Palavers, great meetings, grand conferences, "tribal" meetings— these are terms used to describe meetings among peoples in and near Sierra Leone, meetings in which political, diplomatic, and economic questions are discussed and sometimes resolved at the village, intervillage, and occasionally, national levels. These conferences vary in size and importance, depending on dimensions of conflicts or questions to be resolved. This paper focuses on one such conference that convened at Förkariah, the capital of Moria, in 1805 and on circumstances leading to it. It is based largely upon a lengthy first-hand report deposited at the University Library, University of Illinois at Chicago.¹ This paper is presented in two parts: a description of the conference and its placement in Sierra Leone and Morian histories, and the text of the report produced by Sierra Leone observers.

From the earliest records of British officials at Sierra Leone, there are citations to specific "indigenous" meetings and allusions to others that supposedly occurred (indeed they would have had to occur for certain events to follow). One of the earliest large conferences described in detail in these records is one that convened at Förkariah from 24 March to 6 April 1805. The extant contemporary written record of this conference was produced by Alexander Smith, the Sierra Leone Company’s and Governor William Day’s principal representative at the conference. Other observers from Freetown included William Francis, Andrew Moore, Captain Smith, and Charles Shaw. Alexander Smith did not identify a specific interpreter nor describe what method he used to record the detailed arguments presented by participants. Certainly the filter of language and inter-

¹ "Journal of a Voyage from Sierra Leone to the River Kisi Kisi in the Schooner Experiment of Sierra Leone, February 1805, perform’d by Alex.[ande]r Smith; by order of Governor Day," Sierra Leone Collection, University Library, Manuscript Division, University of Illinois at Chicago (hereafter cited as “Smith 1805”). An earlier version of this paper was presented at the Sierra Leone Symposium which met at the University of Birmingham in 1981. The author is indebted to the National Endowment for the Humanities, which supported this research and associated travel. The Smith 1805 "Journal" is printed here with the permission of the University of Illinois at Chicago.
pretation must have influenced the record's content. If one places
the conference within the framework of Company and Sierra Leone
history, however, and accepts the premise that the Freetown observ­
ers were relatively unbiased since they were not principal parties to
the palavers resolved, the report can be seen as one of a very few in
which Sierra Leone's officials presented themselves in such
uninvolved fashion.

But more important than the role played by British observers was
the dynamic of negotiation, of consensus building, of network con­
structing and reconfiguring reflected in the conference, and of
agreements and compromises reached by participants by the time
the conference ended. To be sure, this was one of the largest confer­
cences of its kind, attended by Mande kin groups of the Northern
Rivers, by Baga and Bulom traditional headmen with authority
over lands stretching from Bouramaya on the north to Freetown on
the south, by Temne notables from the hinterland of Freetown, by
representatives from the Fuuta Jaloo, and finally by Governor Day's
observers. This was a formidable array of headmen, "bigmen," rul­
ers, and representatives, all collected together at Forékariah for two
weeks in March/April 1805.

II

From the outset, several palavers/disputes were to be resolved at
Forékariah, effectively transforming this into a Grand Palaver. The
list of disputes and importance of each item varied according to the
involved parties and the relative regional need to resolve them at
that time. Perhaps the most important and immediate issue for
Morian officials, who hosted the conference, was the recognition by
representatives of all principal Djula families of Foredugu (Yansane,
the "Ground Kings"), Maligia and Melakori (Sankoh and Fofana/
Tarawali), Wonkapong (Bangura and Dumbuya), Moribaya (Ture),
Liaih (Ture), and Towiya (Ture/Sankoh) of Alimami Amara Morani
(Fode Amara Ture) as legitimate successor to Alimami Sitafa
(Mustafa Ture) and ruler of Moria.

Acceptance or acquiescence was required for there to be political
and economic stability in the region.² Amara had come to power at

² David E. Skinner, "Sierra Leone Relations with the Northern Rivers and the Influ­
94. Skinner, 94, wrote that "Civil War [in Moria] ensued in almost every case of suc­
cession after the death of an alimami, as rivals among the Ture [from Famoria,
Yankissa, Moribaya, Tana, Berika, and Rowula] sought the royal turban." Skinner's
description in Thomas George Lawson (Stanford, 1980), 52–64, of principal lineages in
the Northern Rivers and the roles they played in Moria politics is particularly helpful.
Forékariah after a seven-year period of confusion and disorder that followed the death of Sitafa during the 1797-98 dry season and his election by elders at Forékariah in 1804. According to Zachary Macaulay’s recollections of a discussion that he had with a high official who served Sitafa, a degree of political disorder in the Northern Rivers began early in 1797 when Sitafa declared a war against non-believers. According to Macaulay’s informant, many of Sitafa’s own headmen had objected to this war, had summoned a conference that rejected his orders, and, for a time and perhaps informally, had discussed his possible dethronement. Before they took that step, however, Sitafa “was arrested by a sudden illness which very soon terminated fatally.” A majority of headmen in Moria in 1797-98—according to a report from Betsy Herd, who operated an important trading factory at Bereira—agreed that no new ruler would be appointed immediately since some elders liked the freedom of ruling “without Control.”

There were, however, more plausible reasons for delay. In 1797-98 political leaders, both within and outside Moria, were exhausted by a series of disturbing circumstances which began in the 1780s and continued to divide the region in the following decades. Clearly, the appearance of a “Mahdi” in the Northern Rivers during the 1780s and his appeal to peasants and slave workers had brought a crisis among leaders concerning the “correct” way to deal with this person; but these differences disappeared when the Mahdi fell to an assassin’s blade. Slave rebellions by those most attracted to the Mahdi’s message, which erupted sporadically after his assassination, continued throughout the remainder of the eighteenth century. Suppressing these rebellions provided, momentarily at least, a

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3 “Journal of Zachary Macaulay” entry dated 27 April 1798, Henry E. Huntington Library, San Marino, California. I saw a microfilm copy of this journal at the Fourah Bay College Library, Freetown, Sierra Leone.
4 Ibid.
5 Ibid.
7 Bruce L. Mouser, ed., “Journal of Mr. Bright’s Expedition to the Mandingo Country,” in Guinea Journals: Journeys into Guinea-Conacry During the Sierra Leone Phase, 1800-1821 (Washington, 1979), ms page 19, 42, 80-81; Thomas Winterbottom, An Account of the Native Africans in the Neighbourhood of Sierra Leone (2 vols.: London, 1804), 1:246-49. Macaulay’s journal (above) is also rich in information about a slave insurrection that Moria and its allies suppressed in 1795-96 and about interruptions in interior paths caused by war between Temne and Limba. See also Adam Afzelius, Sierra Leone Journal 1795-1796, ed. A. P. Kup (Uppsala, 1967), 123, for more on slave insurrections on the coast.
rallying point behind the leadership of Moria for all notables in the Northern Rivers, whether Muslims or non-believers, for their very existence was then at stake. With major rebellions brought under control by 1797, the last thing that those outside of Moria needed was a new war, perhaps against those who had helped to put down these rebellions in the first place, and that would perhaps increase the relative strength of Moria within the region.

Equally important were other considerations. By 1797, the British settlement at Freetown had grown considerably, and a few years earlier, in 1794, the Sierra Leone Company had sent an expedition to Timbo, led by James Watt, whose purpose was to discuss ways to open a new trade path between Timbo and the British settlement.8 Timbo’s exports to the coast included cattle and rice that were consumed by settlers, as well as ivory, gold, wax, hides, and other commodities that the Company sought along the coast.9 Watt’s discussions with Alimaami Saadu at Timbo focused upon two possible paths that could connect the settlement to interior markets. An overland path through Port Loko, along the Fuuta/Scarcies corridor, was in 1794 controlled by traders at Bance Island who were outside the Company’s jurisdiction and who continued to purchase slaves, a practice that the Company’s charter disallowed.10 This path could effectively bypass paths controlled by Djula notables in the Northern Rivers. A second path connecting the Company with the interior would terminate in the Rio Pongo, where the Company would soon establish a factory at Freeport. Cattle, rice, and other commodities would then be transported by canoe or Company vessel to Freetown, thereby linking Timbo and Freetown in a coastal network, a north-south line of trade.11

Watt’s travels to Timbo and his discussion there were known to merchants at Bance Island and, once he traveled through Forekariah on his return to the coast, to Djula traders in the Northern Rivers. Indeed, while Watt was still at Timbo, Fendan Modu Dumbuya, representing an important Djula trading family in Sumbuya/Wonkapong, visited Freetown and almost immediately began to set the foundations for a north-south canoe-based network of commerce connecting his operations in Sumbuya to the growing market for rice and cattle at Freetown.12 Fendan Modu owned many slave

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9 Ibid., 127, 75, 118, 119, 123. For additional references to trade goods consult the index in ibid.
10 Ibid., 79.
11 See Bruce L. Mouser, “Trade, Coasters, and Conflict in the Rio Pongo from 1790 to 1808.” JAH, 14 (1973), 45-64, for extensive treatment of the Company’s enterprise in the Pongo between 1795 and 1802.
12 Mouser, James Watt, ms page 121; Christopher Fyfe, A History of Sierra Leone (Lon-
villages in Sumbuya and produced salt, kola, and cloth for the interior trade and significant surpluses of rice and cattle that could be sold at Freetown.\textsuperscript{13}

In addition to his roles as trader (with both interior caravans and European buyers) and producer of commodities, Fendan Modu was related to the Bullom/Baga headman Mongé Demba of Tombuli (Baga-Kaloum) whose mother was a Dumbuya; Mongé Demba claimed traditional rights of ownership of all salt producing areas between Bouramaya (Konkouré River) and the Scarcies River and of the Iles de Los.\textsuperscript{14} Fendan Modu was a major landlord in his own right, and while he perhaps lacked a “title” within indigenous ranks, he had acquired the position of “bigman,” one who protected indigenous (partially Islamized) rulers against challenges to their authority and against expansionist state-building from Moria.

As a Muslim “protector” in an essentially non-Muslim state, Fendan Modu lent credibility to Sumbuya and its traditional Bullom/Baga/Susu ruler. By joining with other Djula headmen/landlords to suppress slave rebellions following the Mahdi’s visit in the region, Fendan Modu demonstrated his allegiance to traditional landlord practices and privileges and allied himself to other notables in the region. In effect, Fendan Modu was a good Muslim, a protector of landlords, a sponsor of Muslim schools within Sumbuya, willing to carry war against those who challenged his and his landlord’s authority, and an able warrior and ally for others in his region. He also had six sons who could help him to extend his network of commercial and political ties within the rivers.\textsuperscript{15}

\textsuperscript{13} “Richard Bright Journal” in Mouser, \textit{Guillaume Journal} (hereafter “Bright 1802”) 18 October, reported that Fendan Modu Dumbuya’s annual production of sea salt amounted to 100 tons and rice to 100 tons. Bright also noted that Fendan Modu’s people grew cotton that they wove into cloth sought inland by Benna, Sulima, and Fula peoples.

\textsuperscript{14} Mahawa Bangura, \textit{Contribution à l’histoire des Sosoe du 17\textsuperscript{e} au 19\textsuperscript{e} siècle}, printed as “Mémoire de Diplome de fin d’études supérieurs, 1971-72” (Institut Polytechnique Gamal Abdel Nasser, République de Guinée, 1971-72), 89, 161, 170. David E. Skinner, “Islam in Sierra Leone during the Nineteenth Century” (Ph.D., University of California-Berkeley, 1971), 81, noted that Fendan Modu also married a daughter of Bai Sherbro of Bullom Shore. Such marriage alliances, in combination with consanguineal ties with ruling families among the Baga-Kaloum, represented a significant network of alliances covering nearly 150 kilometers of the coast.

\textsuperscript{15} “Smith 1805,” 7.
In effect, expansion of the Dumbuya network to the Freetown market along an exclusive north-south corridor of canoe-based trade would have significantly modified commerce as it then was practiced along this coast. Between 1794 and 1802, Fendan Modu and his son Dala Modu Dumbuya attempted to build a new outpost of commerce at Freetown by demonstrating to British officials that he was a friend of the settlement and to notables in the Northern River that he, or his son Dala Modu, was the new "bigman" at Freetown who represented their continuing investment in the Freetown market. Within this corridor the Dumbuyas provided markets for canoe trades from Laiah, from Towiya, and, of course, from the coastal towns of Moria and Sumbuya, and gradually the Dumbuya lineage began to play a role of broker between the two trades and acquired respect at Freetown as a dependable supplier of commodities for the Freetown market and reliable informant for changing circumstances in the Northern Rivers.

By diverting trade from the Port Loko path, however, this north-south corridor of commerce challenged existing lines of trade, and inevitably brought reactions from that sector. Championing the existing network of trade and political influence was Mori Kanu, a Djula who had settled among the Bullom peoples south of the Melacoree River and who interpreted the Dumbuya initiative at Freetown as one which could be removed through alliances created with like-minded Temne and Bullom landlords in the immediate vicinity of Freetown. Although Mori Kanu was the most outspoken and visible proponent of this alternative network, others certainly had as much or more at stake in his scheme. Central to their concern was the presence of Dala Modu at Freetown as of 1799.

Mori Kanu also held an ambiguous claim to authority over the coastal lowlands, especially those involved in salt and kola production, from the Iles de Los on the north to the mouth of the Sierra Leone River on the south. Were he able to enforce it, this claim would place Mori Kanu in a position to blockade rivers' estuaries and interrupt Moria and Dumbuya maritime commerce, curtail the salt and kola production and trade of these important commodities into the interior, and regulate commerce between the Northern Rivers and the growing British settlement at Freetown.

16 Zachary Macaulay Diary, entry dated 9 April 1794. For other references see Skinner, "Mande Settlement," 45-46; Skinner, Thomas George Lawon, 30-31; and "Bright 1802," 23 October.
18 It should be noted that Fendan Modu Dumbuya was attempting to establish similar marriage alliances.
19 "Smith 1805," 27 March; "Bright 1802," 1 October.
The struggle for indigenous control of the Freetown market in rice, cattle, and commodities came to a head during the Nova Scotian Rebellion of 1801 and the Temne/Company war of 1802. These wars began in consequence of an internal disagreement between the Company and some of its Nova Scotian settlers, and then expanded in scope when settlers made alliances with indigenous headmen who were dissatisfied with contractual arrangements made between themselves or their predecessors and the Company. Mori Kanu saw an opportunity in this dispute; whatever the outcome, markets for interior products would continue at Freetown and in the meantime, perhaps the Dumbuya network could be removed and replaced by one of his own making.

In the first war the Company amply defended its position at Freetown. In the second war, however, Temne headmen and Mori Kanu sought alliances in the Northern Rivers, especially with the Fofana/Tarawali lineages at Maligia and Melakori and the Ture branch at Berika, to bring a different outcome for their Nova Scotian allies. Sattan Toumani (Fofana/Tarawali) of Maligia was already feeble and, perhaps mindful that an alliance against the Company would not obtain the "national sanction" of Moria or the Djula families, he contacted Amara and Sattan Sulaiman of Forékariah who replied that Moria would not participate in such a venture and warned him of dire consequences if Maligia were to ally itself with the Temne/Mori Kanu coalition near Freetown. Toumani consequently dispatched his son, Fatima Fode, to Mori Kanu with instructions to seek a peaceful accommodation between the Temne (King Tom)/Mori Kanu alliance and the Company.

By the time that Fatima Fode arrived there, however, the Mori Kanu alliance had already decided to carry war against the Com-

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20 The best accounts of the Nova Scotian Rebellion and the background leading to it are found in John Peterson, Province of Freedom (Evanston, 1969); Ellen Gibson Wilson, The Loyal Blacks (New York, 1975); and James W. S. Wilson and G. Wilson, The Black Loyalists (New York, 1976).
21 "Smith 1805," testimony from Prince Tom on 1 April. Skinner, "Sierra Leone Relations," 95, dates Dala Modu's settlement near Freetown as beginning in 1799.
22 King Tom's attempt to recruit Moria involvement perhaps was not misplaced. Late in 1802 ("Bright 1802," 2 October), Sattan Sulaiman, governor of Forékariah, told Bright that Moria had no complaint against the Company, except that the Company had insulted Moria by consulting the Fula and showing preference "to the Foulas in sending an embassy to him [in 1794] and neglecting theirs. This conduct, he thought, very preposterous. The former was at too great distance to serve the colony as an ally, which was not the case with the latter." In reply, Bright argued that Company discussions with Timbo had occurred in consequence of several factors, among them a desire "to establish peace between the Foulas and Susoos, and to open a new path for trade. An offensive or defensive alliance with the Foulas was out of the question. We knew that they were too distant to answer those purposes."
pany; Fatima Fode was enticed to join the alliance with a promise of marriage to one of Tom’s daughters, effectively drawing Maligia and its trade into the new network building around Mori Kanu. Whether by design or by accident, this new war directly involved the Dumbuya network when Temne warriors looted Dala Modu’s store and his property on Bullom Shore. Dala Modu responded defensively by providing warriors in support of the Company and together they routed the attacking forces who fled northward to Maligia. In a December 1802 meeting at Forékariah, called by headmen to decide what to do with Tom and a few Nova Scotians who sought refuge at Maligia, Dala Modu attended as “Envoy from the Governor and Council [of Sierra Leone] to the Chiefs residing in the Kissey [Melacorea/Forékariah] and Quiaport [Wonkapong],” a status that demonstrated his ascendancy and that of his lineage at Freetown and along the coast. Clearly this latest war consolidated Dumbuya influence at Freetown in ways unexpected by Mori Kanu or his allies and made the “final” selection of a new ruler in Moria even more important.

An additional complication that had forestalled the selection of a new Morian leader after 1797 involved the intricacies of the ruling Ture family line, whose members held varying degrees of acceptability on the coast. Neither Sattan Bassi nor Sattan Sulaiman of Forékariah were Ture on their father’s side and, therefore, although highly regarded in Moria, stood outside the line of succession. Sitafa’s paternal brother, Kalli (Quia) Modu Ture of Berika, could contend for the turban, but he was old and apparently lacked interest in assuming the burdens of supreme power. His son, Quia Bubu Ture (alias Bubakr of Berika), was eligible to become ruler if rule were to pass to the next generation.

23 “Bright 1802,” 30 September.
24 “Smith 1805,” 1 April.
25 PRO, CO270/8, Council, 1 July 1802 [p. 105]; Fyfe, History of Sierra Leone, 90. After the war’s failure, King Tom, Fatima Fode, and numerous Nova Scotians retreated to Maligia. Namina Modu (Port Loko), Quiaba Sinna (Melakori), and Yansane (Foré dougou) convinced Sattan Toumani to hold King Tom and the Nova Scotians at Maligia until the Company, or someone else, paid for their release. Fatima Fode’s fate would be decided “by his Peers in the grand palaver.” “Bright 1802,” 4 October.
26 “Bright 1802,” 3 October 1802. See also “Journal of Zachary Macaulay,” entry dated 10 June 1797. “Bright 1802,” 1 October, noted that Bassi was “subject to epileptic fits, and takes little part in public affairs.” David E. Skinner’s “Sierra Leone Relations with the Northern Rivers and the Influence of Islam in the Colony,” International Journal of Sierra Leone Studies, 1 (1988), 91–113, is based in part on the 1805 report by Smith. Skinner’s discussion of Djula families in the Northern Rivers and Ture kin groups is useful for understanding complex networks operating in this region at the turn of the century. See also Skinner, Thomas George Lawson, chapter 3, for discussion of Ture factions and competing networks in the Northern Rivers.
27 “Smith 1805,” 12 March. Skinner, Thomas George Lawson, 71, interpreted the con-
Of sons of Sitafa's predecessor and brother (Mori Morani, also known as Fode More Imran), Fendan Modu, Senesi, and Amara were eligible to wear the turban. In 1797-98 only Fendan Modu was at Forékariah. Amara was then at Labé or at Timbo, capital of the Fula Empire in the Fuuta Jaloo, where his father had sent him for commercial, political, and religious training in ca. 1774/75, when he was only five years old. Fendan Modu Dumbuya of Wonkapong (not to be confused with Fendan Modu Ture of Forékariah), Sattan Lahai Ture of Benna, Mori Kanu of Tanéné, and Quiaba Sinna of Melakori supported Fendan Modu Ture's candidacy, perhaps seeing him the weaker candidate whom they could more easily influence. But Fendan Modu Ture declined the turban when offered it. Elders considered Senesi too young to assume such a leadership role, and Amara was an unknown quantity who had been absent from the coast for nearly twenty years, even though Mori Morani had sent him to be schooled to assume the ruler's turban or some other important position in government. Amara's long residence in the Fuuta Jaloo, moreover, might bring Fula interests and challenging ideas should he become ruler, perhaps altering existing balances among principal families on the coast.

Notwithstanding the objections to Amara's election, some elders in 1798 placed his name in nomination, only to find others objecting to him "on account of his youth." The decision clearly was to do without a ruler, at least until those who opposed Amara had mellowed. And, despite his ineligibility to wear the turban, Sattan Sulaiman would act as Governor of Forékariah until a new ruler of Moria could be selected. In October 1802, Betsy Heard, a Eurasian trader at Bereira, observed: "[w]ith respect to the election of a king ... the old men would take their own time and act in their own way, not regarding the precipitate desires of men much younger and of less experience than themselves."

By late 1804, nearly seven years after Sitafa's death, the question of power between 1798 and 1803 as principally a struggle between Amara and Quia Bubu (Bubakr).

28 "Bright 1802," 5 October. Also see Skinner, "Sierra Leone Relations," 94, 94n7.
29 "Smith 1805," 12 March.
30 A later analysis in Freetown by "a Correspondent" identified Amara as "by birth and alliance, powerful in Foutah," in "Consideration as Affording the Means of Communications with the Interior of Africa," in *The Royal Gazette; and Sierra Leone Advertiser*, 24 February 1821, enclosed in PRO, CO271/2. "Bright 1802," 6 October, noted that both Senesi and Amara had received training in Timbo and were "two of the best Arabic scholars" in Moria. Linkage to Fula interest would also have disadvantaged Senesi's candidacy.
31 "Smith 1805," 12 March.
32 "Bright 1802," 14 October. See also *ibid.*, entries dated 1 October and 8 October.
of selecting a ruler in Moria who could demand the allegiance of Moria’s headmen and respect and acceptance of the remaining Djula headmen in surrounding Djula-influenced states could no longer be deferred. A vacuum in Morian leadership between 1798 and 1804 had allowed small disputes to become bigger ones and permitted persons located between Moria and the new British settlement at Freetown to increase their own influence within the region’s politics and economy. Most obvious among these were Fendan Modu Dumbuya of Wonkapong and Mori Kanu of Tanene. By 1804, both networks were busy recruiting allies among towns and important families between Freetown and Cape Sangara. For all practical purposes, trade had become a secondary consideration, with more time spent seizing each other’s canoes or disrupting commerce wherever it might occur. Trade between the Fuuta Jalo and the coast also had become a casualty in this dispute, and a perceived threat from this sector that the Fula might intervene, unless coastal peoples were unable to resolve their own differences and end disruptions along the path, may have been the final impetus to movement toward a solution on the coast—selection of a new ruler at Moria and convening of a grand palaver to resolve regional differences.

Whether at Amara’s initiative or otherwise, Morian electors finally reached the required consensus, elected, and enthroned Amara in October 1804 as Alimami Amara Morani. Amara immediately declared war against interior groups who had closed the paths and demanded that all headmen attend a grand conference at Forekariah in March 1805 to resolve a growing number of palavers that continued to disrupt the prosperity of coastal communities. The first order of business, the priority issue for the conveners of the conference, was the recognition of Amara as the legitimate ruler of Moria and the acquisition of the important sanction from the Fofana/Tarawali lineages for his choice, which had not accompanied his election in 1804. The palavers were divided into five groups. The first dispute involved Pa Jack and Pa Tom, brother of King George on Bullom Shore, who accused Mori Kanu of allowing his troops to raid Pa Tom’s cassava plantations during the second attack on the Company and claimed that Mori Kanu wanted to enslave and sell the settlers, a circumstance that would renew war in

33 “Smith 1805,” 29 March.
34 “Smith 1805,” 6, 14 March. See also P. Hartwig Journal, entry dated 22 April 1806, Church Missionary Society, CA1/E1/116c, for description of continuing disruption of interior trade paths.
35 “Smith 1805,” 25 March.
Sierra Leone. A second palaver involved an interruption of commerce between Maligia and Melakori and the coast because Quiaba Sinna of Melakori had refused to join Mori Kanu and Fatima Fode in war against the Company. Another palaver consisted of Mori Kanu’s interference in canoe trades of the Laiah (Benna) and Towiya peoples, and the latter blamed Mori Kanu’s excesses on Moria’s failure to elect a ruler and exercise effective authority over the actions of its subjects. A fourth palaver involved the Samo ruler, Hellan, who claimed ill-treatment at Mori Kanu’s hands. Having now exhausted his patience, Hellan wanted Amara to remove Mori Kanu from his territory, carefully stipulating that other Djula of Maligia and Melakori could remain.

But the greatest and potentially most explosive palaver was that between Mori Kanu and Fendan Modu Dumbuya over control of the Freetown trade, but which, at the conference, was camouflaged by disputes concerning the attack on Dala Modu’s property and ownership of and authority over coastal towns between Iles de Los and the Melacoree River. Fendan Modu claimed to have purchased the entire area from Mori Kanu; Mori Kanu asserted that he had sold Fenda Modu only rights to the salt, not the villages, and certainly not title to the Iles de Los. Mori Kanu ordered Fendan Modu’s canoes seized in the Scarcies River. Dala Modu paid three slaves to get one canoe returned, only to find it stripped of all merchandise. In another instance Mori Kanu seized a Dumbuya canoe

36 "Smith 1805," 1 April.
37 Ibid., 30 March. Sattan Toumani died late in 1802, and Kutan Modu, his brother, became Maligia’s headman since Senesi was still considered too young to become his successor.
38 "Smith 1805," 3, 5 April.
39 Ibid., 31 March. In 1802, Benna and Moria nearly went to war over an incident that began when some Benna traders purchased arms and gunpowder from Yansane of Forédoougou, informing him of their intended use in a planned coup in Benna Country. The ruler of Benna learned of the plan and sent a large force coastward to teach Yansane a lesson. Yansane sought help from Melakori and Forékariah but, receiving none, decided to settle his dispute through a gift of slaves to the Benna ruler. Whether this incident was fully resolved in 1805 is unclear; Smith in 1805 did not mention it in his record. See “Bright 1802,” 23 October.
40 See Atzelius, Sierra Leone Journal, 138, for report that Mori Kanu had received Matacong Island “by inheritance.” Bright (“Bright 1802,” 18 October) reported that Fendan Modu Dumbuya’s annual production of sea salt amounted to 100 tons and rice to another 100 tons. Bright also noted that Fendan Modu’s people grew cotton that they wove into cloth sought inland by Benna, Sulima, and Fula peoples. Fendan Modu told Zachary Macaulay in 1794 (“Diary of Zachary Macaulay, 1 August 1793 to 16 April 1794,” entry dated 10 April), that he had traveled to the Fuuta Jalloo and beyond near Bambara Country. Joining commerce in coastaly produced salt was trade in kola that was considerable. For kola see Allen Howard, “Trade and the Spread of Islam in Sierra Leone, Eighteenth-Twentieth Centuries,” forthcoming, and George E. Brooks, Landlords and Strangers (Boulder, 1993), 69, 278–80.
off the Scarcies River and sold its crew, among them Brima, Fendan Modu’s own son. Friendly traders at the Îles de Los discovered Brima en route to the Rio Pongo (from whence he certainly would have been shipped), ransomed him, and sent him to his father at Wonkapong. Mori Kanu responded to this embarrassment by chastising his “subjects” on the Îles de Los, where he “seized and sold a number of free people [grumettas]” and extorted “money from all the white traders.”

As participants—all the important headmen from Îles de Los/Cape Sangara to the Sierra Leone River—began to gather at Forêkariah in March 1805, each group came with its own expectations. Amara wanted recognition as ruler of Moria, an end to fighting among antagonists on the coast that might interfere with the acquisition of “guns, powder, and shot” needed to wage war against those “alway[s] spoiling the path” in the interior, and perhaps a new spirit of Djula/Mande nationalism to better support northern interests vis-à-vis the Company and Fula trade. Both Mori Kanu and Fendan Modu Dumbuya had to accept the probability that their disagreements were rapidly moving them and their allies toward actual warfare, not only with each other but also with Moria, unless they recognized Amara’s election as sovereign and accepted Morian mediation in their disputes. The threat of Amara’s intervention and preconditions apparently set by Amara encouraged both to accept mediation. Mori Kanu and Fatima Fode were informed that they would not be put to death (as the law stipulated) for going to war against the Company in 1801-02 “without the national sanction.”

Because there was no ruler in place at Forêkariah during that period, the usual punishment would not be demanded. All claims would be resolved only after the court had heard testimony. All those with disputes to resolve apparently were encouraged or ordered to attend the conference, and a special invitation was sent to Governor William Day at Sierra Leone.

41 “Smith 1805,” 1 April; “Bright 1802,” 4 October. See “Smith 1805,” 28 March to 2 April, for full testimony about the Îles de Los raids. Several years earlier, Bulloms had seized two canoes belonging to Sattan Bassi of Forêkariah and carrying rice to Freetown. The Bulloms captured Bassi’s “brother,” sold him to a Bance Island merchant, where Bassi ransomed him. See “Journal of Zachary Macaulay” entry dated 17 April 1798, for this incident.
42 “Smith 1805,” 6, 14 March. See also P. Hartwig Journal, entry dated 22 April 1806, Church Missionary Society, CA1/E1/116c, for description of continuing disruption of interior trade paths.
43 “Smith 1805,” 4 April. It is unclear whether all participants were aware that this provision of indigenous practice would not be enforced; however, it is reasonable to assume that such was common knowledge, considering comments made later in the manuscript.
The two-plus weeks preceding the conference's formal opening on 24 March 1805 was a time for posturing and intriguing, introducing groups, and determining agendas. Although Alexander Smith had not come to submit Sierra Leone Company concerns for Morian mediation or to place them on the agenda, that is precisely what happened. Smith had two complaints: Bubakr of Berika owed Captain Smith money which Bubakr refused to pay, and a Lamina from Towiya had escaped from jail at Freetown and the Company wanted him returned. On 21 March Kalli Modu Ture of Bashia (moderator for the conference) asked Smith to present his palaver against Bubakr but then announced that that resolution would need to wait until more witnesses could be called, effectively enveloping the case within the conference agenda.\textsuperscript{44} This postponement also had become necessary because the Towiya people had made formal introductions to Amara on 12 March and had recognized him as ruler of Moria.\textsuperscript{45} On 22 March the Maligia and Melakori people made their introductions but postponed their formal recognition of Amara until the conference actually began.

When the conference convened on 24 March, nearly a thousand people gathered outside the palaver house in Forékariah. The list of headmen included nearly all the principal Mande, Susu, Baga, Bullom, and Temne leaders from Freetown on the south to the Ilies de Los on the north, and as far inland as Towiya to the east. Kalli Modu of Bashia acted as presiding officer, with Alimami Amara attending as host and as final arbiter should his intervention become necessary. The first order of business was an invitation to all headmen of towns in Moria who had not attended the October 1804 enthronement to swear allegiance to Amara and acknowledge him as the rightful ruler of Moria. Mori Kanu now recognized Amara and presented a gift to old Yansane of Foredugu. On 25 March the Maligia, Melakori and Wonkapong (Sumbuya) peoples acknowledged Amara "as their Sovereign."\textsuperscript{46} On both days Kalli Modu an-

\textsuperscript{44} Ibid., 20, 21, 26 March. Captain Smith apparently had engaged in a local practice of advancing Bubakr of Berika 75 bars worth of merchandise which would be used to purchase African products. Bubakr claimed that he had received only 55 bars of goods from Smith and had repaid 33.5 bars of this amount with local goods. Smith claimed to have received nothing from Bubakr. In "Bright 1802," 28 October, Bubakr of Berika was identified with an alias, Quia Bubu, son of Alimami Sitafa Morani.

\textsuperscript{45} "Smith 1805," 12 March.

\textsuperscript{46} Ibid., 25 March. The term "sovereign" in this instance might have represented a recognition of rank in status or relative power. Sierra Leone officials increasingly learned to manipulate differences between rulers near Freetown, appealing to those of greater rank for assistance in disputes between the Company and those of lesser rank. See "Diary of Zachary Macaulay, 1 August 1793 to 16 April 1794," entry dated 7 March 1794, for an example of an early attempt to appeal to a ruler of greater rank for assistance against a ruler of lesser rank.
nounced the agenda at the beginning and projected the next day’s procedures at the end of each session.

On 26 March the first order of business was the Bubakr/Smith palaver. Alexander Smith spoke on behalf of Captain Smith, witnesses testified for the opposing side, and Kalli Modu ruled for Smith, ordering Bubakr to pay whatever Smith asked. Next was the election or appointment of officers of the conference. Kalli Modu was chosen to serve as presiding officer. A public crier was selected to announce the proceedings to crowds located outside the palaver house. Peace officers also were appointed to enforce accepted etiquette on participants, even to placement of a bundle of rods in the room’s center, to be used against unruly persons.

27 March brought the beginning of Mori Kanu’s and Fendan Modu Dumbuya’s disputes and lengthy testimony by participants. Mori Kanu spoke first. The next day Fendan Modu reviewed Mori Kanu’s actions from his birth to that date and listed his many transgressions against the Dumbuya lineage. On 29 March Dala Modu explained Mori Kanu’s involvement on Bullom Shore, and Kalli Modu surprised Alexander Smith by asking him to present the Company’s argument against Mori Kanu. Smith explained that he and his colleagues were there only as observers, that the dispute between Mori Kanu and Fendan Modu was not a Company matter. Nevertheless, Smith agreed to return on the next day to present the Company’s interpretation of events that surrounded wars between the Company and the Nova Scotians/Temnes and the attack on Dala Modu’s property.

On 30 March Smith, Fatima Fode of Maligia, and Quiaba Sinna of Melakori gave testimonies, and on the following day four speakers testified against Mori Kanu. These were Senesi of Maligia, Mangé Demba of the Baga-Kaloum, the Sarno ruler Hellan who lived near the mouth of the Maligia River, and Brima of Melakori. Mori Kanu had no better success on 1 April when Temne officials (who had been expected to applaud Mori Kanu for his alliance and support in 1801-02) testified instead that they wanted the business settled once and for all. Lamina Sise on 2 April questioned Mori Kanu about his seizure of free persons on the Iles de Los and of circumstances surrounding the capture of Fendan Modu’s canoes. Other members of the court interrogated Mori Kanu on various points, and finally the Towiya people brought their claim that Mori Kanu had seized tools that they used to make canoes. After everyone had testified, Amara pronounced this part of the proceedings finished.

When the tribunal reconvened on 3 April, the court announced its decisions against Mori Kanu in nearly all cases. Sattan Lahai Ture
of Laiah asked Mori Kanu if he was ready to make restitution to everyone he had wronged and to shake hands. Mori Kanu agreed, shook hands, and supposedly ended his palaver with Fendan Modu Dumbuya. The tribunal then turned to Mori Kanu’s difficulties with the Melakori and Maligia peoples and Hellan. Mori Kanu agreed to pay whatever damages were stipulated and to move “to a place where the King [Amara] should appoint.” Only the headman from Moribayá refused to shake hands with Mori Kanu, and the tribunal postponed that portion of the discussion until another time. The palaver between Mori Kanu and Towiya remained unresolved. Instead, Amara sent a delegation to Towiya for more information, instructing the ten delegates (three from Amara, three from Mori Kanu, two from Fendan Modu Dumbuya, and two from Sattan Lahai Ture) to lodge together and to speak with no other persons during their deliberations.

When the tribunal met on 4 April, Alimami Amara Morani read the previous day’s resolutions from a formal record. Amara noted that since Moria now had a ruler, Moria would no longer permit such disagreements along this section of coast and would apply full penalties in the future. Alexander Smith spoke on behalf of the Company, expressing his desire that Company disagreements with Mandingoes would now end. Mori Kanu declared: “I thank God that I have got over this Palaver.”

With the above palavers resolved or a process for their resolution firmly established, Kalli Modu returned on 5 April to issues respecting the Company. Alimami Amara opened the session and Kalli Modu stipulated for the Company that Amara “was father [and responsible landlord] for every person from the Timmany [Temne] Country to Towia [Towiya] and Laiya on the East and north East & as far as the Isles de Loss.” Amara would assume responsibility for all acts against Europeans in that area, and maltreated persons should apply to him for protection and redress. Amara also granted “full liberty” for Europeans and Camp (Freetown) boats “to go

47 Ibid., 3 April.
48 Ibid., 4 April.
49 Ibid., 5 April. This and entry dated 5 March are the only references within the report that the Company might have had a greater objective in attending the conference. By 1805 lack of effective leadership in Moria; increasing tensions between Temne, Bullom, Susu, and Mandingo headmen north of Freetown; and disruptions of commerce may have led to concern within the Company that its security and fortune were endangered and perhaps that those responsible could be brought into line with election of a forceful ruler in Moria. Amara’s declaration of himself as “father” of the region effectively subsumed all headmen within his realm and declared Amara responsible for their actions. On the other hand, this may simply have been an expected by-product of the conference and not a result which the Company attempted to guarantee through its attendance at the conference.
throughout the whole country & put a factory in every river if we [the Company] think proper.” Amara further requested that Governor William Day act as landlord for his subjects at Freetown and protect them in traditional fashion. No one objected to Amara’s pronouncements.

Among the questions left to be resolved was the determination of status of the daughter of Daniel Carey, a Nova Scotian rebel who had retreated to Maligia after the failure of the 1801-02 rebellion. Smith claimed that this matter was not a concern of the Company but that he would provide passage if she wanted to return to Freetown and if the tribunal pronounced her free to leave. Amara delivered her to Smith, and the Company representatives left soon thereafter for Sierra Leone.

This conference and its record were important for several reasons. This was the earliest such conference to leave such a detailed record. The fact that Freetown interests were not directly involved is a further testament to a lack of bias in the record, at least in comparison to conferences that followed. The conference also marked a watershed in the history of the Northern Rivers. The reign of Sitafa had been principally one of militant religious expansionism. The seven years interim between Sitafa’s death in 1797-98, Amara’s election in 1804, and the conference of 1805 effectively ended an old phase and provided a bridge to a new period of Morian strength under Alimami Amara Morani, who ruled until 1826. The 1805-26 period would see Amara effectively resisting European encroachments on Moria’s political and commercial prerogatives and protecting Moria’s interests along trade paths between Freetown and the Fuuta Jaloo.

The conference did not remove Mori Kanu of Tanéné or Fendan Modu Dumbuya of Wonkapong or the Dumbuya networks as contenders along the coast and indeed both would soon join forces with Senesi of Maligia to oppose Amara. Nor did the conference resolve all disputes between contending families in the Northern Rivers. It proved remarkably successful, however, in bringing opponents together within a neutral environment and resolving their most diffi-

50 Ibid.
51 Ibid. The definition of “traditional fashion” is one which would plague the Company and Colony in years to follow.
52 Ibid., 6 April.
53 Rev. Peter Hartwig, Church Missionary Society, resided in Forékariah in 1806 and while there wrote insightful comments concerning Amara and his objectives; see Church Missionary Society, CA1/E1/116b, c, d, “P. Hartwig’s Journals.” Winston McGowan, “The Establishment of Long-Distance Trade between Sierra Leone and its Hinterland, 1787-1821,” JAH, 31 (1990), 25-41, has admirably traced Mandingo/Morian interests during this period.
cult and explosive disputes. The conference also demonstrated Amara's skill in using the power of his office to play a significant role in the commerce and politics of the Northern Rivers and his ability to exploit European observers when the opportunity occurred. Equally important was the fairness demonstrated in the conference's apparatus; all palaver participants had an opportunity to present their cases before the court and received a fair hearing. Translators were present for Susu, English, Temne, Bullom, and presumably Baga speakers. From a colonial perspective, study of this conference and comparisons with later ones fully demonstrates that there was an evolving role for Europeans and European observers. In 1805 Amara incidentally but adeptly drew Europeans into the proceedings to enhance his own stature and to achieve a desired consensus. In this case the Company declared its unwillingness to play such a public role, and its representatives tried to minimize Company involvement. That would not be the case in later conferences.

III

Report by Alexander Smith

The "Journal" below is printed without changes in punctuation, spelling, or capitalization. Bracketed spellings of names, places, or items are included only when alternative spelling was used in the preceding discussion. The "Journal" is published with the permission of the University of Illinois at Chicago.

[1]

Journal of a Voyage from Sierra Leone to the River Kisi Kisi\(^{34}\) in the Schooner Experiment of Sierra Leone — February 1805. Perform'd by Mr. Alex:\(\text{ande}\)' Smith; by order of Governor [William] Day.\(^{55}\)

Thursday, 28. Feb.—

Sailed from Sierra Leone with the Experiment and Sloop Nancy for Fouricaria [Forékariah] in the Mandingo Country, the undermentioned Persons accompanied me from the Colony viz. W. Francis, Andrew Moore, And[re]' [Captain] Smith, and Cha[rle]' Shaw.

Friday 1 March 1805.

The great Point on the East side of Malagia River in sight; calm

\(^{34}\) The Forékariah River above the town of Forékariah was known as Kisi Kisi.

\(^{55}\) Captain William Day, R.N., served as Governor of Sierra Leone for most of 1803 and again from January 1805 to November 1805, and was the first governor to die there.
foggy weather; got within the Kisi [Forekariah] River on the Evening Sat. 2d.— Got under weigh at 4 A.M. and came too off Berica [Berika] at 10 when we went on Shore. Quiabubu [Ture] the Chief of the Town dispatched a messenger to inform Alimany [Amara] of our Arival.— Berica runs in a line back from the side of the River, and is but a small place, it was formerly the Capital of the Bulloms in this part of the Country.— Got under weigh again at 4 and reached Fouricaria at 11 P.M.—

Sun 3d [March]—

Went on Shore after breakfast and waited on Alimamy, we found him sitting under a temporary shed covered with the branches of the Bamboo, and surrounded with most of the Chiefs and Oldmen in the Town; presented the Presents from Gov. Day. In return he gave me a Bullock, and directed me to go to his brother Sera Mooda [Siran Modu] who would accomodate some of my people with lodgings; we took our leave and visited Sera Mooda:— Messrs Smith and Shaw who appeared most anxious to be on Shore were shown into a House, it was to be sure but a shabby one, and an offer being made by M’ Neville to give them an apartment in his House they embraced his offer; the remaining two and myself preferred living on board.— In the course of the evening we paid a visit to Moricanu [Mori Kanu], accompanied by Sulimany Kanta; he seemed very shy of us and only shook hands with Francis and me, taking no notice of the rest.— Sulimany informed him that he had spoiled his name by meddling with whitemens affairs, desiring him at the same time to give over his former manner of behaving, get all his old Palavers settled, and confine his attention to his own business, we informed him also of the sentiments of Gov’ Dayan the subject. He made no reply.— Visited the graves of Sulimany Gov’ and his brother Brima who were put to death for the murder of a man Slave about two months ago; notwithstanding the ignominy of their death, they lie in a very particular place in the Burial ground.—

Mon. 4th— [March]

Alimamy sent for me early and (March 4) enquired if Gov’ Day had sent no present for the other Chiefs in the Town.— I informed him I had no instructions from Gov. Day to give presents to all the

56 Amara was a son of Mori Morani who preceded Sitafa as ruler of Moria. Amara was born ca. 1769/70 and ruled the Moria kingdom from October 1805 until his death on 19 December 1826, with the reign name of Alimami Amara Morani. He received his formal education in the Fuuta Jalloo between 1774–75 and 1798.

57 Neville operated a factory at Forekariah as an agent of John Tilley of Bance Island and maintained a close working relationship with the Sierra Leone Company. In 1806 officials at Freetown regularly purchased goods through his store and sent a Church Missionary Society missionary, Peter Hartwig, to live with Neville while Hartwig learned Susu and became acquainted with the country.
Chiefs; I had brought a small present on shore with me for Cala Mooda, Seramooода, and old [4] Yansany of Furaduga58 [Forédugu]. I intended also to give him some Tobacco and a little Cloth for the old people in the Town and any other persons to whom he chose to give it; he then gave me a hint of the very great number of people collected from all parts of country for the Palaver: on my return to the Vessel I sent the Cloth, &c which I had promised[,] called on the other Chiefs and gave them presents I had selected for them. In presence of old Yansany and Alimammy expressed a wish to know when the Palaver would begin and to have the day fixed, received only the soothing answer; that it would be talked soon.—

Tues. 5th—[March]

Shipping Rice59 on board the (March. 5) Nancy. after dinner called on Alimammy and pressed him to appoint a day on which the Palaver should be talked, he replied, as soon as Fendamooda [Fendamous Modu Dumbuya of Wonkapong] and his sons came it will begin, I enquired if he was not Alimammy and if he called any man it was very strange that he did not come; what were Fendamooda sons that they would not come when [5] he had sent for them but kept the Chiefs of so many Towns waiting (March. 5) for them; he asked me if I was really in earnest in what I did, I told him I was always so when I came to him to talk on business; all I wished to know was what I should say to Gov. Day when I wrote to him as I intended to send off the Nancy to-night; he begged I would not be engry & he would send a messenger immediately to Berirea [Bereira] to desire Fendamooda's attendance. A messenger instantly dispatched. Put six Bullocks on board the Nancy about 9 P.M. and then wrote to Gov. Day. The Nancy dropped down the river between one and two in the morning of the Sixth.—

Mar. 6, Wedny 6th.—

Visited Alimammy; he wished I should send for some things which he very much wanted; I informed I had sent off the Nancy as I had told him I should do last night; he replied, if I would yet write he would send a messenger with the letter to Berica, at which place the Nancy might yet be met with[.] I consent to write, and in the course [6] of conversation he informed if the Gov. wished him to interfere in the Timmany affairs he would do it[,] he was now at war with

58 The towns of Forédugu and Fanje were special towns that had acquired that status during earlier wars of Mandingo expansion on the coast. The Yansane lineage was known as the "Ground Kings."

59 The settlement regularly obtained rice and cattle from the northern rivers, especially the Forékariah and Wonkapong (Quiaport) rivers. The Company had sent representatives to a conference in the river, but it also purchased rice and cattle at the same time.
people up the Country, and if Gov. Day would assist him [in] that with Guns; powder; and shot he would be glad, these were the only things he wanted; I replied, Gov. Day was a man very fond of peace, and did not interfere in Country Palavers, however I should write to him on the subject. he also requested a fathom of Scarlet and another of Blue Cloth to make Caps for himself and some of his friends; wrote to Gov. Day accordingly.— On the afternoon the messenger returned from Beriera and brought intelligence that Fendamooda would be round tomorrow.

Mar. 7. Thurs. 7th.—

Hired Seramoodas Store to buy rice in, and sent some goods on shore with Francis for the purpose. J. Randal from Beriera arrived; he informed me that Findamooda was still there, and waited for Dalla Samba who was at a Town near by thus, day after day is passed in tedious expectation. Francis and Smith had some conversation with Moricanu, he endeavoured to palliate his former conduct, and make it appear in the most favourable light; begged Smiths pardon for not shaking hands with him and Shaw when we went to see him, and asked Francis if he would trade with him, he had some Rice and Ivory to sell.—

Frid. 8th. [March]

Report to-day that Finda Mooda has not Mar: 8—yet left Beriera[.] Alimamy came on board and spent a part of the evening. A number of the Tanna people arrived to-day.—

Sat: 9th [March]

Finda Mooda according to report is about to leave Beriera. Numbers of people are coming from Beriera daily.—

Sun. 10th [March]

Findamooda left Beriera about 6 A.M. and arrived here at at [sic] sunset, went to his brothers to pay him a visit, he has brought a great many people with him but appears with none of the state his sons do, While I was there Alimamy and some of the principal Chiefs in Town came to see him; after the Customary salutations, Kola, Brought for the purpose in a small Calabash Alimamys Grantee man was presented to Finda Mooda. This first is always presented in token of friendship, among the Mandingoes it is generally presented by the krango belonging to the Chief whom it is

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60 Disputes involving only African parties.
61 It was common practice for Europeans to advance goods with which local produce could be purchased or bartered. The currency of the coast was counted in "bars." "Bar values" were generally calculated according to the barter value of goods in demand; scarce goods acquired high bar value, while surpluses could demand only low bar value.
62 Perhaps he refers to Tanéné or to the people of the Tana (or Sama) river area.
63 Krango may refer to Koranko, a group living southeast of Sulima. Krango main-
meant to honour and by him passed round and shewn to all his Domestics and friends; it is then distributed and eaten, the krango taking care to have his share first, the krangos are a people who come from the interior and are skilful in tanning and working in leather; they make the Greengree sandals, sword belts and scabbards the Mandingoes wear; they generally accompany their masters in all expeditions; no Chiefs who assumes any pomp is without one who acts as his man servant, and is his companion and body guard at the same time[.]. They can all read and write the Arabic language and have a pretty accurate knowledge of the languages of the surrounding nations, which makes them of such request in the Country. The interview between Finda Mooda and Alimamy was very short. Heard today that Dallamooda [Dala Modu] had arrived at Malagia.—

[9]
Mon. 11th. [March]
Dalla Samba arrived this morning bringing with him Amara [and] King Tom of the Isles de los, &c. Called on him and Calamooda, and learned from the latter that it is likely to be Thursday or Friday before the Palaver begins.

March 12., Tues. 12th.
Called on Findamooda he expressed much satisfaction at the prospect of speedily having the Palaver talked and the differences settled between Moricanu and himself and seemed to make no doubt of his gaining ample satisfaction. This evening Towia [Towiya] people made their dantiky. A Dantiky is the mere formal introduction of Strangers to the people of the town to which they are come, at which time the purport of their business is made known. The Strangers are generally introduced by their landlord; no

The relationship between Moria and Towiya was frequently one of conflict. Towiya was located on one of the major paths from the Fuuta Jalloo and its ruler could easily move from alliance with Moria to alignment with Temne and Loko peoples located to its east and south. After 1806 Towiya and Moria often disagreed over tariffs and taxes applied to trade along these paths.

64 King Thomas Williams of the Isles de Los should not be confused with King Tom of the Sierra Leone River. Tom Williams had studied near Liverpool in his youth and returned to become ruler of the Isles de Los, more particularly of Tamara Island, after the death of his father, George Williams, ca. 1793. Amara, also called Amra/Amrah, was a headman on Factory/Kassa Island, and in 1814 was landlord to Church Missionary Society missionaries who operated a mission/school near his town. Amara was described as a scholar, one who wrote Arabic and who had received a formal Islamic education in the interior. It was common for headmen to send one son to England or Sierra Leone and another to the Fuuta Jallowo for educations.

65 The relationship between Moria and Towiya was frequently one of conflict. Towiya was located on one of the major paths from the Fuuta Jalloo and its ruler could easily move from alliance with Moria to alignment with Temne and Loko peoples located to its east and south. After 1806 Towiya and Moria often disagreed over tariffs and taxes applied to trade along these paths.
business of any kind is done by them till this ceremony is performed. Towia is situated near the head of the

[10]

Scarcies River and is the Boundary of Alimamys dominions on the East. The Palaver only waits the arrival of Dallamooada and the Malagie [Maligia, Fofana/Tarawali] and Malakury people. Alimamy Amara Morani is the name given Alimamy on receiving the Turban according to his own account he is now about thirty-six years of age. At the age of 5 years he was carried to the Foulah country for his education, he remained in the Foulah country twenty seven years and was called home after the death of his father King Alimamy Sutapha. Soon after his return he was proposed for king of the country but was objected to an account of his youth. The Turban was conferred on him in October last, it was put on his head by Calamooda [Kalli Modu] of Bassia, who is generally acknowledge the principal chief in the Country. The Turban was first offered to him but he refused it alleging that [he] was too old to bear the fatigues of Government and Country wanted a man of vigour and ability to settle the many disputes which had arisen in the Country and this he know [11] Amara would do; he wished him to be made King, the Question was settled by vote. Duputies were present from the Foulah King who read a letter from him in favour of Amara. Chiefs from all the Towns in the Country Malagia excepted were there put to the vote, on the majority appearing in favour of Amara the Turban was immediately put on his head and he was carried off amidst the shouts of the people; the rest of the day was spent in festivity. The Country had been nearly seven years without a King according to their account.

Wed. 13th.- [March]

This day is one of their high feasts; between 7 & 8 the Drums were beat to assemble the people to prayers, as they entered the Area in which the Mosque and Palaver House or Tonge stands they began muttering the words they usually use in like occasions, invocations to GOD and Mahammed; on the arrival of Alimamy a short prayer was uttered aloud in the Palaver House in which they all joined when it was finished they got up and marched by a circurtose [12] path to the burial ground of the common people

66 In 1802 Smith visited the Forékariah River and described Amara as the son of Alimami Mori Morani.

67 This feast may have been the one known as Eid ul Adha, Abraham’s Sacrifice of Ismail, held on the tenth day of the Hajj.
(their Kings and great men are all burial close by the Mosque). A number of people were assembled before they came up. On their arrival they seated themselves in rows with their faces to the East; Alimamy was in the first row and to the right and left of him where [sic] the Chiefs and old men of the Country; after a short interval Silence was requested and an elderly man with a small white Turban round his head and covered with a fine Blue Cloth Cloak with a Silver clasp before, at the Collar, came forward and placing himself directly before Alimamy went to their form of prayer in a very devout and solemn manner; the responses, the risign [sic] kneeling and bowing were performed in as regular a manner as any Military Corps would go through their evolutions. After Prayers several Passages of the Koran were read, and one or two of the Chiefs bid the strangers welcome, during which time the more devout among them were counting their Beads and muttering short prayers; their number amounted according to the best calculation I could make [13] to 4 or 500 I expected to have seen a great many more: When the ceremony was over Alimamy went a little way from the Company and killed a Ram sheep which was brought there [sic] on purpose two men then took it up and carried it along the road sprinkling its blood all way as they went, it was afterward returned to the place where it was taken up. They returned home in the order they came and spent the rest of the day in feasting. Report to-day that Dalla Modoo will start from Malagai to-morrow.—

March: 14)- Thurs: 14th.—

This day was also spent in festivity, dancing and firing guns, &c. News arrived to-day that Kuja Lahai the General of the Kings Army was defeated, himself and two other Chiefs Killed: Eleven towns had surrendered to him: He took up his residence in one of them the people of which had obtained peace by embracing the religion of Mohammed; they sent out deputies, and a Bull as a present, to inform Kuja Lahai that they prayed now, and offered him lodgings in their towns; in the middle of the night however when he and his men were asleep, being joined by a number of the fugitives [14] from the neighbouring towns they fell on them and put them all to flight and it was not known what had become of them. This account threw the King and his Court into great consternation indeed Alimamy wanted to go himself to see how the matter stood.— I took an opportunity of repeating when Alimamy mentioned the above circumstance to me what I had formerly observed on the subject of war, that it was a very bad thing it always hurt every country; this Alimamy denied in the Strongest terms, saying, "This Country will not be good without war, we cannot live without it besides
these “people with whom we are now at war” are Cafres; they do not know the Book; they are always spoiling the path and “our Book enjoins us to make war on “them.” At the present moment they only lamentation is that they have lost a great warrior and have caught no people; the first question on a messenger arriving from the Camp is how many people have caught, indeed they seem to reckon the good or success of their enterprizes altogether by this scale.

[15]
Frid 15th.- [March]
The Nancy arrived about noon with orders from Governor Day to protract my stay till the 23rd and if the Palaver was not talked then I should return. Loading the Nancy &c. nothing about the Palaver to-day.

Sat. 16th.- [March]
Wrote to Gov. Day. The Nancy sailed about 12 PM nothing remarkable.

Sun. 17th.- [March]
On board most of the day no news.—

Mon. 18th.- [March]
Sulimany Konta called on me and as he is pretty well Master of the English I made a serious representation to him respecting my detention here, and desired him to go and inform Alimamy of it. The Malagia & Malakurry people and Dalla Mooda are to be here in two days from this date.

Tues. 19th.- [March]
Had some conversation with Seramooda respecting the Palaver; the day of its commencement is still doubtful.—

Wed. 20th.- [March]
Wrote to Dallamooda this morning informing him of my determination to quit Forricaria on the 23rd. Inst. Called on Dalla Samba and Findamooda and informed them what I had done and requested Dalla [16] Samba to send a man to back the request I had made in my letter; he immediately sent off five men. Spoke to Alimamy respecting a Debt owing by Bubecary [Bubakr] of Berica to Capt Smith, he directed the Parties to appear before Calamooda at his house at noon, and that he would hear and determine[.] Put him again in mind of what I had formerly said respecting a young man named Lamina, who had escaped from confinement at Sierra Leone; he replied, he knew not where he was, his father belonged to Towia a town at some distance; if we again could catch him we might hold him and make him work till he had paid the debt, and if he returned here, he would certainly lay hold on him and send him
out to the Colony, and when he had satisfied Govr. Day he should be returned to him and he would send him to his father. Findamooda told me Dallamooda was blamed by some persons here for exciting us to go to war with the natives. Called on Calamooda, represented to every Chief I have talked; to these three days the injury it must do the [17] Mandingo country should I return to Sierra Leone without the Palaver being talked; they seem very unwilling I should return without being present and have expressed a determination to begin on Friday next whether Dallamooda comes or not. Reports having reached Alimamy, that Moricanu was bribing some of the Chiefs in town to espouse his cause: Setanfudy was accused [sic] found guilty and dismissed from being one of the kings attendants. Alimamy took the opportunity to declare that he would punish the man with death who dared to oppose the administration of Justice; this business has helped to open their eyes on what before was in a great measure doubtful although reported to them that Moricanu was endeavouring to gain partizans in his cause;— Dalla Samba sent a messenger on the evening to inform me that some of his people were returned and that Dallamooda was on his way hither.

Thurs. 21.— [March]

This morning was called on for Smiths Palaver; went to Calamooda[.] The parties were heard on both sides but as the business could not be settled [18] without the evidence of Dallamooda and a man from Berica it was put off till their arrival. Between 9 & 10 AM. Dallamoodas two canoes arrived from Malaghia; they are very gay being painted in the English Style and and [sic] hoisting English Colours; one of them is maned with boys of from 12 to 15 years of age. The Malagia & Malakurry people and Dallamooda arrived about noon by land their number amounted to between 2 & 300 according to Dallamoodas account, many of them were whimsically dressed in shirts covered very thick with small Gregrees these they call war shirts; they are never washed and are in general extremely dirty; Dallamooda had on one of them and a Cap fabricated for the same purpose furnished with great store of Gregrees of rather elegant workmanship, he informed me he had received the Letter I sent him which hastened his arrival here a day sooner than otherwise would have been.—

Frid. 22.—[March]

Malagia and Malakurry people made their Dantiky this Afternoon. No news.

Satur. 23.—[March]

Called on Findamooda. Nothing done about [19] the Palaver
to-day: Moricanu making Saliha.* [see below] The Nancy arrived about midnight.

Sun 24th.— [March]

This morning about 9 the Drum beat to assemble the people in town to the Palaver house; between 800 and a thousand persons attended as nearly as I could calculate. The business began with a number of the usual welcomes and salutations passing on both sides, short prayer to Mohamed, sentences from the Koran, &c. it was then made known that the Chiefs of those Towns who were not present when the Turban was presented to Alimamy should now come forward and accept of him as their sovereign; Moricanu only came forward; he presented a piece of white Baft, which was laid at the feet of old Yansany of Foureduga [Forédoou] and afterward shewn in great form to call [sic] the Chiefs in the Palaver House; He then shook hands with Alimamy in token of his Allegiance promising at

* This a sacrifice to implore success on any business to be undertaken.

[20]

at the same time, that whatever his conduct had been in times past he was determined to do otherwise and attend only to his own business. The Malagia [Fofana/Tarawali], Malakurry Wongapong [Dumbaeya/Bangura], and Laiya [Ture/Sangoh] people postponed their business till to-morrow, and the assembly broke up. Sprys daughter came on board this evening and brought a daughter of Careys66 with her; on her wishing again to return, Careys daughter refused to accompany her; I was on the point of sending her on shore when one of Fatimafudy's [Fatima Fodey of Maligia] sons came and called her from the shore. She refused to go with him on any account alleging that she was free and wished to return to her parents. Soon after he and Dalla Mooda returned; I then told the man to take her with him, I had not brought her on board nor wished to keep her, but would inform Alimamy of what had passed tomorrow; as she was unwilling to go he would not take her, and went on shore seemingly by [sic] satisfied to wait the opinion of Alimamy on the subject. On going ashore however he was over-heard to use some expressions which did not please me; and I was determined to have no [21] trouble in the business, because I was afraid it might retard the Malagia people, &c. from accepting

66 This may refer to a daughter of Daniel Cary who was one of the Nova Scotians who participated in the 1801-02 rebellion and who retreated to Mandingo country when that rebellion failed.
Alimamy and have a tendency to stop the progress of the Palaver; I went directly to Alimamy and informed him of what had happened; he desired me to send her on shore to them for the night and he would examine the parties concerned tomorrow morning. This I accordingly did. Fatimafudy's son was with the King when I went there. Francis accompanied me.—

Monday 25th of Mar:—

This morning Alimamy informed me that he must give the Girl up to the Malagia people, but that as soon as they had accepted him as their Sovereign he would see into it and endeavour to find out how Fatimafudy came to have any claims on her. I told him I was determined to have no words about the business, I had given the Girl up to him, and he must do what he thought proper with her; however if she was a free Girl, as I believed she was, I saw no right Fatimafudy had to detain her; fa[r]ther I would not interfere in the business but left the affair wholly [22] in his hands, and he might do in it what he thought best under present circumstances. After noon prayers the Drum was beat for Palaver; Malagia, Malakurry and Wongapong people accepted Alimamy as their Sovereign, a fine Country Cloth was presented on the occasion, and Chiefs of the above places came forward and shook hands with Alimamy, placing their right hand upon their breast afterward, and retiring; soon after the assembly broke up.— Loading the Nancy. Ashore on the evening, got into company with several of the Traders, one of them related some incidents which had happened since he had been in the trade. When on the Coast in a ship from America off the Kru Country, a Canoe came along side with five men in her, three rowers & two slaves; after the Captain had brought the two slaves; two of the men asked him if he would buy another, he replied in the affirmative & asked where he was; pointing to a man who he had come with them & and who was the owner of the two slaves already sold, they said, “This be Bushman, he come from long Country, no [23] more he come “here he want for see ship and see white men.” The Captain accordingly brought him, and delivered his price to himself as he had done that of the other two, when he had stowed it away in the Canoe, the Captain called them all on Deck to give them a dram at parting seized the man and put him in irons, and then allowed the other two to depart.69 In another voyage the Captain hoisted a Canoe and three men on board and carried them clear off. Previous to the above stories being told Macarethy's Book70 in defence of the

69 A practice was called panyarring by traders along this coast.
70 This may be a reference to A Defence of the Slave Trade on the Grounds of Humanity, Policy and Justice, published in London by J. Highley in 1804, and now attributed to Robert Bisset.
slave trade had been introduced, it was urged in its defence that it was not so bad as formerly and was carried on now in the way far better, the above facts which had fallen under the observation of the narrator were brought forward to prove that it was still the same.

Tuesday 26th Mar:—

This morning went to CallaMoodas to hear a Palaver between Bubucary of Berica and Captain Smith for a debt of 75 bars. Bubucary said he had received only 55 and since then had sent Captain Smith 33 ½ by his people to Sierra Leone to Sierra Leone, and at the same time they sold some other articles to Dallamooda, Smith denied having received anything, and Dalla Mooda declared he never saw the people which thought he should have done as he stood security for the money. Capt. Smith offered to make oath as to the truth of what he had asserted and the amount of Goods delivered, this they would not allow, and Calla Moola adjudged Bubucary to pay the whole debt within a limited time. There are a number of Chiefs appointed to hear all disputes of an inferior kind, before it comes to Alimamy if the parties concerned acquiesce in the decision the matter is finally settled otherwise it must go before Alimamy. Sent off the Nancy. After the Noon Prayers the Tabulee(*) was beat and Palaver called, nothing was done however but to arranged matters for tomorrow; the appointment of Officers for keeping the peace, a public Cryer, &c: The office of the Cryer is to repeat every sentence of the

(*) A Drum, a large country bowl covered with an ox hide.

[25]

speaker aloud so that every persons may hear it; he sometimes also acts as an interpreter at the same time. They went through a number of other ceremonies most of the religious kind consisting of invocations chanting passages of the Koran, &c: before they broke up I was informed that the Palaver between Finda Moola and Moricanu would begin to morrow. There are a number of fine Cattle about the Town, altho the Mandingoes do not appear to take much pains to rear them.—

Wed. 27th Mar:—

This morning about 8 A.M. the people assembled, Moricanu was called on to open the Palaver; he spoke two hours and five minutes; began with an account of his family and went on touching on every circumstance which would tend to favour him down to the present time; he claimed the Isles de Los, Malacang [Matakong], Bullom
Shore and Sierra Leone as Countries belonging to him:— he never hurt any whiteman, and declared that what he did at Bullom Shore in meddling with the Camp Palaver, [26] he was ordered to do by the Chiefs of this Country. he was ordered by them to carry King Tom along with him and delivered him to the Governor of Sierra Leone but when he went to Bullom Shore he would not see him nor listen to any proposals he had to make. When he had finished his speech the Court adjourned. Finda Mooda was present today first time.—

Thurs: 28th [March]

Between 7 & 8 this morning the drum beat, when all were assembled Finda Mooda was called on to speak, he began at the birth of Moricanu and spoke of almost every circumstance of note which had occurred down to the present time. The Mandingoes are fond of saying as much as they can in reply to their antagonist in their Palavers like the other natives of this Country they pursue a very circuitous [sic] rout to tell a very short story[.] Finda Mooda declared his right to the Island Matacong, he had purchased it and the Country between it and the Isles de los from Moricanu at a former period, and called on several [27] witnesses to prove his assertions. Moricanu’s had been in the habit as often as it was in his power of catching and selling his people, and particularly he had taken a Canoe of his in the Scarcies, in which was one of his own sons, and sold every person, he never could recover the people, but but [sic] redeemed his son when on his passage to the Rio Pongas to be sent off. He repeated several other Acts of Depredation which Moricanu and his adherents had been guilty of, and concluded with an apology for taking up so much of their time he had not called any palaver on Moricanu; if he had any thing to say to any of his family his sons were men and could speak for themselves; after a short speech from old Karimuka of Malagia, the assembly broke up.—

Friday 29th of March.—

At 8 the Palaver was called Dalla Mooda spoke; the principal things he spoke of were the transactions at Bullom Shore; taking his Boat; and stopping the Mandingo Canoes from going to Sierra Leone; he offered three slaves for the Boat— before she was returned to him, and when she was re- [28] turned she was so compleatly stripped of every thing as to be unfit to go to sea.— Calamooda of Bassia who acts as president in the Palaver gave me notice, that as Dalla Moodas Palaver and mine were the same; if I had anything to say I should be permitted to speak to-morrow. I replied, that Dalla Moodas Palaver and thing I had got to say were not

21 At this time, the Sierra Leone settlement was commonly known as the Camp.
the same, I had no Palaver against any Person and had not come here for Palaver, but as many persons had chosen to misrepresent the views of the Colony and as the principal persons concerned in the war were present I should to-morrow let them know the reasons why the war was began, and read to them the principal occurrences at Bullom Shore which I hoped would convince them that Dallamoodas Palaver with Moricanu was entirely between themselves & that the Colony had nothing to do with it. The Court then adjourned.

Saturday 30th of March.—

At 8 the Drum beat after a short introductory speech from Calamooda I was desired to proceed, previous however to my saying any [29] thing I called on Prince Tom[,] Banna Campa, Fatimafudy of Malagia & Will Tom a son of King Toms, and requested that they might be allowed to come into the Palaver House that they might hear distinctly all I said; when they were seated I began with taking a general view of the Timmany War from the attack of the 18th November. It was well known that Fatimafudy conducted the last attack and brought war on us again after we had concluded a Peace with the natives, since that time we had frequently asked King Firama and the other chiefs to make peace but they would not listen to the proposal. We therefore still consider ourselves as at war and have been fortifying the Colony ever since so as to put it out of the Power of any Person to catch us by surprize again. After reading a number of extracts from the Report of the transactions at Bullom when Moricanu was there I remarked that his conduct toward us was rather unaccountable, no person in the Colony had ever troubled him or gone to disturb him in his own town, yet he had frequently endeavoured [to] interfere in our [30] affairs altho we had never requested his assistance; the Mindingo people were safe when they went to Sierra Leone, no person hurts them; they carried on their trade with their own Canoes all the time the war was going on and no one endeavoured to stop them; Governor Day wished very much for peace long ago, but has not yet been able to obtain it; however, whoever chuses to come and make war on us again will find us at all times ready. Moricanu owned all I had said respecting him was the truth; when Dalla Samba was at Bullom he was afraid to come forward and hear what Dalla Mooda and he had to say because his people were Caffres & were all Drunk(*). After a short speech from

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* This expression so irritated Dalla Mooda that he immediately started up, took up his Cutlass and the Mat on which he sat & exclaiming, ""Caffres! We are not Caffres!" Walked out of the Palaver House. He was seized at the Door, taking before his father & the peace Officers immediately proceeded to inflicted punishment on
him for the interruption [* continued at the bottom of Ms31] interruption & insult he
had offered the assembly; they had pulled off[f] his Cap & proceeding to strip him of
his Gown when his father begged he might be forgiven on asking pardon publickly,
this he instantly did[,] resumed his seat & Moricanu was desired to proceed.— A
bundle of Rods is placed in the middle of the house as a monitor to unruly mem-
bers.—

[31]

from Calamooda, Fatimafudy began to speak for the Malagia
people; he had acted as ambassador between them and Moricanu;
his speech was very short and not as I understood favourable to
Moricanu.—

Quiabashina of Malikury.— He repeated a number of the tricks
Moricanu had been playing for a long time past particularly, his giv-
ing orders to the same people to stop all the Canoes going to Sierra
Leone, he knew not who had given him charge of the mouth of the
River, but if he was suffered to retain the charge and act as he had
done it must be a bad business for Malagia and Malikurry: formerly
he and Moricanu were on the strictest terms of friendship; when
Captain Sellars was [32] was on the Coast in the Ship Mercury,
Moricanu sent for him informing him that Captain Sellars was go-
ing to make Dantiky and wished him to be present; he accordingly
went, & found Moricanu on board Captain Sellars Ship; Moricanu
then told him that number of Caffres, &c. had sat down at
Sierra Leone and built a town there and taken his country from him
he wished him to assist in making war on them to drive them
away.—

Quiabashina replied, is this all you sent to me for? I will not stop
a tide with you. Did ever our Grandfather or fathers fight
whitepeople? Moricanu said, you had better go. Moricanu replied
Quiabashina you shall have no person to help you out of the
Malagia River; this event broke their friendship. Soon after Calker
sent nine slaves to beg Moricanu’s assistance, and that when the
Sherbro war was concluded they should then go against Sierra
Leone; Moricanu applied to the Chiefs in the Rivers for their assis-
tance but his request was refused. He had cut roads from his own
town to Malagia and Malikury and how easy was it for him to bring
war to these towns; [33] by these roads he had drawn aside their
strangers, and when they went to his town he had nothing to buy
their slaves with[.] He had gone to Bullom shore and disturbed all
the people there claiming the whole country as his proporty in
short, there was no sort of mischief that he was not guilty of, he was

[2] Stephen Caulker was a principal headman in Sherbro located southeast of
Freetown. This account of an attempt to secure Moric Kana’s assistance in war in the
Sherbro, with a possible alliance against the Freetown settlement is suspect.
making incursions in all quarters and seizing peoples property on every side. He can no longer remain where he is; he must find a place some where else, which if Alimamy do not make him do the Malagi and Malakury people must oblige him to.—

Sunday March 31st.—

The business of to-day began at the usual hour with a short speech from Calamooda;

Seeaka Turnwale [Tarawali], alias Senasee of Malagia spoke somewhat like Quiabashina, he introduced two letters written by Setantomani which were read by old Karamuka of Malagia[,] they respected the conduct of Moricanu at the time he was at war with the people on the Isles de Loss; described the extortions he practised on the white Traders, &c.— A young man belonging to Malagia was then called in, who related the manner in which he was [34] caught and sold by Moricanu and his people.—

Mungee Dembo, King of the Bagos towards the Isles de Loss.— He detailed at length the disturbances that Moricanu had created and kept up in his territory. They have been mortal enemies for a long time, lately however it is said they met and the matters in dispute were somehow adjusted and the dominion of the Isles assigned to Moricanu. He said nothing however but what tender [sic] to confirm his character as a Musa of Malagia made a short speech nearly similar to what Senasee had said.

Hellan the Samo King.— He resides at the mouth of the Malagia River. The Country where Malagia and Malakurry now stands was given by his grandfather to the Malagia and Malakurry people[,] On place on which Moricanu had built his town was his also as was all the River. Moricanu was his stranger, he allowed him first to cut Canoes in Taneni [Tanéné], then to build a slave town & make his Lugars;73 then to [35] build the Town which he now has and, and now he wants to take the Country altogether. Moricanu had formerly used him very ill, he had beat and tied him, & after stripping him naked carried him away from his own town allowing him only to wear a Fatounggee [tuntunge]74 which he had still in his possession, his people wished him to go to war but this he found himself too weak to engage in: he had long waited an opportunity to speak his mind on this subject; he wished Moricanu out of his territory; the people of Malagia and Malakurry had always used him well.—

Brima of Malakurry spoke chiefly of the evils which were likely

73 Lugar is the term used in the Northern Rivers to refer to plantations or farms. It was common for lugars to be staffed by slaves.

74 A narrow cloth worn around the waist, one meter long and eight centimeters wide.
to result from Moricanu's endeavours to draw aside the strangers as they came from the country. He had strongly remonstrated against Moricanu's proceedings both to himself and others. Calamooada gave notice of the business for tomorrow and the Court adjourned.—

Monday April 1st.—

At 8 the Drum beat; After a short introductory speech from Calamooada, Prince Tom, Banna & Will Tom were told they might return an answer to any [36] thing I had said.— Prince Tom rose: he spoke in English. The Colony people are our Strangers and Sierra Leone belongs to us; he was in the Sherbro just before the war and learnt when he came home which was a few days before the first attack that King Tom was going to war; he assisted in it but could not say anything as to the settlement of the business, however he wished heartily it were settled. When Alimamy was assembling the people for the Palaver he had called on me I was now here and had told everything relative to the war that he assisted in it he would not deny he was sorry he could not settle it himself: he knew no reason why war was made but if Alimamy would send any person to the Timmany Country they would hear the whole story he could say nothing behind their back. Naminamooda [Sangoh of Port Loko], Firama [of Coya], Moribundo, [Pa] London and [Gumbu] Smart, &c. had endeavoured to settle the business but war was again carried on: Moricanu had gone to Bullom for the purpose of making peace but could not effect it. He knew not why Dalla Mooda joined in the war and was against them, but would [37] inform the assembly how he came to Sierra Leone. FindaMooda his father put him under King Tom's care.—Betsy Smart introduced him to King Tom. When Dalla Mooda was about to return to his father, King Tom gave him a boy for a Pawn; (I suppose this was given as a security for his future good behaviour to Dalla Mooda). He accompanied Dalla Mooda to his father's place. On their return Finda Mooda sent a Bull as a present to King Tom because he belonging to the Country, and begged him to give Dallamooda a place to sit down on. King Tom after consulting King Firama gave Dalla Mooda a woman and when asked him for a place, gave him the place where he now is; Banna and he helped him to clean the ground and build his house. Some time after Finda Mooda went to Banna Island and on his coming down Dalla Mooda sent to inform King Tom of it, and call him to see his father, King Tom answered, he was King of the Country, and Finda Mooda ought to come and see him first.—Finda Mooda accordingly went, Bumbamamooda was present. King Tom, himself [38] and Findamooda went to talk behind the house, here he again committed Dalla Mooda to his care. Soon after they
heard that Moricanu was very angry with King Tom for taking Dalla Mooda under his protection and sent one of his sons to say that he wanted King Tom to drive Dalla Mooda away and take one of his sons to put in his place. At this time King Tom had never seen Moricanu. Moricanu said his grandmother was born at King Toms Town; King Tom replied he never heard that. He accused King Tom of introducing Dalla Mooda to all the Chiefs in the Country, said however, he wished to shake hands with King Tom who also wished he would come and see him. When the war broke out at SierraLeone King Tom charged them all not to hurt Dalla Mooda’s Town nor any of his people.— Senna Brima of Mohara carried the war there at which King Tom was much displeased when he heard it. It was not King Toms but the Rokelle [Sise] people who fought at Dalla Moodas Town. King Tom afterward sent for Dalla Mooda but he would not come. A short time after this we burnt [39] his town and took his woman. No chiefs would help them to fight but the Malagia people and Moricanu. Setantomani [Sattan Tumani of Maligia] used King Tom well and wanted to help. Here Banna interrupted him. Moricanu wanted to carry King Tom to SierraLeone; the Malagia people desired him to let them know when he went, he replied, stop till I go and clear the country. Finda Mooda would not assist in settling the Palaver, but Moricanu offered his services; the reason he had Palaver with DallaMooda was because he had assisted us in the war; and Finda Mooda had sent his children [Dala Modu] to take the Country. Banna did not speak[.] I requested leave to answer, wishing to inquire into this tale respecting Dalla Mooda but was not permitted.—

Bubucary Rule.— Moricanu had broken up the settlement on the Isles de Loss and driven the people away[.] he had seized and sold a number of free people destroyed their towns, &c. and after extorting money from all the White Traders carried his arms against Wongapong.

Pa Tom, King Georges brother at Bullom Shore. Moricanu [40] sent word to them before he left his own town that he was coming to pay them a visit. King George sent back an answer by the same messenger to say he did not want to see him, he was assured he was going to bring war and take the Country and that would ruin them altogether. Soon after however, he arrived at Bullom, on his arrival he sent a man to inform King George of it and to find a Lodging for him and his people. A man had died in the town that day they were just then going to bury him, the King told the messenger he saw what they were about and desired the messenger to tell Moricanu to wait till they finished what they were about and he would wait on
him. Moricanu was close at his Messengers heels however, and excused himself by saying, death will happen in all countries. He then asked for a lodging and why they were afraid, as he was not come for war, nor to stay, but was going to Quia River; they quarreled daily about who should be King. He said before he came to Bullom he would put all the Camp people there in irons and sell them; he pointed out [41] out several persons and among the rest himself to made King but they rejected all his proposals. At length Pa Jack was fixed on; he still insisted however Moricanu meant to make yamfa [trouble]. Moricanu offered to make Alifatia, i.e. to eat bread; a form of making oath; a few sentences of Arabic are written, and then washed out the water[.] Of this water and Rice flour a paste is made, and eaten by the person making oath; the King would not agree to this; but told Moricanu that he would take a Kola and lay it on his sisters grave all night, and if he would eat the half of it next morning he would then believe he did [not] mean to hurt him; next morning the king presented half the Kola but he would not eat it. When King Tom and his Army fled from Sierra Leone after the second attack, they encamped in their neighbourhood and plundered their Cassada fields. Here he was stopped and desired to shorten his story. Moricanu wanted to divided the Country between himself and the Bulloms.—

Yellanfudy, the Headman of Beriera said a few [42] words; after a short speech from Alimamy the[y] adjourned.

Tuesday 2nd of April.—

Calamooda as usual opened the business of the day with a short speech[,] this was succeeded by speeches from Calamooda, Seramooda and Alimamy who as an instance of the respect Moricanu had shewn him mentioned that he had sent him a Mandingo Kettle full of salt as a present.

Lamina Sese.— Questioned Moricanu whether he had sold any free people at the Isles de Loss to which he replied, he did not know it was wartime. Two men were then brought forward who were sold, and an account was given in of what was on board Findamoodas boat at the time she was taken; the Account was written in Arabic characters, after it was read, Brima, Findamoodas son related how he was caught and sold to Baron in the Scarcies, the other man to Aspinwell75 a trader in the same River; shortly after, they were sent out to the Rio Pongas,76 and the Boat happening to

75 Aspinwall, alias Aspinall, operated factories in the Scarcies River and at Port Loko. He was associated earlier with John Tilley of Dance Island.
76 The Rio Pongo was a notorious entrepot of trading at the beginning of the century, with many European, African-American, American, EuroAfrican, Luso-African, and African slave traders operating factories there.
stop at the Isles de Loss they were seen by Bambamamadoo and re-
deemed by his father[.] Moricanu now confessed he had [43] had caught and sold him.—

Findamooda was asked if he had any Witnesses at his purchasing Kematai and the country betwe[e]n Matacong and the Isles de Loss he called on several persons to give evidence as to the fact. Moricanu was then questioned as to the truth of the purchase and replied that he had only sold the Salt-towns not the Land. Findamooda said he had bought the whole Country not the Salt-towns only otherwise how should the several towns Moribiya Kokin, &c, be there now.—

Simanbe Chief of Moribiya now of Beriera asked Moricanu if he did not deliver the slaves paid for the country himself, to this he gave no direct answer but referred to another who said that the land in question was sold.

Moricanu said he had only received two Slaves from Findamooda, and one from Amara King Tom; he had also two Bulls & one Ton Rice from him. He was then questioned about a Canoe which he had taken at the Isles de Loss and sold the people[.] this he denied at first but after [44] after some conversation said, he was then at war with the Sumbia [Sumbuya or Baga-Kaloum] people and every one which he did not short [shoot] he caught and sold.

An account of damage sustained by Dalla Mooda by the loss of his boat was brought in & read by Seeaka Duffe the Boat itself was valued at seven Hundred bars. Kabba who was in Dalla Moodas Boat related the story of his being taken by Moricanu’s people; he was tolerably well treated by them.—

The Towia people brought forward their palaver respecting Moricanu’s taking away the tools they were cutting a Canoe with near his borders and leaving Powder and Ball in their stead.—

Moricanu said he had offered a slave to bring the business to an accommodation. Ansamana a Towia man denied this and said it was all a yamfa [trouble] palaver; Moricanu had no wish for a reconciliaton.—

Alimamy remarked that it was of no use to go any further on with the business they had certainly heard en[o]ugh to enable them to make up their minds on it and they had better apply to their Book at once. Calamooda informed [45] informed me of the principal parts of the business he had gone through. News arrived that the

It was common practice for captives destined for sale on the coast to be first offered for ransom. The literature is replete with examples of important persons searching for relatives captured in wars and who found them on the coast, before the latter were sold to ship captains.
people of a Bullom town named Sobore near Leopards Island had stopped a Canoe and detained the people it was reported it was by Moricanu’s Orders.—

Wednesday April 3rd.—

The Drum beat this morning at the usual hour but the Chiefs not having made up their minds fully on Findamooda’s business, the meeting was put off till the afternoon. Numbers from the parties concerned in the Palaver went out to consult with one another in the bush and grass fields close by the town. this is their usual mode of secret conference when it is necessary a good many persons should be present on matters of importance the Chiefs frequently meet at midnight. The Court meets at two P.M.

[Satan] Lahai [Ture] of Laiya recapitulated the several charges which had been brought against Moricanu, and asked him, if he would agree to make good every damage he had done to any of the people with whom he had intermeddle, to this he replied in the affirmative; if he did this he [46] he hoped those people whom he had offended would forgive him and shake hands and make friends; in the course of this discourse Moricanu got up and ran out of the Palaver House and shook hands with Findamooda, Samba and Dalla Mooda the domestics on each side followed their example and thus ended Finda Mooda’s Palaver.—

Lahai then took notice of the Particular points in which Moricanu had offended the Malagia and Malakurry people and exhorted them all as it was the opinion of the Old men to shake hands together and be friends. they accordingly followed his advice.—

Karan Kaba of Malibiya.— Finda Mooda and the Malagia and Malakurry people might act as they thought proper with respect to Moricanu but the business was far from being settled with him, there was still something in his mind which he must defer the discussion of to another time.

Calamooda called Bamba Moodoo to interpret. He informed me that the business was now fully settled between Finda Mooda and Moricanu they had shaken hands and [47] and made friends. Moricanu is to pay Findamooda and his sons for all the damage he has done them: and has promised never to do the like again. The Palaver was also settled between the Malagia & Malakurry people; Moricanu was also to pay them for what damage he had done them in stopping the free passage up and down the river, and remove from it to a place where the King should appoint. Notice of the business of; tomorrow was given and the Court adjourned.—

Thursday 4th of April.—

The Drum did not beat this morning, had a good deal of conver-
sation with Alimamy and Calamooda on the transactions of the 3rd inst: It appears to be a custom among them that during the time there is no King among them any crimes committed punishable with death, if not brought to trial, before a King is elected, are allowed to be commuted with money, and this was the reason as Alimamy informed me that Moricanu had got off in the way he had done. expressed his determination to send a messenger in to the Timmany Country to inform them that he meant to [48] he meant to support every European on the Coast as far as lay in his power; but would not meddle with the Palaver between us and them unless they called him. Whatever happened in the Country in future he was determined to regulate his conduct by the Book(*)— At three in the afternoon the Drum beat. Lahai of Laiya opened the business.

Alimamy read several passages out of their Books relative to the Palavers which were settled yesterday.

Calamooda directed that the manner in which the business of Dalla Mooda’s Boat was settled should be interpreted to me in English. Dallamooda is to be paid a slave for the damage done to his Boat and the little things taken out of her, had he returned her immediately after she was sent to him by Moricanu, he would have been liable in the whole damages; the Rice, Salt, &c. to be returned in Kind.—

I rose and thanked Calamooda for his Kindness,

(*) Mohammedan law.—

[49] kindness; I had been present throughout the whole of Palaver and had been a long time there, as I now wished to return I should be glad if they would inform me what I should say to the Governor; when I read to them what passed between Moricanu and me at Bullom I mentioned an expression which I then said I would be glad if Moricanu would explain the one I chiefly meant was, “Let Governor Day nor any of the Sierra Leone people had ever meddled with Moricanu, they had never hurt his name nor injured him in any way whatever, yet he had tried to bring War against us from all quarters, his people had assisted in it even now the principal person who were being with him, I hoped this should not be all I should have to inform the Governor of. Moricanu and his adherents had quitted the Palaver house but immediately returned as I began to speak. While I was speaking a women Slave was introduced and placed on her knees before old Yansany of Furreduga.—

Moricanu (in English).— I should speak but a very short time
having but little to say; I thank all the [50] the Gentlemen and I thank God that I have got over this Palaver. The reason bad come into this Country is because there was no King in it, now there is a King we cannot see that any more; every body did as he pleased at that time some did bad and some did otherwise; I never gave a charge of Powder nor sent a man to fight the Camp and I appeal to all the Mandingo Gentlemen now present whether any of them have known me do this. The people in the Country [k]now I have got a good head and therefore when any man is in trouble he runs to me; I say come my friend I will try to help you: Prince Tom and King Banna are my family, they came to me along with Ba Campa and I tried to help them. It is true I talked hard when I went to Bullom Shore to make peace and I am ashamed of that, but if I had not talked hard to you, the Governor would not have taken of his place and some body might have hurt him. Alimamy has received me, and if the Camp people receive me too I shall be glad, if they do not; I cannot help it I will [51] will go and sit down in my own place and make my little Lugar, and pray my God, if the Camp people ever look to me, I will pray my God much, but if not I will still thank God; I will never again put my mouth in any Palaver by the water-side, I know you cannot believe me but all the people here do: Prince Tom and King Banna came to me from Malagia, I will now deliver them to Calamooda, who will present them to Alimamy who will give them to Baletomane there [sic] Landlord to do with them as he thinks proper; I will never again meddle with their Palaver nor meddle in any Bullom or Susoo Palaver nor any Palaver by the water-side, I will sit down quiet in my own place. He then called on Prince Tom and Banna whom he presented to Calamooda then to Alimamy and by him to their landlord at Malagia (Batetomane) who was seated on the opposite side of the house. He concluded with saying he was determined to mend his manner and live quietly & peaceably with every one.—

The Slave-woman was all this time on her knees [52] knees, and wept much; she was now presented to Lahai of Laiya in the same posture and by him given to Dalla Mooda in payment for the damage done to his Boat and the little Articles taken out of her. The woman was now seated pretty near me, and still continued weeping the cryer came toward her and informed her in Susoo not to cry she was not to be sold to a whiteman.

Karamuka of Malagia.— They had now got a King this they had not before and that was the reason their country was spoiled; he had received Alimamy and would stand by him: it was now high time that war Palavers and every other Palavers were at an end and that
in future all the countries round should see that the Mandingo country was not now what it formerly was no man should now practice his cunning on them. clear the country of the whole of these Bullom people, hinting at Tom and Banna, the man that hurts a whiteman now must hurt us. Karamuka is a very open and free character and esteemed one of their greatest orators.

In reply.— The Camp people wished to live in peace at all times although they were ready for war: as a proof, however, of their not wishing for war they had lived now a long time in the country and never troubled any person, nor carried War any where, it was of very little use what a man said if his Actions did, nor correspond with his words; I was glad the Mandingo people had got a King and I was sure should my [sic] any Palaver take place in this country in which the camp happened to be engaged they would look up to him, I hoped however no palaver would happened as the Camp people were particularly directed to dispute with no person; we wished to carry out trade quietly and if we could not get it in one place rather than quarrel we would go to another.

A number of small parcels of Cotton, Groundnuts, Rice, Plantains, and various other Articles were laid in the floor of the Palaver house to-day as peace offerings. Calamooda closed the business of the day.

April, Friday 5th.—

The Drum did not beat this morning; [54] Called on Calamooda and reminded him of my wish to depart, and what I should say on my return. Soon after I called on Alimamy and requested him to inform me what I should say nothing respecting his paying a visit to the Governor at Sierra Leone, he said he could say nothing to it without consulting Calamooda and the old men; he accompanied me back to Calamooods, and it was agreed that I should move the business in the Palaver house and the oldmen would then have an opportunity of giving me an answer.—

The Drum beat at two[.] Alimamy opened the business.— Calamooda informed me to say to the Governor when I went home, that Alimamy was father for every person from the Timmany Country to Towia and Laiya on the East and north East & as far as the Isles de Loss. If any person was molested within his territory they had only to apply to him, and he would endeavour to give them speedy redress.—Fatimafudy it was true assisted in the war against us but this it was hoped we should never see again. Prince Tom and Banna [55] Banna came into the Mandingo Country as strangers; they did not know they were now delivered to Alimamy who
would send them to their own people, white people lived in the land of Alimamy’s father before he was born, no one shall now be permitted to molest or hurt us. Alimamy will send some people to the Governor and to ask the Timmanies if they will make peace; they will always be happy to see our Boats or any of our people and to trade with us at all times.— We are at full liberty to go throughout the whole country & put a factory in every river if we think proper. He would be glad if Yansany Findamooda or any other of the Gentlemen had any thing to say if they would now do it; he hoped the Governor would take care of all the Mandingo people who went to the Camp, and if any of them got into any Palaver he hoped the Governor would inform him as soon as he could conveniently[.] Dalla Mooda would informed the Governor of whatever happened after my return.

Findamooda was glad for what he had heard and hoped [56] every thing would now go on quietly among them he was determined for his own part to support Alimamy. His best respects to Governor Day.

In reply, I thanked the King and Chiefs for their Kindness to me, &c.— I then propose the question respecting the King going to SierraLeone, after some conversation they informed me that he could not go now nor untill all the Country Palavers were settled, as soon as these were all done he should be at liberty to go if he chose, and they would send to the Governor to inform when he was ready. The Court adjourned. M‘. Neville a trader was knocked down in passing thro the Palaver House and cut on the head besides several other severe blows, the aggressor a young man was soon after taken into custody and put in irons. Three men have been sent by Alimamy, three by Moricanu, two by Findamooda and two by Setan Lahai to Towia, to inquire respecting the taking of Findamooda’s Boat; Moricanu affirms strongly that it was the Towia people that took it and that it was not by his order; they are directed to lodge together in one house [57] house and not converse with anyone till the business is talked over. Dallamooda, Findamooda &c. are to wait their return.

Saturday 6th April:—

The Drum beat at the usual hour this morning; Alimamy informed me he meant to bring forward the Palaver respecting Cary’s daughter. As I foresaw there was likely very little more business to be done with respect to the Country I gave notice that I would leave Fouricaria with the afternoons tide.— Calamooda wish me to state to the Court what I had to say respecting Cary’s daughter. I replied, I had left the business wholly in the hands of Alimamy who might
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do it as he thought proper in it; with respect to the Girl if she was free as they all seemed to confess, I would give her a passage home to her parents if she wished to return, but would make no palaver respecting her[.] Calamooda said they wished to know how these Camp people got into the hands of Fatimafudy. I then entered into a detail of the transactions which took place after the first attack as far as related to these people, [58] & that the best information to be collected on the subject was that they were given by King Tom to Fatimafudy in payment for his services in heading the second attack on us, of any other claim than what arose in this war I knew nothing. Fatimafudy said, these people had put themselves under the protection of Pa Wamba and it was him who put them under his care till time were a little more settled, when they were to return, King Tom said if the Camp people go I must go too so they all went to Malagia together; he was not the principal in the second attack, but was sent to make peace and was forced to go along with them. I said it seemed rather strange to me that a man charged with the express commission of endeavouring to bring the contending parties to an accommodation should join in the dispute and carry on the war, I firmly believed that when Fatimafudy left Malagia it was with a determination to assist King Tom. Alimamy said it was of no use for him to say anything more on the subject, for whatever he might pretend to Setantomanie [59] Setantomanie he had war in his heart when he set out; it was well it had not happened just now or he might have expected the result to have been very different. Fatimafudy replied, he could not see how he was Headman for the war, it was true that when they were on their way to the Camp and heard the dogs bark as they came within sight of the town the people who were with him wished to turn back and go home again, he then drew his sword and told them, it was of no use for them to have come so far and go back now, the man who drew back now should have his head cut off; they must go on now and fight let the consequences be what they may; after this they went on.— I appeared to all present whether the person who directed any business or the person who acted under the orders of another were the principal in the execution of any affair of consequence, a general smile ensued, Fatimafudy hung his head and the business dropped. The affair of Cary's daughter was now brought forward. Alimamy said she should be delivered up, as he could not see [60] wherefore she was detained from returning to her parents. She was accordingly introduced and delivered to Calamooda then to Alimamy and afterwards to me.— She is between 13 and 14 years of age[.] I returned thanks to Alimamy for his attention to me, and hoped soon to have
the pleasure of seeing him in Sierra Leone; &c. Prince Tom said he wished much to return home and see the Palaver respecting the war finally settled; this he hoped through the Assistance of Alimamy might be soon; I replied I always judged of the sincerity of what a man said by his actions, the surest proof of this would be his speedy return and endeavours to bring the matter to a conclusion. I now took a formal leave of them all and the Court adjourned. Called on Findamooda, &c. and left a little Tobacco with Alimamy to be distributed among the old men. Got under weigh about 2 and dropped down the river.

Sunday 7th. [April]—

Reached Berica with the morning tide. Weather remarkably dry, no rain has fallen here since we came.

[61]

Monday 8th. [April]—

Cleared the river this morning at day break, and came to an anchor at Sierra Leone at midnight.—