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TOPONYMIC GEOGRAPHIES IN AMERICAN SOUTHERN BAPTIST MAPS: THE YORÙBÁ LANDSCAPE IN THE MID-NINETEENTH CENTURY

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Abstract: *Toponymic Geographies in American Southern Baptist Maps: The Yorùbá Landscape in the Mid-Nineteenth Century. This paper highlights the map as a cultural interface intersecting indigenous language, toponymic geographies and orthographic development. Place names on maps visualize and facilitate the identity of the cultural landscape. This is evident in the American Southern Baptist maps of Yorùbáland produced during their missionary activities in the 1850s. This instils a different Yorùbá landscape identity in nineteenth-century Euro-American geography. Using a cultural-historical analysis, this paper explores the collection of indigenous toponyms evoking geographical images; orthographic development evident in these maps; and the toponymic labelling of the landscape as a socio-cultural practice. Hence, place names on maps constitute cultural layers of landscape identities that have shaped the geographical knowledge of the Yorùbáland.*

Key words: *Yorùbá, Idoko, Southern Baptist Mission, Place Names, Orthography*

1. INTRODUCTION

Maps have played important roles in human history and cultural identity[1]. In this paper, I argue that place names in cartographic sources offer insight into cultural contact with indigenous geographies, which unveil layers of landscape identities. A particular role of maps has been fixing geographic knowledge unto material medium. Cartographic maps visualize the cultural transformation of the biophysical space using toponyms. This toponym or place name, which visually indicates the cultural landscape, for instance, in formerly non-literate, non-European societies, manifests indigenous geographical knowledge in the cultural encounter with Europeans[2]. These currently

[1] Thrower, (2008); Woodman, (2014).
[2] Short, (2009).

taken-for-granted topographic labels on geographical maps in sub-Sahara Africa also evolved synchronously with the graphization of the spoken languages[3]. Geographical place names on maps of Africa in Euro-American geography highlight the outcome of this cultural encounter. Indeed, the cartographic map serves as a cultural interface between the indigenous knowledge systems and orthographic development in Africa.

There have been place names on the maps of West Central Africa since the fifteenth century but changes emerged in the nineteenth century. The fixing of geographical place names on depicted landscapes of Yorùbáland was influenced by Christian missionary practices evident in geographical exploration, language work and map production. In the 1850s, the Revs T. Bowen and W. Clarke of the American Southern Baptist Mission explored parts of Yorùbáland unknown in the Euro-American geography of Africa[4]. Besides, Bowen contributed to the pioneering work of reducing the spoken language into a written form by adding a Yorùbá grammar and dictionary. Furthermore, the evolving standardization of Yorùbá orthography became evident in these maps produced by the Southern Baptist Mission (SBM) during their missionary activities. Hence, how do the SBM and its maps manifest the collection, spelling and development of Yorùbá toponymy in the mid-nineteenth century?

The paper aims to explore the toponymic geographies of Yorùbáland depicted in American Southern Baptist Maps highlighting the early toponymic practices of Euro-American Christian missionaries. The rest of the paper is structured into six sections: the next section examines the conceptual and methodological background of this toponymic study. The third section engages earlier place names in cartographic productions of West Central Africa. The fourth section explores the interconnections of exploration, language work and map production in the American Southern Baptist Mission in Yorùbáland. The fifth section examines the collecting, spelling and development of toponymic geographies evident in three SB maps produced in the 1850s. The sixth section discusses the implications of place-name geographies as layers of the cultural identity of the Yorùbá landscape. The last section concludes the paper.

2. CULTURAL INTERFACE: GEOGRAPHICAL PLACE NAMES ON MAPS

Geographical place names on maps highlight the interconnection of cartographical symbols, language scripts, indigenous geographies and toponyms. Place names are the linguistic identity of a cultural landscape. Monmonier explained, "*toponym* means place name, and *toponymy* refers to the study of geographic names"[5]. For instance, Jia and Perono Cacciafoco examined the toponymic landscape of Singapore, highlighting change and continuity in the use of place names[6]. They observed relative stability that reflects, "unchanging naming practices [which] are in fact responses to socio-political contexts diachronically unveiled between colonial and contemporary Singapore"[7]. However, there is a privileging of the visual images of the landscape in Euro-American geography, which also document several non-European

[3] Falola, (1999); Lukpe, (2004), p.91.
[4] Ajayi, (2011); Ogundiwin, (2021).
[5] Monmonier, (2006), p.x, *Original emphasis*.
[6] Jia, Perono Cacciafoco, (2021).
[7] Jia, Perono Cacciafoco, (2021), p.87.

toponymic geographies. Of particular importance amongst visual mediums of the landscape is the cartographic map.

Harley and Woodward defined the map as "graphic representations that facilitate a spatial understanding of things, processes or events in the human world"[8]. On maps, Monmonier contends, "Place-names, or toponyms, not only make anonymous locations significant elements of the cultural landscape but also offer strong suggestions about a region's character and ethnic allegiance"[9]. For example, Cassi identified toponyms as an important way to define the territorial identity of a landscape. Drawing upon an Italian topographical map, she noted that "place names on the official maps resemble a traditional world which today has undergone great changes, or even disappeared altogether"[10]. Similarly, Perono Cacciafoco and Shia examined pre-colonial toponyms in Singapore through historical map analysis, revealing the development, similarities, and differences in names given to a particular location[11]. They contend that the survival of a place name reflects a continuous use by local inhabitants.

Identifying places on the non-Western landscape in European maps emerged from the cultural encounter with indigenous geographies. Indigenous geographies, as used here, refer to specific ways of thinking, describing and communicating about the biophysical space and the resulting cultural landscape by a group of people with common traits. Indigenous geographies, often verbalized and enacted through performance, are a repository of knowledge[12]. For instance, in African societies, verbalized and performed geographies manifest in the everyday skill of wayfinding. Hynes noted that verbal cartographies were crucial in world-building, when people "discuss and explain the landscape"[13]. Through the cultural encounter with Europeans, there was the fixing of place names on material objects in different cultural contexts. Bigon examined the historical genealogy of the multiple toponyms of the Island of Lagos and the competing narratives regarding these names that reflected local, regional and foreign sources[14]. These multiple place names highlight different historical periods embedded in the cultural encounter of ethnicities and political-economic power in Yorùbáland. Balogun pointed out in his examination of geographical place names on the maps of West Central Africa the efforts of early European explorers and the resulting inconsistencies in spelling[15]. He drew attention to and demonstrated how the British colonial power sought to harmonize and create order, for instance, in the spelling of Yorùbá place names in the early twentieth century.

However, Douglas contends that naming practices, which emerged from imperial exploration and discovery, were not a linear process but also involved the two local factors of "indigenous agency and the power of place"[16]. For example, the knowledge of Yorùbá informants and the attraction of Yorùbáland as a potential Christain missionary field influenced at different times the naming practice on documents such as maps. Several Euro-American missionary organisations produced maps of Yorùbáland, which in some cases pioneered the written documentation of

[8] Harley, Woodward, (1987), p.xix.
[9] Monmonier, (1991), p.110.
[10] Cassi, (2018), pp.80-81.
[11] Perono Cacciafoco, Shia, (2020).
[12] Uluocha, (2015).
[13] Hynes, (2018), p.99.
[14] Bigon, (2011).
[15] Balogun, (1989), pp.199-207.
[16] Douglas, (2014), p.24.

indigenous toponyms. The map draws attention to different factors in this process of cultural contact – "a fluid, embodied, situated episode involving multiple personal relationships between varied indigenous and foreign agents in a particular spatial setting"[17]. One of the aims of the pioneering linguists, as they interacted with the indigenous informants, was to represent place names in their closest indigenous sound through indigenous spelling. Orthography is the study of letters, spelling patterns of written words and the practice of using them to express sounds. Lupke observed, "Graphization or orthography development is a complex task which requires a careful assessment of issues going beyond purely linguistic decisions"[18]. She noted the distinction between the writing system, the abstract underlying type; the script, which is an instance of these writing systems; and orthographies, which are the spelling variants of a language. For example, the Yorùbá use the alphabetic writing system, with a Latin script but its orthography evolved from Anglo-American spelling to Yorùbá spelling in the nineteenth century. Orthographies have implications for toponymic geographies. For geographical names to fulfil their indispensable role in communication, Ormeling argues there is a need "to standardize them"[19]. Despite spoken variants, Lukpe noted, "the written use of a language presupposes its standardization, which is often seen as concomitant with writing"[20]. Hence, orthographies as words on maps are labels that are involved in the standardized communication of geographical information. Ormeling observed, "Geographical names are therefore labels that identify geographical objects, that refer to specific locations (and that also evoke specific images)"[21].

Therefore, a central concern is how maps as social practices manifest as a cultural interface intersecting indigenous language, toponymic geographies and orthographic development. Toponyms as documented and verbalized knowledge remain integral to human practices evident with, "past experiences, current realities, aspirations, and imagined futures"[22]. On one hand, toponyms continue to influence everyday human practices as evident in contemporary events. For instance, Creţan and Mathews contend that the attempt to rewrite place names in everyday politics has far-reaching consequences for ordinary people who have internalized its use on the urban landscape[23]. Indeed, the naming of a place can lead to social tensions in communities[24].

On the other hand, toponyms documented on maps also highlight future implications of past cultural encounters between different cultures. For instance, Putan and Creţan using cartographic sources demonstrated how Austrian, German and Hungarian encounters in Romania influenced the toponymy of the Şureanu Mountains[25]. By contrast, in African map studies, little research engages the map as a cultural interface between toponymic geographies and orthographic development. Nonetheless, the notion of cultural interface contributes to "maintaining continuity with the past, while [providing] skills relevant to the present and the future"[26]. The case of American Southern Baptist maps of Yorùbáland in this paper illustrates cartographic

[17] Douglas, (2014), p.13.
[18] Lupke, (2011), p.312.
[19] Ormeling, (2003), p.29.
[20] Lukpe, (2011), p.313.
[21] Ormeling, (2003), p.29.
[22] Nakata, (2007), p.10.
[23] Cretan, Mathews, (2016).
[24] Cretan, (2019).
[25] Putan, Cretan (2010).
[26] Maakrun, Maher, (2016), p.300; Nakata, (2007).

sources as a knowledge interface in a cultural encounter. It highlights and contributes to how topographic geographies embedded in maps are crucial evidence of the orthographic development of an indigenous African language.

The examination of toponymic geographies can take different dimensions. In this paper, I employed a cultural analysis through historical and extensive toponymic approaches drawing upon multimedia sources of written and visual data[27]. Lister and Wells assert cultural analysis is, "how culture is produced, enacted and consumed"[28]. This study is based on maps of Yorùbáland produced by the American SB Mission during the 1850s. The historical approach engaged previous naming practices on maps and the institutional history of knowledge production. Conversely, the extensive toponymic approach, a broad research method, involved a textual analysis of collecting, spelling and cartographic labelling of place names. As Jordan pointed out, "Place names help….to mark territories, to refer the identity of a person or a community to a section of space, to turn space into place…. This is achieved by presenting place names in public space or in publications (like maps)"[29]. This toponymic analysis of maps interrogates themes of genealogy and etymology of place names on maps, landscape shaping and place identity construction as socio-political practice. As Jordan explains, "Related to space, geographical names, toponyms or place names can be attributed [to] three basic functions: they reflect spatial characteristics, contribute to the shaping of space and contribute to identification of people with place"[30].

3. WEST CENTRAL AFRICA, MAPS AND PLACE NAMES

Place names are a distinguishing class of socio-spatial knowledge on the earliest European maps of Africa. Maps of West Central Africa began to appear in the fifteenth century[31]. Several maps emerged from the early European trade in West Africa. For example, Pedro de Lemos's map of 1583 provided cosmographic knowledge of West Africa. Similarly, the 1656 map of Sanson d' Abbeville, produced in Paris, identified several African place names but in European orthographies. In 1707, Guillaume De L'Isle produced the map of Barbary, Nigritia and Guinea, which depicted several places in West Africa. In England, in 1767, Edward Bowen produced a map of West Africa that included the Yorùbá country (Figure 1). Two prominent labels in the geographical space of Yorùbáland on this map were the "Kingd[om] of Ulcuma" and the "K[ingdom] of Jabu". The latter kingdom had a town, Jabu, associated with it. Robert Norris compiled a map of West Africa published in 1789[32]. The labelling of place names on this map revealed foreign spelling of supposed West African territories. Similar European maps of Africa before the nineteenth century had European orthographies such as Dutch, Portuguese, German and French spellings of African place names. Despite the correct geographical outline of West Africa in these maps, the Yorùbá toponyms ensured the specific identification of this cultural landscape.

[27] Tent, (2015).
[28] Lister, Wells, (2000), p.61.
[29] Jordan (2016), p.41.
[30] Jordan (2010), p.47; Creţan, (2019).
[31] Huseman, (2022), p.2.
[32] There is a version of this map titled, 'Dahomey and its Environs', (See Verger, 1976). The map title of the 1789 publication is 'A Map of the Slave Coast'.

Figure 1. West Central Africa by Edward Bowen 1767 – Detail.
Source: Stanford University Libraries, Stanford, California

In the nineteenth century, maps with more information on the West African landscape emerged primarily due to the geographical exploration of Europeans in Africa[33]. During the Niger Expeditions, there was the production of maps that partly described the Yorùbá landscape visually. Examples include maps produced by Lieutenant Becher of the Royal Navy in 1832 and John Arrowsmith in 1834, 1841 and 1844[34]. Arrowsmith was a British cartographer who drew several maps of Africa and published several atlases that revealed the incremental knowledge of West African geography and other places in the world[35]. These maps described the Yorùbá landscape but employed English orthography to spell Yorùbá names. Nonetheless, these maps of West Central Africa introduced new identities of the Yorùbá landscape in Euro-American geography. Among the resulting European cartographic productions from the Niger expeditions emerged Christian missionary maps. For example, the Church Missionary Society (CMS) produced maps of West Central Africa made by John Wyld and John Arrowsmith showing Yorùbáland in 1841 and 1854 respectively. In 1854, August Petermann illustrated Rev. Koelle's *Polygotta*, a CMS linguistic publication, with a map showing place names of West and Central Africa from where rescued Africans in Sierra Leone originated. The place names of West African ethnic groups on this 1854 map reshaped the once blank geographical space revealing a cultural landscape. Besides, the CMS began publishing missionary atlases in the 1850s that

[33] Withers, (2004).
[34] Lander, (1832), p.x.
[35] Herbert, (1983).

depicted several missionary fields, including the Yorùbá landscape (Figure 2). Nonetheless, other Christian missions also had a cultural encounter with toponymic geographies in Yorùbáland. They documented indigenous place names, which also highlighted orthographic developments as evident in the Southern Baptist Maps of the 1850s.

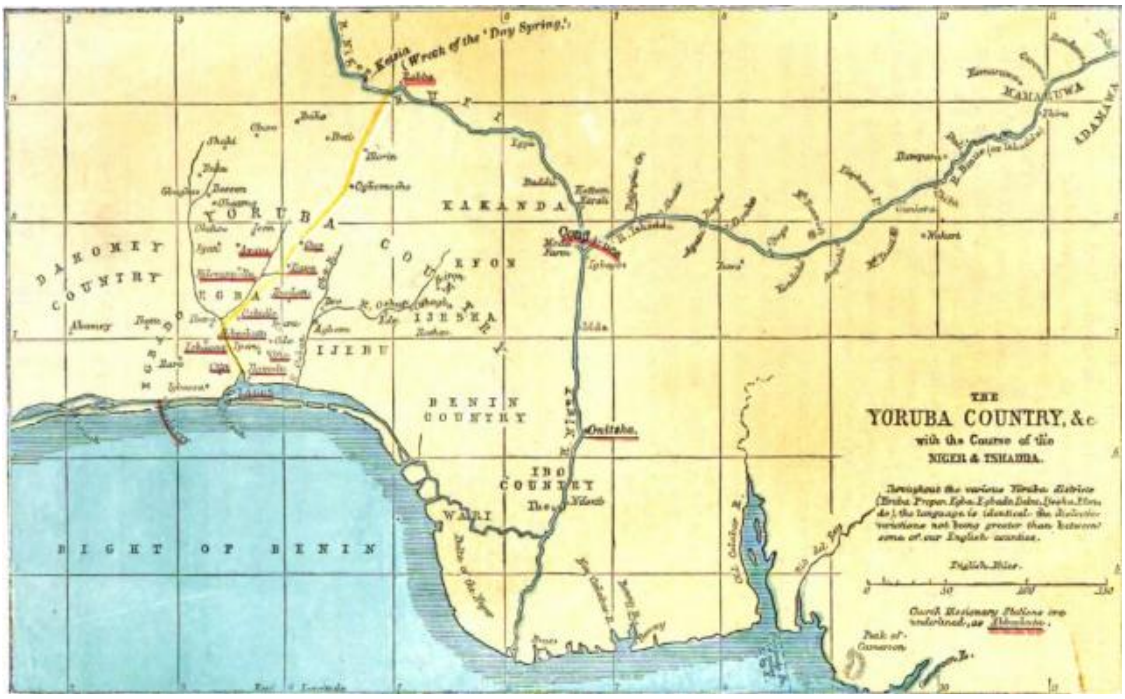

Figure 2. Yorùbáland in 1859.
Source: The Church Missionary Atlas, CM House, London, 1859

4. THE AMERICAN SOUTHERN BAPTIST MISSION: CHRISTIAN EVANGELICAL EXPLORATION, LANGUAGE WORK AND MAP PRODUCTION

In spreading the message of the Christian gospel, the American Southern Baptist Convention (SBC) was involved in dimensions of knowledge production. In 1849, the Foreign Missions Board (FMB) of the SBC began deliberating on sending an evangelical mission to West Central Africa, a region that they gave the 'appellation of Central Africa'[36]. After preliminary discussions on the geography of West Central Africa, based on available Anglo-American geographical publications, the FMB decided to conduct an exploratory mission into this region.[37] Therefore, an SB missionary, the Rev. Thomas J. Bowen, led this exploration in West Africa. By August 1850, he had reached Abeokuta, the capital of the Egba kingdom, a sub-group of the Yorùbá ethnic group. Bowen continued his exploration of the farther hinterland between 1851 and 1852, visiting several towns and learning more about the Yorùbá people. He returned to America to report the findings of the exploratory mission. The presentation of his findings included a cartographic map in the 1853 *Proceedings of the SBC* (See

[36] 'Central Africa', *The Commission*, vol.1, nr.1, Richmond, January 15, (1849), p.2.
[37] Ogundiwin, (2021), pp.404-406.

Figure 3). Hence, the SBC, based on the favourable exploratory report, decided to commence the Central African Mission (CAM) in Yorùbáland. Although the primary goal of the SBM was evangelism, the SB Christian missionaries were equally involved in knowledge production, particularly language work and cartographic map production.

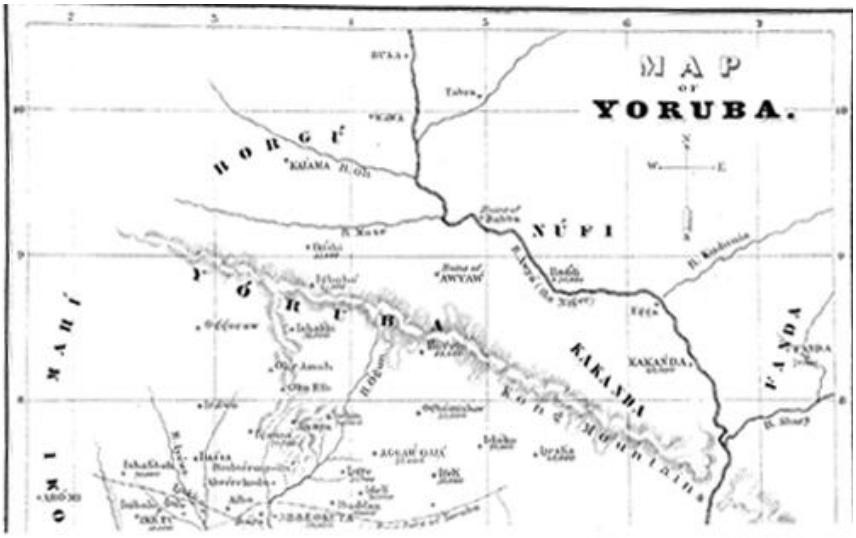

Figure 3. Yorùbáland in 1853
Source: Proceedings of the SBC,
Southern Baptist Historical Library and Archives, Augusta, Georgia

On the 6th of July 1853, Rev. T. Bowen together with two other missionaries and their wives, sailed for West Central Africa from the United States to commence the SB Mission. Bowen, the head of the mission, reported, "On the 28th of August, 1853, J. S. Dennard, J. H. Lacy, and myself, with our wives, landed at Lagos for the purpose of proceeding to Ijaye in Yorùbá"[38]. Although there were several causalities amongst these pioneer missionaries, the SBM started mission work in several towns where they had permission to preach and had secured land for evangelical work. More reinforcement of missionaries arrived in 1854 and 1855. By 1860, there were SB mission stations at Ijaye, Ogbomoso, Lagos and Abeokuta. The SB missionaries, Rev. Bowen and Rev. Clarke, continued geographical explorations in the northern and eastern parts of Yorùbáland. In 1857, Bowen published his missionary experiences in a book, '*Central Africa: Adventures and Missionary Labours in Several Countries in the Interior of Africa from 1849 to 1856*'.

This evangelical work of the SBM also involved language work. Living amongst the Yorùbá people, these American missionaries sought to strengthen their cultural relations with converts and non-converts alike through better comprehension of the language. Owing to the implications of the Yorùbá civil wars on inter-kingdom politics, Bowen during his exploratory mission "was compelled to remain in Egba and the other low countries for eighteen months"[39]. Although the Egba authorities permitted him to visit Ketu in 1851, he spent much of his time in Egbaland "studying the language, and

[38] Bowen, (1857), p.179.
[39] Bowen, (1857), p.104.

in becoming acquainted with the character of the people"[40]. Indeed, Bowen was a guest of the English CMS at Abeokuta. The CMS had begun its mission work in Egbaland in August 1846, having sent an exploratory mission earlier in 1844 into Yorùbáland from Sierra Leone. Linguistic work on the Yorùbá language had commenced in Sierra Leone, where the Royal Navy had settled many Yorùbá recaptives in the 1830s[41]. Rev. John Raban of the CMS began collecting Yorùbá vocabularies in the 1830s, but it was the Yorùbá Christian missionary, Rev. Samuel Ajayi Crowther, who began in late 1838 to immerse himself in the work of reducing the Yorùbá language to a written form. In 1843, Crowther published his first *Grammar and Vocabulary of the Yorùbá Language* [42]. Hence, Bowen strived to improve the work already being done by European and Yorùbá missionaries of the CMS. He wrote, "to acquaint myself with the language, intellect, feelings, and every-day life of the natives, I used to visit them on their farms, ten or fifteen miles from town; and remain two or three days"[43]. Bowen collected more words expanding the written vocabulary. This language work of Bowen was published in 1858 by the Smithsonian Institution as part of Volume 10 of the Smithsonian Contribution to Knowledge. *The Grammar and Dictionary of the Yoruba Language* became one of the earliest written pieces of literature of the Yorùbá Language.

Therefore, the SBM engagement with the Yorùbá country led to geographical knowledge production concerning Yorùbáland. This was evident in their meetings and publications, some of which employed cartographic maps to illustrate and deepen their knowledge of the Yorùbá landscape. As aforementioned, to convince the SBC that the proposed CAM was a worthwhile evangelical mission, there was an inclusion of a map of Yorùbáland in the *Proceedings* of its 1853 convention held at Baltimore, Maryland. This was the first map produced in the Euro-American world portraying the interior of Yorùbáland with a considerable number of towns and villages (Figure 3). In addition, Bowen's book published by the Southern Baptist Publication Society (SBPS) in 1857 had a map included just before 'Chapter XIX' on 'Geography of Yoruba' (Figure 4). In this nineteenth chapter, Bowen referred his potential readers:

> to the map [where] it will be seen that Yoruba is a sort of peninsula, or in the oriental style of the interior, *an island.* Its position in regard to the sea and the Niger, its healthiness, and the facility with which roads may be constructed, all conspire to make it one of the most important portions of the African continent.[44]

Furthermore, there was a map illustrating the historical and geographical description of Yorùbáland in the Introductory Chapter of the *Grammar and Dictionary of the Yoruba Language* (Figure 5). These SB cartographic maps produced between 1853 and 1858 revealed a pioneering visual representation of the Yorùbá country. Although the mapmakers relied on earlier maps of West Africa as templates for the topographic outline of the territory, the portrayal of the interior of Yorùbáland relied on field reports of the SB missionaries. William Keenan, an engraver at Charleston, South Carolina (SC), drew the 1857 map. This is evident in the inscription on the lower

[40] Bowen, (1857), p.104.
[41] Ajayi, (1965), p.25-43; Webster and Boahen, (1980), p.113.
[42] Ajayi, (1961); (1965), p.127.
[43] Bowen, (1857), p.136.
[44] Bowen, (1857), p. 223, *Original emphasis*.

margin of the map, 'Engraved by W. M. Keenan'. Keenan might also be the engraver of the 1853 map (Figure 3).

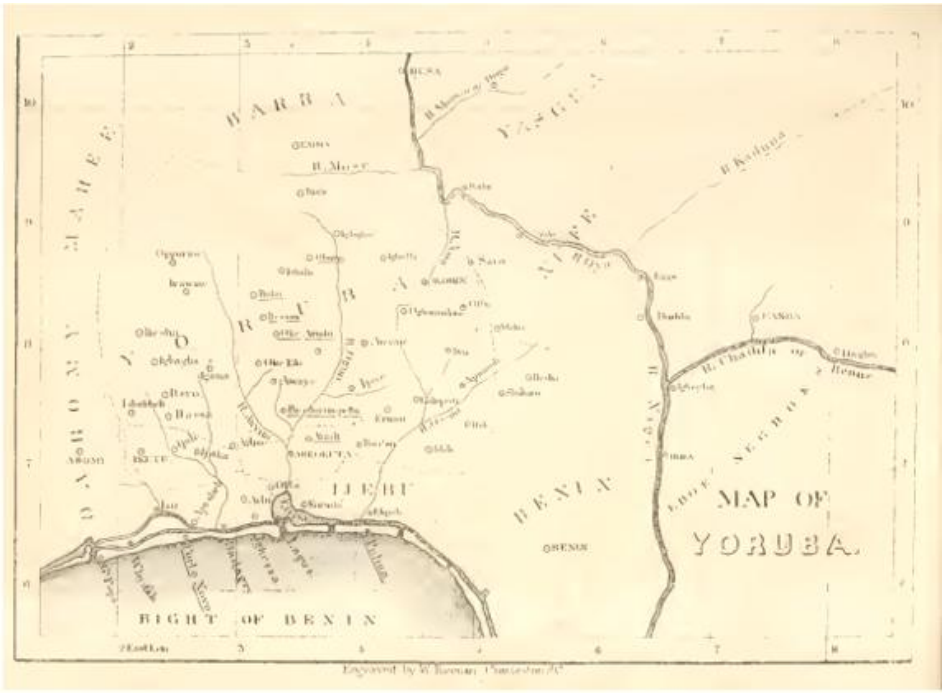

Figure 4. Yorùbáland in 1857
Source: Central Africa, Southern Baptist Publication Society, Charleston, SC

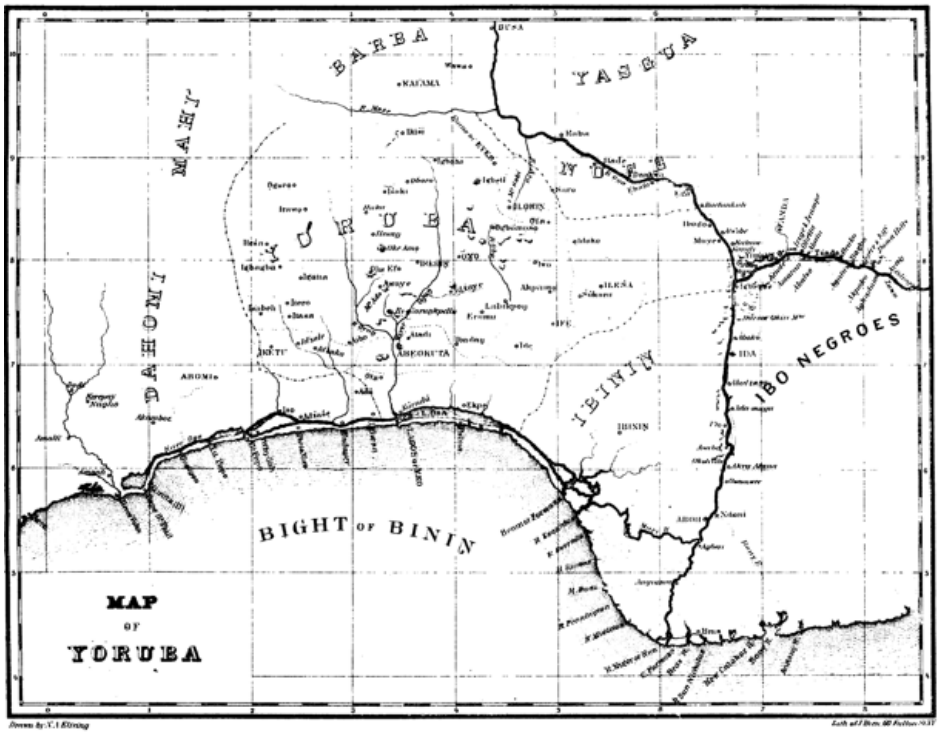

Figure 5. Yorùbáland in 1858
Source: Grammar and Dictionary of the Yorùbá Language, The Smithsonian Institution, Washington, DC

Possibly the SBPS, situated at 229 King Street, Charleston, SC, commissioned Keenan in 1853, who since 1828 had been advertising himself in the town of Charleston as an engraver, lithographer, and artist, to produce the map[45]. Interestingly, Keenan lived at 132 and 250 King Street, Charleston, SC between the 1830s and 1850s. In contrast, beneath the neat line of the 1858 map was the inscription 'Drawn by N.A. Elfring'. Possibly the Appleton and Company, which published the *Grammar and Dictionary* for the Smithsonian Institution in 1858 commissioned him to do the mapwork. This lithographic production was at J. Bren's Work at 60 Fulton Street, New York. These mapmakers translated the verbalized indigenous cartographies of Yorùbá informants collected during the exploratory geographies performed by SB missionaries into material cartographies.

5. SOUTHERN BAPTIST MAPS AND PLACE NAME GEOGRAPHIES

5.1 Encountering Yorùbá Place Names: Toponyms as Indigenous Geographies

Collected place names were cognitive images of the landscape held in indigenous geographies. Cultural encounters with Yorùbá informants led to the acquisition of new place names and feature names formerly unknown by explorers and missionaries. As Bowen pointed out, "England knew nothing of Katanga, till the days of Lander, and to this day, we can scarcely credit the fact, which the Portuguese knew two hundred years ago, that there are many towns in the interior of Africa"[46]. These feature and place names collected from informants included features of the natural and cultural landscapes that evoke geographical images. There were ascriptions of feature names to the natural landscape consisting of hydrological and topographical feature names.

The names of hydrological features primarily encountered were rivers and streams. The transcription of Yorùbá sounds of geographical names collected during exploratory visits of SB missionaries used the evolving Latin script of the Yorùbá language. In August 1850, Bowen observed, "the river Ossa, which is seven hundred yards wide, and runs parallel with the coast for forty or fifty miles till it flows into the sea at Lagos"[47]. Again, he learnt the names of rivers, which evoked environmental images. Bowen wrote, "The Ogun above Abbeokuta is about one hundred yards wide, but too rocky for navigation even by canoe"[48]. In the same year, Bowen pointed out, "a fertile prairie country, watered by two branches of the Yeriwa river"[49]. Each feature and place name imbued descriptive geographies of the natural environment to the Yorùbá people. Topographical features identified by Yorùbá names include hills and mountains. At Biolorunpelu, in February 1852, Bowen encountered hilly topography. He noted, "To the west of Bioku's rock is another still higher, called Imeggeh, which is two or three miles in circuit, and so precipitous that the people assured me that the summit was inaccessible"[50]. Travelling to Ijaye from Lagos in 1854, Rev. William Clarke observed,

[45] Ogundiwin, (2021), p.401.
[46] Bowen, (1857), p.19.
[47] Bowen, (1857), p.92.
[48] Bowen, (1857), p.222.
[49] Bowen, (1857), p.130.
[50] Bowen, (1857), p.164.

"There could be seen two mountains rising up from our camping ground in the valley – one on either side of the river – and known in the language of the country as Olokemeji, meaning two hills or mountains"[51]. Hence, these SB missionaries collected topographical feature names from informants in the travelling caravans as they journeyed across the Yorùbá landscape.

The place names of the cultural landscape abound in missionary encounters with Yorùbá informants. As the first SB missionary-explorer entered the Yorùbá territory in 1850, the descriptive geographies he gathered entwined indigenous place names of sub-ethnic appellations he encountered. Bowen noted, "Most of the Egba kingdom...is….covered with forests as other parts of Guinea"[52]. Indeed, Bowen observed, "The country between Yorùbá and the sea is occupied by the tribes of Iketu, Egba, Egbado, Otta and Ijebu. All of these tribes, as also the people of Ifeh, Ijesha, Igbona and Effong are branches of the Yoruba family, and speak varieties of the same language"[53]. Sometimes there was the learning of the place names of sub-ethnic territories. As Bowen learned that a woman was, "a native of Idoko, which lies to the east of Yoruba"[54]. There was also observation of these intra-ethnic boundaries by missionaries.

In November 1857, there was a boundary observation between the Oyo-Yorùbá and the Ijesa-Yorùbá sub-ethnic groups by Clarke who noted, "Osogbo lies directly on the route and is distant from the dividing line of the two kingdoms scarcely two hours' ride"[55]. Interestingly, there was an encounter with some of these toponymic geographies of sub-ethnic groups before the SB missionaries arrived in Yorùbáland.

By 1849, when the FMB of the SBC decided to begin the West Central African missionary enterprise some Yorùbá place names were already known. For instance, there was knowledge of several Yorùbá settlements encountered by British explorers in the 1820s. Examples include Pukia (Ipokia), Duffo, Chakka (Ijaka), Erawa (Eruwa) and Cheki (Saki)[56]. Similarly, knowledge of Yorùbá settlements was encountered in Sierra Leone by the CMS between the 1820s and 1840s[57]. The CMS made these Yorùbá place names well known in wider missionary circles through its publications such as *Church Missionary Intelligencer* and *Church Missionary Gleaner*. These place names include Abeokuta, Orile-Owu, Oyo, Ijebu, Ilesa and Igboho – settlements of the Rescued Yorùbás in Sierra Leone. However, the FMB report on African Missions stated, "our missionary has penetrated unknown regions, traversed mountains and plains, untrodden before by a white man's foot, and preached in the middle of the dark continent the gospel of Jesus, till then unheard"[58]. Hence, there was an SB missionary encounter in the 1850s with new Yorùbá place names of towns and villages previously unknown in Euro-American geography. For instance, travelling from Abeokuta in 1850, Bowen noted, "we saw Ijaka-oke and Ijaka-odo, on our left, and arrived at Ijale, in the Iketu

[51] Clarke, (1970), p.12.
[52] Bowen, (1857), p.106-107.
[53] Bowen, (1857), p. 217.
[54] Bowen, (1857), p.148.
[55] Clarke, (1970), p.120.
[56] Letter from Brother T.J. Bowen, *The Commission*, (1851), vol.3, nr.4, Richmond, April 15, p.15; Lockhart, Lovejoy, (2005), pp.471-474.
[57] Ajayi, (1965), p.25-43. The Royal Navy of Britain rescued and settled in Sierra Leone several Africans including Yorùbá people who became known as Creoles.
[58] Proceedings of the SBC, (1853), p.12. This statement reflected the prejudice aganist Africa.

kingdom, about sunset"[59]. Also, in 1852, Bowen received messengers he had previously sent into Oyo-Yorùbá territory who informed him, "Next day they reached Bi-olorrun-pellu, on the top of a mountain"[60]. However, the village of Biolorunpelu had another place name. Bowen noted, "Most of my mornings at 'Bioku's place', as the village is often called"[61].

While travelling in central Yorùbáland in July 1856, Clarke at Iwo noted, "From those whom I supposed ought to know, I tried to gather some information of Ede and Osogbo and the country beyond"[62]. Similarly, during his travel in eastern Yorùbáland, some distance from Osogbo town, he met a Yorùbá Creole and learnt "From him, a native Yoruba… that Ojoku, Ipetumodu and Ogbomoso survived the Fellattah invasion"[63]. Recalling local histories by informants often conveyed place names to missionaries. Hence, a compilation of toponymic lists of the Yorùbá landscape evolved during these cultural contacts. Missionaries transcribed sounds of indigenous names differently. For example, referring to the sub-ethnic groups, the Rev. R.H. Stone in the 1860s observed, "The natives, however, recognize a number of entirely separate principalities. The most important are Egbar or Abeokuta, Ejayboo, Yoruba, Illorin, Ejesha and Benin"[64]. The spellings used by Stone were different from Bowen and Clarke. Stone observed, "In trying to learn their language and to teach them ours, we sometimes had quite a gay time. In the Yorùbá language, every word terminates with a vowel sound, [such] as, Jamesee instead of James, Jacobu instead of Jacob, Jesu instead of Jesus, and so on. We, in turn, had much trouble in putting the accent on the right syllable"[65]. The variation in the spellings of Yorùbá names led to inconsistencies in documents including maps[66]. The resulting confusion in the spellings of geographical names was part of the wider challenges in standardizing the spelling of the Yorùbá language undertaken by Christian missionaries.

These missionary linguistic studies were aimed at facilitating evangelisation, hence, they focused on "comparing [bible] translations and discussing orthography"[67]. Stone noted, "In reducing the Yoruban language to writing, Crowther greatly diminished the size of the words by modifying the Roman alphabet and also by giving the Roman rather than the English sound to some of the letters. For instance, Ejahyay is written Ijaye; Awyaw, Oyo; Ogbomishaw, Ogbomiso; Ebaddan, Ibadan; Ejayboo, Ijabu; ekkaw, eko; and so".[68] This phonetical and spelling variation was also evident in maps. The continual transcription of these sounds of Yorùbá place names heard and collected by Southern Baptist missionaries formed the map data that reshaped the 'blank' landscapes illustrated in maps before 1850. Indeed, the Yorùbá place names on maps drew attention to ongoing orthographic development in the 1850s.

[59] Bowen, (1857), p.130.
[60] Bowen, (1857), p.152.
[61] Bowen, (1857), p.163.
[62] Clarke, (1970), p.97.
[63] Clarke, (1970), p.123. The Fellattah or Fulani invasion of Yorùbáland began in the 1810s.
[64] Stone, (1899), p.9.
[65] Stone, (1899), p.83.
[66] Balogun, (1989), pp.200-201.
[67] Ajayi, (1965), p.127; Falola, (1999), p.9.
[68] Stone, (1899), pp.83-84.

5.2 Maps and Orthographic Development: Spelling'Geographical Place Names'

Spelling variants of place names on SB maps reflected the challenges of standardizing the Latin script of the Yorùbá orthography in the 1850s[69]. Apart from scholarly and evangelical literature, the orthographic development of the Yorùbá language was evident in the variants, respellings and renaming on maps. First, there was the use of English orthography to spell Yorùbá names. This involved the fixing of the above-mentioned collected transcribed Yorùbá sounds on maps. For example, the spelling of the River Oyan, a tributary of River Ogun, on the 1853 map was River Awyun. Similarly, several place names of towns were in English orthography of Yorùbá spellings. Examples include Awyaw, Ogbomishaw, Ifeh, Ideh, Ekpeh, Oggoraw and Irawaw. By 1858, the respelled places names used the evolving Yorùbá orthography (See Table 1).

Table 1. From English Orthography to Yorùbá Orthography of spelling Yorùbá Place Names

1853 Figure 3	Aggaw Ojja	Ogbomishaw	Ifeh	Ideh	Ekpeh	Oggoraw	Irawo
1857 Figure 4	Awyaw	Ogbomoshaw	Ifeh	Ideh	Ekpeh	Oggoraw	Irawaw
1858 Figure 5	Oyo	Ogbomoso	Ife	Ide	Ekpe	Ogoro	Irawo

Yet the "*I*' and "*kp*" in Ede and Epe were still part of the evolving orthography. Bowen in 1858 asserts there are three compound consonant sounds, *dž, gb,* and *kp* [70]. Crowther used only the last two compound consonants in his vocabulary[71]. However, Rev. Gollmer of the CMS in the 1840s critiqued Rev. Crowther's use of combined consonants, such as *kp*, *bh ng*, and *hr* to indicate sounds but suggested the use of additional diacriticals (*p, b, n, r*)[72]. Indeed, transcribing some Yorùbá sounds in Latin script remained inconclusive – an unresolved problem in Yorùbá orthography[73]. However, some place names in 1853 already manifest the standardized indigenous place names amidst the anglicised forms of toponyms. For example, the feature name of the River Ogun was consistent in the three maps. Thereafter, the spelling of the place names followed the developing standard Yorùbá orthography. This graphization of the Yorùbá language evident on the maps manifests the Oyo-Yorùbá dialect[74]. There was an orthographic improvement, which involved the reduction of a double letter to a single letter, substitution of a letter for another letter and dropping of '*h*'. There was the reduction of a double letter to a single letter in some geographical names. As indicated, in the 1853 map, towns such as Abbeokuta, Ibaddan, Ishakki, and Oggoraw had the

[69] Falola, (1999), p.9.
[70] Bowen, (1858), p.7.
[71] Crowther, (1852), p.40.
[72] Awoniyi, (1989), pp.56-57; Gollmer, (1889), pp.12-13.
[73] Johnson, (1921), pp.xxix; Bamgbose, (1969).
[74] Rev. Ajayi Crowther was an Oyo-Yorùbá. Some scholars contend that the written Yorùbá Language does not belong to a single dialect but consist several dialects.

double letter removed. Hence, on the 1857 map, these towns' labels became Abeokuta, Ibadan, Ishaki, and Ogoro. The lagoon spelt as Ossa on the 1853 map became Osa in the subsequent spelling of 1857. River Assa as spelt in 1857 became River Asa in 1858. Similarly, there was the substitution of the letter O for '*i*' and '*aw*'. As illustrated, Ogbomoshaw in the 1857 map replaced the place name Ogbomishaw in the 1853 map. As the letter '*i*' was removed from the 1853 spelling, so also the '*aw*' was later removed from the 1857 spelling. By 1858, the indigenous orthography of Ogbomoso was established. In the case of Irawo, in 1853, the spelling used '*o*' but reverted to an English spelling in 1857 as Irawaw. This spelling was replaced with the initial indigenous spelling Irawo in 1858. The 1857 spelling of River Awyun had changed to River Oyun on the 1858 map. Nonetheless, it still had an English phonetic feature, as the indigenous toponym of the river was Oyan.

Likewise, there was the dropping of '*h*' in some place names. Specifically, the place names Ifeh, Ideh and Ekpeh in the 1853 map became Ife, Ide and Ekpe in the 1857 map. On the 1853 map, the label Ijesha referred to the town but was the nomenclature for the sub-ethnic group. In the 1857 map, there was the use of the spelling, Ilesha, the correct description for the Ijesa town and capital. Thereafter, there was a removal of '*h*' from the place name in the 1858 map to become Ilesa, the indigenous orthography for spelling the town. There were also lexical changes that involved the substitution of place names. For example, there was a lexical substitution of place names on the maps. There was the substitution of Aggaw-Oja, the 1853 spelling with Awyaw, in the 1857 map.

In 1851, Bowen observed, "Aggaw-Ojjah, the capital of Yoruba, [was] often called Awyaw"[75]. Ago-Oja was a provincial town appropriated by the royal edict to replace the Oyo-Yorùbá capital that was in ruins farther north of the Oyo-Yorùbá country[76]. However, in 1858 spelling, 'Oyo', was established. In addition, there was the replacement of 'Ruins of Awyaw' in the 1853 map with 'Ruins of Eyeo' in the 1858 map. Hence, in the 1858 map, the spelling Oyo was not correlated with the earlier European spelling of Eyeo. This revealed orthographic challenges in the 1858 map. Orthographic challenges were apparent on the 1858 map compared to the earlier two maps. For example, the place names Ijaka, Ijale and Ijaye in 1853 and 1857 were the same except for the use of double consonants for Ijakka. However, on the 1858 map, the labels of these towns were Idžaka, Idžale, and Idžaye. Possibly, these differences in the rendering of the town's names resulted from the scientific influence on Bowen's linguistic work. His initial language work in the early 1850s did not reflect expert advice. In contrast, there was the use of the letter, '*dž*' in the *Grammar and Dictionary* to represent the consonant that sounded like the English '*J*' [77].

Another compound consonant sound in the 1858 map not used in the earlier maps was the aforementioned *kp*. For instance, there was the use of Biolorunkpellu in the 1858 map instead of the label Biolorunpellu in the 1853 map. Similarly, there was the use of a particular letter, 'ŋ' to indicate nasalized vowels[78]. As illustrated, the 1857 spelling of Lalupon was Lalukpoŋ on the 1858 map. This spelling of nasalized vowels was, as aforementioned, possibly the influence of linguistic scholars. The Smithsonian Institution, which commissioned the *Grammar and Dictionary*, had sought the

[75] Bowen, (1857), p.162.
[76] Goddard, (1971).
[77] Bowen, (1858), p.7.
[78] Bowen, (1858), p.4.

assistance of linguist experts to assess the work of Rev. Bowen. As indicated, Professor W.W. Turner of Washington was consulted for "general revision and scientific arrangement" of this Yorùbá vocabulary[79]. Besides, a committee of the American Oriental Society comprising Gibbs, Whitney and Anderson, had examined the work before its publication[80]. Bowen observed, "the orthography of the language has been somewhat modified for the purpose of reducing it to a more harmonious system"[81]. Hence, the map illustrating this 1858 book reflected this Americanized orthography of the Yorùbá language.

5.3 Toponymic Geographies on Maps: Spatial Identities on the Yorùbá Landscape

The SB maps labelled several Yorùbá place names for the first time in Euro-American cartography. Indeed, the toponymic labelling on SB maps was a culmination of genealogy and etymology of toponymic and spelling variants collected and enacted by different Euro-American groups. Different map data influenced these toponymic variants. The toponymic change first effected in the SB maps began the process of expunging previous naming practices from the depicted landscape. Some of these previous toponyms manifest on the 1853 map. As Balogun observed, "There is no doubt that some explorers copied place names from maps of their predecessors if we judge from the similarities in spellings of these names"[82]. The toponymic geographies on these SB maps informed readers of cultural layers of landscape identities. These layers were evident in the identity of the natural or biophysical landscape, the identity of the cultural landscape characterized by human features such as settlements and sub-ethnic territories, and the politics of places evident in the socio-political practices of identifying people and institutions with places. Besides, these SB maps were part of the Christian identity formation of places manifesting in the 1850s.

5.3.1 Characterizing the Natural Landscape

The geographical names used by the mapmakers characterized the Yorùbá natural landscape. Unlike in previous maps, indigenous feature names on the nineteenth-century maps identified the biophysical landscape differently from the previously generalized European geographies of the African landscape (see Figure 1). For instance, the rivers and topographic depictions of the natural landscape highlighted indigenous identities. The SB maps identified three major river systems and their tributaries (see Figure 6). In contrast, the CMS maps of the 1850s identified two major river systems with fewer tributaries (see Figure 2). Furthermore, the SB maps depicted a mountain range and identified some significant hills. The geographical names of the natural features include water bodies and hilly terrain. The water bodies portrayed on the Yorùbá landscape are the lagoon and the rivers. For example, the label River Ossa was used for the lagoon. Although Ossa meant lagoon in the Yorùbá language, the American missionary explorers identified the lagoon as such and the mapmaker labelled it as transcribed. In contrast to this 'misused' place name, the lagoon was Curamo in

[79] Professor W.W. Turner (1810-1859). He was also a member of the American Oriental Society.
[80] Bowen, (1857), p.iii.
[81] Bowen, (1858), p.v.
[82] Balogun, (1989), p.200.

Edward Bowen's map of 1767 (see Figure 1), Herman Moll's map of 1736 and John Flamsteed's map of 1681. Curamo was the European rendering of the Yorùbá place name Ikorodu. In 1863, Burton observed, "The lagoon is called in our maps the Cradoo Waters, doubtless a corruption of Ikoradu, a town near its banks, and readily visited by Europeans"[83]. In 1841, the map illustrating Captain John Beecroft's travel account labelled the lagoon as Kradu. On the other hand, the place name of the lagoon in John Arrowsmith's 1834 map was River Lagos, a place name ascribed to an inland river in Moll's map above. However, Osa was the Yorùbá generic word for a lagoon so this cartographical description did not reflect an actual geographical name but an Anglo-Yorùbá morphological repetition meaning 'River Lagoon'.

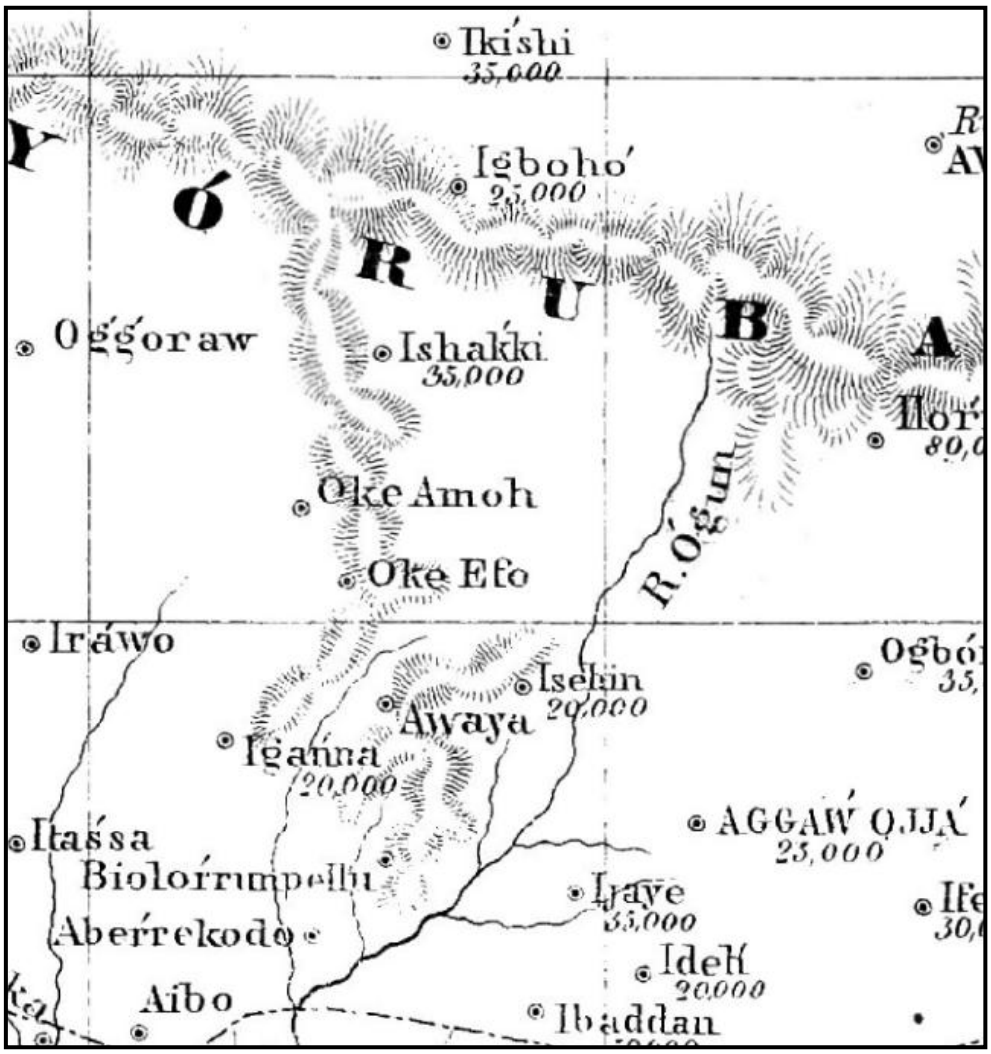

Figure 6. 1853 Map – Detail

Similarly, there were feature names of rivers that appeared on these SB maps. The feature name of the main river depicted west of the Yorùbá landscape was River Ogun (Figure 6). The missionaries also learnt the origin of these indigenous labels. Bowen noted, "the river Ogun, which is the symbol of war and blacksmithing, and bears

[83] Burton, (1863), p.20.

the name of the warriors' and blacksmiths' god"[84]. In previous maps, there were approximately positioned rivers in the Western Yorùbá landscape. In 1656, a map of Guinea by Sanson d' Abbeville identified a River de Lagoa. Likewise, Moll's 1736 map described the River Lagos. Indeed, the appearances of some rivers in these maps were suggestive rather than certain. In both the 1826 map illustrating Hugh Clapperton's travel route and Becher's map of 1832 illustrating Lander's journey, there was a reference to a River Ikenga with dash lines indicating a probable river course. Another river, River Gazie was one of the rivers depicted in these explorers' maps, repeated in Arrowsmith's 1834 map but with a northwestern direction. Possibly one of these allusive northwestern river courses was the Iyewa River on the SB maps. Yewa refers to a traditional religious deity[85]. Interestingly, the label for the River Niger on these SB maps was River Oya (Awya), the Yorùbá feature name. Oya refers to the name of one of the wives of an ancient Oyo monarch[86] (Figure 7). Only the SB maps, during the nineteenth century, used this Yorùbá feature name of the Niger River.

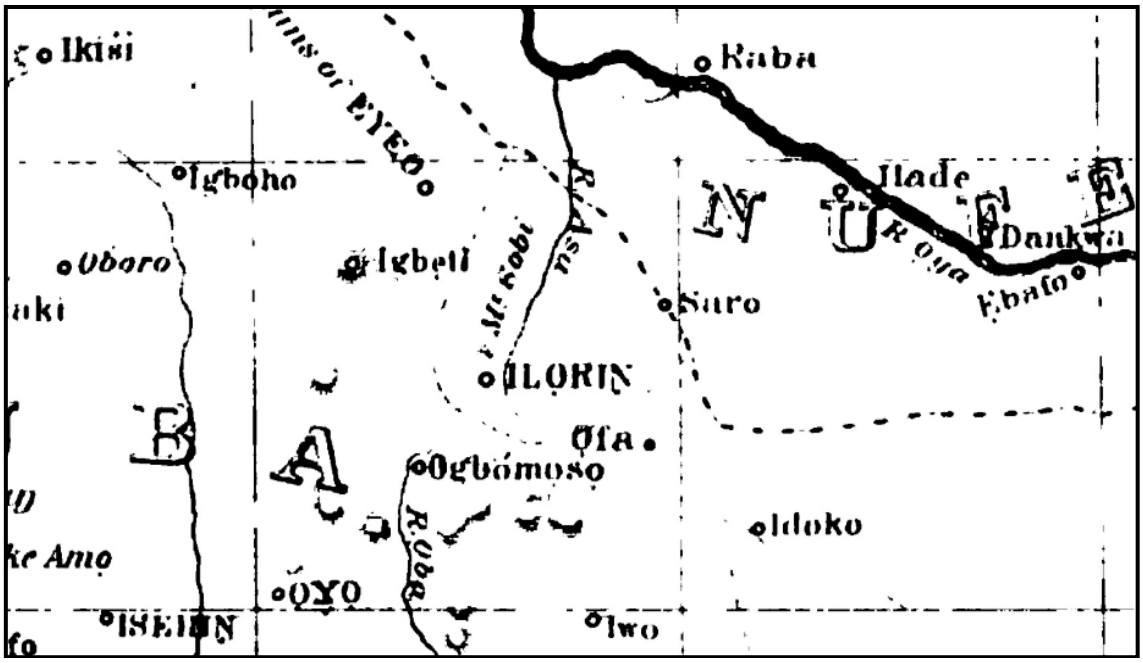

Figure 7. 1858 Map – Detail

There was a feature name of a hilly terrain identified on the 1853 map. This was the Kong Mountains (See Figures 3 and 6). The feature name on the 1853 map was a continuation of a topographic label on previous maps. In 1798, Major Rennell, the geographical consultant of the African Association introduced this feature name. Bassert and Porter wrote, "He [Rennell] hypothesized that the Niger rose in the Mountains of the Kong, flowed east for a great distance, and emptied into an inland delta….In sum, Rennell's 1798 map established a spatial image of West Africa that was to be repeatedly copied by nineteenth-century mapmakers"[87]. For instance, there was

[84] Bowen, (1857), p.316.
[85] Bowen, (1857), p.316.
[86] Bowen, (1857), p.316.
[87] Bassert, Porter, (1991), pp.377-378, 379.

the depiction of the Kong Mountains in the maps illustrating Clapperton's and Landers' travel accounts in 1830 and 1832 respectively. Similarly, John Arrowsmith represented it on the maps aforementioned in 1834 and 1841. However, in 1856, Bowen noted, "There is no continuous chain of mountains in Yoruba"[88]. This view influenced the removal of the geographical feature and feature name, Kong Mountains, from the subsequent SB maps. Nonetheless, indicative symbols on the 1858 map identified mountains such as Mountains Ado and Kobi, near Ado and Ilorin respectively (See Figures 7 and 8). Ado is the name of the town near the hill. Kobi (Sobi) derives the name from the nearby Ilorin household. Likewise, some place names of towns were associated with some depicted hills on the map. Examples include Abeokuta, Oke-Amo, Oke-Efo and Oke-Igbeti (see Figure 8). The place names of these hills had an important contribution to the explanation of nature and local history. By way of example, at Abeokuta, an important hill amongst the hilly terrain was the Olumo rock. Bowen observed, "The great rock which gave shelter to the first refugees…. [has] the name of Olumoh, 'the builder'"[89]. The literal translation is 'God has moulded it', a place name ascribed to a terrain that has become the material symbol of Egba sub-ethnic nationalism. Conversely, Mount Igbeti was associated with a mythological understanding of a weather phenomenon. Hence, the Yorùbá had such sayings as *Ọkunrin kọngbẹ Oke Igbẹti* and *Ki o Oke ma gbe Igbẹti ni n ile Olọyẹ* [90]. As Clarke noted, "This is a remarkable spot whence it is said by the Yorùbás that Oye, or harmattan from the desert, who is said to be a huge man, takes its origin"[91]. The etymology of the toponyms of the biophysical landscape exudes local histories.

5.3.2 Shaping the Cultural Landscape

The depiction of these indigenous place names also transformed the cultural features of the landscape on the SB maps. The geographical names of cultural features comprised villages, towns and territories. Considerable numbers of place names on the 1853 map were towns. Indeed, the number of Yorùbá place names of towns and villages on 1853, 1857 and 1858 maps was 37, 45 and 48 respectively. In contrast, the 1859 CMS map of Yorùbá country had 37 Yorùbá place names of settlements. Most of these Yorùbá place names first appeared on maps produced by the SBC in 1853, but the most important of these settlements were the towns – capital towns of the sub-ethnic groups and other larger towns. Besides, these geographical place names drew attention to the cultural and settlement history. For instance, the place name Abeokuta highlighted the geographical identity of the place embedded in both topographical and socio-political events. Abeokuta was a place of a refugee during the early Yorùbá civil wars of the 1820s and 1830s. Hence, Bowen observed, "in reference to the dwelling of the first inhabitants under the great rock, the town was called Abeo-kuta, literally, *Under-stone*"[92] (See Figure 8). Nonetheless, identified on the SB maps were also place names of foreign origin of a town. On the coast, Palma was a Portuguese place name. Palma means a palm tree because of the Atlantic coastline, where palm trees were abundant. In

[88] Bowen, (1857), p.219.
[89] Bowen, (1857), p.108.
[90] 'The huge man of Mount Igbeti', See Clarke, (1970), p.75, footnote; 'Let the Mount remain at Igbeti, the abode of the harmattan-man'.
[91] Clarke, (1970), p.75.
[92] Bowen, (1858), p.x.

another case, both indigenous and foreign names identified a town. Eko or Lagos, used on these SB maps, highlighted the mapmaker's reproduction of the missionary explorer's sensitivity to the indigenous and foreign description of the place[93]. The Awori-Yorùbás from the mainland and Iddo Island used the island for extensive farming, from whence came the word *Oko*, meaning a farm. This word, *Oko*, was later corrupted to *Eko* [94]. Indeed, only the SB maps used this form of double toponymic labelling of the town in the nineteenth century maps of this territory. In contrast, the maps made by John Arrowsmith and the 1859 CMS map simply labelled it as Lagos. Lagos, Lucas observed, "was in old times rather the name of the channel than of the island"[95]. The Portuguese later applied Lagos, a generic toponym meaning lakes or lagoon in Portuguese, to the island[96].

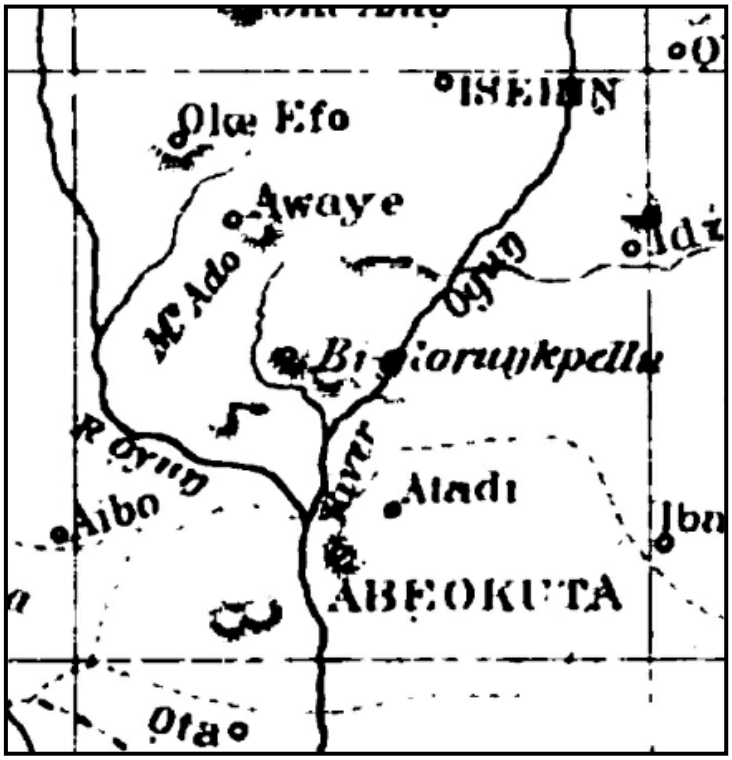

Figure 8. 1858 Map – Detail

Place names of sub-ethnic territories are also evident on SB maps. These place names mentally ascribed spaces to these sub-ethnic territories on the landscape. As Jordan explained, "place names structure geographical space mentally by making space-related concepts communicable. This becomes especially obvious with names of regions and cultural landscapes"[97]. For example, the place name Yorùbá identified the sub-ethnic territory of the Oyo-Yorùbás on the SB maps. This identification of the sub-ethnic landscape in earlier maps had a different toponym with several variants. Rigobert Bonne's 1730 map labelled it as Ulcumi and William Snelgrave's map of 1734

[93] Bowen, (1857), p.218; (1858), p.ix.
[94] Bigon, (2011), p.231; Oyeleye, (2001), p.289.
[95] Lucas, (1894), p.221. footnote.
[96] Lucas, (1894), p.221.
[97] Jordan, (2016), p.41.

identified it as 'Ulcuma or Ulcami'. As illustrated in Figure 1, Edward Bowen's 1767 map labelled this Oyo-Yorùbá sub-ethnic territory as Ulcuma. This place name, Ulcumi had its origin from the reports of European sailors and merchants on the coastal trading stations between the fifteenth and seventeenth centuries[98]. Guillaume Bosman wrote, "Ulcumy is a country between Arder and Benin towards the North-East and thus does not reach the coast"[99]. The word Ulcumi was possibly derived from the Yorùbá greeting 'Olukimi', referring to 'my friend' or 'acquaintance'[100]. Indeed, as Verger has shown the enslaved Yorùbás and later their freed descendants are known as Lucumi in Cuba[101]. In contrast, Ajayi and Smith observed, "some of their neighbours called them *Olukumi*"[102]. Possibly it originated with the Yorùbás, but their neighbours adopted it to describe them[103]. Nonetheless, there were other toponyms used to identify this sub-ethnic territory. Norris' 1789 map identified this sub-ethnic territory as, 'Ayoes or Eyoes perhaps Gagoes'. In the 1832 map illustrating the Landers' travel and the maps of Arrowsmith in 1834 and 1841, the label used was Yarriba. Interestingly, the place name Yorùbá was later to refer not only to a sub-ethnic territory but also to the entire ethnic territory, as I will show below.

Similarly, a sub-ethnic territory, Ijebu, often depicted in previous maps with the European spelling of a Yorùbá name, became identified in SB maps with the indigenous spelling. In previous maps, the toponymic identity of Ijebu was similar but had variants. In 1730, Bonne's map identified the town and sub-ethnic territory as Jabum. As indicated on Bowen's map of 1767, it was Jabu. On Norris' 1789 map depicting West Central Africa, the place name was Jaboo. Likewise, John Arrowsmith's 1834 Map of Africa depicted it as Jaboo. However, in the map he drew for the *Friends of Africa* publication in 1841, the label was Yabu. In 1856, the French mapmaker, Eugene Andriveau in its *Carte Generale de L' Afrique*, labelled the capital town of the Ijebus as Ode-Yebu. In German-produced maps, the place name label was Dshebu evident in Petermann's 1854 map illustrating Rev. Koelle's linguistic work[104]. Indeed, Bowen pointed out, "On the east and southeast of Egba, is the kingdom of Ijebu, (tortured by different writers into Jaboo, Yebu and Dshebu,)"[105]. Interestingly, Bowen's *Grammar and Dictionary* further tortured it as Idžebu[106], but this spelling variant did not appear on the 1858 map. Likewise, toponymic geographies of other unknown sub-ethnic territories before the 1850s emerged in the SB maps. There was an implicit reference to the Iketu, Ijesa, Ife and Idoko. The Rev. Samuel Johnson of the CMS noted that there were various accounts for these names of the sub-ethnic groups. For example, there was an account that Ijebu, refers to (Ijẹ-ibu) "food of the deep", while the Ijesa refers to (Ijẹ-Orisa) "food of the gods"[107]. Similarly, there are several versions of the meaning of Ile-Ife but one of which is (Ile-fẹ) "house expands"[108]. The place name of the town was

[98] Verger, (1976), p.139-173.
[99] Bosman, (1705), p.361.
[100] Omolewa, (1986), p.53.
[101] Verger, (1976).
[102] Ajayi, Smith, (1971), p.2, *Original emphasis*.
[103] Alternatively, it could be a case of two separate terms with similar sounds from the Yorùbás and their neighbours.
[104] Cf. Burton, (1863), p.21.
[105] Bowen, (1857), p.103.
[106] Bowen, (1858), p.x.
[107] Johnson, (1921), p.23-26.
[108] Dairo, (1976), p.259.

later ascribed to the Ife sub-group. However, in Figure 2, toponymic labels explicitly marked these sub-ethnic groups across the depicted landscape. The CMS, much involved in the local politics of securing settled conditions in society emphasized the environmental images of the sub-ethnicities. Hence, this toponymic development reflected the reshaping of the cultural landscape in these mid-nineteenth century maps not only as a cultural practice but also as a socio-political practice.

5.3.3. Identifying People with Place

Place names are crucial in identity-building on the cultural landscape. Indeed, the politics of places in Yorùbáland manifest in nineteenth-century naming practice. The spatial politics of naming refer to actions of people or groups of people involving their bargaining strength and influence that defines spaces and places. This was evident in the identifying of people and institutions with places on these maps. These places reflected the identities of sub-ethnic, political-administrative and religious groups. Besides, they also evoke an emotional connection with places. Some place names functioned as a label of political power on the cultural landscape conveying political administrative identities to map-readers. For example, there was the name replacement of the town of Ago-Oja by Oyo evident between Figure 3 and Figure 5. These labelling on SB maps contributed to the fixing of Oyo as the place name of the Oyo-Yorùbá capital rather than adopting the verbal label of Ago-do-Oyo (Ago became Oyo) in contemporary Yorùbá politics[109]. Therefore, this toponymic identity on SB maps contributed to the (re)fixing of Oyo as a traditional political power. Similarly, the label of Lagos, which included a second place name Eko, suggests the ongoing political contestation. However, the change of political power altered the bi-variant place names, as Lagos became the official toponym. Jordan noted, "Naming is conceived as having the power of defining the identity of a place. A second name on the signpost is seen as conveying the impression that this place had a double identity and was not under the control of one group exclusively"[110]. This was the situation of Lagos or Eko in the SB maps in the 1850s. However, Europeans exclusively identified Eko as Lagos when it become a British Colony after August 1861[111]. This was evident in Figure 2. Thus, by 1858, Lagos was leaning towards becoming the official place name that evoked the political power of the colonial institution.

These place names are key to the mid-nineteenth-century spatial discourses of Christian missionaries in the Yorùbá country. Like other missionary societies in Yorùbáland, the SBC socially produced an evangelical landscape that mirrored the missions' geographical image. In 1849, the FMB, on the strength of geographic information available, imaginatively planned the permanent mission in Yorùbáland. The basis of this imagined landscape was prior knowledge of place names and the later feedback of missionary exploration. Hence, "The Board [has] selected three of the most eligible as stations, which they propose at once to occupy. These are Awaye, about 60 miles north of Abeokuta; Ishakki, 80 miles further, and Igboho, about 40 miles beyond"[112]. By 1855, the existing missionary landscape of the SBC "had three

[109] Goddard, (1971).
[110] Jordan, (2012), p.127.
[111] Burns, (1929), p.128-131.
[112] Proceedings of the SBC, (1853), p.47.

missionaries and three stations" in Ijaye, Lagos and Ogbomoso[113]. In contrast, in 1855, the CMS was associated with Lagos, Abeokuta and Ibadan. The SB continuously constructs potential missionary landscapes using place names of settlements and ethnic territories. Hence, Bowen noted, "Our line of stations when completed, will probably include Lagos, Abbeokuta, Ijaye, Awyaw, and Ogbomoshaw. Hence we may properly spread abroad to Iwo, Idoko, Ofa, Ishakki, Igboho, Ikishi, Kaiama, &c"[114] . These place names also drew attention to the emotional tie with the landscape. Jordan noted the "capacity of place names to support emotional relations between man and place"[115]. This was evident in the socialization of SB missionaries with Yorùbá settlements and sub-ethnic identities. Sub-ethnic identity on the depicted landscapes highlighted their cultural presence and potentiality as a mission field. For instance, there was the representation of the Idoko sub-ethnic group on the 1853 map. This place-name on the 1853 map "demonstrates that they exist, have been present for generations, and have co-shaped the culture and cultural landscape"[116] of Yorùbáland. The visible presence of this sub-group on SB maps remained a cartographic action against its complete obscuring as a sub-ethnic territory in the nineteenth century. In contrast, neither the CMS atlases nor other European maps of Yorùbáland in the 1850s identified this small-size sub-ethnic group[117]. Besides, it drew attention to Bowen's encounter with the Idoko-Yorùbá woman and the Christian missionary's interest in ending kidnappings and the slave trade, the aftermath of the Fulani invasion and Yorùbá civil wars of the early and mid-nineteenth century. Moreover, for the SB missionaries, places visited by and worked in remained large in their environmental imagination of the Yorùbá landscape. Hence, the travel accounts of the Rev. Thomas J. Bowen, Rev. Williams H. Clarke and Rev. Richard H. Stone narrated their experiences built around these places and their place names.

6. DISCUSSION: PLACE NAMES AND SOCIO-SPATIAL IDENTITY

Newly collected toponyms and standardized spellings in maps often reshape the cultural identity of a previously undocumented landscape. The collection of natural and settlement toponyms provides map data to define a particular cultural landscape. As Jordan observed, "While the cartographic symbol indicates just a feature category like mountains, passes, lakes, glaciers, rivers, forests, populated places, etc., the place name may tell more about the specifics of a certain geographical feature"[118]. For example, the hydronym ascribed to the largest river across West Central Africa manifested different cultural landscapes. To the Europeans, it was River Niger, to the Borgu and Nupes, it was River Kwara and it was River Oya to the Yorùbá. The documentation of these hydronyms, the name of water bodies, in Euro-American maps emphasizes particular cultural viewpoints of the biophysical space as evident in the SB maps. Such naming practices by different ethnic cultures occur elsewhere, for instance, in the identity of the river Danube and places in the Sureanu Mountains in southeastern Europe[119]. Hence, the

[113] Bowen, (1857), p.182.
[114] Bowen, (1857), p.351.
[115] Jordan, (2016), p.41.
[116] Jordan, (2012), p.129.
[117] The sub-ethnic group pronounces it as Udoko. Idoko is the Oyo-Yorùbá version. Biobaku, (1958), p. 64; Johnson, (1921), p. 31; Ogunba, (1971), p.97.
[118] Jordan, (2009), p.4.
[119] Gâştescu, (1998); Putan and Creţan, (2010).

same biophysical feature in the graphic space produces different cultural landscapes through the attachment of particular ethnic toponymy. Orthographic development is key in the mental association of a graphic space with a cultural or sub-cultural landscape. Identifying and recognizing spellings with demarcated spaces shapes cultural spaces in a visual medium as indicated above in the case of Oyo-Yorùbá and Ijebu. As Jordan assert, "Mental shaping means in this context that geographical names structure space and make space-related concepts communicable"[120]. The respelled Oyo-Yorùbá sub-cultural landscape drew attention to the renamed and expunged toponyms in the topographic practices over the centuries in Euro-American maps. In addition, the Latin script of these indigenous spellings and their typographic font become essential to the spatial perception of a horizontal and hierarchal organization. As Woodman contends, "These Roman-script versions do not constitute an additional identity imposed by outsiders; they are becoming an integral part of the innate identity"[121]. The materially transcribed toponyms of the [Oyo -] Yorùbá, Ijebu, Egba, Ijesa and Iketu were integral to perceiving a horizontal spatial organization. In contrast, there is a hierarchical organization alluded to by the font size of the documented toponym, for instance, the Oyo-Yorùbá is represented as larger than the Ijebu. Eventually, the highest ranked sub-identity dominates the identity of the landscape. Toponymic development emphasizes the naming process as a socio-political practice. Place naming affixes socio-political identities to a wider biophysical space. For instance, this is evident in the ascribing of the Yorùbá toponym to the entire graphic space identified with the people of a common culture living around these areas by the Christian missionaries. As illustrated on the SB maps, the map title was 'Map of Yoruba', which I suggest, contributed, beyond SB missionary literature, to the instilling of this toponymic ascription in Euro-American geography of Africa. Likewise, the map title depicting this part of Western Africa in the CMS atlas was 'Map of Yoruba Country'. The map was one of the earliest material objects to aid this naming practice of the Anglo-American missionaries. As James Horton noted the CMS, "from want of a more specific name and from the whole of the tribes being once subject to the king of Yoruba….designated it the Yoruba Country"[122]. Oguntomisin writes,

> While the Old Oyo empire was at the peak of its power, its authority covered a large part of Yorubaland. Though its power did not extend to the Ekiti, Ijebu, Ondo, Ijesa and Ife territories, it maintained a cordial relationship with these kingdoms[123].

Indeed, some sub-ethnic groups sought to resist this Euro-American affixed cultural identity of the ethnic group for some time[124]. This reveals toponymic identity as sites of social contestation[125]. This affirms the limitations of the cartographic map in preserving indigenous geographical reasoning but also highlights the hybridity of the knowledge system, which this cultural interface symbolizes. Nonetheless, the toponym was gradually 'assimilated', becoming a cultural identity that superseded other common appellations of this ethnic identity that arose elsewhere. Examples include Lucumi

[120] Jordan, (2012), p.48.
[121] Woodman, (2014), p.16.
[122] Horton, (1868), p.160.
[123] Oguntomisin, (1993), p.241.
[124] Fadipe, (1970), p.31.
[125] Creţan, (2019).

country in Cuba, Nagoland in Brasil and Aku country in Sierra Leone[126]. Maps play a significant role in expanding this 'common' cultural identity in the current realities of this ethnic group[127]. Hence, the cartographic document affirms the intimate connection between the two spatial registers of the social and the linguistic.

7. CONCLUSIONS

This paper explored the toponymic geographies on Southern Baptist maps of the Yorùbá landscape. Between the sixteenth and eighteenth centuries, geographical place names of West African landscapes in Euro-American geography evolved through hearsay knowledge derived mainly from European traders and coastal travellers. In the nineteenth century, there was a rapid change in the toponymic identity of the Yorùbá landscape as geographic knowledge expanded owing to European exploration of Africa. In the 1850s, this change in toponymic identity manifested in published missionary maps of the American Southern Baptist Mission. The cultural encounter with Yorùbá informants yielded indigenous toponyms that formed map data that reshaped the previous Yorùbá topographic landscape in Euro-American cartography of Africa. Likewise, orthographic development facilitated by Euro-American missionary organisations reshaped the visual recognition of the cartographic space that ascribed Yorùbáland. Besides, these maps, as cultural interface, embodied the documentary process of evolving a standardized indigenous spelling. In addition, these changes evident on the SB maps highlighted the toponymic development of this cultural landscape.

These toponymic geographies evoked cultural layers of landscape identities; the identity of the biophysical landscape; the naming patterns of the cultural landscape; and the socio-political identity of the cultural landscape. Indeed, it highlighted the emotive geographies of Christian missionaries evoked in their production of the evangelical landscape partly constructed by these toponymic identities. Nonetheless, there is a need for further research on the contribution of cartographic documents in Yorùbá topographic development, particularly the comparing of toponymic variations evident in maps of different missionary societies in the mid and late nineteenth century. Despite a focus on the Yorùbá, these cartographic productions recognized non-Yorùbá identities. Hence, a further direction in the exploration of nineteenth-century toponymic development on maps should also engage neighbouring ethnic groups such as the Borgu to the west, Nupe to the north and Ibos to the east, respectively illustrated as Borgoo, Nufi and Eboe. The examination of the material form of visualized toponymic geographies in the nineteenth century constitutes an important part of the naming process that continues shaping the knowledge of the landscape.

[126] Biobaku, (1958), p.63.
[127] Nakata, (2007).

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