalu subsection of Luawa. His people were very glad to see their son who had now grown up to be a man of about 30 years, and they were proud to see all the followers he had behind him. While thus spending time with his mother and father whom he had left for so long, he received a messenger summoning him to SARKABU (now Kailahun) by the big men of that part of the country. He at once bade goodbye to his dear relatives and went to answer the call. Before his arrival, a great meeting was held to determine a spokesman and what they should tell him on his arrival. By this time the messenger sent by Dawa from Kenewa inviting Kailundu to join him had also arrived, and when asked the course Dawa wished to take, the inhabitants of SARKABU and other neighbouring towns who were already gathered there were informed that Dawa had sent him to ask Kailundu to join him, and if he failed to do so he would lay waste all the lands and kill everyone of them. When Kailundu arrived he was met by the spokesman, Bundor of Nganyahun in the Mofindo sub-section (Luawa), who narrated to him the reason he was called and the fear they entertained towards Dawa. The messenger of Dawa too delivered his message at the same time. Bundor seeing that Kailundu was more inclined to fight Dawa as an enemy, promised that if Kailundu succeeded in driving him away, they would make him chief of SARKABU and all the neighbouring towns and villages, and confirmed his words by calling all the big men of the country who swore loyalty and allegiance to him.

Kailundu having the support of all the people about him, sent word to Dawa that he would on no account join him, and that if he wanted to save his skin, he should at once leave Kenewa and move away. On receiving this message, Dawa became angry and sent a messenger that Kailundu should meet him at Kenewa, where the latter went and fought him. His men were so fierce that Dawa and his men retreated as far as Giehun on the Pendembu-Kailahun motor road $9\frac{1}{2}$ miles from Pendembu. There again Kailundu gave battle and drove Dawa away, retaining as war prizes his wife Kenya and Bundor Dawa his son. The enemy retreated as far as a town called Mendi about 4 miles east of

Giehun, and there again Kailundu followed and finally succeeded in driving Dawa and his few remaining followers away.

18. On his arrival back at Sarkabu, Kailundu was handed over the country by Bundor Nyanyahun and all the Big Men. Bundor the Spokesman took a handful of earth, put it in a white cloth, took a gun, cocked and uncocked it and gave all to Kailundu - saying - "Here is your country", and taking the hands of Jue Siangay (then a very little girl) gave her to Kailundu saying:- "According to the customs of our forefathers, this is your wife, the only true daughter of the first known inhabitants and founders of this town of Sarkabu which was formerly known as Njaluahun and now will be named from this date as Kai's Town or Kailahun. The adjacent countries which you have rescued from the destruction of Ndawa have all agreed to come together as one and are ready to become your subjects".

Thus was formed the Luawa Chiefdom named after the Lawua Stream running round on the South, East and North of the present town of Kailahun. Luawa therefore is a modified name for Lawua. In the days of our forefathers, women played a great part in the history of a country. Women were the main cause of inter-tribal wars and they were the main peace-makers between hostile powers. The handing over therefore of Jue Siangay (the true and only daughter of the first known inhabitants of what is now the greater part of the Kailahun Section, the only male offspring being known as Sama Kulu and the whole family known as the Kulu Family) to Kailundu sealed the bond that the country belonged to Kailundu, his sons and grand-children until his generation dies off. Thus came the relationship between the descendants of the first inhabitants, the Kulu Family, and the first known Ruling House of the present Luawa Chiefdom.

This fact of the importance of women can be verified from the results of the Pendembu Expedition, when the mother of P.C. Momo Banya, Lumbe Kobeh, was handed over to Kailundu as wife by her father Chief Momo Babawo of Pendembu, Bambara Chiefdom, in token of homage, loyalty and gratitude for the help rendered to him by Kailundu. Kailundu died leaving Jue Siangay still a very little girl, and so he had no children with her.

Dawa's expedition as explained above was afterwards known as the Kpor-veh (earthen pot) war about 1880. Kpor-veh was the name given to Dawa's expedition for the simple reason that during his raids, his fame was so great that other warriors were greatly afraid of him, and when they came to learn that he was a day's march from their destination, they hid in very large earthen pots to evade their enemy. Some of the warriors succeeded in not being found out, but the hiding places of the wicked leaders were shown, and most of them were caught hiding in these large earthen pots and killed.

Kailundu on assuming the chieftaincy and leadership of the people, reformed and rebuilt Sarkabu, now Kailahun, into a big town, and brought together all the people who were then scattered far apart for fear of each other, and formed what is now the Luawa

Chiefdom. Under his rule, the people of Kailahun were happy and hard working. He trained many young men and boys the arts of war and leadership.

19. He fought many battles and wars the most important of which were:-

1. The Pendembu Expedition - (Mandu (Baiima) and Gaura against Pendembu).
2. The Kono War - (The Konos against Kailundu).
3. The Wunde (in French Guinea) war - (Wunde against Kailundu).
4. The Gbandi war (1889) (Bawuromeh against Kailundu).
5. The Kisi war (1890) (Sungba an independant chief against the Kisis).

A detailed account of these wars is printed by an ex- D.C., Mr. N.C. Hollins, in "A Short History of the Luawa Chiefdom", and a detailed description of Kailundu and his ways is printed by Mr. T.J. Alldridge (an ex- D.C.) in "A Transformed Colony", and "The Sherbro and its Hinterland", where a photograph of Kailundu taken in 1891 will be found.

20. When the Mandu (Baiima) and Gaura people attacked Pendembu, the Chief, Momo Babawo, called for help from Kailundu, which was accepted and he marched to Pendembu, which by this time had been burnt, and most of the inhabitants were prisoners in the hands of Bubu and Mendingla, the Guara leaders. Kailundu at once sent to these leaders to give back their captives, and they, not wishing to come into opposition with him, released the captives and they returned home safely. Chief Momo Babawo was so grateful for this help given by Kailundu that he gave his only daughter Lumbe Korbali to him as wife and she bore him a son, his first, whom he called MOMO BANYA, born about 1880.

MOMO BANYA

21. Kailundu died at the age of 50 years in 1895, and he was succeeded by FA BUNDE, who was the speaker to him. Before his death, he called all the people together and in their presence bequeathed all his property and his son Momo Banya to Fa Bunde's care and guardianship with the instructions to hand over everything to him when Momo Banya shall have become a man enough to manage his own affairs. When Fa Bunde was crowned chief, he made Momo Banya his Regent. By this time Jue Siangay had reached her womanhood, and to show that the son of Kailundu still possessed his right over the country as the lawful son of his father, he too was again given all the things that were taken to hand over the country to Kailundu, and Jue Siangay (the only descendant of the Kulu Family) automatically became the wife of Momo

Banya, a sort of true emblem to show the future Chief and rightful possessor of the Chiefdom of Luawa.

22. Bockarie Bunde proved to be a very wicked and tyrant chief, and hated Momo Banya because he offered himself as a candidate, thus showing that they were equal. Because of this and many other reasons he treated him very badly, and made the youthful years of Momo Banya full of misery and sorrow. For example, to show that he was Chief and could do anything he pleased, he caught Momo Banya and placed him in chains, and wherever he went round his chiefdom, he kept him in chains and gave him a heavy load to carry on his head in addition to the chain that he had round his waist so that people could see and know that his power was more than that of Kailundu's son. Any town they reached, if for the honour of his father, the chief or his people gave Momo Banya anything like meat or fowl, Chief Bockarie returned these things and asked them to bring rats instead, and anybody failing to obey these orders was severely punished. This was carried on to such a degree that nearly every town kept a stock of dried rats to present Momo Banya with when next they called on a visit. When he found that the people were growing sorry and becoming more fond of Banya, he thought that he should devise another form of punishment. Seeing that he could arrive at no other severer punishment than what he had already given, he called Momo Banya to him one day and told him that without the help of anybody, he alone should break down a certain house which he pointed out to him, and take away all the thatch, sticks, mud and every other thing that was in the house and formed the house, into the stream Lawua in one day. This task Momo Banya did with all the zeal and strength of a young man who had been trained under the severest conditions. Assisted by his mother Lumbe Korbali, he finished this work at mid-night.

These acts, and the cruel and tyrannical actions displayed by Bockarie Bunde to Momo Banya and the people of the chiefdom in general, caused the whole chiefdom to rise against him, and he was reported to the Government, who saw into the case, and finding that the people were correct, deposed him in 1916. To show how very much the country people were against him, an angry mob rushed upon him, and, but for an active sense of duty on the part of the D.C., Mr. R.S. Hooker, and Captain Faux of the Regiment stationed then at Kailahun, Bockarie Bunde would have been killed on the spot.

It should be noted however, that, any true born child of Luawa to whom such favour was done as it was done in the case of the Bundes, would not have treated in that way the son of one who had rewarded his father and loaded himself with this great wealth. The Bundes are not natives of Luawa proper, their father or Grandfather came from Wunde (French Guinea) and was known by the name of Mandegbe Bini.

23. The time again arrived for the election of another chief, and Gobe and Momo Banya offered themselves as candidates. Again, Momo Banya had to be left out to give place to a more venerable and experienced man, and Gobe, who had less votes than his rival, was elected Chief. Gobe though not a bad chief, was born in the Bengolu, Sewalu sub-section of Luawa; his father Genda Foya, came from Wunde and settled in Luawa. Gobe was very fortunate indeed, for he took only 5 years in enjoying his chieftaincy (1916-1921) when he had a paralytic stroke in 1921, which made him unfit for any more active service. Seeing that he could give no more help to his subjects, he elected Momo Banya as his Regent Chief, having in 1919 made him sub-chief of the present Kailahun section. Gobe was an amiable old man, good to his people and he repayed all the kindnesses shown to him by Chief Kailundu in what he did for the latter's son. This good chief died at an old age on the 19th April, 1924. Gobe sent two of his sons, N.T. Gobe (Taplina Gobe) and Gbaisay Ngobe, to the Government Bo School. The former was a Surveyor in the Government, but now working for the Maroc Mining Company, and the latter is at the time of writing an acting Sergeant in the Sierra Leone Police Force.

24. When Chief Gobe Kahunla died, Momo Banya who had already been made speaker and afterwards in 1922 Regent Chief, once more offered himself as candidate for the election. This time, though many people offered themselves for the same purpose, none were considered, and on the 23rd June, 1924, Momo Banya was at last elected Paramount Chief with the help of all the sub-chiefs and big men of the chiefdom - this memorable day which came five and a half months after the writer (who was destined not to witness and enjoy this grand day) was sent to School. The 23rd day of June, 1924, will forever be remembered in the history of the Luawa Chiefdom. Chiefs came from the three British Kisi Chiefdoms and other places to witness the "Staff of Honour" being handed over by Ag. Commissioner L.H. Berry in the presence of D.C. J.H. de Bunch Shaw and P. Chief A.B. Comber of Baiima and Chief Foray of Daru to the right ruler of his Chiefdom who, for so many years, those who witnessed the treatments he received from the hands of Bockarie Bundeh thought would never live long enough to behold this never-to-be-forgotten day. A big dance which lasted two weeks was staged in honour of the new crowned Chief and every one present enjoyed himself very well.

Momo Banya, now Paramount Chief, had before this time sent two of his sons to the Government Bo School - Kailondo I, 1916-1929, Kailondo II (Sama Kulu), 1924-1935, and to show how glad he was, he sent for each of them the sum of two pounds. This was placed in the "pupils bank" for them. This kindness and generosity was repeated every June of the following years up to 1930. More of his sons were sent in the following years - Kailondo III (Sama Nganyahun) 1927-1938, who then went to the Prince of Wales' School; Sama Kailondo (Sama Dodo) 1928-1939, who while at Bo passed his

Junior Cambridge and was sent to the Prince of Wales' school; Kakao Lundu 1930, who was still in School at the date of writing. More were sent afterwards to the same School and in 1936 three more were sent to the Koyeima School. This shows how much Momo Banya is interested in education.

25. During the last days of Chief Gobe, owing to his incapability of ruling, the Luawa chiefdom showed signs of breaking up and when Chief Momo Banya was crowned, he did his best to get the more discontented towns and people together, spoke to them and thus got the chiefdom to unite again, and there was peace and contentment everywhere. Agriculture became the means of livelihood of the chiefdom and the planting of swamp rice in the Temne way was largely practised. So much was the Government interested in the rapid growth of agriculture in the chiefdom that it thought to encourage the people, and in 1927, the first agricultural show that had ever been held since the division of the Protectorate into provinces was held at Kailahun.

Owing to the important situation of the chiefdom and Kailahun in general, it was thought necessary for motor roads to be made linking the interior with Kailahun, and a road passing through Dodo to Buyedu was made; and in 1940, this road was continued to Koindu on the boundary between the English and French territories, where a hospital has now been built for the receiving and curing of the victims of sleeping sickness and a good number of young men who are being trained to fight against the dreaded tsetse fly are stationed there. Buyedu is 18 miles away from Kailahun, and Koindu is about 21 miles from Buyedu.

Owing to the motor road that had been made in 1919 running from Pendembu, the terminus of the railway line, to Kailahun 17½ miles away, where the produce from the interior can easily be sent to be railed, Kailahun became a great trading centre, where producers from French Guinea, Liberia and the other parts of the three British Kisi chiefdoms bring in their palm kernels and palm produce, rice, benni seed, and all marketable goods and produce to sell or buy. To encourage trading, the Chief brought in a scheme whereby the whole chiefdom could bring in all that they had to sell, rice, bananas, plantains, cocoa yams and all other agricultural produce and all other things that could be sold once a week, and to make it convenient for everybody, Friday (which is expected to be a day of rest according to the Islamic rules which forbids all people interested in Islam to work on this day for fear of misfortune befalling the unfortunate soul that ever goes against this rule) was chosen. It is very interesting to witness this show on Friday every week, and see exactly how hard the chiefdom is fighting and trying to maintain friendship between the rich and poor, the weak and strong, and trying to let the poor get enough to eat, for all prices are reduced below ordinary market price, and to keep up a very good social life and encourage agriculture.

26. You can just imagine the great work done by P.C. Momo Banya in the many interests shown for his people, which he is still continuing to show by asking Government to build a free hospital at Kailahun and a station for a Medical Officer: this was done in 1938, and all the people are glad about this. Through the prayers of this generous chief, the District headquarters was transferred to Kailahun in 1927, which helped greatly the safety of his willing and obedient subjects.

27. With all the great care, pains and sacrifices on the part of Momo Banya in trying to bring happiness to his subjects, some discontented and greedy people who wanted all to be enjoyed only by themselves and who were denied these privileges became fired by the fire of Hell, which they passed on from one discontented man to the other.

In 1932 the flames burst out and burnt with hatred and contempt against P.C. Momo Banya, who, seeing his good work, so long and carefully planned and compiled together, scattered in this way, became very sad. To show how these people appreciated this piece of hard labour, they brought nearly half of the chiefs of the sub-sections of the chiefdom to bear their discontented heart and mind against Momo Banya, and on the 14th of October, 1932, he was called to court to plead for freedom. Many were infamous suits and false witnesses brought against him by the following, the spokesmen:-

Aliu Tokpo	sub-chief of Mendi section (Mendi) Luawa
Momo Ngiva	sub-chief of Upper Bambara section (Nyandehun)
Alpha Ngobe	son of late chief Ngobe Kahunla (Kailahun)
Fatoma Mbarkor	} brother of Fatoma Gbondo Speaker (Kailahun) (These two were the known originators.)
Brima Kabba	
Bassie	of Giahun (Luawa)
Tamba Dowda	of Mano Sewalu

and many more who did not come out to the front but gave all the necessary advice and financial help that was needed. The judgement lasted for 5 days (18/10/32) and at the end, for it is always a true saying that good labour is never lost, Momo Banya who had no sleep and rest during these trying times, was duly repaid by the hands of Providence, and he conquered his enemies. No joy can ever be equal to what Momo Banya and his followers felt when the judge of the court P.C. A.H. Stocks, dismissed the case as false and gave right to the chief. While this case was going on, all his property had been shared in case he failed to win, and Jue Siangay's house was to be owned by Fatoma Mbarkor.

The case between the Chief and the rebels having been settled, sub-chiefs Aliu Tokpo and Momo Ngiva were deposed and other people elected in their places, and Brima Kabba was banished from the chiefdom; Fatoma Mbarkor, Bassie and Tamba Dowda were sent into prison. These, I think, were good punishments for the rebels and it set a very good example to others who may think to make a plot of this kind again; it helped a great deal in bringing the chiefdom to realise the good works of the present chief and brought all the people to be more obedient and willing to take and do anything that Chief Banyia asks them to do.

28. Owing to the fact that nearly all the inhabitants of the Chiefdom are more inclined to Islam, no Christian schools have yet gained a strong footing in Kailahun, but the Methodist Mission under the Reverend W.R.E. Clerke has been given all necessary assistance by the chief and subjects, and the school is well attended by the children of those who are interested in education, though at one time when the mission was teaching the children the Mendi language, the fathers went against this, and the manner of teaching was changed to English lessons.
29. The Luawa Chiefdom holds its head above all other chiefdoms of Sierra Leone for the simple fact that it has besides the English coin of West Africa, its own coin in the form of a T-shaped iron rod about 15 to 16 inches long with a flat tail.
30. Chief Momo Banyia, who is now growing old, is still a useful chief to his people and strangers, to whom he devotes great care and respect. The Government realised the great help rendered to it by him and have appreciated it by conferring on him the following medals:-

The Certificate of Honour 1927

The King's Medal 1st August 1940

The Sanitary Staff 18th October 1932

Momo Banyia was the second Chief to embrace the coming of the Native Administration in this country, and owing to the largeness of his chiefdom, he receives £1,200 annually.

The above narrative goes to show the relationship the old Kulu Family has with that of the present Ruling House of this prosperous Chiefdom.

31. Jue Siangay a woman of about 65 years is now enjoying a quiet life away from the world, and receiving the support of her husband P.C. Momo Banyia, who is doing all he can for her and her two children, the eldest of whom (Dorwu) is the only person attending to all the wants of her old mother, while Sama Kulu is away battling with the world as a Forester in the Forestry Department at the age of 25 years.

32. It is the common prayer that God should give long life, prosperity, and good health to Paramount Chief Momo Banya to reign over his people and see his children grow up into men and women who in turn are fighting hard to do their best to please him and see that in his old years he will enjoy the caresses from them that are so much needed in old age, for at the time of writing he is about 60 years of age in 1940.

The Luawa Chiefdom

The Luawa chiefdom at one time embraced Wunde (now part of the French Guinea), Vassa country in Liberia and what is today the Luawa Chiefdom proper, and Kailundu was the Chief. Today it is a much smaller country, having had the misfortune to lie at a point where three great Powers, British, French and the Republic of Liberia met. In 1906-1907 Wunde was recognized as being French territory and the piece of land from the Magoni river into the Vassa country was ceded over to Liberia, the same river forming the Political Boundary.

Boundaries

The Luawa Chiefdom has an area of about 300 square miles with a population of over 30,000. It is bounded on the East by the three British Kisi Chiefdoms, Kisi Tungi, Kisi Teng and Kisi Kama; on the North by French Guinea; on the North West, West and South West by Penguia (Kono District), Peje East and Upper Bambara (Kailahun District) Chiefdoms; and on the South by the Republic of Liberia.

The Boundary marks are:-

East	a line drawn in a semi-circle from the Moa river on the north to the river Mawua or Magoni on the south.
North	by the River Moa.
North-west	the River Moa.
South-west	a line drawn from the river Moa on the north-west passing through the middle of the 5th and 6th mile stone on the Pendembu-Kailahun motor road.
South	the River Mawua or Magoni.

Political Division

For administrative purposes, the Luawa Chiefdom is divided into 10 sections and each section under the ruling of a Section Chief.

Each section has its number of villages under the management of Village Head-men.

The Divisions are as follows:-

<u>Name of section</u>	<u>Title of section</u>	<u>Name of section chief</u>	<u>No. of vill-ages</u>	<u>No. of houses</u>	<u>Hut</u> £	<u>Tax</u> s	<u>1940</u> d
Kailahun	Kailahun	James Ngarmor	86	2,254	1,014	6	0
Mofindo	Mofindo	Karimu Lokoma	18	659	296	11	0
Baoma	Baoma	Samdi Gainda	18	575	258	15	0
Giahun	Giahun	Tengbe Diao	34	959	431	11	0
Glama	Lower Kpombali	Momo Lassie	7	304	136	16	0
Gborbu	Gaow	Lansana	24	770	346	10	0
Nyandehun	Upper Kpombali	Boima Ndovo	23	965	434	5	0
Dodo	Gbela	Momo Kane (Jambai)	30	1,040	468	0	0
Mano	Sewaru	Fomba	25	540	243	0	0
Mendi	Mendi	Lamin Toko	5	335	150	15	0
		<u>Total</u>	270	8,401	3,780	9	0

Tribes

The people of Luawa Chiefdom are mostly Mendis with an admixture of Kisis. The Madingo tribe is running in very rapidly from French Guinea for trading purposes. They have brought with them wealth into the chiefdom, the best customs of the east and the best methods of finding money. Their influence as members of Islam has played a great part on the life and religion of the people of the Luawa Chiefdom, and today nearly the whole chiefdom from the youngest boy to the oldest man has embraced the Islamic Religion. The Paramount Chief, too, has become a strong Believer and has built a very large mosque at Kailahun.

The Chief of Luawa, his relation to the three British Kisi Chiefdoms

The three Kisi chiefdoms Kisi Tungi, Kisi Teng and Kisi Kama were all one chiefdom under the kingship of Kailundu, but when the tyrant

chief Bockarie Bunde became chief in about 1913-1914, his conduct towards these chiefdoms was so bad that they sought freedom and independence. The Government seeing into the case found it necessary to divide them and they became separate chiefdoms - Kisi Tungi, Buyedu, Kongo; Kisi Teng, Kangama, Bandabla; and Kisi Kama, Dia, Tengbe. This caused the chief to lose all power and the suzerian rights over these chiefdoms. It was not until Momo Banya became Paramount Chief that they once more began to respect these rights and honour him.

APPENDIX 5 :

THE FOUNDATION OF THE LUAWA CHIEFDOM

(TO THE DEATH OF KAILUNDU),

BY REV. W.R.E. CLARKE (ALBERT ACADEMY PRESS, FREETOWN, 1933).

(A TRANSCRIPT OF THE PUBLISHED BOOKLET).

THE FOUNDATION
OF THE
LUAWA CHIEFDOM
(TO THE DEATH OF KAILUNDU)

- B Y -

W. R. E. CLARKE

KAILAHUN - 1933

Albert Academy

Press

PREFACE

I would wish to thank Paramount Chief Momo Gbanya of the Luawa Chiefdom for the great and kindly help which he has given to enable me to compile this short history of the Foundation of the Luawa Chiefdom. When it was first proposed to him he most willingly agreed and arranged for me to interview three of the oldest warriors, men who had fought with Kailundu. They were Chief Tengbe of Ngiyehun; Yajawa of Yandohu; and Sengbe of Bandajuma. We had a most happy and profitable time together, talking about the days gone by, and it was interesting to see how these three old warriors lived again through those days! I am sure that they enjoyed it as much as I, and to them I would tender my most sincere thanks.

Also I am deeply indebted to Mr. N. C. Hollins for his article on the Luawa Chiefdom which appeared in the Sierra Leone Studies No XIV and which showed me the possibilities of such a 'History',

This short 'History' then is written in the hope that it will not only find its way into the homes of those Mende people who can read, and help them to remember and be proud of the warriors who fought long ago; but also, it is written, in the hope that it will pave the way for other 'Histories' along something of the same lines. For I am convinced that unless such tasks are taken in hand very soon, the opportunities will have slipped by and we might be sorry that they are lost to us. Gradually the old warriors are dying out, and, although it is true that they pass on their stories to their children, yet these always have their drawbacks in the doubt which time might cast upon them, and the spurious accretions which always find their way into such stories. We do not know what the future of Mendeland will be, but all who have her interests at heart would wish that her children might grow up knowing something definite about her old warriors, how they fought and what they fought for; that a just pride might be fostered in them for the land of their birth and for her heroes of days gone by.

With such a hope this story of the Foundation of the Luawa Chiefdom has been written.

Perhaps a word should be said in explanation of the characters which are used in the spelling of some words. I have followed the latest method of spelling, a method which has been adopted by the Government in its two Koyeima Readers, and which is really that advocated by the International Institute of African Languages and Cultures for the whole of Africa, viz:

e - open 'e', almost like 'e' in bet

o - open 'o', like 'o' in hot

ŋ - something like the sound of 'ng' in sing

W. R. E. CLARKE
KAILAHUN

May, 1933.

THE FOUNDATION OF THE LUAWA CHIEFDOM

(TO THE DEATH OF KAILUNDU)

It is about forty years since the first Englishman set foot in the Luawa Chiefdom, and we who have followed in his steps find it hard to realise exactly what life must have been like in those days. Forty years is really a very short time, and yet only a few days spent in Kailahun, the chief and central town of the chiefdom, will show one clearly what great changes have been made.

Lorries are continually passing to and fro; coaxers for kernels with their raucous voices ever vie with each other in trying to compel the carriers of kernels to come to their respective shops; and perhaps, most wonderful of all, water is laid on and the press on a tap brings forth a bountiful supply. It may be that some of these changes sometimes make one wish to be back in the 'olden days', back to the 'simple life'!

Yet was life really so simple in those days? Can it really be said that the alterations are for the worse? Perhaps it may depend on the view taken, but as we look back to those days now gone, before ever white man came, and in imagination roam through this Chiefdom, it may well be that we are glad that so many changes have been made.

The present position and importance of the Luawa Chiefdom

The Luawa Chiefdom lies to the North of Pendembu, the Railway Terminus, 227 miles from Freetown. The traveller from Pendembu enters the chiefdom just after the steep hilltop before the sixth milestone on the Pendembu/Kailahun road, and a further twelve miles will bring him into Kailahun itself; the rest of the chiefdom extending as far as Dodo, another fourteen miles. The chiefdom itself is bounded on the North and North-west by the River Moa, on the South-west by the Upper Bambara Chiefdom, on the South by the River Magowi, and on the East by the three British Kisi chiefdoms. To the South and East lies the Hinterland of the Republic of Liberia, and to the North and North-west, across the River Moa, lies French Guinea.

The area of the chiefdom is about 300 square miles with, approximately

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30,000 inhabitants, mostly Mende with a good mixture of Kisis. At present it is reputed to be one of the largest chiefdoms in the whole of the Protectorate, with an annual House-Tax of about £2,000. Kailahun is the Headquarters of the District Commissioner, and also (though in the present year (1933) vacated) the Headquarters of a section of the P.W.D. The town itself has about six hundred houses, Government Dispensary, Mission School and a number of Trading firms. Roads from Liberia, French Guinea and other parts of Sierra Leone converge here, and, as would be expected, it is somewhat 'cosmopolitan', with its mixture of Mendes, Kisis, Mandingoes, Susus, Gbandis, Balus, Konos and Ko-Mendes. There are three good Motor-roads out of the town; one leading to the River Moa, past Mofindo; another to Biyelu in the Kisi country eighteen miles away,

and, of course, the road to Pendembu. There is also a good Hammock-road through Mano to Dia in Kisi.

It will be thus seen that it holds an important position with regard to the outside-neighbours of the Protectorate, and its future possibilities may well be unique. At the time of writing, it is rumoured that the French are thinking of continuing their already fine network of roads to meet the other side of the River Moa, beyond Mofindo. Already they are finishing their great trunk-road from the North through Guekedu, and it may well be, that in the future one might be able to get to Dakar, perhaps Nigeria, or even, shall we say, to Cairo by road. Certainly with the utmost ease to Timbuktu! Who then can count the immense possibilities of this chiefdom, with Kailahun as its stepping-off place for the heart of North Africa?

Perhaps sufficient has been said for one to realise the importance of this chiefdom and its future possibilities, and now as we glance back into its history, this summary of its present position will help us to realise what the building up of such a chiefdom has meant.

Early Days in Luawa:

It is impossible to give anything in the way of an exact account of the life of these people during the very early days of the chiefdom, although it has been surmised that it was peopled by invaders coming from the North-east, who found but few original inhabitants whom they probably slew or enslaved. The earliest definite information at our disposal dates back only to about 1850, but we can, with a reasonable amount of certainty, picture what conditions must have been like even

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during the first half of the 19th Century; and for our present purpose that is as far back as we need go, although it would be intensely interesting to know something of an earlier period. Still, conditions in Primitive Life do not change a very great deal, and in our picture of the first fifty years of last Century we may well imagine the very early life of these people.

In those days there were no Paramount Chiefs as we know them today; and there were certainly not so many towns, and even they were few and far between. A town of about 150 houses in those days would be considered very large, and it seems that the majority of 'chief' towns were well under the 100. Each town would have its own chief, who would, perhaps, rule over a few out-lying villages, and whose position depended upon his own prowess or the prowess of his warriors.

As in these days, Farming was the chief occupation, together with Hunting and Fishing, and the spasmodic gathering of Palm Kernels for the making of soap or the crushing of the oil nuts for Palm oil. War served as a sort of interlude, waged either by an angry chief, or a chief who was anxious to increase his prestige. There do not seem to have been any 'seasons' for war, except that the 'hungry season' (about June or July) provided both the stimulus and the opportunity for warfare. Raiding visits would be paid to neighbouring tribes, or just as likely, neighbouring tribes raided for themselves. Thus in Luawa, there would be raids on the Kisis, Balus, Gbandis, Konos; and they in turn would

raid Luawa.

On the whole there does not seem to have been much fighting between the Luawa chiefs themselves, although one or two instances are on record. It was rather perhaps that they united against a common enemy, or a threatened chief would appeal for help; such help being willingly given on the payment beforehand of six country cloths and one gown. In such wars the spoils were not inconsiderable, and an enterprising chief could quickly become rich and his prestige amongst the other chiefs become increased. Slaves, women, cattle were the common spoils of war and would be shared accordingly, in the first place to bravery, in the second place to position. In this connection it is interesting to note that if a chief desired to call a truce, he would send as his ambassador a woman of light-coloured skin (nyaha gowole) with a white country cloth, a gun and salt to intercede on his behalf. She would probably be his

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daughter, or at any rate one of the most valued women he had, for she automatically became the wife of the conqueror.

For the most part these wars were fought in the night, when a raider would attack an all unsuspecting town. Guns were freely used, but as they took a long time to re-load were not much use after the first volley. Swords and spears were the main equipment for war, and a sort of shield called 'Kafa-lowoi' or fork of a Kafa tree which was very hard. Strips of iron were placed across the fork, and the whole 'shield' was used to ward off blows of a sword or to throw off the flight of a spear. Apart from these necessary weapons, there were, of course, numerous charms hung over every part of the body. Charms chiefly procured from Mohammadans to guard the life of the wearer, for even a shot from a gun was made harmless by them.

There does not seem to have been much actual training for warfare, as the methods then adopted guarded against, to a great extent, the novice entering the actual fighting. To elucidate this it will be necessary to explain the methods of warfare adopted when a town was to be attacked. The attacking forces were composed of the following:-

1. The Miji (needle) or Jumper-down (Hitsmo)
2. The Fande (Thread)
3. The Kanyei (Wax)
4. Hakahoumo (holder of the ladder)
5. Four Kokoyagbebla (drivers from the fence)
6. Kogugbanga (Warriors)
7. Ngombuhubla (men in midst of battle)
8. Gbama (Ordinary men, sort of reserve)
9. Kojokiliisia (War-sparrows; young recruits who were carriers, and might be called upon to fight)

The order of attack itself was arranged in the following manner:- before the fight the Kogugbanga were called upon to arrange themselves among the Miji, Kanyei, Fande and Kokoyagbebla. There does not seem to have been any definite number for each leader, but perhaps the average would be about twenty, depending, of course, on the strength of the force. If the Miji thought that not enough men had volunteered to follow him he might choose from those left. If fighting in the dark, (as gen-

erally happened) two watchwords were given, say two names such as Vandi and Buakai; thus if two men met and one said, 'Vandi', the answer was

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'Buakai', and then they knew that they were friends; if no answer was forthcoming, it was an enemy. The town was then approached as stealthily as possible, and if there were two or three stockades to get over (as generally there were around the larger towns) the Miji led with the others following on behind. As they approached the last stockade, the Haka-houmo rushed forward with his ladder which he held firmly for the others to ascend. The Miji then ascended followed by his men. He jumped down into the town, and it was generally a recognised law that he should call out his name and that he had jumped, otherwise he would be regarded as a coward. He was followed by the Fande and his men, then by the Kanyei and his men. The Kokoyagbebla followed immediately splitting into two's and went around the inside of the stockade killing all they met and preventing anyone from escaping. Until they heard the Miji shout out twice 'A wa-o' (All come), which was the sign of victory, they were not allowed to partake in any looting. Then however, they could join the others in marking houses with their swords to show they belonged to them. It was of course impossible that all the warriors could ascend by means of the one ladder, and once the leaders were over, the others using poles, scrambled to the top of the fence and descended into the town. All this took place very quickly, and the Gbama and Kojokiliisia were allowed to do what they liked and follow when they could. The chief, as a rule, did not enter into the actual fighting, unless things seemed to be going wrong. He was known as the Ko-mahei (War chief) and left everything in the hands of his Miji.

Such then were the methods of warfare in those days, and the picture of life which we have attempted to draw, will perhaps help us the more readily to understand how such a chiefdom as the Luawa became possible, for the foundation of this chiefdom revolves round two warriors - Kailundu and Ndawa. Ndawa the interloper and Kailundu the saviour.

Early Life of Kailundu:

Kailundu (or Kai as the people mostly call him) was the son of Dowi Komei of Lukono in the Wunde country across the River Moa, and Kefue Mambe of Komalu, near Mano, Sewalu Dowi Komei had left his birthplace, Lukono, and had settled down with his wife's people at Komalu, where about 1845, Kai was born. "At the time of Kailundu's birth his father was away in Kisi Tungi fighting the Tengia Kisis and the Gban-

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dis of Vassa Chiefdom, both of which peoples are now under Liberia. A big Gbandi chief Kailundu came and made peace, and a big dance followed in Kunjo, in what is now known as the Upper-Bombali, sub-chiefdom, of Luawa. During the dance the news reached Dowi Komei that his wife had borne him a son, and he called his name "Kailundu", after the great warrior, the founder of the feast, (N.C. Hollins "Short History of Luawa Chiefdom" - Sierra Leone Studies. No. 14)

Thus it was at Komalu that Kai was brought up, a typical Kisi boy. As a young man he left his home in the Kisi country and enlisted as trumpeter under Nyangbe of Mendekelama, near Small Bo (Blama), and in the war against Nongowa (Kenema) he came to the front as a warrior

(Kogugba). As he won fame, so he became rich and very shortly returned and settled at Mofindo, which town he built, naming it after a town in the Njaluahun chiefdom which he had visited and which had pleased him. From Mofindo his fame as a mighty warrior spread, and it was not long before the 'great' test came.

Early Life of Ndawa:

Ndawa was born at Manjo, now in the Gbongere chiefdom, near the 13th milestone from Segbwema. As a young man he apparently angered the head of his town, and was sold as a slave to the people of Tikonko, near Bo. While there he proved his worth in war and very soon - as was possible in those days, he won his freedom, and he too became known as a mighty warrior. During this time, a chief, Gbenya of Blama carried war to Tikonko, and so harried and ravaged the country round about that Ndawa swore revenge against him. Thus putting himself at the head of a fierce following he marched on Blama, only to find that Gbenya had left to harry the towns to the East. Thus began what is known as the 'Kpove War' or Kpovengoi about 1880 (The word 'Kpovengoi' is derived from the words 'Kpo' 've' and 'go', meaning 'War of the dung pot', for into this cowardly warriors were wont to be cast). Gbenya came harrying the towns of Njaluahun, the Kpejes (East and West - today) and eventually reached Kono with Ndawa close behind. It is here that the story of the foundation of the Luawa Chiefdom really begins.

Ndawa and Kailundu:

In the course of his pursuit of Gbenya, Ndawa reaches Kenewa

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(near the 14th milestone on the Pendembu/Kailahun road) and there summons Kai to meet him in order that they may prepare war against Gbenya in Kono; Ndawa is to be the Ko-mahci and Kai his Miji. Together they set out to drive Gbenya from Lowoma in Kono, burning and ravaging the whole of the country. Eventually however, Gbenya escapes and Kai determines to return to Luawa. It so happened, however, that when they first met their followers had quarrelled amongst themselves at Mofindo; and again at Lowoma the quarrel breaks out anew, probably over the distribution of the spoils of war, and also because some of Ndawa's men had been flogging some of Kai's slaves. Ndawa, apparently, had thought nothing of it and wishes to return with Kai to Luawa. But Kai refuses on the plea that if they are together much longer the quarrels between their men will become worse. Consequently Kai gathers his men together and returns to Mofindo, destroying all the bridges en route to prevent Ndawa from following. Ndawa angry at Kai's attitude, repairs to Diama in the Penguia chiefdom, where he prepares war against Luawa.

At this point it may be advisable to try to give a sort of sketch of what Ndawa was like. Mr. Hollins writes 'Ndawa was of middle height and strongly built with powerful arms. His face was copper-coloured and his eyes were amber; a sword cut scarred his forehead. His dress was of cloth dyed in reddish brown with sasswood, much as hunting men now wear. He wore a black cap and had strong war-charms in ram's horns about him. His sword rested in a bark scabbard well-rubbed with beeswax. He had no beard and his voice is said to have been small' (Sierra Leone Studies). In trying to verify this description it was gathered

from what Chief Tengbe said that Ndawa, at this time, could not have been very much over 25 years of age, for when asked to point out someone in the crowd then around he pointed to a young man who was certainly not over 25 years old - who would be somewhat of the same age as Ndawa when he first saw him. Still, even if we put his age to thirty or a little over, which would be a generous estimate, it does show, what has already been hinted, that in those days bravery in war was the main criterion of a man's life, and that he became rich and powerful according to the courage which he showed in fight. Kailundu, it may be pointed out, was about 35 at this time, that is of course, as far as can be estimated.

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Ndawa's Invasion:

From Diama Ndawa sets out and burns and lays waste the Wunde country returning via Fobu to Sakabu - the old town upon which Kailahun was afterwards built. From there he retires to Ngiyehun where he definitely prepares war upon Luawa, calling upon the chiefs to side with him. Fagbandi of Sakabu with Kpawo of Mende and Manjakewa and Jobo of Ngiyema cross to his side. Kpawo, however, dies before the war is finished.

When Kai hears the news at Mofindo that Ndawa has settled at Ngiyehun, he immediately sets out and crosses the River Moe, and by marching along the Northern side recrosses and gains Mano Sewalu, and from thence he goes to Gbondo, a town between Mano and Bowobu (on the Dodo road). At Gbondo he meets Bondo of Nyanahun, and a number of other chiefs, amongst whom are the following:- Mbowa of Yandohun; Masa of Nyandehun; Mbapo of Sandiyalu; Mbondofoyo of Dia; Towoi and Ndawua from Liberia. Bondo acting as their spokesman approaches Kai with a white cloth, a goat and some rice. Putting a little earth on the white cloth he says, "Bi loloi gbe, he! Ndoloi magawo, he! Baa lo hei ji aa mu wie" (Behold your country, strive for it, do not remain idle and let this come upon us). The cloth with the earth upon it is then given to Kai, who promises to endeavour to drive out Ndawa from the country ("Nya lima Ndawa gbema ndoloi ji hu"). Seven Muhammadans are then shut up in a little house to consider and pray about the coming war. When they emerge they declare that the name of the war shall be 'Kanga goi' (War of rebellion), and having made a ceremony with a snake which all the warriors touch, Kai, with a considerably increased force, sets out for Ngolahun, a town about one and a half miles south of Ngiyehun. They go through Bowobu, Yandohun (which is just behind the present Barracks site) and Bandajuma, eventually reaching Ngolahun where they engage in a small fight with some of Ndawa's men who are stationed there. Driving them out, they settle down to fortify the town.

Apparently, as soon as they arrive, news is brought that Ndawa has divided his forces; Kpawosiwulo, one of his head warriors has been sent to Kpemalu, about two miles beyond Sakabu on the Mano Dia road; and Kagbanda has been sent to Talia, near Mt. Mamba. Kai determines to return at once and drive out Kpawosiwulo, and, leaving a sufficient number of men to guard Ngolahun in case of a surprise attack, he sets out for

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Kpemalu and succeeds in routing Ndawa's men, returning immediately to Ngolahun. Four days later Ndawa attacks the town in the day-time, but

is repelled by guns, three of his warriors being killed. Three weeks are then taken in the preparation for the attack on Ngiyehun, during which time they harvest what rice there is around the town.

The Attack on Ndawa:

One night towards the end of the three weeks, Gbogbon, the Haka-houmo and Nenemo (spy) is sent to prepare a pathway towards Ngiyehun. He returns in the early hours of the morning and tells Kai that all is now ready. Kai and his warriors set out and 'a hala lehinsi gokole gbelele' (at the first crowing of the cock) they reach the walls of Ngiyehun. Stealthily they creep over the first two stockades, and then the ladder is set for the final scene. Kai ascends, and jumping down into the town, cries out "Nya le Kailundu; ngi wilia" (I am Kailundu, I have jumped). At the sound of his voice Ndawa rushes out and cries, "Bi Ndawa malea naa" (you have met Ndawa now) and immediately they engage in combat, each seeming confident of victory. Round and round they circle, their swords beating a wild tattoo on the ground waiting for an opening. Suddenly it comes and Ndawa rushes in and deals Kai a fierce blow on his right forearm. Quickly changing his sword into his left hand, Kai smites Ndawa on the forehead making him drop his sword, but refusing to take the advantage given him, he drops his sword also, and the two leaders wrestle together. Although Kai's arm is paining him he manages to throw his adversary, and falling on top of him cries out, "A wa, ngi houa," (Come, I have caught him,) but at that moment he is wounded by one, Gbongiso, who in turn is wounded by Faba Tondo. Ndawa then cries out to Kai, "Ndakpei, gbe nya ma, Towogbua ee ngi mba - towogbua wa" (Spare me, a famous warrior does not kill his fellow famous warrior) whereupon Kai asks him "Nga gbe bi ma, ba lilo?" (If I spare you will you go?). Ndawa is forced to agree and Kai asks him again, "O bee li, ngi bi longa, ngi bi wa?" (If you do not go and I should see you, can I kill you?) That same morning Ndawa and his warriors quit the town, leaving in the hands of Kai, his wife, Landawulo and his son Kpunde. Kai, however, mistrusting Ndawa's promises, follows him and drives him across the River Moa to Manowa, returning in triumph to Ngiyehun.

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Gathering of Chiefs and Settlement of Chiefdom upon Kai:

Following on his victory Kai sends and calls all the chiefs to him at Ngiyehun, where he asks them to ratify their promise of giving the land to him. Again, Bondo speaks for them, again putting earth on a white cloth, he says, "Kailundu, ji bi mu gbi magaoa, famia, bi wo lo a ndoloi, muss ganga abie kunafo va" (Since you have striven for us, the country is yours; we will never rebel against you). All the chiefs agree and each one 'swears' his faith in Kai. Kai also 'swears' that he will not remain idle while there is war near them, as long as they remain faithful to him and do not plot against him. Thus Luawa passes over into the hands of Kai. Before the chiefs disperse to their towns, Kai distributes twenty slaves and spoils of war amongst them, and each repairs to his town well satisfied with the outcome of their meeting.

Return of Ndawa:

But Ndawa is by no means dead! At the invitation of the Ngiyema people he returns and harries the towns as far as Talia. When Kai hears

of this treachery of the Ngiyema people he marches upon the town and burns it, returning to Ngiyehun. On his arrival there, he receives a message from Ndawa declaring that he is tired of this war, and if Kai will only return to him his wife and son, he will leave the country and trouble it no more. So once again these two meet at Ngiyehun, where Ndawa's wife and child are returned to him; where also, Fagbanja of Kpemalu gives Ndawa his daughter for a wife. Ndawa on his part presents Kai with his Jekeyalibleisia (Men who are skilled in a form of dancing), and thus with protestations of friendship on both sides, Ndawa leaves Luawa.

Consolidation of Chiefdom:

Kai was thus left in peace at last to face the problems of the consolidation of his new chiefdom. On the site of Sakabu he built a new town, calling it 'Kailahun' or Kai's Town, choosing that position as being most central in his chiefdom. He was "seised of what is now Luawa, the three British Kisi Chiefdoms, the Wunde, Mafisa and Kama Chiefdoms in French Guinea and Kisi Tengea in Liberia. Kailundu then divided the country into sub-chiefdoms, which divisions remain to this day' (Sierra Leone Studies N.C.H.). Undoubtedly he was the right sort

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of man for the situation and fulfilled every hope which the other chiefs had in him. He could be just but kind; merciful, yet merciless in what he considered the good of his chiefdom, ruling with a very firm hand, establishing securely his new domain.

Here then let us pause a while and look at him through the eyes of Mr. Aldridge, the first Englishman to enter the chiefdom about eight years after the events recorded above. Mr. Aldridge, says in his book. 'The Sherbro and its Hinterland' pp 190; 199:-

'Kailundu was a man of small stature, but large intelligence, beloved by the people for miles around, who used to speak of him ... as their father. He was every inch a chief, with immense power and influence in the country ... He had a very great objection to any ostentatious display either on himself or on any of his numerous wives ... It was splendid to see (him) get into his hammock, which was simply a country cloth tied at both ends to a pole, in which he was closely covered over by a coloured cloth. He was surrounded by a lot of his boys, who were very fresh and in the best possible humour, and who raced along the path with him, all of them seeming exceedingly proud of their chief; as well they might be. Men, women, girls, boys all followed in the wake running, laughing, dancing, joking as they went along under the beautiful tropical vegetation and brilliant sunshine. It was a splendid sight to see so much happiness displayed by these people.'

This reverence of his people for him continued throughout the whole of his life, and even today he is spoken of in awed tones as if his influence still existed, as to their minds it undoubtedly does. The people of Luawa have been and are justly proud of him, and to them he was the greatest of all warriors and chiefs.

Wars:

True to his promise given to those chiefs at Ngiyehun, Kai preserved

peace as well as he was able within his own chiefdom. His advice was constantly sought in 'palavers', and his judgments strictly adhered to. Many times he was called upon to give his judgment in 'palavers' of outside chiefs who respected him as much as did his own people. Needless to say, however, he was not allowed to rest for long, for about a year after Ndawa had left the country, war broke out again and resulted in the death of Kai's great friend Bondo, the spokesman of the other chiefs at Gbondo and Ngiyehun.

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Mbawulome-goi and Gbandi-goi:

It will be remembered that when Ndawa called upon the chiefs to side with him, only three or four did so, amongst whom were Manjakewa and Jobo of Ngiyema. These together with Fagbandi of Sakabu invited Mbawulome (eat little rice), an ex-warrior of Ndawa, to come and raid the country. Mbawulome marched from the Guna country in Liberia, reaching Nyandehun at the foot of Mt. Mamba, where he made a surprise attack, burnt the town and killed Bondo. He returned to Liberia before Kai was able to get to him from Mano. However, two of his warriors were captured, and before they were killed they confessed that it was at the instigation of the three traitors that Mbawulome had come. Incensed at the treachery of these men, Kai ordered them to be slain and amidst a great concourse of the people, Fagbandi, Manjakewa and Jobo were tied up and weighted with stones and thrown into the River Keya.

Kai continued the war into the Gbandi country whence Mbawulome had fled, and when the Gbandis refused to deliver him up Kai marched right through their country burning every town he came to, eventually reaching the Bels country (seven days journey from Kailahun) a country of cannibals. Mbawulome, however, escaped and Kai was forced to return, bringing with him much spoil which included a number of the Bels people as slaves. ('Chief Tengbe kept one of these cannibals up to the recent freeing, and was able to break him of his lust for human flesh', Sierra Leone Studies N.C.H.).

Kono-goi:

About this time Chief Manye of Walihun, near Bandajuma (now on the Segbwema/Sefadu road) raided a town called Yibeima, where he caught a woman named Mangundia, whom he made his wife. The woman, however, managed to escape and sought refuge with Kai, who, on being asked by Manye to return her, refused. Manye thus brought war through Sengema and Penguia to Lukono in the Wunde country, where he killed one of Kai's men. Kai, angry with the murder of one of his people in the town of his family, marched across the rivers through Korumba and attacked Manye at Sengema and drove him away, forcing him to return to Walihun, where, not long afterwards, he died. Kai eventually captured Kapeta (Manye's successor) and burnt Walihun, after which he and Nyagua of Panguma div-

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ided the country of the Konos between them.

Mafisa-woma-goi: (War beyond Mafisa, French Guinea)

This was really an outcome of the invasion of Ndawa and Kai into the Kono country - four or five years before, for, afraid of what might

happen to him, Fabe chief of Upper-Kondo fled with his people to Mafisa. There they continued for some time, but when famine ravaged that country they were put to sore straits. Fabe and his people were forced to eat what they could pick-up (literally and otherwise!), because of which some of his people were captured by the Mafisa people and enslaved, or sold into slavery to relieve their own sufferings. Fabe appealed to Kai who marched upon Mafisa and burnt the towns there. The people fled from him and took refuge, after a long flight, in a large cave, from which Kai sought to drive them by smoking them out. But as the mouth of the cave was large the people inside were able to fire upon Kai's men and prevent them from making a fire, and three of his men were killed. At last, as those in the cave would not yield, Kai was forced to give up and he returned to Kailahun via Mofindo. Fabe himself returned to Upper-Kondo where he presented Kai with many gifts. Kai, being delighted with what he saw in that town, built himself, about a mile across the river from Mofindo, a town which he called Lower-Kondo.

Advent of the English:

It would be about this time (1890) that Mr. Aldridge first set foot in Luawa. He was known to the people as 'Bolo-wa' or 'big neck.' His account of this visit is contained in the book already referred to. Kai received him in peace and 'professed great friendship,' presenting him with many costly gifts to show his appreciation. The Treaty, for which Mr. Aldridge had come, was signed on April 7th 1890, and Kai was the first up-country chief to ask that Frontier Police might be stationed in his town; even going so far as to build, at his own expense, barracks for the men, also official quarters.' As will have been seen from the previous note, Mr. Aldridge held Kai in great respect and always spoke of him in the best possible terms.

Sofa-goi: (War of horses)

Kai really became involved in this through the foolishness of a Wunde man, who, seeing a host of Mandingo people on horses (Sofas) fired his gun at them, calling out that he was from Wunde a subject of

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chief Kafula. Needless to say the Sofas regarded this action as a declaration of war, and entering the country, they began to harry it. Kafula immediately called upon Kai to come to his help. Kai calling all his forces together immediately set out for Wunde, where he met the Sofas at a place called Kpondu. By lying in ambush they managed to kill a few Sofas and capture their horses. Of course, it was impossible for the Sofas to pursue on their horses into the bush, and it was not long before they left the country in peace, passing on to harry and burn practically the whole of Kono. These Sofa people lived by war; they knew nothing but war and would fight for anyone who would pay them well for their services. It was their invasion of Kono which really led to that unfortunate collision between the French and the British at Waiima. (At the moment of writing the war memorial in memory of Captain Lendy who was killed there, is being re-built and prepared for an unveiling.)

Gbolo-goi: ('Gbolo' being a Mandingo word for the Komende country)

Here we meet with Mbawulome again, who, it will be remembered had escaped from Kai after the sacking and burning of Nyandehun. He had

penetrated still further into Liberia and had instigated the 'Gbolo' people to carry war into the Gbandi country and thence to Luawa. The Gbandi chief Fagbalfa appealed to Kai who sent some of his warriors to drive the Gbolos away. Much of the fighting was done with guns, and according to reports, many were killed, but it ended in a victory for Kai's men, although Mbawulome escaped again, and this time, all further trace of him was lost.

Ndama-goi: (French Kisi)

Following upon the 'Gbolo-goi' the Kisi and Gbandi people appealed to Kai to punish the Ndama people for the help which they had given to the invaders. Help was sent and the Ndama country was burnt and plundered, although at the cost of a number of Kai's warriors.

Jewehehu-goi: (Liberia)

This was another outcome of the Mbawulome invasion (it seemed as if the shadow of Ndawa was still brooding over the land!) for the Kisi and Gbandi people reported that these people also had helped Mbawulome. This time, however, Kai was unable to go, and he sent his 'right-hand'

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man Fa Gbunde, who, while engaged in this war, heard of Kai's illness, the illness which resulted in his death - 7th April 1895.

Death and Burial of Kailundu:

Thus it was on 7th April, 1895, early in the morning that this great warrior passed away at Lukono, the home of his father. Serious complications had set in and death was eventually brought about by a severe attack of Dysentery. That same night he was buried at Lukono. As was the custom of the people, about £12 were placed in the grave together with many county-cloths, brass bowls and boxes, that he might not be in want in the land to which he had gone. Kafula of Wunde and Fa Gbunde buried him. but when the latter had left for Kailahun, Kafula thinking perhaps that he might return and take away the body, had it dug up secretly and conveyed to Sakona intending to have it buried there. But seeing some of Fa Gbunde's people there, this was impossible, and the body was taken still further to Magbalu, where it was buried in the presence of his mother's people. However, when the father's representatives had gone, the mother's representatives took up the body again and this time brought it across the River Moa and buried it at Komalu, Kai's birthplace; for where the body was there also would be its spirit to bring many blessings.

In the language of the Mende people Kai 'was finished'. He was not only a great warrior, as has been said, but also the founder of a state much of which has endured to this day. He was a man of vision, and, according to his lights, a chivalrous fighter, and a good friend to his people. Speak of him today to any of the men who knew him, and instant is their praise of him, a man who was the 'darling of his people' in his life, and who still holds that position today.

As Mr. Hollins has said, 'It is seemly that a written record should be kept of the deeds of a Mende so great as Kailundu, the founder of the

Luawa Chiefdom, and surely it is right to foster in these people a just pride in such a man and in his fellow-warriors, that this pride in their heroes may lead them to a higher pride for their country, a true patriotism which will help to bind them together, not only as a people, speaking the same tongue, but as a Nation fit to take a part, though it may be only a small one, in the work of a wider world.

APPENDIX 6 :

EXTRACTS FROM THE COMBEY MANUSCRIPT

(TRANSCRIPTS OF ORIGINAL MS.)

FaBundeh succeeded his father Madegbe the old warrior who first succeeded in founding a stabled government. Under FaBundeh were the following warriors: Ngobeh, Kongoneh, Gbondo, Faba, Gbobong, Gbogiso, Tologeke, Yajaa, and Kailundu, who later became the leading warrior.

Born about the year 1840 FaBundeh early exhibited signs of military aptitude - a pre-requisite for succession.

Besides turning out to be a good ruler, from a judiciary point of view, he enjoyed a reputation as a hospitable ruler, not to mention the merciful attitude he was known to be ever ready to display towards his captives. As a result his reign thinned out the population of the neighbouring countries for a thickening of that of Luawa. The country had in a virtual sense become a sanctuary for the victims of war destitution and political revenge. It was during his reign that Luawa fell within the British sphere of influence and the triumvirate constituting the authority duly recognised, and on behalf of which the treaty of friendship with the government of Queen Victoria was signed.

Luawa thus joined the chain of Chiefdoms now constituting the Protectorate of Sierra Leone.

CHAPTER FOUR

KAILUNDU

Born about the year 1850 in the village of Lukonor three miles off the Moa river in the Chiefdom of Wonde which borders the Moa on the French Guinea side, Kailundu showed signs of military inclinations at an extremely early age. Though his father was called Dowie Komeh, and his mother Kafue, there is much reason to believe that his ancestors were of the Royal House of the Wonde Chiefdom. There is a ruling house in that Chiefdom bearing the name of Kailundu, and it was a coincidence, that on the day that his grandson Kailundu Banyu was elected chief in Kailahun in 1943, the present Wonde chief Kailundu was a bed patient in the Kailahun hospital, having been brought there under request by the French to the English government, as medical facilities were not within easy reach of his Chiefdom.

His first defiant act was to cross the Moa river and settling in a village called Komalu within the dominions of the dreaded Madegbe, his popularity soon spread like wild fire.

Through his skill as a member of the local band of warboys, resulting in the striking distinction shown during the first campaign in which he took part under the leadership of FaBundeh, the latter sought him to remain a subject of Luawa.

The offer seemed not however commensurate with the now rising tide of the young warrior's pride and ambitions. He therefore launched on his campaign of invasions instead of remaining what he felt would be a tool for exploitation by the Luawa war lords.

Hearing of another young and brilliant warrior Kailundu made it his first duty to contact young Ndawa, a wise move indeed. Not with an idea to stage a test combat, but to seek his friendship towards mutual and unified actions. At Bumpe, Ndawa's headquarters, the oath of friendship was taken.

Under title of the Kpove (Dung Pot) expedition, the two men set out to conquer the upper Mende regions. All lands stretching from Blama (now known as Small Bo Chiefdom) and to Manowa (now known as Kpeje East Chiefdom) had fallen victims of the Ndawa and Kailundu ferocities. All warriors capitulating to them were not killed, but must yield to the mercy of the blade for the tattooing process of sewage which left the X symbol on their backs that all seeing may read them with horror as the unmistakable victims of the Kpove expeditions.

Meeting with a set back at Upper Bambara (Pendembu), the expedition turned tail for Kono, where the spoil was so great that feelings of jealousy and grudge spurred up the instincts of animosity, finally deteriorating in a whirlpool of shattered faith.

The oath was consequently repudiated, and each went his way with his own favoured followers.

Kailundu sought settlement within Luawa once more, and it is worth noting that his desire was always to settle near the Moa river. With the consent of FaBundeh he erected a house about a mile from the river of his interests, and named the spot after a village he had learnt to admire during his travels - Mofindo. From a single house the site soon developed into a village of considerable size, and today is one of the section towns of the Chiefdom. The present section chief Karimu is a descendant of Kailundu.

CHAPTER FIVE

THE KAILUNDU NDAWA COMBAT

It is only natural that Ndawa should continue to view with suspicion the movements of Kailundu. His residence within the Luawa dominion, a centre reputed for its great warriors, simply heightened his suspicion, and he thought the best thing to do would be to avenge what he regarded as a betrayal by invading Luawa.

According to his plan he was to by-path Kailundu's Mofindo, and make direct for Sakabu, the seat of the Luawa administration, from whence Kailundu might be hopeful for aid.

He felt that to cripple the strength of Sakabu, later named Kailahun would be a 'fait accompli' to ultimately bend the proud knees of Kailundu before him.

Therefore settling at Giehun seven miles from Kailahun feverish preparations went on day and night towards the consummation of a plan

including the construction of a barricade around Giehun.

It did not take long for news of these preparations to filter through for the knowledge of Fa-Bundeh who at once summoned a conference of military chiefs including Kailundu of course, but not without some degree of reluctance; a reluctance growing out of the known relationship existing before between the two warriors.

For security reasons a pile of medicines (juju) was placed before Kailundu on which he was to take fresh oath of allegiance to Fa-Bundeh and the gods of Luawa, as well as to denounce even the faintest interest in anything in the direction of Ndawa, except it be for his ruin.

Upon agreeing to take the oath Kailundu wasted no time in exploiting the doubts and fears of the Luawa lords to his best advantage.

Assuring them that he was an undisputable authority on the Ndawa technique he would only take the oath on condition that a more dependable acknowledgement of his citizenship be made, and even to the extent of according him the right of accession to the chieftancy in the near future.

Readily acceding to Kailundu's proviso, a plan for the carrying out of the Giehun assault was discussed and concluded. The campaign was to be under the direction of Kailundu ...

[Then follows the well-known story of Kailondo's victory over Ndawa.]

Kailundu returned to Sakabu only to find a jubilant and crowded town awaiting to pay homage to a victor - saviour.

In reaffirmation of their pledge of loyalty, the lords of Luawa presented Kailundu with a little bundle containing some earth and a white ram. The latter was slaughtered and all the leading warriors drank of the blood out of a single cup, as a token of their appreciation of Kailundu's services, and pledging him afresh a following in all measures for the defence and expansion of Luawa.

Their promise of his right of future accession was also renewed.

The people's faith in Kailundu was not only fulfilled but abundantly rewarded, through the subsequent victorious campaigns for the maintenance of Luawa's power as evidenced in the name Luawa -

(LUA = Mende - verb - imperative - FEAR THOU) inferring, a land
(WA) = Mende - big or great) highly dreaded.

CHAPTER SIXNGOBEH

Before the advent of Kailundu on the Luawa scene, Ngobeh was the land's leading warrior, FaBundeh's right hand man. Besides his military ability Ngobeh was no less respected for his wit and sense of sound judgement. His sense of patriotism was unique in so much that upon Kailundu's assumption of the role of War Leader he was automatically handed the portfolio as Foreign Minister or as was locally regarded, leader of all commissive delegations in and outside Luawa.

He was by lineage a cousin of FaBundeh through his father's relation to FaBundeh's father as uncle.

It was later proven that Ngobeh's expeditions were not all confined to military activities. He employed every wit of his sense of discernment to study the political temperaments of his opponents and victims, so that where his sword failed his diplomatic weapon might do the rest.

Thus he travelled far and wide and was never known to fail in his diplomatic missions. This, culminating in his ascendancy, made Ngobeh the number two man of the land; FaBunde king, Ngobeh chief adviser to state, and Kailundu lord of the armed forces ...

[Then follows a description of the death of Kailondo, and the succession question.]

CHAPTER NINETHE ERA OF RETTROGATION BOCKARI BUNDEH OR FA BUNDEH II

FaBundeh remained the strict adherent to the principles involving the treaty with the British government, and wasted no time in despatching Ngobeh to Freetown for soncultations with the Colony's governor on any point of misunderstanding or discontentment.

Unfortunately, he did not live long enough to witness the substantial growth of the alignment for he died in 1912 leaving the following sons : Bockari Bundeh, Fatoma Gbondo, Fatoma Mbako, Tamba Bundeh, Binneh Bundeh and Jongorbe Bundeh. He also left a daughter. Tamba Bundeh became one of the foundation students of the Bo School.

After the death of FaBundeh, Ngobeh declined the offer of the tribal council for succession. He emphasised at the council meeting that he was experiencing the grips of old age and in his opinion developments were fast making administrative tasks more and more strenuous and fit only for younger heads. Secondly, he declared that his colleagues had died and gone; a new order had come into the land. He therefore decided to confer the power on younger heads while he unburdened crawled towards death.

Under the circumstances a decision was reached that the cycle resume its course, thereby placing the responsibility of the administration on the head of FaBundeh's eldest son, Bockari Bundeh.

Jusu Ngobeh, eldest son of Ngobeh, accepted the portfolio of the role so nobly handled by his father, as principal minister of state, and Momo Banyu eldest son of Kailundu accepted the postfolio as chief alderman of Kailahun, the land's principal town.

It could not but be interesting to note the wise manner in which these supposed relics of physical ignorance handled their affairs of state, and especially how resolutely determined the people remained to keep faith with their creative rulers.

Unlike his father, Bockari Bundeh embarked on a policy of pure and simple despotism and pursued a drastic and cruel form of Government, with the Kailundu house as his first objective, breaking faith with it to an extent which only the word unreparable might help to qualify.

Avoiding the will of the tribal council, he deprived Momo Banyu of office and spared nothing within his secret will, to seek the extermination of this house. At deliberations, his was the trend of the pugulist, determined to uphold his will.

On the management of affairs, his was the path of the profligate as evidenced in his lamentable surrender to the whims of the demon of squandermania, in his executive role over the father's economic stock, following it up with a campaign of wholesale economic harassment of the most extortionate character on the people, and finally breaking faith with his treaty friends through the Commanders of the Military Barracks erected during his administration, who were the virtual representatives of the British sovereign, and performing the duties for which a District Commissioner is now responsible...

THE DIS-INTEGRATION

Perhaps the most disastrous result of Bockari Bundeh's ignominies was the dis-integration of the Luawa confederacy in the reclaiming of full sovereign rights by the three Kissi limbs, with of course, the support of the Commandant of the barracks at Kailahun ...

CHAPTER TEN

THE NEW ERA - NGOBEH I

The deplorable mesh into which the young brains had dragged affairs state, lamentably shattering the hopes of old Ngobeh, forced him to accede to the people's appeal to what they referred to as his grey hair, to prop the situation lest the crisis assumed catastrophic proportions. Ngobeh made it his first duty to re-instate Momo Banyu, and made his position as the number two man of the land felt in reality, and left him in charge of all affairs of the Chiefdom whenever he had occasion to be away.

His next immediate commission was to accompany the Commander of the barracks on an extensive tour through the Kissi Chiefdoms detached from the Luawa domain, during which the first Paramount Chiefs since the secession were elected and installed ...

The motor road from Pendembu through Kailahun to Sambaru, La Guinea frontier, commenced during the reign of Backari Bunde, was completed during the Ngobeh administration. At the same time motor vehicles reached Kailahun under the auspices of a Mr. R.G. Morton, a Birmingham merchant, a Mr. George Taylor a Freetonian, popularly referred to by the natives as Kambama, and Hassan Joseph, a Syrian, also popularly referred to as Lansana.

Telegraph communications with Pendembu and the rest of the line was established, but removed when the Military Barracks was replaced by one of a civil character and headed by a District Commissioner with headquarters at Pendembu.

In 1919 Ngobeh was among the Paramount Chiefs who were invited to Freetown probably to receive the expressions of gratitude from the government for the part played by the Protectorate in achieving victory in the war that had just ended - World War I.

Two catastrophic events befell the country during the administration - the influenza epidemic and the famine. The latter being the direct consequence of the former, through the absorption into the army of able-bodied men of the farming community thereby running the industry into deterioration.

The dearth was known as the Bread Famine (BREAD ME LOLEI). Thanks to Mr. G. Taylor who installed a bakery. Regardless of the exorbitant cost it was a great relieving factor.

The first missionary of the christian faith, reached Kailahun in 1920, under the auspices of the Church Missionary Society. In connection with his evangelical aim, a school was established.

Ngobeh fell ill in 1923 and with old age sapping him of vitality his strength was fast deteriorating. In consequence of this he made his son Jusu his proxy, a situation which reopened all wounds by reviving bitter memories of the Bockari Bunde regime, to which Jusu was chief minister of state. Not only was Jusu disliked but he soon came into a serious clash with the tribal authority immediately after his father's death - a clash which saw no relaxation until he was, in 1924, made to reap the fate of his chief in banishment.

Momo Banya as next in the order of succession, automatically headed the interim administration and was subsequently elected Paramount Chief in 1925 without opposition.

Thus the succession cycle under the conclave understanding had seen establishment.

Bockari Bunde for the FaBunde house
Ngobeh for the Ngobeh house
and Momo Banya for the Kailundu house.

Ngobeh left the following children to mourn his loss; Jusu Ngobeh, Alpha Ngobeh, Gbaisay Ngobeh, Taplima Ngobeh, Sundifu Ngobeh, and Brima the youngest who was only four years old.

Gbaisay and Taplima were educated in the Bo School. The former joined the Sierra Leone Police Force in 1928 and retired in 1945 with the rank of Sergeant, while the latter was of the Sierra Leone Survey Department from 1928 to 1933. Joined the Maroc Mines as Surveyor from 1934 - 1942 from whence he retired to fight for the chieftaincy, his failure in which led to the succession of Kailundu Banya in 1943.

CHAPTER ELEVEN

MOMO BANYA OR KAILUNDU I

The rallying force of Ngobeh had gone a good way in the restoration of order and goodwill among the people thereby simplifying the task of a successor, the man whose administration will go down as perhaps the most progressive in the history of Luawa ...

As has already been pointed out, Momo Banya as principal alderman of the land's chieftown did a lot towards making it worthy of the name of Luawa, and of his father, in whose name it had been dedicated and called Kailahun, meaning Kai's town. And when during the Ngobeh administration his scope was extended by the additional office of Deputy Chief, he employed every wit, for the display of traits worthy of the people's confidence, and to give Kailahun the picture worthy of the man to whom it stood as a perpetual memorial - his father.

Now holding the reins of government, it could only be expected that his policy in this direction should be more advanced.

His reign opened up with a zest for social advancement.

He gave unqualified support to anything leading to an awakening of a spirit of consciousness of the true influences of happiness. From the incipience of the idea for the formation of a social and cultural organization, up to its final inauguration as "The Kailahun Muslim Club" was not without the whole hearted support of Momo Banya who thought it no mean pleasure to be in the band of the two hundred and more young men and young women constituting the membership, as an equal. Momo Banya was honourable chief patron while Alpha Ngobeh was appointed president. During the Club's ceremonial parade Momo Banya would be in the centre of the two files in his car riding in all the dignity becoming a potentate, while the men in their navy blue suits, and the women in the Pink silk, as duly prescribed paced to the dictation of drums.

Momo Banya's Chief Minister Yavana Toko, was no mean factor of dependability, His influence was superb, and so much did he rely on it, that it drove him into an unbridled lust for power, which eventually wrecked his political career.

In 1926 a postal agency was established in Kailahun.

In 1927 she stepped into greater lime light as a result of the Agricultural show held there, and in 1928 the allurements offered by Kailahun could no longer be resisted as was evidenced in the decision of the government to remove the Headquarters of the District from Pendembu to Kailahun. The same year saw the installation of a modern water supply system by the erection of stand pipes. By 1936 the importance of Kailahun had antiquated the medical dispensary, and in its place a medical centre developed with the erection of a permanent hospital, requiring the services of a residential Medical Officer. Trade was not behind in the rapid strides made by the administration. Mercantile firms like the United Africa Company G.B. Ollivant, Compagnie Francaise de Afrique Occidental, and the German firm of D.K.G. vied with each other for monopolization of trade, a situation which gained momentum by the advantages offered in the extension of the motor road to the Buedu headquarters of the Kissi Tungi Chiefdom and later to the French boundary of Yenga with its link with the Guinea road system through the construction of a ferry over the Moa river, thereby making it possible to cover the distance of about 362 miles separating Kailahun from Kankan, the headquarters of the Guinea Muslim faith, or the Mecca of the French Guinea, in a little less than three days.

Today Kailahun is a boom town for all interested in the pursuit of trade. Momo Banya also energetically threw his lot into the prosperous flow by owning a transport agency carrying two lorries and a car. 1937 saw the introduction of the scheme of Native Administration into the Luawa Court, a more systematic handling of native affairs, while 1939 brought the resumption of the telegraph communication system abandoned after the removal of the Military Barracks in 1920.

The term "Town Planning" has no newness in Luawa. For long before Government conceived the idea, as far back as in 1938, Momo Banya did not only see the need but had launched out a vigorous programme in the direction of forestalling anything in the nature of congestion, by clearing a new site on the Baoma road, taking in all that was once the premises of the Church Missionary Society Mission, and decreed that all new constructions were permissible only by a choice of spot from the new site, two hundred to three hundred yards off the old town.

The site which is called after the founder "Gbanya-walu (Gbanya's Villa) at once attracted much attention, and a feverish construction competition now favours the site with nothing less than one hundred houses. So outstanding were his efforts in giving Kailahun cadastral appearance second to none in the District that he was awarded the covetable Sanitary Staff.

Though an illiterate and a Muslim by faith, Momo Banya spared no energy in the aiding and forstoring of educational and other religious enterprises within his Chiefdom, and where possible outside of his Chiefdom. With the exception of one who entered an Arabic institution, all his sons received an English education, leaving them free to follow whatever religious course they considered in harmony with the dictates

of conscience. The elder, later to become his father's successor, is a graduate of the Bo School and later distinguished himself in the medical career by attaining to the rank of third class Dispenser within a comparatively short time. In this career he is succeeded by another brother A.K. Banya. Four other brothers, K.S. Banya, B.S.K. Banya, K.H. Banya and S.Y. Banya are in the clerical division of the Civil Service in the Provincial and Public Works branches respectively. Another, S.S. Banya is now in the U.K. studying medicine under Government scholarship.

Momo Banya's taste for civilization in all its modernity bears evidence in the two concrete structures, lending grandeur to his miniature palace.

It was indeed a glorious reign interrupted by but a single incident involving an internal upheaval in 1932 of which his principal minister of state Yavana Toko and Aliu Tokpo of Mendi, a section chief were regarded as instigators and leaders.

An official enquiry established that not only were all the allegations proven to be without foundation and consequently dismissed, but that the two leading instigators were fit objects for punitive justice. Aliu Tokpo and Yavana Toko were deprived of office.

A situation which again revealed Momo Banya's great spiritedness was his selection of Fatoma Gbondo, son of FaBundeh to succeed Yavana Toko in the high office of Principal Minister. The acts of the successor's brother would not blind Momo Banya, to the noble qualities of Fatoma Gbondo, who, unfortunately, preceded his chief in the silence of death, only to be succeeded by Brima Komor.

After a prosperous reign of quite seventeen years, the news of Momo Banya's death was as sudden as it was dramatic. Sudden because there had been no previous report of illness, and dramatic because of the swift successional order in which it followed that of his Principal Minister of State Fatoma Gbondo.

His state of health must have been tolerable, since he could take part in the prayers, at the time he received the irrecoverable collapse. Indeed, the 20th day of December 1942, brought an unpleasant curtain into which it draped the whole of Luawa into mourning for their loved ruler.

It could not be reasonably doubted that it was in recognition of the reverence for him, and in the hope of a probable reparation of the loss that the tribal lords resolutely decided to defy and violate the provisions of the succession order by electing his eldest son, Kailundu Banya to the chieftaincy on the 11th day of July 1943, in spite of the stiff oppositions put up by the FaBundeh and Ngobeh houses, holding that a return of the Kailundu house, would be a flagrant violation of the succession order and carry unhappy augury for the political future.

KAILUNDU II

Luawa, her neighbours and friends, still look up to Kailundu Banya with high hopes for great achievements in view of the advantages

making him his father's superior in many aspects.

But it would not be doubted that he has uncommon energies to exert if he is to beat his father's record.

Since the advance of British administrative influence the following have headed the Luawa state :-

FaBundeh	1896-1912 (Met by the British in office) (Died in office)
Bockari Bundeh	1912-1916 (Deposed and banished)
Ngobeh	1917-1924 (Died in office)
Momo Banyu	1925-1942 (Died in office)
Kailundu Banyu	1943

CHAPTER TWELVE

THE CHIEF MINISTER

This is an office of no mean significance in the affairs of native administration. In the hands of the holder rests foreign affairs; he is president of the native administration court, and head of the "tribal authority" or senate, as well as other delicate duties, automatically making him the ruler's deputy or, in other words, the number two man of the land. The effect of his influence welding, and in many instances he holds the key to the political scales of the Chiefdom. As has already been pointed out this important office was held by Ngobeh in the FaBundeh administration. In the pursuit of his aim to give the young men, a trial, he relinquished the office in the interest of his son Jusu when Bockari FaBundeh took up the helm of authority. Jusu continued to hold the office under his father following the deposition and banishment of Bockari Bundeh until his policy was seen to carry taints of the Bockari Bundeh logistics, a policy which saw greater light when he took over as regent following the death of his father, resulting in the peoples' fiery resentments and his subsequent banishment.

Momo Banyu then came to the helm of state, with the mantle of Minister of State falling on Yavana Toko, whose deposition for political treachery has already been dealt with. Yavana Toko was succeeded by Fatoma Gbondo, who held office up to his death and was succeeded by Brima Komor ...

In his capacity as private councillor Brima Komor undoubtedly enjoyed to a high degree, the confidence of Momo Banyu, who, to the great surprise of the tribal authority, called on them early in 1942 and proposed to them the creation of a new office - Deputy Chief Minister, suggesting the name of Brima Komor as his personal choice. It was a period of anxious moments for the people who, knowing their chief's choice to be but a perfect stranger in Luawa doubted his political sincerity. They made no secret of their dis-inclinations, in the direction of approval but finding that the ruler of their love

and devotion was beyond dissuasion, and fearing to do anything against his happiness, reluctantly gave in, and Brima Komor thus loomed into the political arena of Luawa with the portfolio of Deputy Chief Minister, early in 1942. In August of the same year Fatoma Gbondo died and was succeeded by Brima Komor though in an acting capacity pending the formal approval by the tribal authority. In December of the same year, Momo Banya died, and, in virtue of his rank, government at once accorded Brima Komor recognition as regent ...

CHAPTER THIRTEEN

KISSI TUNGI

The history of Luawa cannot be complete without adding a chapter on the three Kissi states which formed the federation. For this we shall deal on Kissi Tungi where the great warrior ruled, and who was looked upon as the principal warrior of the three Kissi Chiefdoms.

Before the decision of the three Kissi states already referred to, to become part of the Luawa state, towards the production of the confederacy, Koli Tungi of Kissi Tungi was the leading warrior, and exerted no common influence over the other two states, since their own warriors looked up to him, not only as a superior in the glorious art of war, but one on whom they confidently depended in any case of aggressive emergency. Thus, next to Luawa, Kissi Tungi was the power which no one could easily leave out of reckoning in putting into play aggressive designs, be they for good or for evil.

Since the dis-integration, the following have headed the Kissi Tungi state: Kongo, Davowa, Foloba, and now Kai Tungi, the pivot on which swings this chapter.

Son of the warrior and ruler Koli Tungi, young Kai entered the Bo School, graduating there with no mean credits in 1924, he chose the profession of the Agriculturist, by entering the Agricultural College at Njala, where his physical activities revealed that besides his intellectual fitness, he was an outstanding athlete.

After serving in the Agricultural Department for few years Kai was retrenched together with many other civil servants, as a result of a grave financial depression which the local government suffered at the time. He however was absorbed into the services of the army as Quarter-Master's clerk - on a civilian basis of course.

During his services in this office, Kai became very popular in both Freetown and the Protectorate.

In sports he was a well known figure. He was a very good cricketer, and in football, he was not merely a member of the R.W.A.F.F. team, but was appointed as one of the official referees of the Sierra Leone Football Association. In social activities he was not the least behind; for he organised a dance club which was known as the "Happy Eleven Club".

To attend the annual dance of this Club was to hear the latest pieces of the season, played by the R.W.A.F.F's band. It was generally believed the new dance pieces were specially reserved for the benefit of Kai Tungi, who was held in no common esteem by both officers and men of the army.

Early in 1938, Kai's elder brother Ansumana, who held the post of section chief of the Benduma section of Tungi Chiefdom, died, and Kai as next of kin was therefore called by the people to take up his late brother's post. Kai who was at that time enjoying all the amenities and advantages of a civilized community, was thus required to return to his people and to stay with them in what may be called "utter darkness".

To any other man, the offer would have been turned down.

Despite persistent efforts by friends in trying to convince him to stay, Kai only laughed and said "my time is come that I should return to my country and show my people the good things that I have seen and learnt".

After a grand send-off in his honour, Kai left Freetown in 1938. The same year he was elected section chief, under the illiterate chief Foloba.

His influence as a section chief was very great.

After the death of Foloba in 1942, Kai became chief on the 12th of December 1942, eight days before the death of his uncle Momo Banya of Luawa who was present at the installation ceremony.

It must be understood, that Kai's mother is a sister of Momo Banya, who was no doubt given to the warrior Koli Tungi, as a mark of friendly relationship, both warriors having fought side by side as allies of the Tungi-Luawa confederacy.

It therefore stands that Kai according to the native customary law, is legally right to the Kailundu house of Luawa. His younger brother Tammu Kai-Tungi is no mean personality in the Tungi Chiefdom.

Before this era the three Kissi Chiefdoms were always regarded as the poorest and most unproductive sections of the country - not even capable of producing enough food for local consumption - they were always known as the hunger spot. In the trend of other advancements they were not even as fast as a snail, that is, if they moved at all. It was in this state of absolute contentment that they were found by the Kai Tungi administration six years ago.

As is only natural, it was nothing common to get Kai to make his people understand they were just as good as any other progressive community and that it was their moral right to join in the march which was to beat them out of what he knew were but lethargic inclinations. Kai's methods were often regarded as harsh and sometimes styled "despotic" by some critics.

Today, to visit Kissi Tungi is to join in the verdict justifying his aims. For the end is as practical as truth can make it.

For the Kissi people, lethargy has taken wings, never to return. Not only has the spirit of primitive contentment followed in turn, but the people now know that they also have a debt to pay, to keep the wheels of natural progress on the move. Their answer to the call is seen in bold letters in the ability not only to provide all that is needed for their local maintenance in food, but to supply outside demand from the surpluses.

In his trend of arousing a sense of self-consciousness in the people, Kai made it one of his first duties to revolt against the fringes of casual allegiance the Kissi states still owed to Luawa, and brought the people to realize that neither size or territory, nor military strength was a source of superiority in sovereignty. It was the principle of all equals being equal - none having the right of review over the other.

Choosing a new site for Buedu, his chief town, the spot is just becoming a wonder spot to all travellers. To add to the grandeur, chief Kai Tungi has installed a dynamo plant for the electrifying of his compound, being the first man to undertake such a project in the whole District, and at his personal expenses at that. As an agriculturist, chief Kai Tungi has freed his people from the threats of malnutrition, and poverty.

While as a physicist, he has infused into them new life and strength to know themselves as they truly are - agents of a common creator for good. Buedu once loathed by many detested for its unsanitary state, has loomed out as a holiday resort for all sorts and conditions of people, and none leave without the wish to return some day, for a longer stay.

All go in praise of Kai Tungi, the miraculous reformer of the Protectorate Age.

That in brief is the Kissi Tungi of today - the most poignant augury for the greater Kissi of tomorrow.

APPENDIX 7 :

INTERVIEW 19 : MAADA JAMES KAILONDO,

ON 26 APRIL 1972 IN KAILAHUN

(Questions which are asterisked were asked at a second interview with Maada James on 27 May 1972 in Kailahun. They have been integrated into the first longer interview for the convenience of the reader.)

Interview 19

MAADA JAMES KAILONDO, ON 26 APRIL 1972, IN KAILAHUN

"The Europeans found Kailondo ruling when they arrived: they did not find Bundu, who had died. Bundu was a warrior from the beginning himself. People hated him, so he left this country [Luawa], and went to Siawoma, Komboya. From there he came and settled at Qanyahun. He built Qanyahun, which is not far from here [Kailahun]. From Qanyahun, he went to his own village, Talia, and built up that place. From Qanyahun he was also able to build the present Bandajuma.

Ndawa, who came from Tikonko, was a great warrior too. He went beyond the River Mafessa, now in Guinea. On his way back, he came to Manowa, now in Peje Chiefdom. From Manowa he prepared war, crossed the Moa, and came across to Yandowahun in Luawa, not far from this town [Kailahun]. There was a certain man there who was very rich, called Bowa. Ndawa killed him. My own father, Kailondo, was in what is now Guinea at that time, living at Kondou. My father's mother, Kefui Magbou by name, was born in Komalu - that was her home. Kenei Bondo told the mother that she could call Kailondo; that Kailondo was their nephew, since Kefui was Bundu's own sister. My grandmother, Kefui, called Kailondo. She said to him 'Well, you are here, and our own land has been destroyed.' Kailondo then took all his own people from Guinea and brought them here [Luawa]. He found Bowa had been killed. Then Bundi said, 'Ndawa has killed Bowa, and Bowa was the richest person in this country. Therefore settle here. You are the owner of this country. If you succeed in defeating Ndawa, then of course this country belongs to you.'

My father chased Ndawa to Ngiehun. He found Ndawa at Ngiehun - Ngiehun in Luawa. There they fought. Kailondo was wounded on the hand, but also wounded Ndawa. Then Ndawa was thrown to the ground. Kailondo fell on Ndawa, sat on him, and threatened to kill him. Kpokiso, one of Ndawa's warriors, came up and threatened to kill Kailondo. Fabatondo, one of Kailondo's warriors, said that if Kpokiso killed Kailondo, he would also kill Kpokiso. So Ndawa told his own warrior to move aside: Kailondo also told his own warrior to move aside. The two of them spoke together. Then Kailondo released him, and Ndawa decided to leave. Ndawa left behind all the booty he took in this country. From here Ndawa went to Manowa, and then went down-country [towards the coastal plain]. He was killed in Koya Chiefdom, in a small town there called Gbongor, along the river. There Ndawa was killed. (I myself went and saw the place. This is what I know about that.) On Kailondo's return, he came to Bundu. They met at Nyandehun, and all the elders of this country were assembled there. They told Kailondo, 'Concerning this country of Luawa, you are our nephew, and you are now the owner of this land. Of the animals in the bush, the fish in the river, and the country itself, you are now the owner forever, with your own children and grandchildren after you.' This is what I know.

After Kailondo had fought for the country, there was another man in this area called Mbawulomeh, and he was in what is now Liberia. Mbawulomeh came, entered Talia, and killed Bundu. Kailondo then chased

Mbawulomeh and drove him out. Mbawulomeh went to Gbande country and told the Gbande people that he had killed a small bird called the Bundu-bird, a small sparrow. (There is still a sparrow in the bush named after Bundu.) He told the people he had killed such a bird, and that was why Kailondo had chased him from his country. He went and stayed in the Gbande country. Kailondo then sent to the Gbandes that they should give him Mbawulomeh, but they refused to hand him over. Then he went there with war, and burnt most of their belongings and their houses. After the defeat of the Gbandes, Mbawulomeh hid, and came down to Vaahun, from where he went and built a town called Ngiehun Tokweima. Kailondo pursued him to Ngiehun, and stayed in a town called Njevehun, with the hope of getting hold of Mbawulomeh. From there Kailondo became ill and was brought back. He was taken to an island in the Moa [River] called Tiihun, and there he died. During his illness, he told Fabundeh, 'You are the next person to me. I've been going around with you. I leave in your care all my children, and the country itself, because my children are all small, my brothers are all old, and my mother is old. When my children are of age, give them back the country.' Fabundeh agreed. That is what happened.

I am now talking about how the white men came. It was in the time of Kailondo that the first Europeans came. They [the British] came into this country from down-country, from the Freetown area. They built a barracks at Bandajuma, and people went there and were asked to sign their names. There they made an agreement in the time of Nyagua. Then they came and built another barracks at Panguma. From Panguma, they established a detachment at Baiwala. From Baiwala they came to Kailahun. Kailondo told Fabundeh that he had heard that there were other Europeans coming from this other side, from the East, from what is now Liberia; that he really liked the British; that whenever the British came, either after his death or when he was alive, they should be allowed here, and should be given this place [Luawa]. After the death of Kailondo, Fabundeh took charge of the country. Major Fairtlough came and settled in this town of Kailahun, and told Fabundeh that he wanted to go on towards what is now Guinea. He crossed the river and went to Kondou where Kailondo was born. Fabundeh sent a messenger after him to tell the people of Kondou that they should accommodate the European who had been sent there. Major Fairtlough slept here [in Kailahun]. He was given carriers and they took his loads to Kondou. After crossing the river, they reached Kondou, spent the night there, and he asked them [the people of Kondou] to give him carriers: they refused. They did not give him anybody. There was a Maha in that area called Kafula. Fabundeh did not know that he had made an agreement with the French, and he had warned the people that if any other European came on to that side, they should not give him carriers. They did not give him carriers. Then Major Fairtlough was abused, molested so to speak. He left the place and went back to Panguma.

After that, he came back. But before he came, the people of that side [in Guinea] now refused to allow anybody from this area cross the river. When our people crossed the river, they killed them. Ken-ei Fabundeh then assembled the whole of this country, and told them what was happening. He sent a messenger to go and call Kafula so that they can meet at the river. Kafula refused to come. Then war broke out. During the war, a barracks was built here by the British, and they went and captured [the town of] Kouloumba and put a detachment

there. (Kouloumba is near Kondou). Fabundeh then took someone from Jawe called Kamanda, a Mendeman, and asked him to go and settle at Kouloumba. The brother of Kailondo, called Bundor Gbanga, was also asked to settle at Kouloumba with Kamanda. There they settled with the British soldiers. While they were there, the French came and started warring, so the British soldiers retaliated. They killed one British soldier, and the British soldiers killed a lot of French soldiers, and the French retreated. After a lapse of one year, the people from Guinea started to cross the river and burn towns in this area. Fabundeh complained that they were disturbing his own people, so soldiers were despatched here [Kailahun] from Freetown. There were two lots of soldiers - the King's Soldiers and the 'Trowers' [Frontiers?] - and they came and settled in this town. Their Colonel was called Barrow. They used to cross the river to go and fight on the other side. After fighting for the whole day they would come back. They were here for three months and then they returned [to Freetown]. Kouloumba became a bigger barracks, a bigger detachment. The French soldiers then came and attacked Kouloumba, at the time when Captain Berry and Captain Peters were in charge of the detachment there. They [the people of Kouloumba?] fought on the side of the British and killed many French soldiers, got their arms, and brought them. The remaining French soldiers returned. After that, the British then decided they should make a bigger attack and burn their villages. The soldiers at Kouloumba went and built another detachment at Laoma - the mahel of Laoma was called Gbongor. The British went and built a detachment there to prevent any French attack on what is now Kono, because all the villages in the Kono area, along the river [Meli], had been burnt.

While they were at Laoma, they prepared an attack. Then Major Gbuyo came. He had a proper name, but this was a nickname given to him because of his size. 'Gbuyo' means 'of very huge stature': that was the Mende name by which we used to call him. Le Mesurier was his proper name. He used to say that his father was a Frenchman, and his mother was English. He joined the detachment at Kouloumba for a bigger attack on the French, and the detachment at Laoma joined those at Kouloumba. All the villages going right into the interior of what is now Guinea were burnt. They stopped at Wulade. (At this time, I was under Captain Kanneh: it was at Wulade he got drowned, and his grave is still there. He went on detachment and got drowned in the heavy rains, in August.) A detachment was now established at Wulade, and they stayed there while the Brenn [- ?] Daru barracks was built. Then there was peace on that side.

When the barracks was built at Daru, they left Wulade and came to Daru. While there, another attack came, from Kabala. Captain Macarthy came, and the present boundary between Sierra Leone and Guinea was made right down to Sulima. This is what I know. After the 1898 was, then there was this Wunde War [against Kafula], and then the Kaiser War, and then the Hitler War. So I have been able to see four wars."

- Q. Was Fabundeh I related to Bundu of Nanyahun?
- A. Kenei Bundu of Nanyahun did not in fact know Fabundeh: it was Kailondo who made Bundu know Fabundeh.
- Q. Was Fabundeh with Kailondo from the beginning, or was he from a family which had been in Luawa before Kailondo and his people came?
- A. Fabundeh was not even in this country when Kailondo came: he was down-country. Fabundeh really originated from Mandu, from a place called Jiwayihun. He stayed at Golahun-Vaama, and there he got his first wife, and got children at Nyawalokoma near Vaama: Lango Gbagbani was the name of his wife. This is what my father told me.
- Q.* When did the Gbande War or Mbawulomeh War take place?
- A. The war between Ndawa and Kailondo took place before the Gbande War. It was the last [big] war. After the Gbande War, Kailondo left for Mafessa-woma. The Gbande War was about 10 years after the war between Kailondo and Ndawa. Before he could reach Mafessa-woma in French Guinea, he waged war on the people of Lokoma in French Guinea. After he finished the war at Lokoma, he returned here [Kailahun], and after that the Europeans came to Kailahun. From the time of the Gbande War to the coming of the Europeans was about 8 years.
- Q. Was there a quarrel between Kailondo and Kafula of Wunde?
- A. Kailondo and Kafula did not quarrel. They stayed in the same country, they belonged to the same area, Wunde. What brought about the war was the short staff the Europeans introduced. Mahei Kailondo showed it to his own Kissi people; they saw this short staff. After Kailondo's death, Kafula came and demanded the staff because it was the staff belonging to their relative. Fabundeh refused to give it. This is where the quarrel arose between Kafula and Fabundeh, because of this staff. This is how the war came about.

[Kafula was related to Kailondo]. But Kailondo was ruling both here [Luawa] and Wunde. He was not a relative as such, but Kailondo belonged to one ruling house and Kafula belonged to another ruling house within the same area, Wunde: just as in Luawa the Fabundehs are a ruling house, the Kailondos are a ruling house, the Ngobehs are a ruling house. There was no quarrel between Kailondo and Kafula because in Wunde there were only two ruling houses. It was because of the staff that they [the peoples of Wunde and Luawa] quarrelled. If we Kissi people saw anything 'red' we thought it was a coin or nickel. They [the Kissi people] felt that the staff, which Fabundeh refused to hand over, was made of some valuable metal. It had been given to Kailondo; he had shown it to Kafula's people. This is what the white people gave him. If Fabundeh had given it to them, there would have been no quarrel. They would not even have allowed Wunde to be part of French territory. But when he refused to give it, the quarrel arose. When we go there we ask our uncles to explain, and this is what they tell us.

- Q. At the time the British were first coming, were Ndooamahei and Lavale used as titles for Kailondo and Fabundeh?
- A. When the Europeans came they did not know Fabundeh. They knew the elders in the country; they knew Kailondo. Bundu had given the country to Kailondo. Fabundeh was simply under Kailondo as an underman. When he was dying, Kailondo told Fabundeh that he should look after the country as a Regent for his children. He should not forget his wives and his children, and when his children are of age, they should be handed back the land. Kailondo and Fabundeh were very great friends: Fabundeh had nothing of his own and depended wholly on Kailondo. There was even a song about it in this area - that Fabundeh had nothing of his own and depended entirely on Kailondo's help.

When the Europeans came, when Fabundeh was Mahei, when the tax affair came in, this was the time when the question of Lavale or Second Man arose. Before the Europeans there was no Lavale. The elders were all of equal status, and were immediately under the leader. For instance, if somebody came to issue a summons, the first elder he found with the leader would act as Lavale for that particular time. Any person who was often with the Mahei, and the people realised that he was the closest person to the Mahei, was automatically honoured by the people. It was the British who brought this question of Lavale.

There had always been the tamahei. The person who built the town was the tamahei: when he died, then his children or his descendants became the tamahei. Kailondo built Kailahun, so today, I who am speaking, James Kailondo, I am the owner of this town, because my father built it. Even if other people came in, you remained as an elder. That is my understanding of it: it was the Europeans who brought in this question of Lavale, or recognised Lavale.

There were no patimahanga, in the old days. The richest man in any particular town was a recognised person - the man who built his house and became the richest. The founders of towns and those whose towns became the largest were the owners of the country. But there were no recognised patimahanga.

- Q. Kailondo ruled a large area. If a palaver broke out far away from Kailahun, who did he send to settle it?
- A. If there was a sort of quarrel on a large scale, he sent his elders to go and settle the quarrel.
- Q. Were there no 'sections' in those days as there are in Luawa now?
- A. The sections were called after what existed before. Gbeila was regarded as the area where people settled [i.e. one particular area of original settlement]. Somebody founded a town, then this town expanded over a very large area. People from this town founded villages themselves, and this area was naturally under the founder of the bigger town. Therefore the area was under him, and was named after him. But then these people had no power of their own: they came here to Kailondo for anything. It's just like in Free-town you have various streets - Kissy Street, Bathurst Street, and so on, but they all have dealings with the one leader of the

particular area. Much of what is now Liberia was under Kailondo's rule. The Liberians actually came and put their flag in Kailahun. They came and hoisted their flag here.

Their Captain was called Wule [i.e. 'Willie' Lomax]. When Captain Murray of the British came to root out the Liberian flag, Wule hid and went to Dodo. Wule came from Liberia and hoisted the Liberian flag. Captain Murray on hearing this came from Daru to root out the Liberian flag. There were people in Dodo who wanted to belong to the Liberians, but this area particularly [round Kailahun] didn't like the idea. When Wule was going he took some of them away: some of them died there, and when they died their corpses were brought back for burial. There was a song about it: they sang [in the Mende language] -

'Murray, the stronger man,
Came against Wule;
Wule, who was the wicked man,
Had to run away.'

- Q. Why was it that the people of Gbeila Section liked the Liberians more than the British?
- A. It was not everybody; it was just one person of Dodo area. He was called Gande.
- Q. Did Gande persuade Kongoneh of Sandialu to join him in supporting the Liberians against the British?
- A. Kongoneh did not agree; [Kongoneh's brother?] Bubu did not agree; the elders did not agree, so it was only one person who agreed. Then he left and went to Liberia; nobody followed him. It was only his corpse that was brought back. Kongoneh did not agree; that is why I didn't say anything about him. He refused to join in.
- Q. Was Kongoneh the same man who was the chief warrior of Chief Fabundeh?
- A. Kongoneh was a great warrior even under Kailondo, and then later in Fabundeh's time; and his own elder brother was also a great warrior.
- Q. Was Kongor of Dambala also a warrior under Kailondo?
- A. Kongor of Dambala was also a warrior under Kailondo. Also Kpengba Ganawa of Kangama, the father of the present Paramount Chief Ganawa of Kangama.
- Q. Why, in the old days, did the British spell Kailahun in such a way that you would think it should be pronounced something like 'Kalelahun'?
- A. 'Kale-lahun': this is how it should be pronounced [i.e. how the early British spelling of Kailahun should be pronounced]: 'Kale's town' - 'Kael-lahun'. In the Mende language, Kai Mbriwa; in Kissi, Dundo. Dundo is the name of a drum. When you hear 'Kailondo', that means 'his ears can hear from afar' - like the sound of a drum echoing from afar. This is really what it means. [Concerning the spelling of the town,] the white men wrote it down like that. [They were confused about the precise spelling.]
- Q. What about the name Luawa? Was that used for a long time before the British came?

- A. That is the name of the whole country. This was the name Bundu used in giving the country to Kailondo.
- Q. What is the meaning of Luawa?
- A. The meaning is this. When somebody comes to you in Mende, then he expects you to come back. 'Lu a wa', that is, 'when you go, you must come back'. The forefathers came and left people here in charge, and they said, 'Well, you go and come back'. The correct pronunciation is 'loo a wa', but the present spelling is 'Luawa'.
- Q. At the time the British came, was Kailahun already on this present site?
- A. It was built on this present site a long time before the Europeans came.
- Q. Where was Kailondo's own compound when the Europeans first came?
- A. When they [the British] came this town was divided into three sections; Tongoyama, Tawoveihun [The Old Town], Giibina. These were the sections built by Kailondo. The very house he used to sleep in was situated in Tongoyama, and one was in Giibina; there was also one in the Old Town. He had houses built in each of these areas, and some of his wives stayed in each. So in fact he went round [sleeping in each in turn]. He owned the three areas; but he didn't sleep in one place. He was a warrior [kugba mia, in the Mende language], he didn't dwell in one place continually. Sometimes he used to sleep in the barri. People used to chase him and look out for him in order that they may defeat him, but you never knew where he stayed. He may have been in Tongoyama one night; he may be in the Old Town another night.
- [The three towns in Kailondo's day were] Tongoyama; Giibina, which means 'think before you go there'; and the Old Town. Concerning the Old Town, there was a man here called Fagbandi Kpakala; he built a town there - a small village. But it got broken later. When it was rebuilt, we called it the Old Town. Tongoyama was not where it is now. Tongoyama was on the motor road near what is now the roundabout, where Jalloh [a Fula trader who owned a shop] now is, not far from the [daily] market, between the market and the N.A. barri. When Bockarie Bunde became Chief, and the road was constructed [from Pendembu], that was the time Tongoyama was demolished. He said that they should go across Giibina and come down a little; they then built their own town beyond Giibina. Giibina was just where the present [water stand-pipe] tap is, opposite the market. Giibina was coming down just a few yards from the present tap, opposite the market, downwards, and going up a little bit. That was Giibina. It is there the town chief Pa Panda, and Pa Tommy the Tailor live. The Old Town is now Mopama area, where the Mosque is. You will find a small old tree near the Mosque - that is the particular area. It was not a big area at that time. The Old Town was about six houses: it all got broken.
- Q. About how many houses and people would there be approximately when the British first arrived in Kailahun in Kailondo's day?

- A. There were about 300 houses altogether. Some houses in time of war may have held about 20 people, or even more, particularly in the headquarters town. Around 2,000 people. When the warrior was himself here [in Kailahun], every day they would bring strangers, people would come. He would bring people from other places, and this being the centre, people would come from all over to see him, and for other business. Even Kumantandu, in Penguia, under Mahei Panda, was part of this district: Panda and his people were all for Kailondo.
- Q. After Kailondo took over Luawa, was there any war again within Luawa?
- A. Kailondo himself said that no other attackers would be able to defeat Luawa. When the white men came here, within Luawa itself there was peace. While they were settling here [in what was later the Protectorate of Sierra Leone], there were only external wars like the Gbande War with Mbawulomeh, but within the country there was peace. After this, except for the 1898 War and the war with Kafula, there was no other war. From the time the country was handed over to Kailondo, there has been no internal war.
- Q.* If Kailondo wanted to make an important decision, who did he call to him so that they could decide the matter; or did he just decide on his own?
- A. Kailondo did not decide on his own. He usually called people, the big men, so that they may decide.
- Q.* Who were the biggest men in the country at that time?
- A. At the time the white men came, the big men in the country were:-

Fabundeh
 Saagba
 Nyalo Lengor of Baoma
 Battu Kangla of Nyandehun
 Kumela of Mano Sewalu
 Fowa of Mofindor
 Mbembei of Mofindor
 Bundor Banga of Mofindor
 Doisseh of Ngiehun
 Kpawo Bundor of Ngiema
 Bobor Sinneh of Bandajuma

These were the big men:

Glinda of Baoma
 Ndornyani of Dodo

Before he could take any decision, he had to invite the big men and tell them. They had to agree to any sort of decision. If they did not agree, he would not do it.

- Q. Did Kailondo receive Frontier Police from the British, and build barracks for them in Kailahun?
- A. One of them was Corporal Koroma, and Nyandemore was another, and

Gaiwa, and Fabowa. These were the Constables, with three buttons, and the red taffety; their waterbottle was made of wood: this is what they had, with their blanket - they folded it on their shoulder and tied it; it was brown colour. And the hat they wore was a long hat that was bent on one side. These were the people who came. They stayed here for some time, then Gaiwa had small-pox, and died. Then the others left.

After that, other constables came. The Sergeant was called Ngombu. Where the present N.A. Court Barri and Office is, there the barracks was built. They were looking after the country; they were protecting them [i.e. the people of the country]. When the Europeans came, and they went towards Liberia, they stopped at Kpandeme. They didn't go beyond there.

- Q. Were Kailondo and his people happy with the constables?
 A. The people used to fear them a lot. One constable in this town would make everybody alarmed. He would find you and ask you to give over your wife to him so that he can sleep with her. There was nothing you could do. People used to run away into the bush and leave their wives. They [the Constables] would not behave in that manner to Kailondo, but it was the ordinary people [who suffered]. When they came, he told them that instead of disturbing the people, he can provide women for them, so they would not be disturbed. "If you want my daughters or my other people I will give you, but don't disturb my people." So there was peace, because Kailondo had promised to do everything that would make them happy.

[Kailondo was happy to have the Constables.] They were external. I have explained that Kailondo refused to admit the French and the Liberians, and he was much more pleased with the British, so in that case he would be pleased to harbour the Constables from the British.

- Q. Was Fabundeh also pleased with the Frontiers?
 A. Fabundeh was also very happy with the British. They told him what to do and what not to do.
- Q. Was it because Fabundeh was pleased with the British that he did not take part in the 1898 War?
 A. That is why he didn't join in the 1898 War. There were a few people [from Luawa who wanted to join in] but these were arrested - there was Saagba of Bewabu, Ngewor Lengor of Baoma, Borbor Kawe of Bandajuma, Doisseh of Ngiehun. These were arrested and taken to Panguma. In fact Chief Fabundeh was almost killed at Ngiehun. He made soldiers come from Panguma, to arrest those who were in the uprising, and they were taken to Panguma.
- Q.* Why did Kailondo welcome the British into his kingdom?
 A. The distance between the Europeans and Kailondo was small, so they usually got salt, gunpowder, guns and other things for war from the Europeans: so he was happy when they came to his land. At that time Kailondo and his people did not know Liberia, they did not know French Guinea.

- Q.* Did Kailondo's people have to go right down to the coast at Sulima to buy guns and gunpowder; how did these things come up to Luawa?
- A. People went with country cloths to Pujehun, Mopama, Sulima, Bonthe to buy these things like wine, gunpowder, guns, and other English materials. It was a sort of barter trade. The people here took cotton cloth and various things to the coast, to exchange. Some people took cows to the coast. Sometimes the people at Sulima, Pujehun, and Bonthe took salt, gunpowder, guns, English cotton cloth, tobacco, port, and they brought these things to Luawa, and exchanged them for cows, sheep, and goats. When they carried these animals, they usually tamed them, so they would multiply. There were no cows in that area ...
- Q. How was it that Bockarie Bundeh, who quickly proved himself to be not a good ruler, was chosen as P.C.?
- A. Before they made him Chief, they did not know he was bad. At that time, Kissi Tungi, Kissi Teng, and Kissi Kama were under Kailahun, under section chiefs; they were just sections. Because his father was very good with the people, they made the son Chief. But he was very bad. He was very bad with the house of Kailondo. Bockarie Bundeh did not like the sons of Kailondo. Kailondo was a Kissi, so the Kissis decided to dethrone Bockarie Bundeh because he was not good to them, and Kailondo came from the same place as the Kissis. They determinedly said they wanted their own chiefdoms to be separate, they wanted another three staffs to be in the territory. That is why they got their own staffs, and separate chiefdoms. That was the time of W.D. Bowden, Commissioner.
- Q.* Is it true that Major Le Mesurier and Chief Kutubu of Pendembu used their influence to get Bockarie Bundeh elected as Chief?
- A. Bockarie Bundeh's father was in close friendship with Chief Kutubu of Pendembu. After the death of Fabundeh, Kutubu at Pendembu was now the head of all chiefs in this area. He was the person who made Bockarie Bundeh have the staff. He convinced all the people of Luawa to let Bockarie Bundeh become Chief, because Fabundeh was a close friend of Kutubu, and so he wanted the son of Fabundeh to become Chief.
- The majority decision of the people elects a Chief. Le Mesurier was a D.C. [and despite his personal preferences, he had to accept the majority decision]. But Major Le Mesurier was in close friendship with Momoh Banya.
- Q.* What did the people do in order to get Bockarie Bundeh dethroned?
- A. Bockarie Bundeh was not the only person who was dethroned at this time. The dethroning of Chiefs had been taking place in the southern part of the country. Momoh Fo of Gendema is an example. He was the first to be dethroned. After him, Bockarie Bundeh was also dethroned. After Momoh Fo was dethroned he went to Liberia.
- Q.* What happened to Bockarie Bundeh when he was dethroned?
- A. He was sent from the land.

- Q.* Is it true that from the time of Bockarie Bundeh through to the time of Momoh Banya, more Kissi people were moving from Kissi country to settle in Mende country?
- A. When Momoh Banya, the son of Kailondo, took the staff, he told the D.C. that as the people of Kissi Tungi, Kissi Kama, and Kissi Teng used to come to his father to pay loyalty to him, so he would like them also to come to him in the same way. They agreed to this. They said they would not be able to make farms for him as they did for his father, but they would be happy to pay 6d. from every taxpayer.
- Q. Why, after the time of Chief Fabundeh, were the Kissi people given their own separate chiefdom?
- A. It was Bockarie Bundeh who molested them a lot. They themselves said they were not slaves. 'We were under Kailondo. Now that Kailondo has died, you are giving us a hard time, and Kailondo's own son is not a Chief yet, so we do not want to be under you. We want to be independent. We are a tribe also. Kailondo was our brother, and even after his death we still belong to him. But we can go and establish our own chiefdom.' This was why they left. They would rather stay by themselves.

Even after that, even when they were there, they used to send gifts to P.C. Momoh Banya. Commissioner Bowden made an arrangement. He asked them, 'You say you are still a part of Kailondo, even though you are separate from the Luawa Chiefdom. What is your opinion? What are you going to do?' They said, 'Well, we used to make farms and then send for him. We used to give him palm oil. We used to send gifts for him. Now we are separate for ourselves, we are still for him.' They agreed that every taxpayer should contribute 6d. This is what they used to collect. This is what I know.

- Q.* Kailondo's son was called Banya. Can you explain that change; and what really does Banya mean?
- A. At the time of Kailondo, when children were born, they were called Sahr, Tamba, Fayia, Fallah, [Kissi names meaning First, Second, Third, Fourth, male child], but when the British came they usually took the name of the father and then placed it on the son's name; and the name Banya really means that Kailondo was very strict. When he handled anyone, it was just like being held by pincers [in the Mende language, gbanya], in a very strong grip. When he conquered a little territory in Kono land, that was the time Momoh was born, so they took the name 'pincers' and placed it on Momoh.
- Q.* What does Kissi Teng mean?
- A. Kissi Teng is just in the middle of Kissi Kama and Kissi Tungi. When the Kissi people say 'teng' they mean the 'middle' of something. There is something here and there, and this is in the middle; so that is why they call it. And Kissi Teng is right in the middle of Kissi Kama and Kissi Tungi. Kissi Teng in olden days used to be called Bomasalu.
- Q.* What do Kissi Kama and Kissi Tungi mean?
- A. In olden days, the people migrated from another land, and came into this land. They named the land Tungi and Kama ...

Q.* May I ask some questions about the positions of various buildings in Kailahun in the time of Momoh Banya and before? In Kailondo's day, where was the kobangai?

A. Kailahun was three towns in those days - Tawoveihun, Giibina, and Tongoyama. In the centre of these three towns, there was a sort of open place which was called a kobangai - which in English means 'meeting place'. When he finished building these three towns, he made a war-fence round the towns, for defence, around all three towns. The open place in the centre was the kobangai. When they wanted to hold any meeting, that was the place they usually met.

At the place where the road going from Banyawalu to the Friday market [ndoweihun, in the Mende language] crosses the road to Mofindor, where the daily market [nionowahun] is now, was the kobangai.

Q.* The Liberian barracks; where were they?

A. When the Liberian soldiers came to Kailahun, they did not build any barracks. They were living with the people in Tongoyama. They did not build any barracks in the town: they went to Dodo and built a barracks there.

Q.* Where did the British build their barracks?

A. When the British came, they built their barracks where the Banya's compound is now; on the site of my house. After the Kaiser War, when they came back from the war, they went to the place where the barracks is now. There they built their barracks. They built a sort of fence round the barracks which is now big trees.

Q.* Where was the Dispensary which Momoh Banya built?

A. He built the Dispensary where the Post Office is now. The Dispensary was the same house which they have turned into the Post Office.

Q.* Was there a Post Office at the time of Momoh Banya?

A. The Post Office was near the house of P.C. Momoh Banya, where that Fula-man Pa Alpha Jalloh is now, near the roundabout. After some years they moved the Dispensary, and they placed it near where the Post Office is now. Mr. Deen was the Chiefdom Clerk and the Postmaster as well. After they finished building the barracks, they went on to build the hospital.

Q.* Did P.C. Momoh Banya begin to build Banyawalu soon after he was elected P.C., or later?

A. Momoh Banya owned Banyawalu, so our big brother Gborie built Banyawalu. He built the first two houses there. When Momoh Banya was now P.C., our big brother Gborie was at Banyawalu, and he was there when the town was burnt down. After Kailahun had been burnt, some people transferred to Banyawalu and built houses there.

The fire of Kailahun took place five years after he [Momoh Banya] was made P.C. At that time D.C. Weir was here. Many houses were burnt. From the street passing to Banyawalu, to Chief Fabundeh's present house [i.e. Chief Fabundeh III, P.C. in 1972, whose home is just opposite the mosque] - all that area was burnt.

- Q.* The big three-storeyed house in the Banya compound, what year was it built?
- A. After they had finished building the District barracks, they then went on to build that big house. It is boldly written on the house the year when it was built [but the present writer failed to find the date!].
- Q.* Was the bungalow built after the big house or before?
- A. They built it after they had built the three-storey house. When the three-storey house was still unfinished, they began building the bungalow. After they had finished building the three-storey house, then they completed the bungalow.
- Q.* Was it Momoh Banya himself who developed the whole big Banya compound, or was it built before Momoh Banya started work on it?
- A. He built it with the family. Momoh Banya was in the round house when he was made Chief. So after he had been made Chief, he told the family to help in building the compound. He was, however, the main person who built the compound. The round house is an old house: at the time he built it he was not a Chief. It was the time of Ngobeh; he was just a Chief's son.
- Q.* Was the three-storey house the first in Kailahun to have a tin-pan roof?
- A. The round house was roofed with pan before ever they could build that three-storey house. That was the first house with more than one floor in the whole area. Before ever children were born to Momoh Banya, that round house was there.
- Q. How did Ngobeh come to be ruler between 1917 and 1923?
- A. The people wanted Momoh Banya, But Ngobeh was Chiefdom Speaker under Bockarie Bundeh. He tried and went round the Chiefdom and told them that they should beg Momoh Banya that he owns the Chiefdom, that he [Ngobeh] had laboured for his father [i.e. Kailondo], he had laboured for Fabundeh, he had also laboured for Fabundeh's own son. He [Bockarie Bundeh] had spoilt the Chiefdom. Momoh Banya should allow him [Ngobeh] to reign, so that he can make good what Bockarie Bundeh had done, and then after his death, Momoh Banya can take over his chieftaincy. He went all over the Chiefdom, right to Pendembu to Chief Kutubu, and begged him. From there, he went and spoke to Commissioner Bowden: from there they decided the matter and he was made Chief.
- Q. So it was really Commissioner Bowden who was responsible more than the elders of the Chiefdom?
- A. He [Ngobeh] had begged the Chiefdom, he had gone round the Chiefdom to convince them that they should make him Chief, so he can make good what bad Bockarie Bundeh had done, so that by the time Chief Momoh Banya becomes Chief, the Chiefdom would have settled down again. They told him that he [Momoh Banya] should agree, that he was very young. He agreed, and the promise Ngobeh made didn't fail. After his death, Momoh Banya became Paramount Chief.

- Q. Was Momoh Banya Speaker under Chief Ngobeh?
 A. He was not Speaker: he only became Regent when Ngobeh became ill.
- Q. Who was Speaker under Ngobeh?
 A. Toko Mofindor.
- Q. Was Ngobeh also a warrior under Kailondo?
 A. He was among the elders who went about with Kailondo. He was sent to places; whenever Kailondo wanted to send people [as envoys], he was one of those he used to send. He even had a nickname, Kahunla, which means 'the person who organizes things, the organizer'. He was the peacemaker. Whenever there was misunderstanding, or Kailondo was angry with someone, he would go to him and ask him to make peace.
- Q. Did many people go from this area to the Kaiser War?
 A. Many. They came and told them that there was war, and that they wanted some men to be trained as soldiers. They took them to Daru Barracks and trained them, and then they took them away.
- Q. Did they all come back?
 A. Yes, except for those who were killed in the fighting. But not many of them died in the war. It was only in the Hitler War that a lot of men died, but in the first one not many died, most of them came back. They brought them back to Freetown and paid them.
- Q. The people the British took for the Kaiser War - did they go willingly?
 A. When they [the British] came, they said, well, there was war, and people who were interested in joining the army could come, those who volunteered. They didn't levy the number of men to be given. Those who came to recruit told the Chief, and the Chief explained to the people, so it was only those who were willing to join the army that offered themselves.
- Q. Was the Pendembu-Kailahun road started at this time?
 A. This was when the road started, the time Bockarie Bundeh was the P.C.
- Q. In what way were the people employed for making the road?
 A. There was no money, so many people were employed. They told them they were making a road that would benefit them, but that they would pay the workers: those who wanted would go. The Chief told the people and they went. They [the British] used to say, 'We want so many people for building the road.' Then the Chief got the people. They [the British] would ask for the carpenters who would saw the boards.
- Q. Why did so many people come from each town to do that work for the Chief on the road?
 A. The people used to come even from Wunde. When they heard they were building a road and were paying them, some of them used to come to the Chief and the Chief used to send them.
- Q. How much were workers paid?
 A. At that time labourers were paid 6d a day.

- Q. How did people manage to find the money to pay the British tax?
 A. We used to get palm nuts, and palm kernels. We used to sell palm kernels. At that time the tax was not as heavy as later - six shillings. And the people didn't used to pay per head but by house. Even if there were 10 people in a house, they still paid six shillings for the house .
- Q. When was it that everyone had to pay tax for himself?
 A. After independence, I think.
- Q. Did the people sell palm kernels in Kailahun, or did they go to Pendembu to sell them?
 A. Pendembu, Baiima, Segbwema. At first the trains stopped at Segbwema, so they used to go there. The people from Kono-land also used to go all the way to Hangha, and the Segbwema, Baiima. When the road came in, and Mr. Morton had his bus here, we used to sell kernels here.
- Q. At that time, were there still some people who used to go to Pendembu to get a better price?
 A. Some people used to go [to Pendembu]. Others counted the cost, taking into consideration the distance that had to be walked.
- Q. Who was doing the buying of palm kernels here? Was it just Morton?
 A. At first he was the only person: then after Morton, came Lansana, a Lebanese, who came with Khalil [a Lebanese merchant still trading in a shop near the Banya compound in 1972], who used to be called 'Gbandawa'. Then the other firms came, like GKG. But Mr. Morton was the first European who started buying palm kernels. GBO [i.e. GBO's depot] was not far from here, where Lukat [another Lebanese trader] has built. Morton lived where Mr. Maya Kaikai's house is now.
- Q. When was it that these big firms like GBO and CFAO started to come?
 A. They came in Momoh Banya's reign - C.F.A.O., G.B.O., G.K.G. - not long after his election. When the road at first was built from Pendembu, it went direct to the boundary at Mofindor. It was in the time of P.C. Momoh Banya that the road was built to Buedu.
- Q. Did P.C. Momoh Banya establish a weekly market here?
 A. Yes, he built the town daily market [in the Mende language, nionwahun] he built it with his own money. Then also he built the weekly market [ndoweihun]. The Post Office was also built by him with his own money. The N.A. bought the daily market afterwards from the Banya family. They also later paid for the Post Office. That is the same building [as is used for the Post Office now], they have not changed it. It was built at the beginning of his reign.
- Q. Just after the Kaiser War, there was a lot of influenza in the country: did it kill a lot of people in Kailahun?
 A. Very many. I was in Freetown at that time. After I had left P.Z.s, I was at Kpandebu Dama, working in P.Z.s there. When I took my produce - kola nuts, palm oil, palm kernels - to Freetown, then I

was attacked by this influenza. I was there for 9 days without being able to eat. I used to cough blood. All of us were taken out and laid outside, in the station. We were given medicine. We were asked to go. When we came, wherever we arrived we were driven away, because they said we had brought the infection. We had to go to the bush. It affected this whole country.

Q. Would it be true that even perhaps one person from each family died - or more than that?

A. Some families were wiped out. In some cases it was five or more people who died, in a family of eight or ten: but where you have a man with his wife and about three children, all of them died. There is a case of a woman whose husband died and all the children, and she remained alone. It may be in the case of men, the wife and all the children died and he was left. It is still very pathetic to remember.

Q. Was this a worse thing than the depression of the early thirties, or the Hitler war?

A. It is the question of deaths: people died, so it was much more severe than anything. Children died without getting ill. If people survive, then of course they can work to earn, even if growing things is difficult. But when people die, it's a dead loss to the country.

Q. Did it affect the number of rice farms and the work people could do?

A. This was one of the difficulties really. People couldn't make farms, some people died. If a man left his farm and died, what would happen? Sometimes small cocoa-yams would be sold for 3/- each.

Q. So prices rose because there were not sufficient people to grow food?

A. They used to eat palm cabbage [the growing heart at the top of the palm tree] because there was no other food.

Q. And how long did this go on?

A. Only one year, and the epidemic also lasted for one year. August and September were the very hard months - this was the time people died, many people died.

Q. What about the rice quota in the Second World War? Did people find it very difficult to pay that?

A. The difficulty was that if you had a lot of people living with you who paid tax, then each taxpayer had to pay. You may have ten young men, and all of them had to pay. Anyone who paid tax had to pay.

Q. Where was this rice quota paid to?

A. They used to pay it to the Chief. Where Khoury [a Lebanese trader] is living now was the place where the chieftom quota rice was taken.

Q. What did people do if they did not have rice?

A. You had to buy it. It was not money that they wanted; it was the rice they wanted. They used to pay 9/- a bushel, but you had to buy it.

- Q. And how much would it cost to buy?
- A. What the rice-owner charged you had to pay, irrespective of what amount you would get for it. They wouldn't even accept £1 for a bushel of rice. If even you took £1 to the Chief, the Chief wouldn't accept it. All he wanted was rice, and then you had to get 9/- for the bushel of rice. He would not [accept money instead of rice], because you may go and report him to the District Commissioner, that he had taken money from you.
- Q. Was that a harder time for the people than the time when prices fell so low about 1930?
- A. The time of the Depression was worse. Just imagine selling a bushel of palm kernels for 6d, and a drum of palm oil for 9d!
- Q. At that time the Speaker, Yavanna Tokpo, was able to produce some difficulty for P.C. Momoh Banya. Was that perhaps linked with the small amount of money which everyone was getting for their produce?
- A. Tokpo was not Speaker; he was section chief [patimahi in the Mende language] for Mende section. He was the leader of all the section chiefs in the chiefdom. Chief Momoh Banya loved him more than every other person, but he just hated Chief Momoh Banya. The Government found that, after they had laid this motor road from Pendembu, there were no labourers to maintain it. They told P.C. Momoh Banya that he should be supplying labourers on the motor road. All the sections sat down and made an arrangement that they were to work on the motor road. The Government gangers were there on the road from Pendembu to Mofindor: the sections used to supply labourers. The Government gangers were in charge of these labourers for work on the road, until Sunday. Every group did one week, and another relief group came in after one week. At the end of the year, the Government paid for the work. Chief Momoh Banya, after receiving the money, called all the section chiefs and gave them the money: "This is the payment for the work your people did." They did this for a long time, then this was stopped. Then the Public Works Department employed their own labourers instead, and paid these labourers themselves. They were paid by month. And then, some arrangement was made, and they took one Ford Car, and brought it, called all the chiefdom, and then said that P.C. Momoh Banya had been helping with labourers and now that the road was good, they were not paying him, they were paying labourers. They gave him the Ford car as an appreciation [dash in the Krio language] of his contribution. He thanked them, and then he told the Chiefdom that this is what the Government had done. The people thanked the donors of the car. They [the Government] gave four spare tyres and three gallons of spare petrol. He thanked them: then he told them, 'You have given me all this, but I have no driver.' They said, 'You must find your own driver.' They found a driver called Joe who stayed at Ngiehun. He taught Pa Mohamed Lamin to drive. Pa Mohamed Lamin was with me, and the car was there; we used to take people up and down. Then they were building this barracks [at Kailahun], and the contract was given to me. I was to supply stores and sand, and transport building materials: I used to supply all this. (This was the car we used until they built the barracks, all the houses on the Government reservation, and even the old hospital.) After that, the people of the country were displeased about it. From the proceeds of the building and the supplies, the Banya family - I myself - was able to buy a Land Rover, because the Ford car couldn't do all the work, because it was quite a lot.

When that happened, when they saw that he was using this car for this work, the people in the chiefdom said that the car in fact was not given to P.C. Momoh Banya but was given to the country, and now he was using it for his own personal use, and it was wrong. But what actually brought about the whole disturbance, Alieu Tokpo came saying that he wanted to go to Ngiehun. The arrangement was that if a section chief was conveyed to any place, he would have to provide the cost of the petrol. Even if he brought any food, they would transport him. Alieu Tokpo was angry because he was asked to provide petrol for taking him to Ngiehun, because this is what Chief Momoh Banya used to do for him. He was the leader of the people to go and report this matter. We went, and they were called to defend themselves, and he was given wrong. And one of the accusations was that we did not build this house [the three-storey Banya-compound house] for nothing; that we stole some of the cement for the contract, and the P.W.D. cement was stolen and was used for building this house. This man was called Dauda: he was our own relative. We also defended ourselves in this. When the matter was brought forward and the Commissioner came, Chief Momoh Banya asked him whether he [Dauda] has said that he [Momoh Banya] has stolen cement to build his house. He asked Dauda whether this was the accusation. Dauda answered, 'Yes'. He asked Dauda from where he [Momoh Banya] stole the cement. He told him that it was the Public Works cement. Then he said, 'Have the Public Works Department reported that their cement has got lost?' Dauda said, 'No'. Then he asked him, 'Why did you see me steal the cement without coming to report me to the D.C., without reporting me to the owners of the cement, the Public Works Department?' There the Commissioner gave wrong to Dauda. The leaders of the P.W.D. were called. Macauley [a builder resident in Kailahun, an African with Creole connections, d. 1972] was the builder of all that old barracks, including the Doctor's house and the D.C.'s house, and even this house on the Banya's compound. He called him; and Johnston who built the bridge was also called. He was asked. They said they have had no shortage in their materials. Macauley said there had been no shortage. Dauda was imprisoned. As for Alieu Tokpo, they asked him whether he was paying the driver who was driving the van that was given. He said he was not. He was asked if he was providing the petrol. He said, 'No': whether he was providing other things like grease, he said, 'No': whether he was responsible for the maintenance. He said, 'No.' He was asked whether he knew that only out of respect was he conveyed in the vehicle, in return for providing only petrol, and whether he was in fact providing anything extra: He said, 'No.' He was also given wrong. He was removed from the section chieftaincy. That was how it came about. They were not very many [who were opposing P.C. Momoh Banya].

- Q.* Some people have said that Kenei Braima Kormoh was very close to D.C. Cox, and that was one main reason for the troubles in Luawa in 1949-50. What do you feel about that?
- A. Yes, this is true. Braima Kormoh was a friend of Momoh Banya. All the troubles that came into the chiefdom were caused by Braima Kormoh. Momoh Banya was friendly with Braima Kormoh. Braima Kormoh was born at Pendembu. His uncle was Chief Bai Comber, but later on they quarrelled. Bai Comber drove out Braima Kormoh [from Mandu Chiefdom], and he went to Pendembu. When he entered Pendembu, he did not stay there, because he also quarrelled with these people. Then he left

Pendembu and went to Chief Kongor at Damballa, in Kissi Tungi. Momoh Banyu was friendly with Braima Kormoh, so he left Kongor and came to Momoh Banyu. So Momoh Banyu became the host of Braima Kormoh. He made Braima Kormoh Speaker [Lavale in the Mende language]. After the death of Momoh Banyu, Kailondo became Chief. After he had tried to make Kailondo Chief, he later convinced the people to dethrone Kailondo.

- Q.* Was Braima Kormoh friendly with D.C. Cox?
- A. He was very friendly with D.C. Cox. Braima Kormoh, Kaitungi, Borbor Sinneh, and Lansana from Gau were all friendly with D.C. Cox. D.C. Cox did not like Momoh Banyu, and also he did not like Kailondo [i.e. S.K. Banyu, P.C. from 1943 to 1950].
- Q. Could you please give a brief outline of your own personal career?
- A. When these Europeans came in and these Western affairs came in, we were all moving about. I was one of those, and I started working on the railway at Bauya. After that I left the work and came to stay at Kailahun. Then the chieftaincy business came in, so I left here. They came and asked Fabundeh to provide Court Messengers. It was the time of D.C. Anderson in Panguma. I was one of those who went, with another person called Fatorma Barkor, who was one of Fabundeh's own children. When I went and started the work I was one of those asked to go on guard. I refused to go, because I belonged to a 'ruling family' and I would not go and guard another person. I left the post. Then I joined P.Z.s. I went to Freetown in order to get employment, but [at first] I was not successful. Then Colonel Barrow took me as a servant - I have already mentioned him. I was staying with him. I was with him till he went to the Gold Coast, Kumasi. On their return from Kumasi, he was going back home. He left me in P.Z.s. I worked in P.Z.s. as a servant under Mr. Windle. Mr. Windle left, and then Mr. Brownwheel came. He was a Greek working in P.Z.s, and I was left with him. He placed me in the Hardware Department. When Europeans came - new-comers to the country - I used to explain to them what to do. I worked in the Cotton Department, Provisions Department, all the Departments. I used to explain to them; and I used to explain to them until I was promoted to the position of an Agent. I worked there for three years, then I left the place. Then I used to go round with Mr. Brownwheel taking stock at the Branches, going to Bonthe, Mopama, and the whole of the area. When I went back home, I was asked to go and work in Kenema. I was working in Kenema. When anybody went on leave, I went as Relief. I was working in Kenema with Wilson. The day the 1914 War broke out was the same day I stopped working at P.Z.s and retired. I came home, and I have been here ever since.

While I was staying here, my brother, Momoh Banyu became Paramount Chief. There were many of us born [with Kailondo as father], but he was my own brother. After I had retired I went to Dama Chieftdom near Kenema and there I used to do business. I was trading there till the end of the 1914 War. Then I was contesting for the chieftaincy. My brother was elected Chief, and he went and asked me to come. I came, and I have been here since. We made all arrangements for the Chieftaincy. I was made town chief, and ex-P.C. Alpha Ngobeh was my own town sub-chief, my speaker. I left that after being town chief for three years.

Then I became section chief. I was the section chief and Musa Marbey was the speaker until the death of Momoh Banyia.

Then there was this time of hatred [under P.C. Kailondo Banyia]. This was my own area [from the Banyia compound down the Pendembu Road] and all the houses were broken down in the dispute during Kailondo's reign. Then I left the place and went to Guinea, and many people followed me to Guinea. D.C. Hughes wrote that I should come back. I refused to come, because if I had come I would have been killed. In Guinea at that time, if there was any dispute, and the person was found to be wrong, then of course he was given wrong. Commandant Posset was at his post. He in fact came and collected me at the river [Moa] and took me to Kpekedu. Kai Kunjo was the Chief: he was my nephew. They let me come [back to Kailahun]. I told D.C. Hughes I was not coming to settle in Kailahun town, but was going to stay in Mofindor, my own town. He agreed. I was there. Every week D.C. Hughes visited me until he asked me finally to come and settle here [in Kailahun]. I did not even come and stay in the Banyia compound for some time. There is a house down there [near the Luawa stream] which one of my son's built called Tambasei Mendegla. There I stayed for a month. D.C. Hughes went and took me and brought me to the Banyia compound. Then I stayed here now.

My father was Kailondo. [Mr. T.M. Tengbe added, 'He has said that he and Momoh Banyia were brothers. There were many, but in fact the two of them were close brothers'.] Momoh Banyia was the elder. All the others have died.

Q. Have all the others died?

A. Aruna who is ill there [in another house in the Banyia compound] is one other brother. The rest are all their children.

Q. What about daughters of Kailondo?

A. There is no other who is still living, the children of Kailondo. Even Kaitungi's mother has died. She was our own sister, but she has died also. The only brother is Aruna. There are cousins, but of the real children of Kailondo, there are only two left.

Q. Can you say how old you were when Chief Kailondo himself died?

A. I cannot tell.

Q. Were you already a young man or still a child or a baby?

A. Even for the Gbande War, I went with him [i.e. with Kailondo], I went with my father: where he went we all went. Marbey's father was in fact an officer at that time, and the Europeans used to salute him: he had three buttons - he was a full Captain. I was there when Marbey's mother was brought to the father. [Marbey and Maada James were considered by the people of Kailahun town in 1972 to be probably the oldest residents.] I saw Marbey born, because I saw the mother married to the father before he was born. I do not want to lie: you can estimate it from that yourself. At the time of the 1898 War, I knew everything about it - the 1898 raid and how Nyagua and others were taken.

- Q. There was an American here some time ago doing similar work to myself, and he talked to Jombu Bellu. Who was Jombu Bellu?
- A. Jombu Bendu: he was in the police. He was my brother: I brought him up. [Mr. Tengbe said, 'Yes, I think I knew him myself. He was a watch-repairer under this shelter' (just outside the Banya compound). 'He has died now although he was younger.'] At the time our father Kailondo died, Jombu Bendu was a small boy. His mother came from Bendu-Baiima.
- Q. He also interviewed Vandi Gongbwema, called Buigardi, and Brima Johnny. What about them?
- A. [Neither of these could be remembered.] This is what I was explaining today. When he [the American] came, Chief Fabundeh sent for people he thought were old men, but when I was called to the place, the oldest man Chief Fabundeh had called, called me 'Go' [a title of brotherly respect used when addressing a senior]. Then the European asked, 'Well, you say this is an old man. Why does he call Pa James Kailondo "Go"?' And so I refused to say anything, because these were younger people [who had been called]. I was here when my younger brother Jombu Bendu was called.
- Q. How did you acquire your command of English? [Maada James can talk some English and some Krio, and can understand much more].
- A. First James Cole and Brownwheel taught me. James Cole was working on the railway. I was working at P.Z.s in Kenema. I was his friend - we were very friendly. He was a telegram clerk: he used to send telegrams. He used to explain to me how to do it. He started teaching me in the house. The book was called 'Standard 0'. If you read the book, then you would be even better than the Standard 6 boy [i.e. someone who had completed Primary School]. That was what I started reading. I read that while I was working in P.Z.s, and I was in charge of all the work. The children of the European sent from Greece, when they came and were working with me - the young people - I used to speak with them. I used also to learn from them. This is how I acquired English. Where I worked there was no other Sierra Leonean or African, except the labourers or carriers. I worked with the Europeans for many years. Sometimes they left the shop in my hands: when one was leaving, I was left in charge. There was no shortage [in the cash], This is how I was able to acquire my English.

APPENDIX 8 :

INTERVIEW 20 : PA LANGAMA, ON 26 APRIL 1972,
IN BUEDU, KISSI TUNGI CHIEFDOM

Interview 20

PA LANGAMA, ON 26 APRIL 1972, IN BUEDU

"Willie Lomax and Major Bull came and they met. Willie Lomax claimed this area as belonging to Liberia. That was the time of Fabundeh: Fabundeh did not agree. Where the old U.A.C. building is now in Kailahun, there Willie Lomax went and built a house: that was a small detachment of soldiers. At the same time Fabundeh had entered into agreement with some elders in Liberia - Davowa, Kanganya, Langama our grandfather, and others - for the British. While this was happening two groups of Europeans - that is, some on behalf of the Liberians and some for the British - were now fighting to claim this territory. Willie Lomax then went to Kailahun as a guest of Fabundeh. He [Lomax] convinced him [Fabundeh] that he should accept the sovereignty of Liberia. Fabundeh had a lot of beautiful wives, and Willie Lomax got interested in one of Fabundeh's most-loved wives. People then told Fabundeh, 'This man has come here and is trying to convince you to be for the Liberians, but now he is tampering with your wives.' Fabundeh of course became angry. Willie Lomax then left Kailahun and came to Dede-Cotuma. There was a mahci there called Gande. He came and fell on Gande. He took Gande and sent him to Guma: Gande remained there until he died.

Then in Dodo, Kabba Golay Tamende was elected mahci - that is a Kissi name. He was in Dodo. Myself with one white officer spent the night as his guest. While he [Lomax] was there, some army officers went to Kama, two of his officers. Meanwhile Major Bull had gone and made treaties with the people of Kissi Kama and all the people in that area and he had got the treaties with him. Willie Lomax then went to greet the people of Dia. There was a chief there called Kemala. His son was Tengbe Kpangbeye. They went to greet him. They found however, that Tengbe had just finished his meal, and he was going to greet a sub-chief, Goa of Kudu. When he saw these two Liberian soldiers he asked them where they had come from, and they told him they came from Dede-Cotuma. He then told them that he had now closed his door and that his things were ready to be taken to Kudu, so all they have to do if they have come to greet him is to follow him to Kudu. They went. This is really another incident which made Willie Lomax leave, and go back from Dede-Cotuma.

When they went, there was a town crier who said that mahci Kemala's son, Tengbe Kpangbe, had come to greet them, and he had come with two other strangers. The town crier said that the next day everybody would have to contribute two 'bulis' of wine - two gourds of wine; that the elders would have to find some rice and a fowl to give them. They all spent the night there. In the morning they were given water to bathe. The soldiers were given a house along the road. In the morning, Tengbe Kpangbe, after having his bath, said they should go along the road so that by the time they come, they would have been able to get what they had promised to give the soldiers. They went, and the young men went to get the wine. The Liberian soldiers came out and seized the wine from one man. The man said, 'Well, all the wine we have been gathering is for you. So the best thing is, go to Goa at the barrie and there is plenty of wine there for you'. The Liberian soldier refused. He said, 'You won't go with it.' One of the men said, 'Well, you will stop fighting.' He broke the gourd of wine. Then the Liberian soldier loaded his gun and shot the man, and the man died. They went and told Tengbe Kpangbe that the guests - the strangers he had brought - had

killed a man, one of them had killed a man. At that time they had just built the new barracks at Wulade. Captain Murray was then in charge. Some people of Kama then went to Wulade, and told Captain Murray that Tengbe Kpangbe had brought some Liberian soldiers who had killed a man, and they had already signed treaties that this area belonged to the British.

Then the soldiers absconded, and came and reported to Willie Lomax, and Willie Lomax left Dodo and went to Gbande-Wulo. He went and told Kaitungi's father that he should be given a place at Gbandewulo. Then Kaitungi's father gave them a place and they built a barracks there for Willie Lomax. Willie Lomax told Kaitungi's father that if he allowed the Liberians to acquire Gbandewulo, then he would make him ruler of all this area. He agreed: Kaitungi's father, Yejende, agreed. When the detachment was established there they signed treaties. At that time we were at Damballa here [near Buedu]. He made treaties, but there was nobody literate in this country [Kissi country] at that time. Kongor was then the ruler here. He sent to Gbandewulo and asked why Kaitungi's father had refused to come so that they can hold a meeting to decide whether to opt for the British or for Liberia. He did not come. Kongor then assembled the rest of the mahawui, and told them that Gbandewulo was part of his own area, and so it is strange that if he called one of his sub-chiefs he would refuse to come because Willie Lomax was his guest. Then he thought of Major Bull at Daru, but there was nobody who could write to him. Some of his messengers said that they had seen a Creole who was suffering from rheumatism staying at Sandia. Kongor then gave his hammock so that they could go and bring this Creole. The Creole-man was brought. He was asked to write, and he wrote a letter to Major Bull at Daru. He explained everything that had transpired. Then he gave one goat and a hamper of rice to this Creole, and put him in the hammock back to Sandia. He sent this letter to Major Bull at Daru. Soon after Major Bull received this letter, they saw boxes of ammunition arriving at Damballa.

When Willie Lomax heard that Major Bull was chasing him, he went to Kamatahun, further inland. Major Bull (who was then nicknamed Major Gbuyo, but his name was Bull in fact) came and spent the night at Baiama. Early in the morning, he opened fire on Gbandewulo and killed a lot of people there. Early in the morning a lady asked to go and get water, but the town was fenced. As soon as they opened the doorway of the fence, Major Bull entered the town. Then he gave orders that this lady and the man who went to open the gate should be arrested. He entered the town, which was a surprise to everybody. Every warrior came armed and dressed, but they were all surrounded by these soldiers who were mostly West Indians. They all came out, and then he enquired whether the treaties they had signed were for the British or the Liberians. My own father spent two days and a night around the area in the bush. He [Major Bull] asked where the chief was: they said the chief had gone to Kpekedu over the Magowi. One man said he was going to call the chief; he was the only one going to be saved. A lot of people, a big crowd, were all destroyed [by shots from Major Bull's men]. The people said, 'Well, now that the chief is not here, let us go and consult, and come and give you the answer'. As soon as they turned, they [the soldiers] opened fire on them. They killed the people and burned the town and returned.

After that, Kanganya's war broke out. Kanganya did not want to be under Liberia, so he had to go to war with them for seven years. Kanganya was a warrior in Liberia, but he died in Sierra Leone. He did not want to be under Liberia, so he fought with the Liberian authorities for seven years. Then he crossed over and died over here. Major Bull came to like him for that."

Q. How do you know so much about all this?

A. I stayed in the town. At that time there was only one Paramount Chief for Kissi Kama, Kissi Teng and Kissi Tungi, at Damballa, Kongor. In 1914, I went to Nigeria, then the Congo. I came home here in August 1920.

Q. What did you do next?

A. After that, there was the Kanganya war. I sat down and worked as an Agent for D.K.G. in Pendembu. Then after that I joined Saad, a Syrian, and I was still working for him when his son Saad Rogers [now in Kailahun] was born in Komende.

Q. When did you finally come to stay here in Buedu?

A. I came here three years after they built this house in 1936. I have not been working, I have just been dealing with my plantations. I also went to Ghana, and to Lagos in Nigeria in the Kaiser War, 1914.

Q. Why did Gande of Dodo and Kaitungi's father want to be under the Liberians? [At this point Pa Langama began to speak in the Krio language]

A. Well, I don't know.

Q. Did they not like Fabundeh?

A. Yes. Even now, half of Kissi is in Liberia. Fabundeh, long ago, said to them, 'Let us be together, then we will war with Liberia.' A meeting was called with representatives from Kissi Kama, Kissi Teng, Kissi Tungi. It was decided the meeting should be held at Konosu, mahei Ndawua's town. They brushed Sepedu near Liberia, and brought in many things. But one mishap caused much trouble for Ndawua: he shot a boy there. The meeting did not go on well after that. They called Kissi Kama, they called Kissi Teng, they called Kongor, the one big Paramount Chief in the area. He called that half of Kissi which is now in Liberia; all of Kissi country came. He said, 'How are we going to manage? These two groups of people have come - the Liberians and the English: on which side shall we be?' Fabundeh sent Ndawua to the meeting to ask this question. But on the very day of the meeting, that mishap occurred. I had five bundles of Kissi irons on my shoulder that day, and we went to bury the boy.

Kissi Kama went to the meeting, Kissi Teng and Tungi-Tengea went, and Luangkorli: Wham did not come in time. When they all came together, Ndawua was very happy. He said, 'Well, we've all come together now.' And he took a gun and began to play and dance and shoot. There was one boy there, sitting down. The gun was loaded, and accidentally Ndawua shot the boy. Then the meeting broke up, and so the Kissi people were not united. On the very day

the mishap occurred, I had five bundles of Kissi pennies on my shoulder - that is 100 irons.

Q. Did that meeting take place before Major Bull destroyed Gbandewulo?

A. This was before that, and before Willie Lomax came into the area. Bolowa had already come to Panguma at that time. That was the time of the meeting of all the Kissi people. When the people came they said, 'Let us build all together, the whole of Kissi on one side [either all for the British or all for the Liberians]'. But that mishap spoilt the whole meeting.

Q. How far did Kailondo rule at the time the British came?

A. Far from here, right into Kpelle country. He did not rule them, but he conquered them in war.

Q. How far did his own rule stretch into Liberia?

A. All Kissi.

Q. Can you give the names of the old Kissi mahawuisia in Liberia?

A. Chelepor was ruling Foya airfield, and the mahawui was called Foya Kama. Langama of Poluma ruled Wham mahawui. Ndawua of Konosu ruled Tengea mahawui. The chief of Tengea ruled from the town of Foya Tengea which is the same place as Foya-Galya. Foya Towei was the father of Foya Galya, and Galya was the father of Kulukuli Bumbeh. Kulukuli was the father of Kaliya. Kaliya's grandson is now the crowned chief of Foya, Cocoh. Luangkorli was another Kissi Chiefdom in Liberia: in Kailondo's day it was ruled by Kpunge of Kpombu.

Q. Did Kailondo rule in Guinea?

A. He ruled in Guinea, but afterwards Major Bull ravaged that country. He built a barracks at Wulade. He killed a lot of people there. The bush was not very big there, so it was easy to set fire to it. He was about to gain control of that area there in Guinea, but he killed too many people. Major Bull was a bad man. He did not try to encourage people, he simply used force.

Q. Before Major Bull came, how far did Kailondo rule into Guinea?

A. My father said Kai had war there. He was not able to come back before he died. After he died, Fabundeh took Kai's place.

Q. Who did Kailondo make war against in Guinea?

A. One big man there called Katulo. Major Bull and many others fought there. The name of that section was Kama Ndulu, the name of the chief being Fabissi. [Mr Tengbe explained that ndulu in Kissi refers to a part of the arm.] Major Bull drove Katulo away, and then they took Fabissi as chief. Major Bull gave Fabissi to the people as chief, but he was a very old man and he died after four years.

Major Bull went to Kissi Kama and there he crossed the water [Moa] to fight and drive away Kafula. When the white men came first, they fought in Penguia. Captain Lendy was killed, and after that they sent Major Bull who came to Kissi Kama ... He said, 'Give me a man to show me the way.' Tengbe Kpangbe went. Major

Bull said, 'Pa Komala, if you try to kill me, I will kill you.' They crossed the Moa River with the soldiers, and drove out Kafula who went away. They built barracks at Wulade. That made him go to Kamiendo. He went to Kourumba. There Kafula killed a new chief called Togba Nyamando. Major Bull put Chief Togba in that place.

Q. Is Tengbe Kpangbe the same as Tengbe Jopolo?

A. Yes. Jopolo is a nickname. He was a very huge man. As I was told, he gained the name Kpangbe when one warrior came from Guinea. He came to Kailondo for war. He had a small bell on his neck for war. Kailondo took him to my father who told me this.

I used to ask my father why he had big scars on his head, so that when they were shaving him they had to do it in bits. He told me that it was Kai who made him get such wounds. He [Kai] took Koi Bundo and Bundor Foyoh and my father to Dama. He left them there and took some of the warriors to Kailahun. My father said it was right that I should ask him to explain the whole thing to me. When Kai left them at Dama, some of them as warriors remained at Dama including my father, in French Guinea. People came and told these warriors left at Dama that [their own] warriors had come, and they wanted to claim their own area. They came and attacked them right round at Dama. There was Maior, the big river, and when they were driven from the town my father and Bundor Foyoh jumped into the water and crossed the river. My father was in the river, and when he pushed his head above the surface, they would cut it. Each time he put his head up, they would chop it. That is how he got away ...

Bundor Foyoh was a big warrior. When they crossed the river they came to Kama. Bundor Foyoh came and said, 'I want to cross.' They found Komala, the chief of Dia. They found they had just brought new wives to Komala. Bundor Foyoh took one of these wives as his own, and after some time the woman conceived. Komala said, 'You people of Kama, you know that I am your leader. Why is it that Bundor Foyoh has treated me like this and you have not said anything, have not done anything?' All the people of Kama came and attacked Bundor Foyoh. But they were not able to defeat him, so he crossed the river. When the woman who had conceived bore a baby, she was seized and was in stocks, and because of that the child was called 'Kpangbe' (that is, 'stocks').

Q. Which country is Dama in now?

A. Liberia.

Q. Was Kafula of Wunde a friend or an enemy of Kailondo?

A. Kafula had some relation with Kailondo. Both of them were warriors. But Kailondo was a greater warrior than Kafula, although Kafula himself was a great warrior. It was only Major Bull who was able to defeat him. If Major Bull had had the diplomacy of an Englishman, he would have been able to gain all of this area, but his actions showed that he did not have that diplomacy: perhaps Major Bull was German or Dutch or some other nationality. If you were reported for being stubborn, he would not stop to make an enquiry, but would go straight away and burn your village for no reason.

Q. Did Kafula ever fight Kailondo?

A. They did not fight. But when Kailondo brought the white men, Kafula was not pleased. Therefore, the agreement between Kafula and Kailondo was spoilt, and Kafula then supported the French. Kailondo wanted the English. Because of that the friendship broke down.

Q. Was Kafula present when Kailondo was buried?

A. My father told me that when Kailondo was buried over there [in Guinea], Kailondo's warriors went and removed the body. By that time, Kafula had been driven away by Major Bull. Kafula was not at Kailondo's funeral. If Major Bull had been a proper Englishman, he would have encouraged all that area in Guinea, from Wulade to Kenema and to Gbekedu. He would have got all that area.

APPENDIX 9 :

INTERVIEW 21 : MR. T.M. TENGBE, B.A., DIP. ED.,
ON 27 MAY 1972, IN KAILAHUN.

MR. T. M. TENGBE, B.A. DIP. ED.,

PRINCIPAL OF THE METHODIST SECONDARY SCHOOL, KAILAHUN, ON

27 MAY 1972, in KAILAHUN.

Private interview, in English

"I was born at Dia, or as we would say, am a native of Dia, in the Kissi Kama Chiefdom, Kailahun District.... I was born about 1927, according to what my mother told me. We didn't have recorded dates, but I think it's about right, because the last time we were in Kissi Kama talking about the Chiefs, we came to Chief Bundor Belle who reigned after his father Jabba, and he was elected in February 1927, and my mother said that when he was elected she was in my [her] pregnancy. I worked it out that I was born about October, 1927; so this probably is right. I for a long time didn't start school in time. My mother didn't really intend to send me to school, but she left me with her sister in one of the villages called Gbandela-korli, which means "behind the mountains," and is one of the villages near Dokosu, which is the village of the Paramount Chief himself. My mother left me there with the sister, and after some time she took me down to Blama, and then we came to Segbwema, and then we came back to Dia.

From there we went to Makeni in 1939. I reckon that I was at the age of 12, and I had not gone to school. Then my mother sent me to the S.L.C. School, Makeni, in 1939. We did one year, and after that we returned to Dia, and there was probably no more hope of my going to school. So that year my mother decided to make a swamp [rice] farm, and I remember I brushed the swamp farm for her, and then round about September - perhaps I should have said that I was very young when my father died: I think I was about 10 or so when my father died, so that I started school 2 years later. But my father left a bit of money in the Savings Account, and this money was transferred to the District Officer, Kailahun. Then all the time they were looking for my whereabouts, and eventually at this time, after attending school for one year and staying back in the village for some months, with no hope of going back to school, a Court Messenger went and asked my mother about me, and said that D.C. Cox, the District Commissioner who was at Kailahun, wanted to see my mother and myself. So my mother came in. In those days there was hardly any motor road, so the main road really was the Mano-Sewalu road - the main road from Mano-Sewalu by footpath to Dia. We travelled by that road and came down. We came, and my mother sent for her sister who lives at Pendembu, and they came and I remember we went to see the D.C. Cox. He asked my mother whether she would like me to attend school. My mother went to consult her sister, or to "hang heads" as people would say. My sister told my mother that if they gave her the money she could do business. My mother was not quite willing, so she decided that I should go to school. D.C. Cox asked whether my mother would leave the village and come and stay in Kailahun, and look after me. But mother said, because I had some other sisters, if she came to Kailahun it would be difficult to get food, so she preferred to stay away at Dia. So then it was decided that the Sergeant-Major, Bangali Jibateh, who was in charge of the [Court Messengers] barracks, should be my guardian, and that he would be given an allowance every year for taking care of me.

After the arrangement, in fact it was D.C.Cox who made me first write my name, because he showed me how to write my name. I could spell it, but after one year at school, I could not do it again. So this was to sign on the vouchers for the money. So I was eventually sent to the Methodist Primary School, Kailahun, and then I signed the necessary vouchers for my fees and then for my upkeep, so I started attending the Methodist Primary School in October 1940. I continued to December 1945. I was rather interested in going for further education, and my aim really was to become an

engineer. All the time I was interested in Maths. But just towards 1944, D.C. Cox said that I had very little money left, and asked whether my Chiefdom - Kissi Kama Chiefdom - would continue to pay my fees. But the Chief was not quite willing, because there was some misunderstanding between him and my family, over some Porro affair, and so they were not willing. So my uncle helped me for 1944 with the primary school fees, and in 1945 I really did not know what to do. So I took the School Leaving Certificate, perhaps for scholarship. But I didn't do very well. At the end of 1945 my guardian retired from the Court Messenger Force. He said I should be one of those to go and accompany him. He really came from I think what is now Mali. But you had to go through Guinea, so I was one of those who went and accompanied him.

He had two lorries from Kailahun. We left Kailahun to Gbokedu in Guinea which is 27 kilometres after crossing at Nongoa. Then we spent about 10 days in Gbokedu. Then we had another two lorries and we travelled through Kissidougou to Kankan. We stayed in Kankan I think for 3 days. We looked around. I think there were two of us. There was another boy with me who was also staying with him. He came from Bonthe: he was Tommy Jibateh. He died in 1947 after nearly completing his course at Union College. We stayed, and after 3 days we returned, and it was the time they used to transport palm kernels from French Guinea through Sierra Leone. Lorries used to bring them to Pendembu, then they were railed from Pendembu. I remember very well it was on a Tuesday afternoon when we saw a big lorry coming, going towards Nongoa. Arrangements were made for this lorry to bring us. The driver said he was not coming directly to Nongoa, but that he was coming to stop 10 kilometres from Nongoa, so that we could walk. We agreed, because it was difficult to go right round by Gbokedu, but this route he was taking was a direct route to Nongoa. So we joined the lorry, and when we came back he dropped us 50 kilometres from Nongoa, and we had to walk day and night until we reached Nongoa, and then Koindu.

When I came back, as I said, I did not know what to do. That was early 1946. I was then asked to teach as a Pupil Teacher in the Methodist Primary School, Kailahun. It was the time of G.H. Farnell who was then the missionary there. Mr. Kangoma, who was then the Headmaster, took over from Mr. S.A. Jenusa in 1944. So I was employed as a Pupil Teacher in Kailahun. I worked for a year and then I took the Union College entrance examination, as well as the entrance examination to Njala Training College, which is now the University College of Njala. Well, I passed both. In fact I was the first in the Njala entrance, and I was invited to go to Njala as well as to Union College. But the course at Njala was 2 years, and that of Union College was 3 years. So I decided to go to Union College so that I could spend one extra year there. So I entered Bunumbu in January 1947, and completed in December 1949. It was during the Principalship of Rev. W.E. Prickett, who was a Methodist Minister.

After that I was appointed as an Assistant Teacher in the Methodist Primary School, Kailahun, in January 1950. In 1951 I took the Teachers' Certificate as a private candidate, and passed, and in 1953 I had a study-leave scholarship to enter the Teacher Training Department of Fourah Bay College: then the Teacher Training Department was attached to the University College, Fourah Bay College. (Later it was transferred to Tower Hill, and is now what is known as the Milton Margai Teachers' College.) I did the

Supplementary Course. The idea really was to train teachers who would serve in the Central Schools. These were Junior Secondary Schools that the Government intended establishing. During the course we specialized in two subjects. I was doing Geography and History; and the third was Rural Science. I completed the course in December 1953, and in January 1954 I was appointed Headmaster of the Methodist Primary School, Jojoima. I spent one year at Jojoima. But when I was at Fourah Bay College, I was fascinated by the young boys who entered and got their degrees. And at one of their Convocations I admired Prince Thompson, who was just 20 years of age who had then got his Bachelor of Arts degree and this was conferred on him. (Later on he taught at Union College; he is now the Chaplain in the College). So after that I had a friend H.G.W. Tucker, and in fact while I was doing the Supplementary Course, we started doing subjects like Latin on our own, because for the entrance requirement then you had to do Latin, or one of these foreign languages.

When I came back in 1955 to Jojoima I started doing correspondence studies with Rapid Results College. My idea was to take the G.C.E. in 1956. I was doing six subjects with them; Geography, History, English Language, English Literature, French, and History of the British Empire. At the end of the year I was transferred to the Methodist Primary School, Segbwema, where I had worked for 3 years before leaving for Fourah Bay College. I was transferred there as the Headmaster of the school. I found the school with a roll of about 200 pupils in 1955, and by the time I left in 1962 it had grown to over 700 pupils. I did my work during the day - collecting of fees, administration and teaching - and then devoted the evenings to studies. I changed my studies from 'Rapid Results' because 'Rapid Results' produced notes and no textbooks, and I decided to go to Wolesley Hall, who prescribed textbooks as well as lecture notes. And in 1961 I took the G.C.E. and passed in 5 subjects: English Language, English Literature, History, R.K., and Economics. And then I started studying for the 'Advanced Level' in 2 subjects, after the G.C.E. when the results came out, in 1962. In fact in the following January I took Economics and R.K. at 'Advanced Level' and passed. In October 1962 I entered Fourah Bay College on study-leave to do B.A. in General Studies. I obtained the B.A. in 1966 and the Diploma in Education in July 1967.

I was then posted to Kailahun - the Methodist Secondary School, Kailahun. Interestingly enough, I was one of those who was asked to open the school in 1958 - looking through the minutes of the foundation of the school, I was asked whether I would come and I gave my consent. I was to open the school with a man from the Gambia. He was to open the school with me. Then he turned it down. Then later on Mr. P.G. Day was to come and open the school. But in the end I felt that it is better for me to go for further education, further qualifications, and stay in the school longer, rather than coming to teach with the T.C. Even when I passed the G.C.E. in 1962, the Board of Governors still wanted me and Mr. K.P.G. Conteh (who is now Principal of the Wesley Secondary School) to come and teach. And when the Ministry was not quite willing I think the Board wrote a long memorandum, a copy is still in the files. They thought teachers with T.C. and long experience and G.C.E. could do very well in the Secondary School. When I came, with my experience in Primary Education for long, I was promoted to Senior Teacher, and I became the Assistant Principal for two

years, and I took over as Principal of the School in July 1969. And the school is still going on: the roll has increased now to over 500".

Q. When you were staying with the Sergeant-Major of the Court Messenger Force, what insight did you gain into the influence which the C.M.F. and particularly the head of it, could wield, particularly in relation to the ordinary people ?

A. The first point is that nobody went to see the D.C. without being marched to the D.C. by the Sergeant-Major. It was the Sergeant-Major who took people to the D.C., and he was there. In fact if the Sergeant-Major said you wouldn't see the D.C., then that was the end of your matter. Therefore people came to him. And even when I came to see him [the D.C.] with my mother, to start school, in fact he led us to the presence of DC Cox. I remember very well that the Paramount Chiefs and other local people had great respect for the Sergeant-Major. And several times they invited him to interviews, and asked him a lot about things. And if they wanted to get to the D.C., they had to get through him. His influence was such that I was responsible for buying provisions for him, and several times we had to go to Pendembu where the firms, U.A.C., or S.U.A. or P.Z.s were, and all I needed do was to ask any driver, "Well the Sergeant-Major has asked me to go to Pendembu", and I would be taken to Pendembu free of charge, without paying the lorry-fare. On several occasions I went with him to see Kailondo [S.K. Banya], the chief, the ex-P.C. of Luawa, and then to Braima Kormoh who was the Speaker at that time; and several times - although I was in the Primary School, but in fact I was one of his correspondents [i.e. amanuenses]. He asked me to write letters to the Paramount Chiefs or other people. He was not literate. He had the opportunity of going to England, but he was not literate, so that several times I had to write. So I think that really the Court Messenger Force, particularly the head, had great influence over the local people as well as the District Commissioners who came in to serve

The Sergeants, and you had quite a few who were intelligent and who were sent on such errands [as a Chiefdom crisis, or election of a new P.C.]. Really it was the Sergeant-Major who appointed those who would go on these errands. I think the District Commissioner, Mr. Cox, really had one who was very influential and he was called Bangura Sumbu. He was his interpreter, and he was his orderly as well, and whenever he went out he had to go with him. And Bangura Sumbu had such an influence that in the end - he himself, Bangura Sumbu, came from a ruling house and D.C. Cox tried to elect him when the Paramount Chief died in the Chiefdom, in this District. (Of course the Chiefdom is now in the Kenema District, is now part of the Malegohun Chiefdom. I think there were really two chiefdoms - you have Konjo and there was another chiefdom called Horahun. These were small chiefdoms. Bangura Sumbu came from Konjo.) Cox, being the Senior District Commissioner, went to act as [Provincial] Commissioner several times when the Commissioner was on leave. Whenever the Commissioner was on leave he, of course, could elect Paramount Chiefs. And on 2 occasions he really went to elect Bangura Sumbu. He never succeeded at all; but Bangura Sumbu was quite influential whenever they went out

Q. Would you feel that Sergeant-Major Jibateh played an important role in the election of ex-P.C. S.K. Banyas as Paramount Chief ?

A. I think he may have, because he was very friendly with Braima Kormoh, and Braima Kormoh was very instrumental in the election of S.K. Banyas as the Paramount Chief. Several times I think he went to Braima Kormoh who was then the Regent. Braima Kormoh was the Regent after the death of Momoh Banyas. He had quite a big influence in the Chiefdom. Several times Sergeant-Major Bangali Jibateh went to him. Sometimes I was left outside and they conferred for a long time. But I think judging from the relationship he had with Braima Kormoh, who had great influence and who was instrumental in the election of S.K. Banyas, I think he probably played an important role in that election, because Braima Kormoh himself was rewarded, though he was not a native of Kailahun, but he was elected the Chiefdom Speaker after the election of Kailondo.

Q. How did trade develop between Buedu and Koindu in Kissi country ?

A. The influence of the motor roads really was partly responsible for the development of this trade in the Kissi country. The Syrians took advantage of the motor road as it was constructed. As it was confirmed they moved up as the motor road moved. At one time they came and stopped in Kailahun. Then when the motor road was constructed to Dodo, they went and built shops in Dodo; and then later on in Buedu. I remember very well in what is now the Old Town where we interviewed Pa Langama [Interview 20], there were Nassif Hallil, who was quite wealthy then Nicol Saad, the father of the Saads (Saad Rogers) and another one - I think there was a third - they stayed there. And when the motor road was constructed to Kangama, then Nassif Hallil moved from Buedu and established in Kangama. And I think one other one followed; and Saad, the younger brother of Saad Rogers, also opened there. Well, I think in those days much of their trade was in produce, and I think the idea of moving to Buedu was that they got more produce. When they were in Buedu, all the produce from Liberia and from the Kissi country came down there - palm kernels mostly. They bought that, and in fact they had lorries that transported this to the firms, and the firms at that time were doing lucrative business in Pendembu. And so the produce was no problem. So they transported - sometimes their lorries did a number of trips a day: it was only they who owned lorries on these roads, so they got a lot of produce.

Moving up again to Kangama, they would get more produce from all over, because this would shorten the distance. It is four miles from Buedu to Kangama, and people coming from the Koindu area or from Dia and from all their neighbourhood would bring their palm kernels to sell at Kangama. And then the trader who would be there would have the advantage of getting more palm kernels, instead of staying at Buedu where there were a number of Syrian traders. I very well remember myself bringing palm kernels when I was a boy, taking palm kernels on my head to Kangama from Dia, or to Buedu, and selling them and going back - selling them to the Syrian traders there.

Q. What sort of things were people mainly interested in buying in exchange for their produce ?

A. Cotton goods, caps, khaki, materials for wearing like khaki shorts, khaki trousers, salt, sugar, household utensils, pots, pans, buckets, cutlasses particularly for brushing, tobacco. In those days you were not quite interested in spirits: there wasn't much because you wouldn't sell spirits which was expensive. So it was mostly wine - Jonka, most wines imported from South Africa, KWV - these were some of the labels on the wines. So I think they made quite a lot of business in wine, because not many people really were interested in beer. But there was quite a lot of wine and cigarettes - Black and White, Craven A - these were the brands that were very popular. These are the things they bought in return, after selling their palm kernels to the traders.

During the war, the motor road was completed to Koindu, and then there was a ferry across the river to Guinea (French Guinea then). There wasn't much crossing across it. But towards the end of the war, the Germans had invaded Northern Guinea, so there was no means of transporting their palm kernels. Even when I went to Kankan in 1945, the shops were very empty and the trains did not take many things to Conakry, because that was the terminus of the railway at that time. The shops were very empty. And so all the palm kernels were brought down to Nongoa, and then they crossed on the ferry and they brought them. In fact the convoy of lorries was such that during the dry season, those lorries that were in the middle had to put on their lights because they came in a convoy; there was so much dust. They came in a convoy. Sometimes about 20 or 30 lorries would come to Pendembu and empty - because they had a lot of palm kernels. I think probably for 2 years they had to stock the palm kernels, so they had to transport it all through Pendembu.

When we were going to Kankan in 1945, we also crossed on the ferry, and even the ferry was there for a long time, until now it is not functioning. I think until the fifties it was still there. In the end, of course, there wasn't much crossing, particularly when towards the end of the French regime in Guinea there were restrictions. But when the French were still there, I think the ferry was still there: I probably think it was finally discontinued when Guinea declared herself independent. They were so strict about crossing at that time that I think we had a few cases of people really shot with guns from across. It happened I think at the crossing at Sambalu, near Kailahun; and then in the Kissi Kama Chiefdom at Sangha - I think some people were shot from across the river. I probably think that is the time the ferry really closed finally.

Q. When did the first Syrian merchants come to Koindu ?

A. I think it was probably in the late forties to fifty, because I think when I was in Union College in my final year in 1949, we took an excursion to Koindu to see the market, because then the fame of the market began to spread and we were rather curious to know the sort of things that went there and the trade that took place there We interviewed the chief (the father of Foyoh) and I think we wrote down the findings about the market. I think at first the Lebanese were much more interested in just staying in their stations at Buedu or Kangama and going to Koindu to sell on Sundays. They made a lot of money because they took a lot of cheap

goods ... and thousands of people would rush to buy. I think Lebanese used to come in from Bo, from Freetown, from Segbwema. And then Koussa was here [in Kailahun] with Mr. Habib Risque, his brother-in-law, he was one of those who was very frequent at Koindu. He would load the lorry with goods - cotton goods, and a lot of other things - and then he would take them to Koindu: and he would make a lot of money. Sometimes some of them used to sell £300 or £400 on Sunday. Those interested in produce set up buying stations, buying places, and they bought a lot of palm kernels. They could buy up to 100 bags of kernels on Sunday; and it was only in the fifties, I think, that they were interested in settling there.

As I said, there was a Mrs. Ralph James, a Creole lady, and she was very very important in Koindu in the 1950s, and even to the 1960s. She bought a lot of produce, she bought provisions from Freetown and supplied some of the Liberian Customs Officers and so on, and she made a lot of money. But I don't know whether she was interested in politics - when the new regime came in she had to abscond to Guinea Recently, you have quite a number of Lebanese traders there now, mostly interested in produce and transport. They have lorries that transport their kernels every week to Freetown, and then from there - sometimes twice a week. And recently of course there were a few African, Sierra Leonean traders also who were very very prominent, and one of them is Fayia Kamara. He had a shop, a buying station at Dia, and he had another one at Koindu, and he had another one - he stayed at Kangama at that time. And he had two lorries that transported kernels from these places. But I think he is now settled at Buedu

Q. Would you agree that the Methodist Mission in this area has been a failure ?

A. I think this is true. Perhaps people may think we are critical. But if you think of the achievements of the Church in the area as far as the Christian religion is concerned, the numbers are very small. In Kailahun town, for instance, there has been only that small Church: it is only now that we are trying to build a bigger Church. And even for that, on Sundays you find out that, when the Secondary School or the primary school is on holiday, there is hardly anybody in the Church. Yet the town has a very large population really, that is going to well over 6,000.

Some people think there are some reasons for that. As I discuss it with my fellow Sierra Leoneans who are in the Church, at the time I was employed as a teacher, we were particularly appointed by the Chairman of the District as the Circuit Agent - that we were not only teachers but we were Christian teachers - and we had an obligation to preach and so on. I still have my appointment letter of December 1949, from Rev. L.W. Juby who was then Chairman of the District. I think first of all when the Church was established the people concentrated more on village work, and then they did not try to think in terms of schools or personnel, indigenous personnel, who should help the Church. There was only one Methodist Secondary School and this was the Methodist Boys' High School, and this as you know is really a Creole school, because the Creoles had a great deal of influence, and no son from the Protectorate really had access to that school. If they had, it may be those who are

still Creoles in Freetown. In fact all the primary schools the Methodists established in this area, most of them stopped in Standard 4 at first, and I think some people are really bitter So right from the beginning they did not encourage establishing higher secondary schools in the Protectorate; and there was not much encouragement in the schools

I was asked to talk on 'Youth and Education' at Union College - I think it was in the late fifties during the time of Rev. Harold Cook, and I had to tell them that when some of the early Methodist missionaries came here they told the Sierra Leonean to look down instead of looking up. My reason for saying that is that they had a lot of potentiality in Segbwema and Jojoima and the other areas to develop education, but when they came most of the school buildings were built with mud, mud blocks. And over the years, as changes came about, those buildings deteriorated The Catholics believe that education is the best way of spreading religion, because they boast that if you give them a child for six years, no longer the parents, they, they would have indoctrinated that child to such an extent that they know. The Methodists didn't do that. They concentrated more on village life. And what happens really is that if you concentrate on the illiterate elders in the village, well for some time they are really going to believe and they are going to become converts; but then they look for examples. If you leave the literate who attended your school or who is in the town, if you don't pay attention to him, then he's not going to be a good Christian, and if this literate happens to go to his village, and on Sunday the bell is rung and he doesn't go to Church, people will say, 'Well, if this is the man who has been educated and he's not going there, what can we do?' So that the example is there. I wouldn't say it's a mistake to do something with the illiterates, but I think both classes - particularly the educated group - should be encouraged. If we had had even one secondary school in the Protectorate, I think today we would have ministers

I also think that you cannot divorce religion from social life of the people. Now, it appears that the sort of Christianity our missionaries brought is that, well, they came and introduced Christianity to the people, but they did nothing to help them to mix with the people. They didn't sort of mix with the people, so that they can know the life of the people and help them to develop their social and economic life So I think the attitude of the early missionaries did quite a lot to retard the work of the Christian Church in this area; so that what we are really doing [now], a lot of it is remedial - trying to get to the people.

Q. When really did cocoa and coffee develop as commonly-grown cash crops in Luawa and Kissi ?

A. I think they became important really after the Second World War, because before that we used to travel by foot to Mano-Sewalu, so that [I know] in those days there was very little coffee or cocoa. Sometimes we went to Nyandehun to buy rice and pass through: our guardian had a house of bamboo thatch and on every Saturday whenever he wanted to roof it, we had to ... walk to Dodo-Cotuma to fetch this bamboo thatch, and so during those days when I was in school, and even up to the late forties, there wasn't much of cocoa.

But there is a story about it, particularly Mando Chiefdom, which is near Pendembu. People say that there was a time when Chief Bai Comber (that's the father of the present Chief) he was ... appointed a Nominated Member of the Legislative Council I think they were told to encourage their people to plant cash crops. According to the story, they say that he was able to obtain some [cocoa and coffee seedlings] from the Agricultural Department, and then he brought it to his Chiefdom and he planted a lot of coffee particularly - some cocoa, but mostly coffee. He planted, and his sub-chiefs planted, and from his sub-chiefs people in the neighbouring Chiefdoms got, people in Malema Chiefdom (Jojoima) got a lot, people from Jawe got, people from Pendembu got, and eventually people of Luawa got from those of Pendembu. And so it spread. This is probably true. I should say this would be in the late forties - the late thirties to the late forties - because he was one of the old Chiefs: so that this is how the crops spread. And even in the Kissi area, the Kissi area are getting from their neighbours in Luawa. They come and get the young plants, the seedlings from here [Luawa], and then transfer them to the Kissi area.

But throughout the war I'm not sure that cocoa was really very important. There were a few trees but it hadn't a good price. But it started really in the late fifties - this was the time the price was good. The Produce Marketing Board getting on its feet encouraged the farmers to get the cocoa, and then it started grading the beans - Grade 1, Grade 2, Grade 3. Grade 1 fetched more money: perhaps a difference of about 6d., then Grade 2, then Grade 3. And then coffee also became important

But in the Kissi area really there are not a lot of cash crops as we have in the Mende, the Luawa Chiefdom, or the area going down towards Segbwema or Kenema. This is because in the centre, towards Liberia - right in the centre - in fact as you travel by the motor road in the centre going right up to Koindu, most of it is grassland, and these crops really don't do well there: the rainfall is not high. And as a result, the people in the Kissi area keep mostly cattle, because of the grass: so they are really more cattle-rearers than cash-crop farmers. But of course, I must say cash crop is spreading ... planted around the towns and around the valley of the Moa - the banks of the Moa: all towns situated along the Moa River have good soil, and it's spreading. But there's not quite a lot of cash crops in the Kissi area: there are more of cows and so on. And again one would say a man having one cow, every year it produces, and a cow costs over nearly £20, that they have interest more in rearing cows than in this.

Q. When was the Buedu to Koindu motor-road built ?

A. I think it was, sort of, a war emergency, so that it was probably around 1942, 1943; because my uncle worked at Buedu, F.E.J. Tengbe worked at Buedu in 1943, and then I used to go there on holidays, '42; '43. And I think that was about the time the motor-road was being constructed to Koindu: first of all to Kangama, then eventually to Koindu. And I very well remember by 1945, this road was new, and by 1948-49 I used to ride a lot on that road on a bicycle; and the hills were very steep. And even after the war 1946-47, some of these lorries the Army disqualified were

sold to civilians - these Army Bedfords were sold to civilians, and they built trucks on them, and they used them for transport. And some of the hills were so steep, like the hill on Mile 41, that lorries used to come down the hill backwards and some of them used to get a lot of accidents on the road; so that it was then a new road at that time, just let us say 3 or 2 years old

Two things I remember about the road that made the road important. First is the Trypanosomiasis Campaign, this Sleeping Sickness Campaign, which the World Health Organization financed, there was need for them to get into the interior, to Koindu and to the neighbouring villages, and they had a lot of things to transport - drugs, personnel, because they had a team. Because whenever they went to a place there would be booths, and they trained a lot of young men who left school in Standard 6 or so, they trained them in laboratory work so that when they got to a place they examined the people, took their blood and examined this blood under the microscope, and then they tested to see whether they have these bacteria, and from there they prescribed the treatment. So all this needed a lot of equipment. They had cases of microscopes, drugs, and they had a convoy of lorries that took the people, the doctor in charge, the dressers and so on: so this was one of the reasons really that made the road important, because when they went they opened Koindu as their centre, and so there was need to transport these people up to Koindu.

And then with this also, because the road had got to Koindu, the French Guinea Government took advantage of transporting these kernels in '44 to '45. So I should think that around '41 the road was probably being completed, and by '42, '43 it had been completed, because in '44 it was used by the French people coming across, and then of course in '45 I travelled on it.

APPENDIX 10 :

INTERVIEW 22 : EX-P.C. KAITUNGI, ON 28 APRIL 1972,
IN BUEDU, KISSI TUNGI CHIEFDOM.

"Education in Sierra Leone was very slow. Several people who had the opportunity for education were those whose areas were visited by Christian people like the Methodist Church, the Roman Catholic and other denominations. Very unfortunately, our area was far inland and communication was very, very bad - no roads, no way to get unto us. So we had no privilege: we, the Kissis, right in here in the horn of Sierra Leone, had no opportunity to come in contact with several of these people who were giving education to us. But when the British took over, fortunately, they considered that education should be done in Sierra Leone on a wide basis, and a certain school was erected at Bo. That school was called Bo School, and was a school put up by Government for the sons of Chiefs and nominees only: nobody else was to go to that school. The purpose of putting up that school was to educate the sons of Paramount Chiefs and nominees, so that if a vacancy occurs in your Chiefdom, you will return to your Chiefdom and be crowned Paramount Chief.

While at school, you will be taught how to handle your people and you will be trained in a better way. So in the year 1915, one Provincial Commissioner, Mr. W.D. Bowden, came on tax collection and suggested to the chiefs of the Kissi people that he would like them to have their sons sent to the Bo School. The chiefs were very glad indeed, although some hid their sons and refused to give them. I remember two of the boys were given, one from Buedu here whose parents refused, and another in Kangama whose mother also refused. And they had to succeed in getting five of us to go as new boys to the Bo School. Those of us who were selected were:-

for Kissi Tungi,	Nyuma Kongor
	Braima Lahun
	Kaitungi
and for Kissi Teng,	Tamba Gboyo
for Kissi Kama,	Tengbe Kpandea.

We all went to the Bo School in 1915, we remained in school for quite a long time, and the earliest period we spent was from 1915 to 1924, when two of us brilliantly had passed our examinations and went in for further studies. I was sent, of course, to Njala Agricultural College to do three years. I continued there for three years, and after passing my examination I was sent to join the Sierra Leone Battalion, Royal West African Frontier Force, as an Agricultural Instructor and Teacher, so that I should train the men, the soldiers. After they have finished their services with the Army, they should return home to do agriculture. That was the object of training me particularly for them. And when I was there it wasn't long, after one year, in the second year, very unfortunately, the West African Regiment that was in Freetown was disbanded and the Sierra Leone Battalion was told to go to Freetown. So the Headquarters of the Sierra Leone Battalion, Royal West African Frontier Force, was moved to Freetown, and I was attached to Headquarters.

In Freetown we had no land to pursue agriculture, and I was absorbed into the Army as Regimental Quartermaster Sergeant to be with the Quartermaster to do Quartermaster duties; something like a clerk or so. I was with them for at least ten years, when my brother died here in this Chiefdom [Kissi Tungi]. Well, I had no alternative: my people asked me back, so I resigned from my job with the Army and came here. After two months I was elected section chief of the Tungi Tingi section in Kissi Tungi Chiefdom. Then in the second year of my reign, the Paramount Chief whom I met here was an old man (he was called Kenneh), he died. And in 1942, December 11th., after a thorough contest, I was elected Paramount Chief. I remained Chief, and several other things I did are very numerous for me to mention now. But that's how we got to school.

Q. Were you a grown man when you were sent to school, or still a little boy?

A. I was still a little boy. I think ... I was really about seven: we were seven, eight - those were the years we were picked in - seven, eight, and nine.

Q. You were the first from Kissi country to go to Bo?

A. We were the very first from the Kissi area to go for education. In fact, when we went, we were so small that for the first three years we were not permitted to come home. We never came to see our families until 1918, because Government felt that if we came, our people would refuse to send us back.

Q. That must have been very hard for you?

A. Well, we didn't feel it, because as small boys we were well trained and, I mean, we were well cared for, and Bo School at that time - there was no day scholar, it was all boarders. And there was an old nurse in charge who used to take care of the smallest boys, and patients when you are sick. And we were well fed, well cared for, especially as it was a demonstrative school as far as I saw, so they wanted it to be a school to train the children of Paramount Chiefs, who eventually will later on be Paramount Chiefs in their Chiefdoms: that was the object of the Bo School.

Q. Did you meet any people there from Luawa and Kailahun?

A. Well, there had been one called Fabundeh. He went there, but he did not finish his education. He left very early. He has died, and that's the father of Braima Combey: he went there. Well, after I had gone, on my first time I came on leave, I took away two of Momoh Banyah's children, the ex-Paramount Chief Kailondo went with me; then another called Sama-Kulu, who was District Commissioner, now in Banyawalu [in Kailahun: he died in July 1972], also went with me.

Q. They were the first two after Fabundeh to go from Luawa?

A. One Binneh Fabundeh, and one Sao Bundeh - the Bundeh's went. Binneh Fabundeh, I found him in the school and he was my senior. I even fagged under him. He left school long before I left, went to the Produce Examining Branch, eventually left. I understand he had died in Monrovia, because he went away. We had Fabundeh, we had Sao Bundeh: you know, then the Fabundehs were Paramount Chiefs, so they arranged to send their children.

Q. Were there any more people from Kissi country or Luawa who were sent to the school while you were still there?

A. Yes. While I was still there, they sent the present Speaker of Dia, Jabba. Then another fellow went called Fayia, but he failed: he went and fagged straight under me - he came from Kangama. Then another came from Dia again, another boy, but he wasn't a success. He was called Ndopa - he is with them there in Dia: he is called Ndopa. He also went to the Bo School.

Q. What about people from Luawa?

A. Oh yes, several went there: that was, Taplima Ngobeh, the Honourable Taplima Ngobeh who died; Gbessay Ngobeh. They both found me in school, and we had Alpha Ngobeh's nephew: he too went to the Bo School [Gbessay Ngobeh is still in Kailahun].

Q. Everyone comments what a beautiful town you made Buedu when you became Chief.

A. Well, when I was made Paramount Chief, we had a meeting: we had a District Commissioner called Mr. Weir, N.C. Weir. Prior to my being section chief, he had agreed with the old Paramount Chief here that the Old Buedu Town, which was down in the slope there, was not habitable for human beings. The place was damp, and therefore he suggested they should remove it, and have it built here. They agreed: he called the Chieftom counsellors and they all agreed. But as he was so old, he couldn't implement, he couldn't do anything: they couldn't listen to him. So when I was elected, the District Commissioner ... Mr. Weir came, and we held a meeting with the counsellors, and he said that they expected me to do better, and do something. Now that the Chief is dead, I've just succeeded, I should try to develop the place and build up this town. On the strength of that we had a meeting and agreed - the whole Chieftom agreed. We provided labour, that we should do the thing by communal labour. But the question arose: we had people who were householders, but eventually they were very poor and weak, they cannot be able to build a house in four years for themselves. So we decided in the committee that the Chieftom will arrange to put up houses and that we will give them. They will have to pay for each house a sum of £2 - 10s. But before a man gets an opportunity to pay for this house, you must obtain a permit, signed by me as Paramount Chief, the town chief James Davowa, and the District Commissioner N.C. Weir, with the Doctor. After they have all signed these permits, you pay only 5 shillings. Then an area is measured, because I laid out the town to be built by compound system: sixty yards by eighty, in which a house is to be built, a latrine, and a kitchen. So each compound is sixty by eighty.

After surveying out the main streets I then selected prominent things which are public, like the market - I selected a site for the market, I selected a site for the school, where it is now. I selected a site for a hospital, very near the school. Then I selected a place for a church, and selected another place for the mosque. So these houses were built. We used to get the labourers from the various sections; they come and build these houses, build it roughly. And I have to measure every house myself, to see that it gets a window, parlour, ventilation, height, and so on; and prohibited building of any of these round houses - these mushroom houses, which was all they were having in the Old Town, because that was not in accordance with health system, it was wrong. So I used to measure all the houses, and when it was built, applicants come, they pay the 5 shillings, we give them this permit, and then they select either to go and build it himself, or he applies to me that he is not able to build a house and he would like to buy one. Then I can conduct him among the houses, and he takes one. He pays for it, and the money is paid to the labourers who build the house. That was how we built the place

Very unfortunately, just prior to my arrival here, we found sleeping sickness, and the death rate of the people was very great indeed. So every day we had deaths, hundreds of people died in the Chieftom. The Government did very well. They sent a team: one Dr. Harding was the first man to come, and they surveyed the place, inoculated nearly everybody. After this term of office, for some time we had Dr. Mansaray, a fine young doctor who just had come from England, one of the people from the South, who had the opportunity of first getting education and going to England. He's called Mansaray - with the Margais, they went together Well, he came over and finished up now. And yaws - they had to inject a lot, there

was a lot of yaws in the country here. Things were very bad: our people were very poor. They were so poor, and food was very scarce. So I took upon myself to make it my problem, and forced everybody to make a farm: according to the number of people you have in your house, you've got to plant a bushel of rice for one person per year. If you have four children, yourself and wife makes six, your farm should be so large to take six bushels; in addition to which, you've got to plant cassada and potato, and other things - supplements, because when I came I found they were using palm cabbage. They hadn't food: they had to go over to Luawa to beg the people, work hard before they are given a little bit of food to come and eat. But when I came I tried to stop that. That was one of the things. Well, I can admit it was very, very pressing: I could admit - I knew it was hard, but I did it. And that is one of the things that was against me - that I have worked them very hard. That brought me up some discontentment among my people, against me, and led to my deposition; or an inquiry.

Well, the whole lot of the Kissi people, the two Chiefdoms [Kissii Kama and Kissii Teng], were taking examples from us now, because then we were able to pay our taxes very easily. We started growing things. I introduced ginger even here; I brought ginger. You know I was in the Agricultural Department and so on, and tried to tell them, and show them the importance of training creatures, and how beneficial it is, because some never thought of it. We had villages where people couldn't have clothings to wear: no trousers. You never used to see people with trousers, only a small piece of 'pieces' they used to put round. That was the first law I made, a bye-law, to stop it. And any man I see with [a loincloth], I used to go to a shop - I had a shop here - to see that knickers is sewn for him, which he could pay by instalments in palm kernels at any time he can, and see that he goes away with knickers. So anybody I used to see, or if we find a woman has got a baby, she isn't well-clothed, I even had to wrap up the baby. If it hadn't enough clothes, I used to supply and then make the husband responsible to pay. Well, that was going on very well, and we used to meet, and several other things.

Fortunately, we had a Protectorate Assembly next to the Legislative Council, there we used to go in Bo to debate, and bring up proposals and suggestions: and anything that Government used to decide must first be decided in the Protectorate Assembly. Then we had the chance not to allow anything advantageous [to the colonial authorities]. We the Chiefs, we used to meet twice a year in the Protectorate Assembly.

Q. Was cocoa and coffee in existence in the area when you became Paramount Chief?

A. Oh no, I suggested that, and started part of it. But when I went away, they found the benefit. That very year [1950] they were very fortunate. Coffee was bought at a price of nine to ten shillings a three-pence pan. So everybody rushed to plant, so now it has become a sort of a cash crop - cacao and coffee. Everybody, however poor he is, he plants it in the bush so that every year he collects something to get money as his main source of living, in addition to farming. Now these cacao and coffee plantations is the cause of late farming. When it's the time to brush [they are all collecting cacao and coffee]. And when I came, I introduced swamp-farming in this country - rice swamp.

Q. How did you get hold of the seedlings for coffee and cocoa, and swamp-rice seed?

A. Well, I was able to get hold of the swamp rice from Makeni. You know I used

to travel a lot when I was with the army. We used to travel from Daru by foot unto Karene: three months away on patrol. So I was very much acquainted with a lot of people. I was the medium between the army and the people. Whenever we get to any place and the Quartermaster wants anything (we want, say, two thousand bags of rice) I have to go to the Paramount Chief, make arrangements: be sure that he will get his money; and be sure that the rice will come; make the contract; and then report to the Quartermaster, Captain F.G. Winward

N.C. Hollins was the District Commissioner when I was at Daru. Then the Barracks, D.C.'s Barracks, was in Pendembu. It was through some operations that the Barracks was moved to Kailahun. And if I had remained as Chief we might probably have moved it from Kailahun to here - in the same way.

Q. The swamp rice from Makeni, from whom was it bought?

A. It was from the Government. The Government had Rokupr: there is rice farm there, and the seedlings used to come as far as there. So I got a few bushels, say ten, and buy it, and they send it to me. So I used to gather the people: we used to make large swamp farms - very large - and from it, at the end of the year, I see that they get quantities to seed. I showed them how to transplant rice, how to make a nursery, and how to transplant it, myself used to go with them in the swamp and do it: both men and women, all children ... - everybody is useful in swamp farming. Some carry the seedlings that they have rooted to meet the people, some are there to wash the roots, some are there to plant, and so on.

Q. What about the coffee and cocoa seedlings?

A. The coffee and cocoa seedlings, together with cotton - early long staple - all that used to come from Njala, because they sent demonstrative agriculturists to plant specimen farms in the villages for coffee. They go and plant small areas - about quarter of an acre for a chief, section chief, every section. You see it is from these that the people then got their seeds We had cotton - early long staple cotton was imported by M.T. Dawe, Commissioner of Lands and Forests. That was brought in when I was in the Agricultural College at Njala, and in fact fortunately I was placed in charge to see about the separation of the cotton

Q. Why is there not much of this long staple cotton in this area now?

A. Now it's dying out They are not spinning - the girls have stopped spinning - like in India where Ghandi had to force people to do spinning. Well even here, when these cheap clothes had not come up and the girls were not fond of (I might say) the present life, everybody used to spin. So when you have wives, you make a farm, you put a lot of cotton and they have to spin this cotton. It is this thread that you take to make into clothes, for your wife to use, and for it to make a gown for yourself. But now that cheap clothes are coming, and coffee is producing money, the woman wouldn't like to sit down to waste her time to spin. So now we've lost it, we've lost that trade - oh yes, gradually

Q. And cotton did well in this area?

A. Oh yes, because we went there [to Nigeria]. I was one of the apprentices selected to go to Nigeria for a week's work to see how it is done So when we came in, we brought in a lot of seed and we started demonstrating. You know, the whole agricultural system was a matter of demonstrative

business And M.T. Dawe was personally interested in agriculture, so he spent a lot of money personally. He brought in ginger to this country. He bought it from his own pocket, introduced ginger, and we used to show the people how to plant it, and how to peel it. Then at Njala, Mano, Taiama, and all the villages in the Kpa-Mende country: that's why they do a lot of ginger round that area. But when I was Chief, I brought ginger here and started it, but the very year when my ginger was ripe to be harvested was the year that I was deported, so I could not multiply it, neither could I get benefit from it.

Q. How did the British affect the area?

A. Our Protectorate Assembly is mainly responsible for the majority of the changes, because the British people never actually brought a change direct without discussing it first in the Protectorate Assembly, and there all the Chiefs were; every District has two Chiefs, two representatives. So if we go and agree on all these things (people used to come from the Colony too to join us, lawyers and so on), so if we used to talk on any subject it is then debated in the Executive Council and Legislative Council. It was very powerful. In fact the British Government got afraid then, and had to do its best to finish away with it. It was getting very powerful. It was in there that we suggested that we never wanted white District Commissioners. They started to say that that means to say that we didn't want them to get employment, and those of us who were pushing in that place, you see, we had the worst of it. That is why we had these cases: that is why we were deposed In those days they don't depose any other person except Bo School boys.

Q. Why did the DCs not like Bo-School-trained people?

A. They formed it really, but they found out the unexpected result. They thought that if we were trained in the Bo School as a typical native - we were not allowed to wear shoes, we were not allowed to wear a shirt with collar; you can't wear coat, not allowed to smoke. That is why scouting was not done in the Bo School, because if we did scouting, they would have provided us with boots, or they would give us felt hats, and we shouldn't use it. We should use caps [the local style of headgear], long gowns. And in training us to be typical, when we came in, they found out that we discharged our duty in a different way, because we started to feel that we were robbed. We started to feel it, and those of us who were in position felt we shouldn't allow it to continue, especially when they brought in something about a Land Acquisition Bill; when we thought of Kenya trouble and all places like that, how the land has been taken there by the Europeans and planted coffee all over and so on. If we approve the Land Acquisition Bill here, there will be trouble, and we were the forefront-people fighting it out, so it never passed. Then from that time no other Bo School boy was likely to be appointed Paramount Chief during the colonial day - they would do their best to prevent you. They would rather get an idiot and make him the Chief.

Q. Which British officials were responsible for your deposition?

A. The arrangement is that the Government charges you with a crime - you the Chief - that you are guilty of so and so, or are suspected of such and such a crime. I'm sending to inquire into the matter. So he sends a District Commissioner from another place, another District Commissioner, who comes and sees into their matter. And after the District Commissioner has

finished he sends his report to the Administrative. They send him; and they send their report to him [so they are both judge and jury in their own case]. That is how things are: you have no other say. If you try to defend yourself in another way they say, "No. According to the present N.A. rules you have no right to do such" - if they are not in your favour. If they are in your favour, they will say, "The N.A. is just introduced. That is customary law" - and then you are let off

Q. Buedu was the first town in the Protectorate to have electricity?

A. Oh yes. I bought electricity on my own. I bought it from a friend of mine, one Major Bull. Major Bull was of the U.A.C. I asked him that I wished to buy a plant to make up electricity for this town. So he said he could make me get one, a very powerful one. He said he has got one which was used for only about a week, and they have brought it back, so he could let me have it for £800. So when I went for the Protectorate Assembly, I paid him £400, so he handed me over the machine. I came and installed it. The machine is still here

Q. You were saying that you are a grandson of the great Chief Kailondo. Could you explain that, Sir?

A. Oh yes, when Chief Kailondo became Chief. We the Kissis of course, we migrated from Guinea about the seventeenth century. We migrated from Guinea and came towards this way by war. A batch of Kissis went to Liberia, a batch of them came here. And this part of the Tungi Tingi section, where my own people are, was then belonging to the Mendes. It was called Kpendehun. But when my great-great-grandfather came and conquered them, he took it over and gave it the name Tungi: he gave that country his name, Tungi. So he was very very powerful. After his death, his brother succeeded him, Sembe Fawundu. Well, he used to go down as far as Mano and Sulima when the Governor used to call them there: he used to go as far as there. He was a very hot-tempered fellow. Kailondo befriended him. [Gbandewulo was the town of Sembe Fawundu.] They were friends. So one day he [Kailondo] told him that, he called him and told him that he has been asked by the white men to sign a book; that means to lick paper - to make an agreement so that they will be friendly with the British Government, and he, Kailondo, has agreed. But he would like Sembe Fawundu to agree, so that he, Kailondo, could sign for all the Kissis including his own area, Luawa. Sembe Fawundu told him, "Yes, I agree to be with the white man, but I'm not going to agree for you to sign for me. I'm going to sign for the Kissis".

He tried to persuade him, and even promised him - he said, "If you agree now that I sign for the Kissis, I will give you a wife". Those were very valuable promises among our people. He said, "All right, I will see". But he said, "I will sign for the Kissis". He came and consulted the Kissis, and they all agreed that they were not going to allow Kailondo to sign for them, although they were friendly; but that Sembe Fawundu is going to sign for the Kissis. So Mr. Alldridge, "Bolowa", came as far as Damballu, very close to Gbandewulo, on that mission. And during there, Sembe Fawundu was called. He signed the Treaty for the Kissis. He came from Gbandewulo and signed the Treaty. Then they went as far as Kolahun. They crossed the Liberian present border and went as far as Kolahun, and got some people there connected with the whole thing. Well, on his return, it wasn't long before the great Chief died, Kailondo. After Kailondo's death, Fabundeh was elected Paramount Chief. Not long after, a staff was brought and handed him, because in Kailondo's time there was no staff. This representation to show you as a Paramount Chief, this Chieftom

staff, it was brought and Fabundeh was the first person given to. If you see, people call the present Chief [of Luawa, Fabundeh,] "Prince Bundeh". So when Fabundeh got this staff he was supposed to be like a King, and one of his sons was this Prince. That is why they used to call him, "Prince". It's no special name, but because of the position his father was holding, and just like a King's son, a Prince. That's why he has that name, Prince Bundeh.

Fabundeh was then Chief after the death of Chief Kailondo. Fabundeh became Paramount Chief, and he was also ruling all the Kissis. It was one block of Chiefdom. They gave only one staff. Then, during Fabundeh's reign, Sembe Fawundu died, and his brother, my father Koli Tungi, was chief in Gbandewulo. So he went down to Kailahun and told the Chief Fabundeh that he has some documents in connection with the Treaty which was left by his brother. Then Fabundeh wanted to receive these documents from my father. He refused to do it. But when Kailondo died, one of his eldest wives called Gbatta Kahun got married to Fabundeh - that's my mother's mother. Then my mother was a little girl. So they moved on to Fabundeh's place.

While there, Koli Tungi went and said there had been an agreement between the late Chief Kailondo that he will give a wife to my brother who is dead too. "Now I have come to you as being elected in his place, to see that you people give that woman". So Fabundeh did not do anything but sent for Momoh Banyan. Then he was a young man. He said, "Your father made that promise and therefore I have nothing else to do. You have to give away your sister to this man". Then Momoh Banyan's sister, who is my mother, who was with my grandmother at Fabundeh's compound, was handed over to my father as wife - handed over to Koli Tungi. Then the Chief said, "Now you have got the woman, what I want you to do is to go and bring that document, the Treaty". But my father was not fair. He refused to give the Treaty; and Fabundeh wanted the Treaty, because he suspected that if he lets my father keep the Treaty and there is any other thing, he too might be given the staff as having signed a Treaty. So he wanted to get hold of this Treaty from him. After making all efforts and failing, he called him one day and said "Well, Government has sent to me that they have got to change all the Treaties - they are old now, so go and bring yours. That too is going to be changed with mine. I'm going to hand them over next week". So my father of course came, took this Treaty to him. He got it then. After waiting for two weeks, when he asked, he [Fabundeh] said, "The Treaty has not come". Every time he asked, he said, "The Treaty has not come".

They were over this argument for long, until my father got annoyed. He said, "Well, when I come next, either I get the Treaty or I leave my head here". So he [Fabundeh] knew who my father was, and he knew what he meant. So he went and reported this matter. Then there was a barracks in Kailahun. He went and reported this matter to the Europeans; that Chief Koli Tungi has made up war to fight against the British people. So he's promised that next week he's coming here and he's coming to do some damage. So before they could sit down to wait until next week, the Officers there detailed a number of soldiers and sent them to Gbandewulo to get my father arrested. When they got to Gbandewulo, very unfortunately for them, they found my father had crossed over to Liberia. He was in his village when he heard the news, and somebody went and reported to him everything that has happened, so he crossed over the Liberian border. He was at the border when they went and got into the barracks. There was a barracks in Gbandewulo [i.e. a Liberian Frontier Force barracks]. So they asked them to produce my father: they said whether they were all prepared to say that they are under the British or the Liberian people. They said, "Well, we cannot give you an answer until chief Koli Tungi is here".

After some time they asked again: the same reply. Three times, then the Officer said, "This is my last question, if you don't give me a direct answer now, but you continue to say chief Koli Tungi is not here. It's not chief Koli Tungi I'm talking to: I'm talking to you people. Are you for the British people or are you for the Liberians?" The people said still the same thing: "We cannot decide behind our chiefs". Then he gave orders to the soldiers to fire at them. Oh yes! Hundreds of people It was that time they said I was about two months old, but I was so fat my mother couldn't run with me. She dropped me when she was running away. So a man took me and crossed me over, and found me and handed me over to my father. That was how I was saved from that trouble. Gbandewulo was destroyed, so my father remained in Liberia for about nearly nine years, and in 1914 several changes had occurred here, so my father was asked to [return]. So he came back in 1914, and was reinstated as chief in Tungi at Gbandewulo.

But then Fabundeh had died. Then Bockarie Bundeh, Fabundeh's son, was brought in and made Chief. He was made Chief over Kissi and Luawa, but he was very very arrogant with the people. His administration was very very bad. So there was a lot of discontent. One time he sent for Kongor, one of the senior Kissis' Chiefs in Koindu, that they should not take him in a hammock; Kongor should walk to meet him and walk to go back. So Kongor did it: he walked, and did it and returned. Then when he came he called all the Kissi people. They met and swore together that they would never go under Luawa again. Then the following day they marched on to the Europeans and reported this matter. Then they decided that the Kissis should be separated from Luawa and be given a staff. So the first staff for the Kissis was given to Kongor: he was at Dambala. He was the first Kissi Paramount Chief. We hadn't three Kissi Chiefdoms, we had only one. So he was then Chief. It wasn't long before Bockarie Bundeh was refused by his people, and banished. After that Alpha Ngobeh's father, old Ngobeh, contested with Momoh Banyan. But Momoh Banyan was too young, and knowing the maltreatment he had received from the deposed Chief, Government was very doubtful of his not going to repay debts. So they said he was too young, so he should wait. So Ngobeh became Paramount Chief. Ngobeh was his [Bockarie Bundeh's] Speaker, then Ngobeh became Paramount Chief. When Ngobeh was too old, Momoh Banyan was made Regent. After some time, L.H. Berry (Bowden was on leave - Mr. L.H. Berry was Acting Commissioner) he came and crowned Momoh Banyan as Chief

Q. Did Koli Tungi rule only over territory which is now in Sierra Leone?

A. No, because when my father died he left a document which declared him as clan chief of nearly a whole section of Liberia. My father was also in command of all that. And when my brother died, they left that document with me in a bag. But when my house burnt in Freetown, it got burnt. I had it all Even now we have cousins, we have relatives there [in Liberia]. Keifa, one of the clan chiefs there, is one of our cousins After his [Koli Tungi's] exile, when they drove him away, when he went away, on his return here, Chief Kongor spoke with him, and he didn't go back again, and therefore his influence was not exercised any more. We came back in 1914, and in 1915, of course, I went to school

Q. How did we come to have three Kissi Chiefdoms here?

A. Well, it was after Kongor had died, Commissioner Bowden came for an election, and it was difficult for him whom he should elect. The clan chief, the man who was senior man in Kissi Teng, wanted to be Paramount Chief; the man who was at Kangama wanted to be Paramount Chief; my father wanted to be Paramount Chief (in fact, unfortunately for him, the time didn't arrive when he died).

So one Sengbe Gbeior, in this town, I mean at Gleima (very close to Buedu) wanted to be Chief. So when Bowden came and saw this thing very difficult, what he did was to divide it and to give three staffs instead of one Here [in Kissi Tungi] was complicated. The man who stood up for candidature to be Chief was played out. His name was Sengbe Gbeior, but he wasn't very tricky. Well, he had a tricky fellow here, in Buedu here, called Sahr Kallan. Sahr Kallan told him that, "I'll be your mouthpiece and fight this battle for you. So when I succeed as Chief, if we succeed with the crown, I'll hand it over to you". Sengbe Gbeior agreed. He was favoured by all the people, so he told the people that they should support Sahr Kallan, including even our own people. So when the Commissioner came, after having elected him, Sengbe Gbeior came to Sahr Kallan to say, "Well, according to our agreement, I've come for my staff". Sahr Kallan told him that, "What are you doing?" So he sent a message to the Provincial Commissioner at Kenema to report that after the election, one man Sengbe Gbeior had come to say that he is no Paramount Chief, that he wants to take the staff by force. So the Commissioner sent for Sengbe Gbeior. Sengbe Gbeior was arrested and sent to prison. He remained in prison until he died.

Q. Did Sahr Kallan reign for a long time?

A. No, I think two or three years, then he died. After Sahr Kallan's death, he was succeeded by his brother Davowa. Davowa reigned for five years, then he died. Then that time I was at Njala in college. I came on leave and it came on the election. So one Fatorma stood as candidate. So I stood too as candidate. Well the Provincial Commissioner said I was too young to be elected Paramount Chief, and that I have to wait for another ten years. So I lost the election, so Fatorma was elected. After nine months Fatorma died

Q. The British had quite a lot of influence in these Chieftdom elections? What happened when you first stood for the Paramount Chieftaincy? Did the Commissioner openly tell you that you were too young?

A. He [the Commissioner] told me that when he was giving the final verdict. He had made up and arranged with the Assessor who to elect. They had got him, so he must give me an excuse, to satisfy me It is now that they count Tribal Authorities, but long ago it was the crowd. It was the crowd, we hadn't this system of Chieftdom Counsellors. It was the crowd and elders When he [the Commissioner] looks at the crowd, his own desire, his idea what he thinks is the appropriate crowd, that he thinks is the winner. "You stand by groups". He looks at this group, looks at this, looks at this Sometimes they sent a Court Messenger to a place when a Chief is dead, he comes there and manoeuvres. If he wants any particular person, he can instigate the people to support you and then go and report to the D.C. If the D.C. writes and recommends you to the [Provincial] Commissioner, the Commissioner will authorize the D.C. to come and give you the staff The Court Messenger could elect the Paramount Chief.

When the colonial Government was on, then this N.A. was not on, the Paramount Chief was allowed free labour; free farming; they take his loads free; he talks all the cases - all court fees and fines go to the Chief. The Chief was not paid, but they make public farms for him; or where they don't make a farm, each person who makes a farm in the Chieftdom will give him a bushel of clean rice at the end of the year, and all that sold, is calculated, will come up roughly to his salary. But the Government used to give the Chief a rebate after tax - one shilling and threepence, or one and sixpence. He used to pay his clerk: every house one shilling and sixpence rebate. Then in addition to the rebate, they make farm for him.

They build his houses free. He doesn't pay, and if a man doesn't do it, he will fine him. And at the end of the year, every man who makes a farm will give a bushel of clean rice to the Chief. Any beef is killed, you have got to bring certain parts of the carcass to him, to the Chief. If you don't do it, you will be fined. And every case they summons to him, whether ten shillings, there was no limit, you can summons five pounds, two pounds, sixpence, anything; and all the court fees used to go to the Chief and his counsellors. That is how Chiefs used to get on. But when it now [after the establishment of the N.A. system] comes to a time when the administrative is against the Chief; any of these things that you do they try to support the complainant. They exaggerate it in such a way that it sounds either to cruelty or to maladministration. Sometimes a boy like this [a small boy] can go and complain against the Paramount Chief, and say that the Chief has extorted £1 - 10 from him unlawfully and so on. Well, he [the D.C.] calls a Court Messenger, if he doesn't like that Chief. He says, "Go to the Chief: tonight let him arrive here!" The Court Messenger has to walk and meet you. If he meets you at this hour [i.e. late in the afternoon], you have to go to Kailahun. You have got to pack up and go. You must go that night".

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