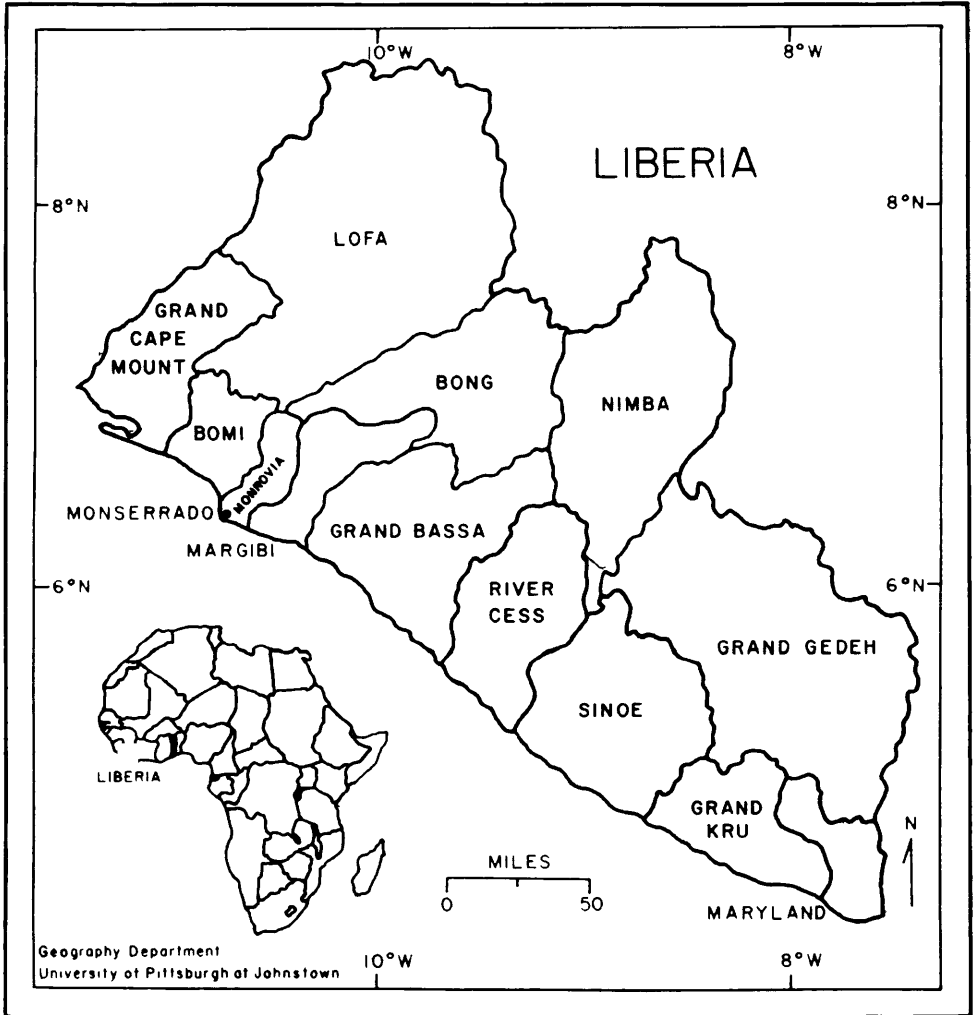


# LIBERIAN STUDIES JOURNAL



# A Brief History of the Loma People

*Robert Leopold\**

The Loma are a Mande-speaking people who practice swidden agriculture in a mountainous, sparsely populated region astride the border of Guinea and Liberia. Within the two countries there are perhaps 400,000 Loma, and despite regional variation in custom and dialect, dissimilar histories of colonization, and the political border that now crosses their landscape, Loma on both sides maintain frequent social relations and a sense of common identity.<sup>1</sup>

The Loma are members of the Central West Atlantic culture area, an ethnically plural and linguistically diverse region that lies within the littoral forest zone bounded by the Scarcies River and Cape Palmas (d'Azevedo 1962).<sup>2</sup> Within this complex region ethnic groups of the Kru, Mel and Mande language families are present, and their members often comprise a significant portion of Loma towns. To the south of the Loma area are found the Kru-speaking Kuwaa (Belle); to the west live the Mel-speaking Kissi and southwestern Mande-speaking Bandi. To the north and east, the Loma region is bounded by the Kuranko, Manya and Konianke, speakers of northern Mande languages; the Kpelle, a southwestern Mande-speaking people are found in the southeast. A common history of ethnic movement, warfare, long-distance trade and political alliance has contributed to an extraordinary degree of heterogeneity that is one of the region's principal social and cultural features (d'Azevedo 1962, 1971).

The present distribution of ethnic groups is thought to result from the breakup of the Mande Empire in the 15th century, when Mande-speaking peoples dispersed toward the forested littoral in several waves of collective migration, incorporating or displacing autochthonous ethnic groups along the way. Portuguese geographers, navigators and traders along the Malaguetta Coast would write soon afterwards of a "Mande invasion," an era of sweeping geographical movement, political conquest and protracted ethnic warfare (Almada 1964, Dapper 1668, Donelha 1977). The social and cultural consequences of the Mande were profound. Into a region of small-scale stateless societies occupied by Mel (West Atlantic) and Kru/Kwa speakers came savannah peoples of Mande origin bearing sophisticated new technologies (such as iron smelting and cotton weaving), horses, superior weapons, and a form of social organization apparently well suited to conquest and territorial expansion. Over subsequent generations,

---

\* Dr. Robert Leopold is an American Liberianist. His research and publications have focused on the Loma or Toma of northwestern Liberia and southwestern Guinea. He is Director of the Smithsonian Institution, National Museum of Natural History, National Anthropological Archives located at 4210 Silver Hill Road, Suitland, MD. 20746.

the Mane developed elaborate chiefdoms and petty states, often founded upon their newly created relationships with European factors along the Atlantic coast (d'Azevedo 1962; Person 1968; Rodney 1970).<sup>3</sup>

Contemporaneous accounts of the Mane era mention the coastal groups with whom the Europeans traded — the Mel-speaking Bullom, Temne, Limba, Baga, and Nalu, whom they collectively called *Sapi*; but the hinterland peoples residing outside their sphere of commerce were apparently unknown to them or simply not recorded. “Boosee” — the term by which Americo-Liberians, Europeans and others would later refer to the Loma — does not appear in print until 1808 (Hair 1967) and “Loma” not until 1900 (Delafosse 1900). Still, if Loma had established their present position just following the Mane invasion, as Person (1968) suggests, their participation as intermediaries in the 16th and 17th century coastal trade can scarcely be doubted. The Loma region lies between the headwaters of the Makona (Moa), Lofa, Lawa, and St. Paul (Diani) rivers, which flow southwesterly to the coast, and the Milo, Sankarani and Baoulé, tributaries of the Niger to the north. Though many of these rivers are barely navigable, for several centuries their watersheds provided easily traversed trade routes to the coast (Béavogui 2001: 55-86; Person 1968 Vol I: 558).

A principle center of long-distance trade from perhaps the late eighteenth century was the Condo (Hondo) Confederation, founded by Loma and Bandi some fifty miles inland from Cape Mount. From its capital at Bopolu, an inter-ethnic confederation of Gola, Vai, Dei, Kpelle, Fula and Malinke monopolized the interior-to-Atlantic trade for nearly a century. In exchange for the Africans' ivory, gold, kola, pepper and slaves, the coastal trading vessels brought salt, iron, munitions, and other items of European manufacture (d'Azevedo 1962; Béavogui 2001; Holsoe 1966, 1976/7; Rodney 1970). In addition to Condo's ready supply of slaves, the Europeans favored Cape Mount's location midway along their Atlantic route and its dense coastal mangrove swamps which helped conceal their vessels during Britain's anti-slaving campaign.<sup>4</sup> Condo flourished under the Malinke leadership of Sao Boso (King Boatswain), and though Cape Mount was never a principal European entrepôt, it was a frequent port of call (Jones 1983). When Loma historical narratives mention long-distance trade with the coast, it is Bopolu to which they refer, just as all large-scale local merchants today are called *pôtekili* (Portuguese) in recollection of an earlier era of European trade.

The establishment of a colony of repatriated Americans at Cape Mesurado in 1822, coupled with Britain's efforts to suppress the Atlantic slave trade, slowly contributed to the Condo Confederation's demise (Holsoe 1967). Trade with the American colonists gradually replaced seafaring trade, but it did not lessen the importance of Bopolu or the interior trade routes, which were newly contested following the death of Sao Boso's son, Momolu Sao, in 1871. Loma from Bonde captured Bopolu in 1872, just as Samori Touré's empire began to expand from the savannah to the southern forests (Massing 1978/9: 56).

## The Colonial Era

Samori's defeat of the Malinke<sup>5</sup> war chief Saghadyigi Kamara in 1883 brought the upper Konian region under Samori's control and renewed the southward push of Malinke, exacerbating ethnic hostilities in the Loma regions of Gizzima, Ziama, Bluyama and Koima (Bouet 1911; Person 1968; Massing 1978/9: 54ff). New leadership rivaled old as Loma, Malinke, and others jockeyed for control of greater territory. The north-south trade routes under Loma control became increasingly important conduits for the exchange of war captives for arms following France's termination of arms shipments through Sierra Leone. Today, Loma refer to this era of unprecedented ethnic warfare as *gilikilikôï*, the "rolling war," in recollection of the way Malinke soldiers from the Konian region swept through the landscape like rocks rolling down a hill (Cordor 1967: 25).

Among the most significant effects of Samori's military campaigns in the Loma area were the continued exodus of Loma from savannah to forest and the alliances they would forge with animist Malinke opposed to Samori's Islamic crusade. In coming years, Loma established alliances of convenience with neighboring ethnic groups that transcended a narrower allegiance to Loma ethnicity and identity. Multi-ethnic enclaves sprung up, particularly in the southern and eastern regions; intermarriage became commonplace; and large multi-ethnic confederacies, often under the command of non-Loma rulers, dominated several Loma *zuu* (territorial political units) along the frontier. When the Traveling Commissioner of Sierra Leone visited the Bonde Loma war town of Kpandemai in 1891, for example, he reported the presence of some 3,000 residents and *sofa* (infantrymen) drawn from surrounding Mende, Malinke, Bandi and Kissi (Alldridge 1901: 227-234; cf. Wallis 1910, Sharpe 1920). Like other Loma towns in the Baizia, Bonde, Wubomai and Lulama regions, Kpandemai would remain largely independent of Samori; but the repercussions of his military campaign and the French response were felt by Loma everywhere.

Samori was not alone in his quest for empire. Within decades of their settlement on African soil, the repatriated Black Americans of the Republic of Liberia began to make pretentious claims to an area of the hinterland extending three hundred and fifty miles to the north, based on a series of explorations that began with Seymour and Ash's tour of the interior in 1858 (Fairhead *et al* 2003: 31-91). A decade later, a more ambitious reconnaissance of the interior took Benjamin Anderson as far as the wealthy Malinke town of Musadu (now in Guinea); and when Anderson returned to Musadu in 1874, he signed several treaties of cooperation with Loma, Kpelle, and Malinke representatives.<sup>6</sup> Anderson's journeys confirmed his government's confidence in the commercial promise of the Liberian hinterland. His written report of the mission called for increased trade with the tribes of the far interior, the establishment of military outposts, and a greater governmental presence. But at a time when the European powers were steadily increasing their West African territories, Anderson's appeals were largely ignored. The Black Republic had neither the military forces nor finances to

safeguard her territories beyond Monrovia's forty mile "constitutional zone." The absence of a Liberian presence along the ill-defined Guinea-Liberia frontier ultimately contributed to a political climate in which France would question Anderson's maps and publicly challenge the very occurrence of his exploration (d'Ollone 1903). In the decades following Anderson's mission, Liberia's territorial sovereignty was tenuous and its political border was frequently violated (Akpan 1973: 223-225; Murdza 1979).

By contrast, Britain's success in the Sierra Leone protectorate and her eventual pacification of the Kissi region (to the west of the Loma) had by 1907 resulted in a permanent military force on Liberian soil (Massing 1980/1; Abasiattai 1989), while the French campaign against Samori pushed its military successively further into Liberian territories. Thus by century's end (and often in violation of the territorial agreement of 1892), France had established permanent military outposts at Bofosso, Macenta, Beyla, Soundédou, N'Zebela and N'Zapa, virtually surrounding the Loma region (Bouet 1911).

Acceding to France's demand that it demonstrate control of the territory it claimed, Liberia reluctantly established the Liberian Frontier Force in 1908.<sup>7</sup> Ironically, the force intended to establish a Liberian presence in the hinterland was composed in its first year of British soldiers entirely under British command (Gershoni 1985; Abasiattai 1989). President Barclay's expectation that a British military presence might arrest French progress in the Liberian hinterland also promised to bring additional revenues for Britain, which considered a buffer zone on the frontier useful to help avoid a direct confrontation with France. But the British force did not last. Rampant corruption coupled with ineffective leadership warranted the removal of the British agents by year's end, when Liberia invited the intervention of the U.S. State Department. In 1909, three American representatives arrived in the northwestern district.

France's claim to the Loma forests was better supported than Liberia's, but her interests were pursued with equal difficulty. Though France had begun to establish a formidable military presence in the forest zone, Loma everywhere offered unexpected and unusually strong resistance (Bouet 1911; Baratier 1913; Guilavogui 1968; Suret-Canale 1964, 1988b). Loma massacred several French reconnaissance and delimitation envoys (at N'Zebela in 1894 and N'Zolou in 1897); destroyed a newly erected customs post and surrounding cooperative villages (Diorodougou, in 1899); and summarily defeated the French military at Loma strongholds such as N'Zapa (1894), Kounkan (1902) and Busedu (1907), where French soldiers fled in embarrassment after confronting an unusually well-armed, palisaded village (Bouet 1911: 238-239; Béavogui 2001: 129-135; Suret-Canale 1964). Where the French made inroads, such as in M'Baléma and M'Balasso in 1906, Loma quickly returned and rebuilt their towns, crippling the appearance of French success.

It was not merely the vitality of the Loma response to colonial military operations that set the forest zone apart from other areas of French penetration. As Suret-Canale (1988a: 157-159) notes, the social organization of the forest peoples<sup>8</sup> presented a fur-

ther obstacle. Whereas French colonization elsewhere (such as Futa Jalon) often relied upon powerful aristocratic rulers, or *almamy*, whose sovereignty over vast territories would make them appropriate paramount chiefs in newly created administrative *cantons* — and whom the colonists could often reliably co-opt to their advantage, the French discovered in the forest zone a surfeit of petty kings with only a limited, local territorial influence. In place of feudal Muslim states, social organization in the forest zone was founded upon local descent-group alliances under the leadership of councils of elders, big men and warriors with narrow influence, or initiation societies (*ibid.*; cf. Paulme 1960; Person 1960; Massing 1978/79).<sup>9</sup> Suret-Canale's description is equally representative of Loma sections within Liberia.<sup>10</sup>

The French and Liberian forces faced Loma clansmen with different political loyalties, which further frustrated their respective military strategies. During the period 1880-90, Loma *zuu* in the northern and western Loma regions (Luloma, Zialor, Baizia, Wubomai and western Bonde) forged shifting, temporary alliances with Bandi, Kuranko and animist Malinke (Person 1968; Massing *ibid.*); while other *zuu* in the east and south (i.e. Koidu/Waiglomai-Woniguomai, Koima, Bluyema, [Wai]ziama, Gizzima and eastern sections of Bonde/Boni) were either occupied by Samori's forces or allied with him voluntarily (Person 1968; Massing 1978/9).

For a short time, the border contest between Liberia and France allowed frontier towns and villages to play one colonist against the other, claiming allegiance (sometimes even paying taxes) to one party in anticipation of better offers from the other (Murdza 1979: 380). Each colonial power made gifts of territory and repeated assurances of safety in an effort to win labor and taxpayers to its side, since an individual town and its neighboring territory along the frontier might swell its loyal ranks by as many as two or three thousand citizens. Loma rulers with a following were especially courted, and many (such as N'Zebela Togba, who ultimately surrendered in 1907) increased their influence through the protection they received from French frontier officers.

France's capture of Samori at Zigita in 1898 brought a renewal of French efforts to pacify the Loma. Initial military successes notwithstanding, the Loma faltered when the *région militaire* (i.e., the forest region) was reorganized in 1907 under new leadership with superior munitions. When their military strongholds at M'Beléma, Busedu (1907), N'Zapa, Koïama (1908), and Soundédou (1909) fell, Loma fled in increasing numbers to the towns of Zinta and Yela, just hundreds of feet across the Liberian border (Bouet *ibid.*: 236-241; Murdza 1979: 380, 431). In a show of might and in reprisal for their resistance, French soldiers indiscriminately burned Loma towns, destroyed crops, and reclaimed territory promised to individual leaders. The surrender of the towns of N'Zapa, Zolou and N'Zebela ultimately brought all Loma *zuu* south of the Makona permanently under French command.

As a consequence of Liberian military *impuissance*, French preoccupation with Samori, an inadequate knowledge of the frontier and Loma resistance, an interna-

tional border through Lomaland was virtually absent — despite three separate agreements — throughout the colonial period (Suret-Canale 1988b: 127; Murdza 1979 *passim*).<sup>11</sup> Whereas the 1907 Franco-Liberian agreement endorsed such natural borders as the Makona River, further south the line was inadequately delimited and frequently subject to revision. Within the traditional Loma sections of Gizzima, Ziema, and Vekema, the proposed border violated the land's natural relief and flatly ignored crucial social boundaries (Murdza 1979: 369). Loma compliance with the colonists' mandate varied accordingly. Loma *zuu* nearest the border, and in some cases actually divided by it (such as Fasolo/Woniguomai, Bonde and Gizzima), moved almost entirely to the Liberian side (Fahnbulleh 1936; Massing 1978/9; Murdza 1979: 364), while those farthest from the zone of military occupation (e.g., towns such as Kpandemai in Bondi) resisted or merely avoided incorporation through the 1920s (Suret-Canale 1988b).

Though Liberian colonization was strongly resisted elsewhere in the hinterland, Loma leadership apparently welcomed the Liberian administration (Currens 1974; Korvah 1995: 52; Massing 1978/9: 58).<sup>12</sup> At a round of meetings in Voinjama and Zigita (Zinta) between 1908 and 1911, where Bondi and Wubomai representatives were asked to choose Liberian or French rule, those present unanimously declared their allegiance to Liberia.<sup>13</sup> According to Loma historian Paul Korvah, at the conclusion of the 1908 meeting the Loma sent a white horse, white country cloth, and ten white kola nuts to President Arthur Barclay in Monrovia to demonstrate their sincerity (Korvah 1995: 65.). Whether their decision to accept the "Barclay government" was based on historical ties to coastal trading centers,<sup>14</sup> loyalty to Liberian Frontier Force officers, or their antipathy to the French, as Currens suggests (1974: 25-26), clearly Loma were also persuaded by the relative strengths of the two colonial powers. As Akpan (1973: 230; 1988: 27) correctly notes, the Liberian Frontier Force was understaffed, underarmed and unpaid, and Loma were scarcely subjected to actual force (cf. Clegg 1996: 11-12; Korvah *ibid.*: 52).<sup>15</sup> Loma south of the Makona accepted Liberian rule at what must have seemed an opportune time, as French control of all contested frontier regions was by then nearly absolute.

Liberia's administration of the hinterland was modeled after the British system of indirect rule (Liebenow 1987: 54-56). Paramount chieftaincies under native rule were set up within larger administrative districts governed by Americo-Liberian district administrators. At its inception, the hinterland administration's presence was superficial and its effects on Loma social life inconsequential. On the one hand, the system of paramount chieftaincies allowed Loma to retain a *de facto* and *de jure* sovereignty over traditional land;<sup>16</sup> on the other, the Liberian government unwisely installed as paramount chiefs former "kings" and war leaders such as the powerful Dikken Korvah of Wubomai. Hardly the compliant colonial agents the administration had hoped for, the already formidable rule of these popular leaders was unintentionally bolstered by the conferral of official titles, while the administration's power was ultimately eclipsed.<sup>17</sup>

Americo-Liberian policies toward Loma cultural institutions were tolerant. From the start of colonization, in the hinterland reorganization of 1931 and through the codified statutes of 1956, Loma who were not identified as "civilized" (*wui*) fell entirely under "tribal" jurisdiction. Because land claims, divorces, torts and criminal proceedings were handled by a native administration ("Tribal Authority") whose only federally appointed agent was the provincial governor (later, the county superintendent), most important social institutions in Loma society were not adversely effected by colonial rule. Though the paramount chief's role had no precedent among the Loma, the paramount chiefdoms were similar to traditional Loma territories (*zuu*) that existed at the advent of colonization; in addition, they were self-governing and relatively autonomous of state control. Even after the paramount chiefdoms were restructured and consolidated in the 1930s under President Edwin Barclay (see below), and a Mandingo paramount chief with presidential backing was temporarily imposed (Cordor 1967; Korvah 1995: 58-60), Loma soon regained their self-rule.

Unlike their Liberian counterparts, who strengthened their position, ironically, by accepting the leadership of the weaker colonial party, Loma on the right bank of the Makona and east of the St. Paul River were less fortunate. As early as 1904, all land in Guinea officially became the property of a European power which "turned into 'scraps of paper' the thousands of treaties of protection it had signed and thanks to which it had implanted itself successfully in Africa" (Suret-Canale 1988b: 139-140). Whereas Liberia was largely ill-prepared to administer or govern its newly won possessions, Guinean Loma were quickly subject to direct civil administration (above the village level) under colonial rather than local administration. A steady erosion of traditional social institutions followed. "Between 1890 and 1914," writes Suret-Canale (*ibid.*: 139), "... the old rulers — including those who had given most assistance to French penetration — were eliminated and the old political framework was turned completely upside down: ethnic boundaries ... were cut up and reshaped according to administrative necessity or fantasy."<sup>18</sup> Though the newly created *chef de canton* was charged with the collection of taxes and the administration of "traditional" lands, he "remained an agent of the administration, without actually being an official. Tradition served here as a pretext for convenience and economy" (Suret-Canale 1988a: 160). Absent traditional modes of investment on the one hand, and on the other, the authority to govern (chiefs in Guinea could not even hear court cases), the authority of Guinean chiefs was arbitrary and maintained solely through coercion. Few had more than a fleeting purchase on their community's allegiance.<sup>19</sup>

Differences in French and Liberian modes of colonial administration reflected differences in their commercial interests and capabilities. Indirect rule in the Liberian hinterland meant, in practice, that taxes were collected infrequently, central markets were not established, and opportunities for wage employment outside of the Frontier Force were virtually non-existent. The primary source of wage employment between 1924 and the 1960s was the Firestone Plantations Company at Mount Barclay, a six-

to ten-day walk from Voinjama. In 1926, the Liberian government promised to provide Firestone with at least 2,000 men from each of Liberia's five provinces. Firestone paid paramount chiefs one cent per day for each laborer recruited for the plantation, and it is undoubtedly true that overzealous chiefs abused the system (cf. Carter 1972: 92-93; Liebenow 1987: 57). But even the most ardent critics of Firestone's labor policies note that Firestone advocated "free and unrestricted employment ... upon terms and conditions which are agreeable to the laborers themselves."<sup>20</sup> As Tucker (2000: 256) points out, "the arrangement was more flexible and non-coercive than labor recruitment in the French and Belgian colonies of central Africa at the same time: Firestone workers could leave at any time, and the chiefs might require them to return home for farm work or other responsibilities." In retrospect, the Loma probably benefited more from their relationship with Firestone than did the state — which didn't benefit at all (cf. van der Kraaij 1980).<sup>21</sup>

By contrast, France regarded the forest zone as a relatively maintenance-free source of revenue, labor and agricultural products, and it quickly established customs posts at thriving Loma markets and along traditional trade routes (Diorodougou, Koima, Kabaro, Macenta, Boola and Beyla). Like Guinea's other ethnic groups, Loma were expected to contribute to French commercial interests through *corvée* labor and forced cultivation (Béavogui 2001: 162ff; Fall 1987), and agricultural tribute to "traditional" chiefs was the preferred means for seeing that they did so. As late as 1949, writes Suret-Canale, "... the taxpayers of the Macenta circle had to make a forced contribution of almost 20 kilos of rice, which was then carried on men's heads over distances of dozens of kilometers to the appointed centres, where it was resold ... to European traders...." (ibid.: 141).<sup>22</sup> The French scheme was further exacting, as Suret-Canale reports, because the state-operated rubber concessions (later coffee and mining) depleted the natural resources of the forest zone and slowly contributed to its change to savannah (ibid.: 133ff).<sup>23</sup>

Ironically, the greatest disruption of Loma social institutions occurred immediately after the French colonists left Guinea. Under the postcolonial regime of Sekou Touré, the Parti Démocratique de Guinée sought to dispel those features of traditional religious beliefs and practices that conflicted with their Marxist image of the modern nation-state. The *campagne de démystification*, aimed largely at the nation's youth, attempted to eradicate "fetishism" — ancestor cults, sacrifices, initiation rites, bodily cicatrization, and other "superstitious" beliefs. The most significant social institutions in Loma society, the Poro (*pôlôgii*) and Sande (*zádegiti*) cultural societies, were banned (Guilao 1967; McGovern 2004; Rivière 1969). Through radio broadcasts, the press and public theater, the PDG persuaded party supporters to publicly expose the secrets of these societies and destroy society masks and paraphernalia. The consequences of demystification were disastrous. Youths anxious for social change helped turn the societies' sacred groves into coffee and banana plantations over the objections of society leaders, many of whom fled to neighboring portions of Liberia hoping to preserve

their society accoutrements; others committed suicide or were poisoned. And though the party later granted permission to hold initiations, it had so greatly reduced the period of seclusion that its concession was flatly refused (Rivière, *ibid.*: 150).

Many Loma in Guinea nonetheless continued to practice their religion clandestinely, often sending youths to Liberia for their initiation (cf. Bellman 1981; 1984: 98-99; 136-137). In 1985, not long after the death of Sekou Touré, the image of a Loma Poro Society *nyangbai* mask suddenly appeared on the face of Guinea's newly issued 25 franc notes; however, it was not clear whether the PDG meant to signal a new attitude toward indigenous cultural institutions or merely to appropriate a powerful symbol. Højbjerg (1990: 170) writes that "with a shift to a more liberal attitude towards the practice of traditional rituals throughout the country on behalf of the Guinean government since 1986, a veritable explosion in the number of initiation sessions has occurred in the southeast forest region [near Macenta]. Changes can be observed in the number of neophytes joining the sacred grove and in the length of the initiation rites. Whereas the Poro initiation lasts for some weeks among the Mano, Mende and Kpelle, the Toma [i.e., Loma] have in recent years performed rites of a one year duration."<sup>24</sup>

### Political Organization

The hinterland political system in Liberia has undergone periodic changes in its administrative hierarchy but retains all the early features of indirect governance. The five original hinterland districts that became the Western, Central, and Eastern Provinces in 1932 were replaced in 1964 by a county system administered through county superintendents. The county superintendent (rather than provincial commissioner) is responsible for several district commissioners and their assistants, to whom Loma paramount chiefs report. There are two Loma paramount chiefdoms in Liberia, the Bondi-Wubomai and Loma chiefdoms, to the north and south respectively. In theory, the paramount chieftaincy is an elective office for which any Loma may run, although in practice the office is nearly always filled by a former clan chief.

The use of the term *clan* bears explanation. When the system of paramount chieftaincies was initiated during Arthur Barclay's administration (1904-12), traditional leadership was retained in all but a few instances. The administration's uniform recognition of the claims of numerous local "kings" (*zuimassagi*) eventually resulted in a proliferation of paramount chieftaincies of varying size and scope, "all pressing their own interests as equal and autonomous entities before the government" (d'Azevedo 1970/71: 104). In the early 1930s, in an effort to consolidate his administration's control of the hinterland, President Edwin Barclay reorganized the nation's paramount chiefdoms into political and territorial divisions called clans. Although the new clan chiefs retained authority over virtually the same jurisdictions (i.e., their former paramount chiefdoms), they now reported to a newly appointed (or sometimes reappointed) paramount chief, usually selected from among their group. While the change brought

increased authority to the “new” paramount chiefs, it spelled a loss of status for the clan chiefs, whose direct access to the hinterland administration was thereby lost (*ibid.*: 104-106). The term clan, in short, refers to politico-territorial units that were prevalent at the time of hinterland reorganization in the 1930s, but bears only a distant relationship to the term’s ordinary use in anthropological parlance (Liebenow 1987: 41-42).<sup>25</sup>

With the reorganization of the hinterland into larger administrative units, Bondi and Wubomai were consolidated into what became known as the Amalgamated Bondi-Wubomai Paramount Chiefdom, and separated from a neighboring mixed Loma-Malinke chiefdom, Waiglomai-Woniglomai (later renamed Koidu-Boni). Today, the Bondi-Wubomai Chiefdom comprises three clans: Bondi (formerly Bondi Chiefdom), Upper Workor (*Workormazu*), and Lower Workor (*Workorbu*). Just as paramount chiefdoms include several clans, clans in turn comprise several smaller units called sections. A clan section is administered by a sectional town chief responsible for the towns and villages under his jurisdiction. Lower Workor Clan, for instance, has three sectional town chiefs representing a total of eighteen towns. Each town has a chief who is responsible for the villages in his jurisdiction and for ward (or “quarter”) chiefs, the smallest administrative unit.<sup>26</sup> Like the paramount chieftaincy, the offices of the clan chief, sectional town chief, and town chief are all elective offices.

### Language and Ethnic Identity

Loma is classified as a Southwestern Mande language (Dwyer 1989; Greenberg 1963). Though Loma scoff at the suggestion that their language is derived from Mandekan (the language of their Mandingo, Maninka, Manya and Konianke neighbors), they recognize a linguistic affinity with the other southwestern Mande speakers, the Kpelle, Mende, and Bandi (whom they say speak Loma “upside-down”).<sup>27</sup> The fifth member of the southwestern Mande group, the Landogo (i.e., Lokko), live some two hundred miles to the west in Sierra Leone, perhaps as a result of the Mane invasions (Person 1961; Speed 1991); but the Loma and Landogo are apparently unknown to each other. The Manya, Konianke and Kissi refer to the Loma as *Toma*, an ethnonym widely adopted by Francophone ethnologists and American art historians which has all but replaced the terms Bousie, Buzi, Domar-Buzi and Waymar-Buzi used by an earlier generation of writers.<sup>28</sup> Today, Loma call themselves *Lômagiti* (or *Logomagiti* in some dialects in Guinea), “the Loma people,” and speak *Lômagui*. Many follow Liberian orthographic conventions and write about themselves as *Lorma*.

The four principal dialects distinguished by Loma in the Wubomai region are named for their provenance (Wubomai, Gizzima, Bonde and Lulama).<sup>29</sup> Popular legend attributes the distribution of these dialects to the territories settled by the seven sons of the Loma king Fala Wubo (hence *Wubomai*, “followers of Wubo”).<sup>30</sup> In addition to implying relative distance, dialectical differences also denote minor cultural differences among Loma. Wubomai Loma, for instance, describe differences in mortuary

custom and sacrificial rites between themselves, Bonde, and Gizzima, and profess to follow many of the customs of neighboring Lulama. Likewise, Gizzima Loma and speakers of the Lulama dialect apparently used birth-order names in the past, but today such names are absent. Finally, during initiation rites, all Loma are cicatrized on their waists and torsos (women) or backs (men) in a manner that easily identifies their place of birth or initiation (cf. Germann 1933: Plate 3; Gamory-Dubourdeau 1926: 342-343).<sup>31</sup>

Shared cultural institutions, multilingualism, pan-ethnic cults, a long history of multi-ethnic alliances, and the relatively small-scale, local nature of early political leadership, make it difficult to determine the extent to which Loma conceived of themselves as an ethnically distinct people prior to their incorporation into the colonial state and the imposition of administrative-ethnic borders (cf. Béavogui 2001; McGovern 2004: 319; Person 1968 Vol I: 557ff.). The relatively numerous but territorially small Loma *zuu* upon which the Liberian and French modeled local administrative districts, as well as the proliferation of Loma names for themselves well into the 20th century, suggest both the absence of political unification as well as geographically local conceptions of ethnic identity. André Arcin, for example, reported (1907: 61, 223) that his list of Toma *districts* in Guinea was derived from Louis Léonard's earlier list of Toma *tribes* (cf. Bouet 1911: 223).<sup>32</sup> It is also quite certain that the Bonde did not identify themselves as Loma until fairly recently (cf. Schwab 1947, *passim*). Finally, in light of the fact that Liberia and Guinea both sought to consolidate ethnic polities wherever possible, the proliferation of Liberian clans and Guinean cantons and the adoption of the prevalent terms for Loma *zuu* suggest again their relative autonomy.

There are no natural borders separating Loma from surrounding ethnic groups. This is especially true at the geographical margins of the Loma area where towns and villages of mixed ethnic composition are more numerous and a motoring traveler can pass quickly and often unknowingly from one ethnic group to the next. In the south, many Loma towns are comprised equally of Loma and Kpelle (Bellman 1975; McGovern 2004: 21), while to the north and east mixed Loma-Kuranko, Loma-Konianke, and Loma-Many towns are numerous (McGovern 2004).<sup>33</sup>

Loma represent their relationship with other ethnic groups in an alliance idiom whereby one group is perpetually a wife-giver (*keke*) to the other, its wife-receiver (*daabe*). According to Loma and Kissi legends, their alliance relationship began when a Kissi man gave his daughter Kumba to the Loma, whom the Kissi today call *Kumba-juku* (or *Kumba-jikui*), "the children of Kumba" (cf. Germann 1933: 13-14). One contemporary Loma narrative (Korvah 1971: 31) dates this marriage to the era of Loma migration to Liberia, while another (Eberl-Elber 1935: 167-168) relates that Kissi provided wives for Loma when they were abysmally few in number and subject to extinction. Today, Loma say that the Kissi are responsible for their life and continuity, and when Kissi pass through Wubomai they are invariably called *keke*, "my wife-giver," and shown the deferential behavior the term implies.

Just as Loma are collectively wife-receivers to the Kissi, so too are Mandingo (i.e., Malinké and Konianke) categorically *daabe* to the Loma. Repeated marriage exchanges between them are in fact rather common. Weisswange (1969: 57) reports that Loma and Mandingo marriages in Borkeza (a town in the Ziema clan) are always unilateral (Loma women marry Mandingo men). Carter (1972: 60) describes this "institutionalized relationship" in the town of Zolowo (in the Gizzima region) and adds that "Loma women marry Mandingo men but rarely the reverse." In both towns, Mandingo residents and more recent settlers complemented their wife-receiving status by adopting the corresponding ritual roles of *daabeveati* ('daabe-people'), a practice that hastened their assimilation. Mandingo are said to have provided the protective medicines (*sálé*) which Loma used to thwart inter-tribal wars (Carter *ibid*: 56-59), as well as the apotropaic objects (*zàlaxáí*) which Loma customarily bury in the central plaza when towns are founded. Mandingo in the Gizzima region also have acted as sacrificers on behalf of the Loma lineages to which they are affinally and ritually attached. When Loma imagine inter-ethnic relations in alliance terms, a relationship of hierarchy and territorial precedence is always implied.<sup>34</sup>

### Ecology and Economy

Most Loma settlements fall within the tropical rain forest zone or (furthest to the north) a transitional ecological zone where moist, dense, semi-deciduous forest gradually gives way to derived savannah. A landscape dotted with gently rolling hills along the coastal plane is accompanied by more steeply sided hills in the northern plateau, where elevations occasionally exceed 2,500 feet. The terrain throughout is characterized by massive domelike dolerite and granite outcroppings and myriad small, winding streams.

Early descriptions of the Loma region occasionally mention towns with populations exceeding 8,000 (see, e.g., L'Honoré Naber 1910; Alldridge 1901), but these were certainly exceptional instances where warfare induced Loma to gather in large numbers for protection. Lomaland is sparsely populated even by regional standards, with roughly 40 to 50 individuals per square mile (Nelson 1984; Hasselman 1979).<sup>35</sup> Prior to the recent civil war, the density of settlement was greatest in the areas surrounding the cities of Zorzor and Voinjama (Liberia) and Macenta (Guinea), which had multi-ethnic urban populations in excess of 5,000. Loma towns seldom have more than 500 residents and settlements with populations between one and three hundred are common.

Average annual rainfall in Voinjama District, Liberia, a point midway along the forest-savannah continuum, is 110 inches or roughly nine feet. The wet season (*sámáí*) lasts six to seven months, beginning in late April or early May and ending in late October or early November. The seasonal oscillation of wet and dry that distinguishes the agricultural cycle is also responsible for a marked contrast in the social life of the community. During the more arduous periods of the wet-season agricultural cycle,

Loma families occasionally remain "on farm" in temporary, open-sided "kitchens" where daily meals are prepared and foodstuffs stored, and which house them during severe rains. Some reside with several other families in permanent "bush" villages near their seasonal farms, sparing them a lengthy walk from town to farm and back again each day. In the wet season, individual or family agricultural tasks render Loma towns quiet and nearly vacant. By contrast, the town's population during the dry season (*fówa*) is larger and considerably more gregarious. During this period Loma conduct significantly more community business (*taa-fai*), community sacrifices and funeral rites. Initiation into the men's and women's societies always occurs before the arrival of the wet season.

Loma grow several varieties of upland rice by a method of shifting cultivation (Currens 1974). Each year, numerous small plots of land are cleared, burned, and planted with a variety of cultigens, after which the land lays fallow for seven to twenty-five years. Upland rice is interspersed with beans, eddoes, maize, okra, peppers, plantain, pumpkins, sweet potatoes, tobacco, tomatoes, and cassava (whose leaves, rather than tubers, are most highly valued). Tubers often lay buried until the following year, when groundnuts and sugar cane may be planted in fields that have begun to return to bush. In addition to the independent swiddens which women occasionally maintain, they often cultivate small gardens close by their homes or on the periphery of town, where they grow various leaves for preparing sauces. Both men and women plant forest tree crops such as kola, banana, pineapple, orange, and avocado — legacies of European coastal trading. Though agriculture provides the bulk of their diet, hunting, fishing and gathering (principally palm kernel oil, several varieties of palm wine, leaves, *tobogii* and other spices) contribute substantially to Loma meals. Most Loma men cultivate cash crops such as coffee, cocoa, kola and groundnuts, as well as sugar cane, which can be distilled into an alcoholic beverage called cane juice. Land is held in trust by the community. All trees except the palm are heritable property.

Loma traveled through the Wubomai region on foot until 1959, when the construction of an all-weather laterite-surfaced road brought automobiles and trucks; a trip to Monrovia before that time meant a six-to-ten day walk over rough trails. Though many Liberian Loma have participated in a wage economy since the introduction of the hut tax and the arrival of the Firestone Plantations Company, there was no large-scale capital investment or development schemes in the Wubomai region until the late 1970s, when the Lofa County Agricultural Development Project (funded by the World Bank) became the region's largest employer. Within a decade, town-to-market feeder roads were built, agricultural extension agents arrived with improved varieties of rice seed, and farmers were offered small loans to buy coffee seedlings. Coffee was sold to the Liberian Produce Marketing Corporation (LPMC), formerly a Swiss-owned parastatal, although its record of poor pricing and late payments tempted many farmers to sell their crops on the black market. In Guinea, state-run coffee, tobacco and

flower cooperatives were established much earlier, but overall, the local economy was less monetized and wage-labor opportunities were somewhat more rare.

## Conclusion

For hundreds of years, the Loma people's homeland provided an advantageous position from which to act as middlemen in the long distance trade in slaves, ivory, gold, kola, pepper and other products between the savannah and the Atlantic Ocean. In the late 19th century, Samori, the French and the Americo-Liberians wrestled for control of the Loma region to advance their respective imperial strategies. The Loma vigorously defended their territory and sovereignty against French and Liberian forces that were ill-prepared for their prolonged resistance. As a consequence, the Loma were one of the last ethnic groups in Liberia and Guinea to submit to colonial administration. For the last 100 years, their population has been divided between two nations.

As citizens of emerging colonial states with antithetical political and cultural policies, the Loma of Guinea and Liberia experienced decidedly different fates. In Guinea, the state compelled the Loma to serve as *corvée* laborers, dismantled their indigenous political systems, and eradicated their most fundamental cultural institutions. In Liberia, by contrast, the Loma retained their political autonomy to a greater degree and maintained their most significant social and cultural institutions. In both nations, the imposition of fixed administrative divisions, the status of the Loma people as a minority population vis-à-vis other Liberian and Guinean peoples, and their social and geographical distance from the nation's capital contributed to Loma ethnogenesis.<sup>36</sup>

Ethnic and religious identities were polarized during the Liberian civil war, which claimed the lives of an untold number of Loma between 1989 and 2003. Ethnic cleansing, looting and destruction on a scale unknown in the 20th century embroiled every Loma town and village.<sup>37</sup> The entire population of Lofa County was displaced as Loma sought safety by moving into the bush, to IDP camps in Monrovia, or across the border into Guinea, where Loma settled among distant relatives or in refugee camps that were established between Macenta and N'Zerekore. Loma who survived the actual warfare were afflicted with cholera, tuberculosis and other diseases.

Loma began to return to Lofa County in August 2003, when Charles Taylor was granted asylum in Nigeria, and at present about one-third of Lofa's citizens have returned to their former towns and villages. In time, all Loma will return to their traditional homeland to rebuild their houses, farm the land, and sacrifice to the spirits of their ancestors.

## Endnotes

- 1 This study is based on fieldwork conducted in the Bonde-Wubomai Chiefdom, Voinjama District, Republic of Liberia, between April 1985 and April 1987. I wish to thank Cuttington University College, the U.S. Educational and Cultural Foundation in Liberia, and the Institute of International Education for their support. I am also grateful to Paul D. Korvah for sharing his knowledge of Loma history with me. An earlier version of this article appeared in my doctoral dissertation (Leopold 1991).
- 2 Historically known as the Malaguetta Coast, Pepper Coast, Windward Coast, and more recently the Upper Guinea Coast (Rodney 1970), the core of the CWA region is roughly coincident to Baumann and Westerman's (1948) "West Atlantic Culture Circle" and Murdock's (1959) "Kru and Peripheral Mandé"; for a discussion, see d'Azevedo (1962).
- 3 Critical discussion of the Mane include d'Azevedo (1962, 1980), Person (1968, 1971) and Rodney (1970). Against the popular view that the Mane were southwestern-Mandé peoples (i.e. Loma, Kpelle, Bandi, Mende and Loko), Massing (1985) has convincingly argued for a northern Mandé (Vai, Kono, Malinke) origin. In his view, the Mane "invasion" entailed several chronologically close but protracted periods of warfare, rather than a single wave of peoples (cf. d'Azevedo 1959; Hair 1967). d'Azevedo suggests (1980: 84) that the Mane invasion resulted in an accretive (rather than abrupt) social and cultural transformation, with changes affecting *both* groups.
- 4 That Loma found themselves on both side of the Atlantic slave trade is evident from the Loma ("Baru") vocabulary collected by Clark (1848) in Jamaica, and the Loma-Bandi personal and geographical names provided in court testimony in Connecticut in 1839 by the "Balu" captives on the slave schooner *Amistad*, which originated in the Galinhas country on the border between present-day Liberia and Sierra Leone (Barber 1840; cf. Tellewoyan, n.d.). *Baru* and *Balu* are Mende and Bandi words for Loma.
- 5 As McGovern (2004: 18, note 22) points out, the historical literature generally employs the umbrella terms *Malinke* (in French) and *Mandingo* (in English) for ethnic groups that may include the Maninka, Manyá, and Konianke. When citing earlier literature, I have generally left original attributions as published unless the ethnicity of participants can be distinguished with confidence.
- 6 The content of these treaties is reviewed in Fairhead *et al.*, 2003, pp. 69ff.
- 7 Liberia was not a party to the Berlin Conference of 1885, where the borders of other African nations were settled among the colonial powers.
- 8 In this case, Loma, Bandi, Kissi, Kpelle and Mano.
- 9 The point is graphically illustrated in maps depicting the distribution and relative size of Guinean cantons. Differences in population density can only partly account for the greater number of cantons in the forest zone; see, e.g., Mission Démographique de Guinée (1956: Carte N° 1).
- 10 Opposing this view, Massing argues from L'Honoré Naber's description of the large centralized Loma villages he saw in 1908 that Loma "chiefs came closer than any others to the idea which the Liberian government had of an African chief and, therefore, adapted best to the administrative division into chiefdoms...." (1978/79: 60).
- 11 Boundary agreements were signed in 1892, 1907, and 1911, although actual demarcation in most Loma areas was delayed until 1926. On Franco-Liberian diplomacy during this period, see Murdza (1979).
- 12 For resistance by Kissi, see Massing (1989); on the Bandi and Gola; see Akpan (1988); on the Dan, see Ford (1989). Gola responses to colonization are treated at length by d'Azevedo (1970/71, 1971).
- 13 These meetings related to the delimitation and demarcation missions of Richaud-Naber (1908-09), Schwartz-Lomax (1911-13) and Lee-Villatte (1914-15); see Murdza (1979: 340). The Loma representatives at the March 1914 meetings in Voinjama and Jinemai are listed in Cordor (1968: 14) and Korvah (1995: 53-54).

- 14 Asked to choose between the two colonial powers, Loma responded, "we will not forsake the 'Bopolo road'" (Currens 1974: 25-26).
- 15 In fact, the LFF relied upon Loma forces to quell indigenous resistance elsewhere in the frontier. In response to the 1919 Gola and Bandi uprising, for example, Major John H. Anderson, the commanding officer of the Liberian army, authorized Captain Samuel L. Smith to "employ one or two thousand Buzi [Loma] warriors to assist you should you deem or consider the same necessary. The only compensation to these auxiliary troops being that they can hold whatever they catch. Make this plain to them." (Dept. of War file, Anderson to Smith, Monrovia, November 30, 1919; cited by Akpan [1988: 28]). Korvah (1995: 55-57) states that his father, Wubomai chief Degein Korvah, assisted the LFF in battles against the Bandi in 1912 and the Gola in 1919. Loma comprised the largest proportion of the Armed Forces of Liberia until the mid-1980s (Nelson 1984: 268; Liebenow 1987: 192).
- 16 "You cannot too strongly impress upon these sub-commissioners, as well as the men who may be with or under them, the command of the government that they are to treat the chiefs as chiefs in their own country and as citizens of Liberia entitled to all the rights, privileges and considerations as they themselves, and also that the subjects and property of these chiefs are not to be ill treated or interfered with illegally or unlawfully. [...] You will also exert yourself to the utmost of your ability, by word and deed, to show and prove to the chiefs and their peoples the fixed determination of the government and people of Liberia to deal fairly with them and treat them as citizens of Liberia." (Pres. D. E. Howard to Lieut. J. B. R. McGill, Liberian Frontier Force and District Commissioner, July 9, 1912. Executive Correspondence 599/112. Liberian National Archives).
- 17 Major Charles B. Young, an African-American officer assigned to Liberia in 1912 to help reform the Liberian Frontier Force, indicated that its leadership had "lost complete control" over the conduct of subordinates. "Tellingly enough, even the Secretary of War, according to Young, was unsure of his place in the chain of command, having been trained as a preacher and more or less "thrust" into a field of government service of which he "knew nothing..." (Clegg 1996: 11).
- 18 On the local level, the process to which Suret-Canale refers continued through independence. First-order administrative levels (i.e., *cercles*) that were intended to parallel the distribution of Guinea's ethnic groups, but which did not, were later "corrected" at the canton level. In 1922, for example, the multi-ethnic Kolibirama and Konokoro cantons were divided into Toma and Malinké segments, and Koodou and Koadou were separated. The greater recognition of ethnic provinces was not intended, however, to provide greater recognition to local-level leadership. On the contrary, the number of cantons was steadily reduced. In the Cercle de Guékédou, encompassing the neighboring Kissi, the original 55 cantons were consolidated into just sixteen between 1914 and 1950; see Person (1960: 91, note 7).
- 19 Chieftaincy in French Guinea was abolished by decree in December 1957, just months before independence. See Touré (1958) and Suret-Canale (1966/1988a).
- 20 Harvey Firestone to President King, quoted in Van der Kraaij 1980: 238; cf. Kroll 1991.
- 21 From the start, Firestone had a better appreciation of the nation's commercial and human resources than did the Liberian government. Within its first few years of operation, Firestone sponsored research on the Kpelle language (Westermann 1930), a medical and biological expedition (Strong 1930), and an ethnographic-anthropometric survey the goal of which was to determine which Liberian ethnic groups were best suited for plantation labor (Schwab n.d.). For its part, the Liberian government did not even conduct a nation-wide census until 1962.
- 22 Although Loma in Liberia were also subjected to *corvée* labor, the practice was apparently promoted by hinterland administrators acting in a private mercantile capacity, rather than by national policy; see Akpan (1988: 17-18, 22).
- 23 Fairhead and Leach have demonstrated that the Ziama region was savannah/farmland rather than dense forest in the late 19th century — "highly peopled, economically vibrant, heavily farmed and covered by farms, fallow bush and grassland." (1995: 5); but they also refer to Anderson's description

(1870:88) of “many parts of Boozie country, where the sombre gloom of immense forests conceals all such things.”

- 24 The Demystification Program ushered in sweeping changes in Loma marriage institutions as well, as McGovern (2004) vividly describes in his historical ethnography of the state’s social engineering program in Macenta Préfecture, Guinea.
- 25 Though formally a territorial unit, clans may be composed predominantly of a single *nye*, a collectivity of lineages sharing a particular food prohibition.
- 26 Although towns (*táá*) are invariably larger than villages (*balaxi*), they are not distinguished by size per se. A settlement is a town by virtue of having its own town chief and a chapter of the men’s poro society.
- 27 On tonal inversion, see Dwyer (1981).
- 28 Schwab (1947) reports the just-so story of Loma en route to Monrovia who provide the name of their chief, Buzi, when asked what people they were. The names Buse and Buzi may derive from Mende or Gola respectively (Holsoe 1979); from *Buzye*, a mixed Loma-Malinke *zuu* in the Konian region (Massing 1978/79); from *Buzyé*, the Maninka term for the Ziama region (Person 1968: 576, note 1); or perhaps from the Loma word *buze*, “human being.”
- 29 The number of Loma dialects is an open question. Heydorn (1971) distinguished five Liberian dialects (Wubömai, Bode, Ziema, Gizima, Bulima) and an additional three or four in Guinea; but he did not specify his criteria or indicate whether Loma recognized these dialects. Lavergne de Tressan (1953: 192-193) reported four dialects — Lulama, Koima, Konokoro and a southern dialect comprising Guizima, Ziema, Koodu [Koidu] and Vekema; but the language he elsewhere distinguishes as Gbundé is certainly the Bonde dialect. Prost (1967) mentioned “several” Loma dialects in Guinea but did not name them. Vydrine and Bergman (2000) distinguished six dialects (Luloma, Ninibu, Shialu, Wuboma, Bunde and Gizima) on the basis of information provided by Christian Højbjerg on Shialu (Valentin Vydrine, personal communication, Nov. 3, 2002), which is apparently not reported in the literature.
- 30 Fala Wubo’s father was Fali Kama of Musadu (Korvah 1995: 11-14; Cordor 1968), known as Foningama among Malinke and Konianke speakers (Geysbeek and Kamara 1991). Just as the sons of Fala Wubo are mnemonics for the distribution of Loma sections, the travails of his brothers denote historic territorial alignments among the region’s ethnic groups. Of the other sons of Fali Kama, the most noteworthy here are Seimavila, who founded the mixed Loma-Malinke enclave, Fasolo (today the Kuadu-Boni Chiefdom in Liberia; see Fahnbulleh 1936), and Sisima, who founded Bonde (Korvah 1995: *ibid.*).
- 31 In Guinea, Loma also invariably employ the names of their clan totems as surnames.
- 32 In his discussion of the use of *Toma* and *Loma*, Bouet remarks: “The thing is of little importance, anyway, especially as this tribe was also known, formerly, under the names of Bouzi, Busié, Ouéïma, Koïmaka, although these names seem to have legitimately been able to apply only to certain provinces of this country, undoubtedly made more famous for the presence of powerful chiefs.” (Bouet 1911: 223; my translation).
- 33 Délafosse (1900: 192) also noted that Manianka were numerous in Loma country, where each important village had an independent Manianka quarter.
- 34 I elaborate on the ritual and symbolic dimensions of the *keke-daabe* relationship in Leopold 1991; McGovern (2004) discusses its importance in the fields of Loma history and politics.
- 35 McGovern (2004: 15) derives a population density of 11 inhabitants per square mile from the 1996 census of Macenta, which included Liberian refugees.
- 36 On the development of Loma identity in the context of the Guinean state, see McGovern (2004).
- 37 For accounts of the Liberian civil war that focus on the Loma people, see Ellis (1999) and McGovern (2004).

### References

Abasiattai, Monday B.

1989 European Intervention in Liberia with Special Reference to the "Cadell Incident" of 1908-1909. *Liberian Studies Journal* 14(1): 72-90.

Akpan, Monday B.

1973 Black Imperialism: Americo-Liberian Rule over the African Peoples of Liberia, 1841-1964. *Canadian Journal of African Studies* 7(2): 217-238.

1988 African Resistance in Liberia: The Vai and the Gola-Bandi. (Liberia Working Group Papers 2). Bremen: Liberia Working Group.

Alldrige, T. J.

1901 *The Sherbro and its Hinterland*. London, New York, Macmillan and Co., Limited; New York, The Macmillan Company.

Almada, A. A. d'

1964 *Tratado breve dos rios de Guiné do Cabo Verde, dès do Rio de Sanaga até os baixos de Santa Ana ....* A. Brásio, ed. Lisboa: Editorial LIAM. First ed. 1733.

Anderson, Benjamin

1971 *Narrative of a Journey to Musardu, the Capital of the Western Mandingoes (together with) Narrative of the Expedition Dispatched to Musahdu, by the Liberian Government under Benjamin J. K. Anderson, Senior, Esq. in 1874.* [New edition, with a new introduction by Dr. Humphrey Fisher.] London: Frank Cass and Co. Ltd.

Arcin, André

1907 *La Guinée Française: races, religions, coutumes, production, commerce*. Paris: Augustin Challamel.

Baratier, Colonel A.

1913 *Épopées Africaines. Édition définitive, ornée de sept Portraits et de deux Cartes*. Paris: Librairie Académique/Perrin et Cie.

Barber, John Warner

1840 *A History of the Amistad Captives*. New Haven: E.L. & J.W. Barber.

Baumann, H. and D. Westermann

1948 *Les Peuples et les Civilisations de l'Afrique*. Paris: Payot.

Béavogui, Facinet

2001 *Les Toma (Guinée et Libéria) au temps des négriers et de la colonisation française (XVIe-XXe siècles)*. Paris: L'Harmattan.

Bellman, Beryl Larry

1975 *Village of Curers and Assassins: On the Production of Fala Kpelle Cosmological Categories*. The Hague: Mouton.

1981 *The Adaptive Powers of Poro Arts*. Paper presented at the 24th Annual Meetings of the African Studies Association, Bloomington, Indiana, October 1981.

1984 *The Language of Secrecy: Symbols and Metaphors of Poro Ritual*. New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press.

Bouet, Lieutenant F.

1911 *Les Tomas*. *Renseignements Coloniaux (Supplément au Bulletin du Comité de l'Afrique française)* 8: 185-200; 9: 220-227; 10: 233-246.

1912 *Les Tomas*. Paris: Comité de l'Afrique française.

Carter, Jeanette Ellen

1970 *Household Organization and the Money Economy in a Loma Community, Liberia*. Unpub. Ph.D. dissertation, University of Oregon.

Clarke, Rev. John

1848 *Specimens of Dialects*. Berwick-Upon-Tweed. 1972 edition, with commentary and bibliographical note, Edwin and Shirley Ardener, eds. Westmead: Gregg International Publishers.

Clegg, Claude A.

1996 "A Splendid Type of Colored American": Charles Young and the Reorganization of the Liberian Frontier Force. *International Journal of African Historical Studies* 29 (1): 47-70.

Cordor, S. Henry [Similey-Mangwalah Henry]

1967 *Zubaryea Akoi Tellewoyan of Liberia: The Man and His Work*. Liberia. Voinjama, Liberia: Lofa County Publications Project.

1968 *The Lorma Tribe in Liberia — An African People of High Integrity*. *Liberian Historical Review* 4: 13-20.

Currens, Gerald E.

1974 *The Loma Farmer: A Socio-Economic Study of Rice Cultivation and the Uses of Resources Among a People of Northwestern Liberia*. Unpub. Ph.D. dissertation, University of Oregon.

Dapper, O.

1668 Naukeurige beschrijvinge der Afrikaensche gewesten van Egypten, Barbaryen, Libyen, Biledulgerid, Guinea, Ethiopiën, Abyssine ... Amsterdam: J. van Meurs.

d'Azevedo, Warren L.

1959 The Setting of Gola Society and Culture: Some Theoretical Implications of Variations in Time and Space. *Kroeber Anthropological Society Papers* 21: 43-125.

1962 Some Historical Problems in the Delineation of A Central West Atlantic Region. *Annals of the New York Academy of Sciences* 96: 512-538.

1970/71 A Tribal Reaction to Nationalism. Parts 3 and 4. *Liberian Studies Journal* 2 (2): 99-115; 3 (1): 1-18.

1971 Tribe and Chieftdom on the Windward Coast. *Rural Africana* 15: 10-29 [revised and expanded 1989 in *Liberian Studies Journal* 14 (2): 90-116].

1980 [Review Article] African Art of the West Atlantic Coast: Transition in Form and Content, by Frederick Lamp. L. Kahan Gallery, New York, 1979. *African Arts* 14 (1): 81-88.

Delafosse, Maurice

1900 Un État Nègre: La République de Libéria, Notice géographique, historique, économique et ethnographique. *Renseignements Coloniaux (Supplément au Bulletin du Comité de L'Afrique Française)* 9: 165-194.

Donelha, A.

1977 Descrição da Serra Leoa e dos Rios de Guiné do Cabo Verde (1625). A. T. da Mota, ed. Lisboa: Junta de investigações científicas do ultramar.

Dwyer, David James

1981 Loma, A Language with Inverted Tones. *Anthropological Linguistics* 23(9): 436-442.

1989 Mandé. In *The Niger-Congo Languages*. John Bendor-Samuel, ed. Lanham: University Press of America.

Eberl-Elber, Ralph

1936 Westafrikas letztes rätsel; erlebnisbericht über die forschungsreise 1935 durch Sierra Leone. Salzburg: Verlag "Das Berglandbuch."

Ellis, Stephen

1999 *The Mask of Anarchy: The Destruction of Liberia and the Religious Dimension of an African Civil War*. NY: New York University Press.

Fahnbulleh, Varney Jakema

1936 Investigation and Decision of 1936 Local Boundary Dispute between Wonnegomai Chiefdom and Wubomai Section of Bondi-Wubomai Chiefdom, by District Commissioner V. J. Fahnbulleh, Voinjama District. December 4, 1936. Voinjama, Liberia: Voinjama Headquarters.

Fairhead, James, Tim Geysbeek, Svend E. Holsoe, and Melissa Leach (eds.)

2003 African-American Exploration in West Africa: Four Nineteenth-Century Diaries. Bloomington: Indiana University Press.

Fairhead, James and Melissa Leach

1995 Whose Forest? Modern Conservation and Historical Land Use in Guinea's Ziam Reserve. Rural Development Forestry Network Paper 18c.

Fall, Babacar

1987 Économie de plantations et main-d'oeuvre forcée en Guinée-Française: 1920-1946. Travail, Capital et Société 20 (1): 8-33.

Ford, Martin

1989 "Pacification" Under Pressure: A Political Economy of Liberian Intervention in Nimba 1912-1918. Liberian Studies Journal 14 (2): 44-63.

Fraenkel, Merran

1964 Tribe and Class in Monrovia. London: Oxford University Press for the International African Institute.

Germann, Paul

1933 Die Völkerstämme im Norden von Liberia. Leipzig: R. Voigtländers Verlag.

Gershoni, Yekutiel

1985 Black Colonialism: The Americo-Liberian Scramble for the Hinterland. Boulder and London: Westview Press.

Geysbeek, Tim and Jobba K. Kamara

1991 'Two Hippos Cannot Live in One River': Zo Musa, Foningama, and the Founding of Musadu in the Oral Traditions of the Konyaka. Liberian Studies Journal 16 (1): 27-78.

Greenberg, Joseph H.

1963 *The Languages of Africa*. (Publication 25 of the Indiana University Research Center in Anthropology, Folklore and Linguistics; *International Journal of American Linguistics* Vol 29, No. 1, Part 2). Bloomington: Indiana University Press.

Guilao, Gamé

1967 *La mort des fétiches*. *Esprit* (Paris) 363: 237-244.

Guilavogui, Galéma

1968 *La résistance à la pénétration française dans la région de Macenta*. Diplôme des Études Supérieures, Institut Polytechnique Gamal Abdul Nasser de Conakry.

Hair, P. E. H.

1962 *An Account of the Liberian Hinterland c.1780*. *Sierra Leone Studies* 16: 218-226.

1967 *Ethnolinguistic Continuity on the Guinea Coast*. *Journal of African History* 8 (2): 247-268.

Hasselman, K. L.

1979 *Liberia: Geographical Mosaics of the Land and the People*. Monrovia: Ministry of Information, Cultural Affairs and Tourism.

Heydorn, Richard W.

1971 *Grammar of the Loma Language with some Kono Words in the Vocabulary*. *Afrika und Übersee* 54: 77-99.

Holsoe, Svend E.

1966 *The Condo Confederation in Western Liberia*. *The Liberian Historical Review* 3 (1): 1-27.

1967 *The Cassava-Leaf People: An Ethnohistorical Study of the Vai People with Particular Emphasis on the Tewo Chiefdom*. Ph.D. dissertation, Boston University.

1976/77 *The Manding in Western Liberia: An Overview*. *Liberian Studies Journal* 7 (1): 1-12.

Højbjerg, Christian Kordt

1990 *Beyond the Sacred and the Profane: the Poro Initiation Ritual*. *Folk: Journal of the Danish Ethnographic Society* 32: 161-176.

Jones, Adam

1983 *From Slaves to Palm Kernels: A History of the Galinhas Country (West Africa) 1730-1890*. Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner Verlag GMBH.

Knoll, Arthur J

1991 Firestone's Labor Policy, 1924-1939. *Liberian Studies Journal* 16 (2): 49-75.

Korvah, Paul Degein [Paul Mavaguor], Sr.

1971 Notes on the Traditional History of the Tribes in the Voinjama District of Lofa County. *Rural Africana* 15: 30-36.

1995 *The History of the Loma People*. Oakland: O Books.

Kraaij, Fred van der

1980 Firestone In Liberia. In *Dependence, Under-development and Persistent Conflict: On the Political Economy of Liberia*. Eckhard Hinzen and Robert Kappel, eds. Pp. 199-267. Bremen: Ubersee Museum.

Lavergne de Tressan, M. de

1953 *Inventaire linguistique de l'Afrique occidentale française et du Togo*. (Mémoires de l'Institut français d'Afrique Noire 30). Dakar: IFAN.

Leopold, Robert S.

1991 *Prescriptive Alliance and Ritual Collaboration in Loma Society*. Unpub. Ph.D. dissertation, Indiana University.

2004 Loma Bibliography. *Liberian Studies Journal* 29 (2): 81-112.

L'Honoré Naber, Samuel Pierre

1910 *Op expeditie met de Franschen. Reisherinneringen aan de Fransch-Liberiaansche grensregelings-expeditie en de jaren 1908 en 1909, door S.P.L'Honoré Naber en J.J. Moret*. Den Haag: Mouton & Co.

Liebenow, J. Gus

1987 *Liberia: The Quest for Democracy*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press.

Massing, Andreas W.

1978/79 *Materials for a History of Western Liberia: Samori and the Malinke Frontier in the Toma Sector*. *Liberian Studies Journal* 8 (1): 49-67.

1980/81 *A Segmentary Society Between Colonial Frontiers: The Kissi of Liberia, Sierra Leone and Guinea 1892-1913*. *Liberian Studies Journal* 9 (1): 1-12.

1985 *The Mane, the Decline of Mali, and Mandinka Expansion towards the South Windward Coast*. *Cahiers d'Etudes Africaines* 97: 21-55.

McGovern, Michael

2004 *Unmasking the State: Developing Modern Political Subjectivities in 20th Century Guinea*. Unpub. Ph.D. dissertation, Emory University.

Mission Démographique de Guinée

1956 *Etude Démographique par Sondage, Guinée, 1954-1955*. Paris.

Murdock, George P.

1959 *Africa: its Peoples and their Culture History*. NY: McGraw-Hill.

Murdza, Peter John Jr.

1979 *The Tricolor and the Lone Star: A History of Franco-Liberian Relations 1847-1930*. Unpub. Ph.D. dissertation, University of Wisconsin - Madison.

Nelson, Harold D., et al. (eds.)

1975 *Area Handbook for Guinea*. Second edition. Washington: American University, Government Printing Office.

Nelson, Harold D. (ed.)

1984 *Liberia: A Country Study*. Third edition. (Area Handbook Series). Washington: American University.

d'Ollone, Captain

1903 *Côte d'Ivoire et Liberia*. *Annals de Geographie* 12(62): 130-144.

Paulme, Denise

1960 *La société kissi: son organisation politique*. *Cahiers d'Études Africaines* 1(1): 73-85.

Person, Yves

1960 *Soixante ans d'évolution en pays kissi*. *Cahiers d'Études Africaines* 1(1): 86-112.

1961 *Les Kissi et leurs statuettes de pierre dans le cadre de l'histoire ouest-africaine*. *Bulletin de l'I.F.A.N. (ser. B)* 23: 1-59.

1968 *Samori, Une révolution Dyula*. Tomes I (1968) et II (1970). (*Mémoires de l'Institut fondamental d'Afrique Noire* 80). Dakar: IFAN.

Prost, André

1967 *La Langue Lohoma, Esquisse grammaticale suivie de textes et d'un glossaire*. Dakar: Université de Dakar, Faculté des Lettres.

## Republic of Liberia

1949 Revised Laws and Administrative Regulations for Governing the Hinterland. Monrovia: Department of the Interior.

1964 1962 Census of Population: Population Characteristics of Major Areas. Western Province: PC-A8. Monrovia: Bureau of Statistics, Office of National Planning.

1977 Localities with Population of Over 100 by District, Clan and Locality. Monrovia: Bureau of Planning, Research and Manpower Development, Ministry of Health and Social Welfare.

1987 1984 Population and Housing Census of Liberia. Monrovia: Ministry of Planning and Economic Affairs.

## Rivière, Claude

1969 Fétichisme et démystification: L'exemple Guinéen. *Afrique Documents* 102-103: 131-168.

1977 Guinea: The Mobilization of a People. Ithaca: Cornell University Press.

## Rodney, Walter

1970 A History of the Upper Guinea Coast 1545-1800. NY: Monthly Review Press.

## Schwab, George

n.d. Confidential Report of Conditions in Liberia with Special Reference to the Utilization of Native Labor by the Firestone Rubber Plantations. George Schwab Papers, Accession 30-2, Peabody Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology, Harvard University [c. 1930].

1947 Tribes of the Liberian Hinterland. Edited, with additional material by George W. Harley. (Papers of the Peabody Museum 31) Cambridge: Peabody Museum.

## Sharpe, Sir Alfred

1920 The Hinterland of Liberia. *Geographical Journal* 55(4): 289-305 and map, following p. 328.

## Speed, Clarke Karney

1991 Swears and Swearing among Landogo of Sierra Leone: Aesthetics, Adjudication and the Philosophy of Power. Unpub. Ph.D. dissertation, University of Washington.

## Strong, Richard P.

1930 The African Republic of Liberia and the Belgian Congo; based on the observations made and material collected during the Harvard African expedition, 1926-1927. (Contributions from the Department of Tropical Medicine and the Institute for Tropical Biology and Medicine; no. 5.) Harvard: Harvard University Press.

Suret-Canale, Jean

1964 Le siège de Boussédou (février, avril 1907). Une version locale de l'affaire de Boussédou. *Recherches Africaines* (n.s.) 1-4: 165-166.

1966 La Fin de la Chefferie en Guinée. *Journal of African History* 7 (3): 459-493.

1988a The End of Chieftaincy in Guinea. In *Essays on African History*. Pp. 148-178. Trans. C. Hurst. Trenton: Africa World Press.

1988b Guinea in the Colonial System. In *Essays on African History*. Pp. 111-147. Trans. C. Hurst. Trenton: Africa World Press.

Tellewoyan, Joseph K.

n.d. Slave Ship "Amistad." <<http://pages.prodigy.net/jkess3/AMISTAD.htm>> Accessed Feb.11, 2007.

Touré, Ahmed Sekou

1958 Guinée, Prélude à l'Indépendence. Paris: Présence Africaine.

Tucker, Richard P.

2000 *Insatiable Appetite: The United States and the Ecological Degradation of the Tropical World*. Berkeley: University of California Press.

United States. Department of State.

1964 Records of the Department of State relating to the Internal Affairs of Liberia, 1909-1929. RG59, 882.00/591.

Vydrine, Valentin and T. G. Bergman

2000 Mandé language family of West Africa: Location and Genetic Classification. SIL Electronic Survey Reports SILESR 2000-003.

Wallis, Captain Braithwaite

1910 A Tour of the Liberian Hinterland. *Geographical Journal* 35: 285-295.

Weisswange, Karin I. S.

1969 Feindschaft und Verwandtschaft: Konflikt und Kooperation im Zusammenleben von Loma und Mandingo in dem Ort Borkeza in Liberia. Unpub. Master's thesis, Johan Wolfgang Goethe-Universität, Frankfurt/Main.

Westermann; Diedrich and Hans Joachim Melzian.

1930 *The Kpelle Language in Liberia*. Berlin: D. Reimer.