

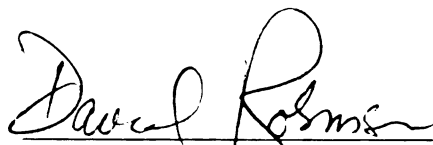


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**ECONOMY AND SOCIETY IN THE UPPER SENEGAL VALLEY, WEST AFRICA
1850-1920**

Volume 1

By

Andrew Francis Clark

A DISSERTATION

**Submitted to
Michigan State University
in partial fulfillment of the requirements
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ABSTRACT

ECONOMY AND SOCIETY IN THE UPPER SENEGAL VALLEY, WEST AFRICA 1850-1920

By

Andrew Francis Clark

This study considers the interaction of politics, economy, society and ecology in the upper Senegal valley from the mid-nineteenth century until the end of the First World War. During this crucial and turbulent period, the region was transformed from an export-producing area on the frontier of European expansion into a marginal, labor reserve. Environmental conditions, civil wars and jihad, local politics, colonialism and migration contributed to the region's growth and decline.

The upper Senegal valley, consisting of the concentrated states of Bundu, Khasso and Gajaaga (Goy and Kamera), and the dispersed societies of Bambuk and Gidimaka, constituted a unified and distinct ecological, economic and cultural region located in the transitional zone between the Sahara Desert and the Guinea rainforest. The Senegal River system divided the area into varying degrees of core and periphery which shifted over time, primarily because of changing French interests. Settlements along the water routes were generally larger, more economically diverse and commercialized, and in closer contact with the colonial administration. The remaining and larger part of the region consisted of widely scattered agricultural and pastoral villages where the limited French presence was often scarcely felt.

A regional framework requires a new approach to and utilization of the available sources. Abundant though under-utilized archival materials, a critical reading of travellers' accounts and other published works, and new oral evidence permit several findings. The diversity and vitality of the economy and the growing colonial presence in the heartland contributed to the region's recovery after several ecological and war-induced crises. Rather than returning to traditional methods, inhabitants responded with new means and relations of production and exchange. However, the entire upper Senegal valley was gradually but irrevocably marginalized, especially after the fall in gum prices in the mid-1890s. The severe famine of 1913-14, intensive war recruitment and mobilization efforts and increased permanent migration to other areas sealed the position of the river valley on the periphery of the French colonial empire in West Africa.

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1990

To my parents

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KEY TO ABBREVIATIONS

AEH	<u>African Economic History</u>
ANF/SOM	<u>Archives Nationales de la France, Section d'Outre-Mer</u>
ANM	<u>Archives Nationales du Mali</u>
ANS	<u>Archives Nationales du Sénégal</u>
ASHA/SOM	<u>Archives du Service Historique de l'Armée, Section d'Outre-Mer</u>
ASR	<u>African Studies Review</u>
BCAF/RC	<u>Bulletin du Comité d'Afrique Française, Renseignements Coloniaux</u>
BCEHSAOF	<u>Bulletin du Comité d'Études Historiques et Scientifiques de l'Afrique Occidentale Française</u>
BIFAN	<u>Bulletin de l'Institut Fondamental d'Afrique Noire</u>
BSCFM	<u>Bulletin de la Société des Études Coloniales et Maritimes</u>
BSCGB	<u>Bulletin de la Société de Géographie Commerciale de Bordeaux</u>
BSCGP	<u>Bulletin de la Société de Géographie Commerciale de Paris</u>
BSGL	<u>Bulletin de la Société de Géographie de Lille</u>
BSGP	<u>Bulletin de la Société de Géographie de Paris</u>
CEA	<u>Cahiers d'Études Africaines</u>
CJAS	<u>Canadian Journal of African Studies</u>
COM	<u>Cahiers d'Outre-Mer</u>
HA	<u>History in Africa</u>
IJAHS	<u>International Journal of African Historical Studies</u>
JAH	<u>Journal of African History</u>
JHSW	<u>Journal of the Historical Society of Nigeria</u>
JSA	<u>Journal de la Société des Africanistes</u>
NA	<u>Notes Africaines</u>
RC	<u>Revue Coloniale</u>
RPHOM	<u>Revue Française d'Histoire d'Outre-Mer</u>
RHCF	<u>Revue d'Histoire des Colonies Françaises</u>
RMC	<u>Revue Maritime et Coloniale</u>
RMM	<u>Revue du Monde Musulmane</u>

Chapter One

Sources and Historiography

Sources

The study of West African history involves a variety of sources, presenting scholars with an exciting but also formidable challenge. West Africanist historians rely on a combination of different types of evidence- primarily documents written by outsiders in European languages, Arabic writings composed by local Islamic elites and oral traditions and recollections in local languages. The diverse and problematic nature of the materials consulted requires an examination of the strengths, weaknesses and biases of each category of evidence. This section begins with a discussion of the extensive relevant archival materials followed by a consideration of the contemporary published accounts. Then the relatively limited Arabic documents will be treated before an analysis of the substantial oral data relied upon in this work.

The period under consideration has been divided into two broad sections. The first covers the years from 1850, shortly before the Umarian jihad, until 1890, when, after the suppression of Mamadu Lamine's rebellion, the region was divided between the colonies of Senegal and Soudan francais. The second period begins in 1890 and ends

in 1920 after the First World War recruitment effort. The archival documentation also corresponds to these periods. Documents prior to 1890 are housed at the Archives nationales du Sénégal in Dakar, and are included in the Ancienne série which ends in 1920. The Archives nationales du Mali near Bamako contain documents from the establishment of French Soudan in 1890. Thereafter, the colonial administration was gradually transformed from a predominantly military undertaking to a civilian enterprise. Since the documentation reflects the change, 1890 serves as a convenient dividing line between the first and second periods.

Archival documentation varies widely in quality and quantity.¹ The materials for the 1850s consist primarily of military reports about campaigns against al-Hajj Umar and his supporters. Accounts of geographic and scientific missions, particularly to the gold-producing areas of Bambuk, figure prominently in the documentation for the late 1850s. Files for the following two decades, a period of resettlement and colonial entrenchment, are mostly concerned with political and administrative matters. Reports on and correspondence with Bokar Saada Sy of Bundu and Juka Sambala Diallo of Khasso, both appointed by the French after the Umarian jihad in the region, dominate in the archival record. Some documents on the gum arabic trade, the most important commercial activity in the early period, also exist. In the early 1870s, with the French convinced of their firm control over the region, other economic issues come to the forefront. The systematic expansion of the French to the east and the uprising of Mamadu Lamine (1885-1887) signal a return to military concerns in the archives.

The later period (1890-1920) witnessed a shift in emphasis from military to civilian matters. In the last decade of the nineteenth century, parts of the upper Senegal prospered and economic topics, most notably long-distance exchange, once again appear in administrators' monthly reports and correspondence. With the dramatic decline in the gum trade at the turn of the century, there is greater concern with agriculture and other productive activities. The archives also shift from a focus on exchange to questions of labor, including slavery, and migration. Administrative efforts to abolish slavery, especially through the creation of villages de liberte in the posts, occurred only after the 1890s, and the suppression of slavery became a major issue in the early 1900s. Railroad and war recruitment problems are prevalent in the records for the final decade (1910-1920) under study.

Disparities in spatial terms also show up in the relevant archives. Prior to 1880, the posts and adjacent areas of Bakel and Medine in the immediate central valley receive comparatively extensive coverage. The villages directly on the Senegal and, to a lesser extent, the Faleme Rivers were occasionally visited and described, but outlying areas merit observation only in times of crises or unusual events. Large tracts of the region are never mentioned in the archives. Then, with Kayes designated the military and administrative capital of the upper Senegal, attention focused on that town and its vicinity. Interest shifted with the advance of French troops in the western Sudan as Bakel and Medine were eclipsed by Kayes and posts further east and south. In 1890, the upper Senegal valley was divided between the colonies of Senegal and the French Soudan, headquartered in Kayes.

Bakel constituted the hinterland of Senegal and the archival documentation becomes infrequent, reflecting the town's position on the fringe. Kayes, on the contrary, was the center of gravity of the new colony of the French Soudan. Once construction began in earnest on the Kayes-Niger railroad, villages along its path received the attention once reserved for the areas along the rivers, the other primary transport artery. Owing to the lack of direct French involvement and control, the vast majority of the region's villages continued to be ignored in the archives. When Bamako was designated the Soudan's capital, the documentation for the entire upper Senegal valley, including Kayes, became scarce. An awareness of their spatial and temporal limitations permits the archives to be exploited more fully and accurately.

The archives also reflect the hierarchical nature of the colonial bureaucracy. The correspondence and reports at the upper echelons between the Ministry of Colonies (and its variously named predecessors) and the governors and governors-general of West Africa are enlightening in matters of colonial policy and ideology; they are less useful for regional social and economic history.² To find pertinent historical evidence, one must turn to the correspondence exchanged between officials in the region, including commandants de poste and commandants de cercle and later the Commandant Supérieur dans le Haut Fleuve, and the governors in Saint Louis. Even more valuable are the reports and correspondence between local officials "on the spot" and their immediate superiors, either commandants de poste in the more isolated rural areas or commandants de cercle in central river valley posts like

Bakel, Medine and Kayes. The local reports formed the bases for commandants' monthly summaries which were then forwarded to their superiors in Saint Louis. One can note the omissions and changes in emphasis from one bureaucratic level to the next. The reports of military commandants, who dominated early in the period, differ markedly from those filed later by civilian administrators.

Another important written source, usually labelled correspondance indigène in the archives, consists of the letters periodically exchanged between African leaders and European colonial officials.² While these letters originated at the lowest level of the colonial bureaucracy, they form a particularly important archival component of this study. These documents generally deal with local matters and permit insights into African, as opposed to European, concerns. Much of the correspondence was written in Arabic by local scribes, but usually only pieces from important leaders like Bokar Saada and Juka Sambala were translated into French. Both versions can generally be found in the archives. A significant amount of correspondence from less important chiefs and individuals in outlying rural areas was simply put into files untranslated and, presumably, unread.

The archives contain documents of varying quality and quantity from all levels of the governmental structure, revealing the inner workings of the colonial apparatus as well as providing detailed and substantial information on the region. In addition to the correspondance indigène, the more important documents and reports for this study were written by officials at the permanent posts of Bakel, Senudebu, Medine, Kayes, Bafulabe and Satadugu, and by individuals on

special military, geographic and scientific missions in the upper Senegal valley.⁴

Besides coinciding with the dominant, collective interests of the French in the region, the archives reflect the attitudes and personalities of the individuals who wrote them. Owing to a shortage of candidates prior to the 1880s, the colonial ministry could impose neither educational nor character qualifications upon applicants for posts in overseas administration. Even after 1887, with the creation of the Corps of Colonial Administrators, the majority of recruits continued to be colonial military officers and government functionaries, both from the metropole and the colonies. Throughout the period under consideration, but particularly in the first decades of colonial rule, officials changed posts and functions frequently. They rarely had familiarity with African languages, Arabic or local cultures. For most of their information, they relied on local Africans—primarily merchants, refugee slaves and colonial employees, especially interpreters—who had their own interests to protect and to promote. No mechanism existed for confirming information or for accounting for informants' biases.

Colonial officials, and most notably commandants de poste and commandants de cercle in the upper Senegal, generally supervised extensive geographic areas and, lacking staff and infrastructure, faced the virtually impossible task of collecting accurate, timely and complete information. Some of the less conscientious officials copied previous administrators' correspondence, sent in the same reports time after time, or described tours they had not taken. After 1895, when

standard monthly report forms were introduced, administrators all too often made no new observations or simply wrote "rien à signaler" under the various headings. Other officials actively sought promotion within the bureaucracy and tended to emphasize the stability and prosperity of the areas under their supervision and to justify action taken to resolve disputes or crises. However, other Frenchmen, albeit a distinct minority, took their "mission to civilize" seriously and made copious notes on local economy and society, executed and meticulously described their tours and sometimes wrote short monographs on their respective administrative units. The books and articles, written primarily between 1900 and 1910 for areas of the upper Senegal, assisted in the establishment of the civilian administration and required considerable effort on the part of certain officials.

Despite the inaccuracies and omissions, the archives contain information unavailable elsewhere. The exact chronology of military and political events, generally lacking in other types of sources, exists in the archival record. Occurrences of drought, famine, flooding, human and cattle epidemics and other natural phenomena are indicated, permitting confirmation and comparison with published accounts and oral evidence. Census data, though confined to certain locations and problematic for a host of reasons, provide a baseline from which to speculate reasonably. In terms of economic evidence, the colonial records contain figures on trade, taxes, customs duties, revenues and other indices of production and exchange. While the numbers are approximate at best and certainly not inclusive, they do suggest certain trends over time. The archives also include technical

descriptions of such diverse productive activities as weaving, dyeing, gold-mining, iron-working and woodworking. Details of agricultural, pastoral and fishing techniques can also be found. Most of the written documentation on production methods can be checked and compared to references in oral sources, though the archives usually include more precise and comprehensive technical data.

There are several official and semi-official publications that parallel and complement the archives. The Annuaire du Sénégal et dépendances, initiated by Governor Louis Faidherbe and issued annually between 1858 and 1902 by the Ministry of Marine and Colonies, is an official list of all Europeans and Africans associated with the colonial administration, both in France and West Africa. The Annuaire contains information on bureaucratic structure, personnel changes, administrative policies and the French texts of numerous treaties signed with local leaders in Senegal and Soudan. The earlier treaties also appear in the Annales sénégalaises de 1854 à 1885, the official account of French military campaigns in Senegal and, though anonymous, usually attributed to Faidherbe. The two official colonial journals, the Moniteur du Sénégal et dépendances, begun by Faidherbe in 1856 and later titled the Journal officiel du Sénégal, and the Journal officiel du Haut-Sénégal-Niger, started in 1906, contain excerpts from the archives in addition to announcements of appointments, summaries of military campaigns and short notices of topical interest. These publications, entirely in French, also served as propaganda vehicles for the colonial administration.⁵ Lengthier articles on scientific expeditions and explorations, particularly during the 1850s and 1860s,

appear in the Revue maritime et coloniale (previously called the Revue coloniale and then the Revue algérienne et coloniale). Several of the articles were originally official correspondence or reports now in archival files.

Additional relevant semi-official publications include the Bulletin du Comité d'Afrique française, Renseignements Coloniaux (BCAF/RC) and the Bulletin du Comité d'études historiques et scientifiques de l'Afrique occidentale française (BCEHSAOF). The BCAF/RC, begun in 1890, was an annual review published in France by the Comité de l'Afrique française. The committee, which evolved into a broader parti colonial, consisted of civilians and military officers interested in Africa. The quality of the pieces in the bulletin varies significantly, depending on the authors' expertise and critical judgment. Officers and administrators wrote about their tours and impressions with less constraint than in their official communications. The BCEHSAOF, started in 1917 and based in Dakar, took a more scientific and scholarly approach than the BCAF/RC. It was the precursor to the Bulletin de l'Institut Fondamental d'Afrique noire still published in Dakar. In combination with the archives, the official and semi-official publications enhance the colonial record.

Considering the vital role of European language sources in understanding precolonial and colonial West African history, scholars have paid remarkably little critical attention to published sources. Historians have generally taken for granted printed works in European languages: they rely on a select group of "classic" works and even use faulty translations. When sources have been discussed in recent years,

historians have emphasized the collection, use and interpretation of oral evidence, while virtually ignoring the unique methodological problems posed by written sources, both archival and published accounts, in European languages. Yet some recent publications on the "use and abuse" of European language sources for West African history signal a change in the approach to written materials. Many of the critical questions beginning to be asked of contemporary published works need to be addressed to colonial archival documentation as well.⁶

The same rigorous analysis that has, until recently, been given only to oral sources should be applied equally to written sources. They were overwhelmingly composed by linguistic and cultural outsiders who spent little time in the area and frequently misunderstood or misinterpreted what they were told. These foreigners relied on others to guide them through unfamiliar territory, to answer "eurocentric" questions and to interpret events and activities that may have appeared equally alien to a guide from another linguistic, ethnic or geographic background. Europeans often used terms and categories incapable of conveying accurately the nature and nuances of complex African political, economic and social structures. The authors wrote for a European audience and sometimes sought to reinforce exotic stereotypes rather than objectively to portray other societies. Yet European language materials cannot be dismissed merely for being biased; neither can they be taken for granted and used uncritically as has often been the case. The following analysis of the most important written accounts for the upper Senegal valley serves not to denigrate but to illustrate what can and cannot be reasonably deduced from various relevant

published accounts. Similar questions should also be asked of archival documentation.

Most of the published sources on the upper Senegal valley during the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries consist of travellers' accounts in French. Military officials, scientists, doctors and amateur anthropologists focused on different subjects in their writings. Travellers frequently hoped to discover something unique about a specific place or society, and often sought to establish a reputation by definitively describing a particular topic. Certain expectations additionally colored their findings. For example, Muslim peoples were expected to have a more dynamic history and "advanced" civilization than non-Muslims. The Fulbe, classified as a "Hamitic" people, owing to the popular misconception that they had light skin, were perceived as more civilized and industrious than West Africa's "darker" races.

Several guidelines can be applied specifically to written sources. The traveller's actual route should be traced carefully. Visitors invariably went to the central village or capital of an area to meet the local chiefs or ruler. Leaders dictated who had permission to enter their territory and usually sent a representative to guide the traveller to the main villages. Then the European would be escorted along an approved route to the border of a neighboring state or cluster of villages. Authors often comment on areas they did not visit, relating information that initially appears to be first-hand but is actually hearsay. Travellers could pass along false statements about a rival ethnic group or hostile neighboring state. The length of stay and the time of year played important roles in what the visitor observed

and where he was able to travel because rainy and dry season activities differ in the upper Senegal valley. Among predominantly pastoral people, human and cattle populations in a given area fluctuated widely from one season to another. It is imperative to know when the traveller made his voyage to deduce what he actually witnessed. The mode of transport, especially in a riverine region like the upper Senegal, affected what the European encountered and where he could venture. Accounts from land-travellers and river-voyagers vary considerably. The size of the entourage also biased the results since large expeditions remained on relatively well-traversed routes and relied on sizable villages for hospitality. Local leaders easily monitored and controlled their movements. Finally, relations with the inhabitants influenced the visitor's reactions and observations. Local commandants decided who could travel where, often based on previous travellers' experiences with residents. Each of these factors needs to be considered in evaluating the validity and quality of travellers' accounts.

Several Europeans on geographic missions passed overland through parts of the upper Senegal valley in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. The most famous pioneer explorer in the Senegambia was Mungo Park.⁷ Although he visited the region as early as 1795-97 and travelled through the southern part of the area in 1805, later European commentators frequently cited his accounts. Park sought the source of the Niger River and described the topography and inhabitants of the country between the lower Gambia and the upper Niger Rivers, including Bundu, Gajaaga (or Galan) and Khasso in the upper Senegal valley. In his descriptions, Park focused on Bundu, where he

paid a lengthy visit. While Park travelled in an east-west direction, Gaspard Mollien followed a north-south orientation during his journey in Senegambia, passing through Bundu in 1818.⁹ Mollien sought the sources of the Senegal and Gambia Rivers and thus spent most of his time in Futa Jalon, south of Senegambia. The last of these early geographic explorers were Major William Gray and Staff Surgeon Richard Dorchard who retraced Park's first route, but in 1818 and 1819. They described several states in their account, primarily Wuli, Bundu, Gajaaga and Khasso.⁹

More pertinent to this study are travellers' accounts from the 1840s to 1895, when the "age of exploration" in the upper Senegal gave way to a period of control and administration over local populations. At the end of the nineteenth century, monographs on various cercles replaced mission reports while ethnographic works superseded travel literature. Yet for the earlier period of this study, published accounts of explorers and voyagers, combined with mission reports in the archives, provide significant data on regional economy and society. Following is a list of accounts, both archival and published, for the nineteenth century.¹⁰

1805	*Hungo Park	Bambuk/Gajaaga
1818	*G. Mollien	Bundu
1818-21	*Gray & Dorchard	Bundu/Gajaaga/Khasso
1818-21	Grandin	Bambuk
1820	Hesse & Dupont	Bakel/Goy
1824-30	Duranton	Bambuk/Bundu/Gajaaga/Khasso
1829	Turette	Bambuk/Bundu
1843-44	*Raffenel	Bambuk/Bundu/Gajaaga
1844	*Huard & Baissiniere	Bambuk/Bundu/Faleme River
1846	*Raffenel	Bakel/Goy/Khasso
1851	*Rey	Khasso
1854	*Rey	Bambuk (esp. Farabanna)/Bundu
1855	*Hecquard	Bambuk/Bundu/Khasso
1856-57	*Flize	Bambuk/Bundu/Gajaaga/Khasso
1858	*Brossard de Corbigny	Faleme River (Bundu/Bambuk)
1860	*Pascal	Bambuk
1861	*Braouezec	Upper Senegal River
1863-66	*Mage	Bakel/Goy/Khasso
1872	Duchemin	Bakel/Medine (Khasso)
1879	Gallieni & Bayol	Medine to Bafulabe (Khasso)
1879	*Soleillet	Bakel/Gajaaga/Khasso
1879-80	Laude	Faleme River (Bundu/Bambuk)
1880-85	*Bayol	Bakel/Bambuk/Goy/Khasso
1882	*Moirot (& Bayol)	Bambuk
1883-84	*Colin	Bambuk/Bundu/Gajaaga
1883-85	C. Monteil	Kayes to Bafulabe (Railroad)
1884	*Lamartiny	Bambuk/Bundu
1886-87	Brosselard-Faidherbe	Bambuk
1886-88	Reichenberg	Bambuk/Kamera
1887	Muller	Faleme River (Bundu/Bambuk)
1887	Martin	Bambuk
1887-88	Valliere	Bambuk
1888	Dorr	Bundu
1888	Colin	Bambuk
1888	*Foret	Bambuk/Gajaaga/Khasso
1888-89	Briquelot	Bundu
1888-90	Quinquandon	Bambuk
1889	*Roux	Bundu
1890	Mangin	Gemu (Gidinaka)
1890	Valentin	Goy/Diombokho
1891-92	Roux	Bakel/Goy/Bundu
1892	Bellat	Gidinaka
1894	Imbert	Gidinaka
1894-95	*Rançon	Bundu/Upper Gambia River
1895	LeBrun	Faleme River (Bambuk)

Figure 1. Principal Explorers and Directors of Missions in the Upper Senegal Valley, 1800-95

This inventory of European explorers and mission directors warrants several general comments. Foreigners frequently visited the region during the 1850s and 1880s, times of intense military activity. Bundu was close to the fort at Bakel and strategically located on the lower Faleme River, and therefore particularly interested the military administration in the 1850s. By 1860, however, Bokar Saada Sy, with French support, began to consolidate his control over the area and the colonial authorities turned their attention east and southward. Bambuk, a gold-producing area, was the most frequently explored part of the upper Senegal in the nineteenth century. Europeans hoped to extract great mineral wealth, causing a flurry of visitors, especially in the 1850s and 1880s. Their itineraries are remarkably similar, centering on specific gold-producing villages and established trade routes, leaving most of the area unvisited and uncharted. The diverse nature and ill-defined boundaries of Bambuk contribute to some confusion in earlier accounts. After 1879, the colonial administration directed attention to a railway linking the upper Senegal with the upper Niger. The parts of Goy, Kamera and Khasso directly on the planned route received numerous expeditions, whereas the remainder of the territories was virtually ignored. Finally, Bakel, Medine and Kayes in the central river valley were the various starting and ending points for missions and voyages in the region. These posts receive extensive coverage but at different times.

A number of European military officers wrote accounts of their campaigns in the upper Senegal valley. While their works deal principally with military, administrative and political matters, they

do provide occasional insights into the political economy of the region. Louis Faidherbe wrote extensively about French "pacification" in Senegambia though he focuses on the jihad of al-Hajj Umar in the 1850s. He discusses other topics (Senegambian languages, Islam, local and ethnic history) but with considerably less skill and enthusiasm than his own exploits.¹¹ Henri Frey and Joseph Gallieni, both Commandants Supérieur, participated in the conflict against Mamadu Lamine in eastern Senegambia between 1885 and 1887. Both officers seek to justify their actions and to demean their opponent and his supporters.¹² Louis Archinard, the last military Commandant Supérieur, extended French influence to the Niger River in the late 1880s. His accounts deal principally with conquest beyond the upper Senegal and Faleme Rivers. Archinard, like Gallieni, viewed himself as a reformer and comments revealingly on the colonial military administration.¹³ Finally, François Pietri (1885), Eugène Bechet (1889), Étienne Peroz (1889) and François Descostes (1893) had subordinate roles in military campaigns in the Western Sudan. Their works, therefore, offer a different perspective than the generals and Commandants Supérieur.¹⁴

There exists one final category of contemporary sources written in French by both Senegalese and European observers. This genre consists of quasi-historical and quasi-ethnographic accounts designed to entertain and to instruct European audiences. Because they purport to be serious scholarly studies, these sources, especially the earlier works, need to be treated with caution. Historians have relied rather heavily on these works with little critical attention. The six most important sources for the upper Senegal valley can be conveniently

divided into three groups by period: the works of Abbé Pierre Boilat and Frédéric Carrère with Paul Holle written in the mid-1850s; those of Emile Roux and André Rançon from 1893 and 1894 respectively; and the works of Maurice Delafosse and Charles Monteil from the first part of the twentieth century.

In the 1850s, two ethnographic/historical accounts by Senegalese appeared in Europe. In Esquisses sénégalaises, published in 1853, Abbé Pierre Boilat analyzed the history, languages, culture and geography of numerous African political formations in Senegal. He attempted to include all the major groups, including the Moors along the Senegal River. Boilat, a métis Catholic priest educated in France, harshly criticized Islam and predictably stressed the benefits of European and Christian contact with West Africa. He did discuss local economy, particularly craft production, and based his local histories on indigenous traditions rather than previously published works.¹⁵ Paul Holle, another métis from Saint Louis, was a participant in several major historical events. In 1840 he began his career as an explorer and soldier, serving for fifteen years as commander at Bakel and nearby posts. Faidherbe founded the fort at Medine in 1855 and appointed Holle commander, setting the stage for the epic confrontation between Holle and al-Hajj Umar at Medine in 1857.

Frédéric Carrère's recounting of the Umarian siege of Medine, cited by every commentator on the battle, is based on Holle's version of events.¹⁶ Carrère, a French civil servant in the judiciary based in Senegal, and Holle had previously written a book entitled De la Sénégambie française, published in 1855. Like Boilat's work, the book

was an amateur historical and anthropological study of Senegambia but they paid greater attention to the upper Senegal. They denounced Islam and emphasized the benefits of colonial rule. In addition, Carrère and Holle criticized the administration and called for a strong French military presence and a coherent policy in West Africa.¹⁷ The careers and ideologies of these early commentators shaped their observations and interpretations. While Abbé Boilat stressed the role of Christianity in "developing" Senegal, Carrère and Holle emphasized a strong military, judicial and administrative presence throughout Senegambia.

Two histories of Bundu based on indigenous dynastic traditions were published in 1893 and 1894 respectively. Captain Emile Roux, appointed commander of Bakel in 1889 following a series of minor military and bureaucratic posts, visited Bundu shortly after his promotion. He collected oral traditions dealing with the leaders of Bundu since the late seventeenth century and consolidated them into a chronological narrative. His "notice" appeared in the archives in 1889 but it was published in book form only in 1893.¹⁸ One year later, André Rançon, a doctor connected to the colonial administration and a widely travelled amateur ethnographer, likewise published a dynastic history of Bundu based on similar oral traditions.¹⁹ Neither Roux nor Rançon spoke Arabic or Pulaar, the lingua franca of Bundu, and, owing to their use of similar sources, their versions frequently overlap. Though primarily concerned with the precolonial era, both give prominence to Bokar Saada, appointed by Faidherbe in 1857 to rule Bundu. The authors also treat the uprising of Mamadu Lamine from a decidedly pro-French

and pro-Sy position. Being aware of the Sissibe bias in both Roux and Ranson permits using their accounts effectively and critically.

By the beginning of the twentieth century, the French sought to increase their knowledge about the area they believed firmly under their control. The colonial administration wanted to collect as much information as possible about local politics, society and daily life in order to maintain law and order. Foremost among the early "Africanist" scholars who carried out the government's research work were Maurice Delafosse and Charles Monteil who were both concerned, in part, with the upper Senegal. The former, who filled administrative positions in the Ivory Coast and the French Soudan, wrote several anthropological and linguistic studies. His pioneer and immensely influential work, Haut-Sénégal-Niger, was published in three volumes in 1912. Delafosse treats the country, people, languages and history of the colony of the Upper Senegal and Niger, which included most of the upper Senegal region. He based his work on published accounts, Arabic documentation, oral traditions, personal observations and correspondence with other French "scholar-administrators" like Henri Gaden and Charles Monteil. Delafosse's ambitious work was the first extended, multi-volume account on the history and culture of a French colony in Africa. His study, apparently scholarly, lacks a consistent methodology and source attribution.²⁰

Charles Monteil, who worked alongside Delafosse in the Ivory Coast and the French Soudan, also wrote a number of ethnographic accounts based on written and oral sources. While commander of Nedine from 1897 to 1899, Monteil collected material for one of his major works, Les

Khaesonké, published in 1915.²¹ However, he relied almost exclusively on informants from the ruling Diallo lineage of Medine and emphasizes their version of events. Monteil also studied the Bambara of the French Soudan and other groups in the region.²² While the accounts of Delafosse and C. Monteil suffer from a colonial mentality, hasty composition and a lack of critical method, they constitute informative sources, especially for linguistics, ethnography and social history.

Arabic documentation constitutes a major source for much West African history, particularly for the precolonial era in Western and Central Sudan. Several surveys deal with the Arabic materials relevant to the period before 1800.²³ A select number of editions contain both the Arabic texts and translations, usually into French; these too deal with the precolonial period in West Africa.²⁴ The Arabic materials usually take the form of tarikhs, or political/military histories, genealogies, and chronicles, emphasizing the reigns and deeds of Muslim leaders. Literacy in Arabic was restricted to traders and Muslim clerics who virtually monopolized the recording of the Arabic historical literature. The clerics and ruling groups sought to legitimize and consolidate their positions in society through writing. Like all written and oral sources, Arabic documents need to be carefully scrutinized for distortions, biases and omissions. The manuscripts are often the oral traditions written down in Arabic at a particular time, making the period and circumstances of the manuscripts' creation critical to their understanding and use as historical sources. Many translations of relatively inaccessible and obscure texts unfortunately do not contain the original Arabic, making

it impossible to check critical passages. Most scholars have also simply translated these texts without sufficient annotation, investigating the nature and circumstances of the document's creation, and identifying and checking sources.

The Arabic documentation for this study consists principally of oral traditions written down during the period. While Arabic manuscript material has been sought and consulted wherever possible, the documentation remains comparatively scarce and not very informative on the economic and social history of the upper Senegal valley. Substantial materials exist on the life and activities of al-Hajj Umar and his successors in the second half of the nineteenth century.²⁵ This material, however, rarely focuses on the upper Senegal region. Perhaps owing to the absence of a renowned scholar or center of Islamic learning, the upper Senegal valley lacks the quantity of written Arabic documentation of some neighboring regions and states for the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.

Shaikh Musa Kamara (1864-1945), though a life-long resident of eastern Futa Toro north of Bakel, was a descendant of Fulbe from Gidimaka. He made several trips to the upper Senegal and lived briefly in Kayes in the late 1880s. Kamara, a friend of Delafosse and Henri Gaden, did most of his writing after 1920, perhaps at their encouragement. His output includes works on history, anthropology, theology and law.²⁶ These documents are on deposit in the Islamic Department of the Institut fondamental Cheikh Anta Diop (formerly IFAN) and comprise the Fonds Cheikh Moussa Kamara.²⁷ The Fonds contain eighteen cahiers or notebooks, most of which have not been translated

into a European language although a few excerpts have been translated into French by Amar Samb and Mustapha N'Diaye.²⁸ Their articles have few annotations and do not present the original Arabic text for comparison. While Kamara's works vary in quality and interest, they do provide a unique perspective of a literate "insider" and the majority merit careful translation and extended commentary.

The most important work for this study and Kamara's major opus, Zuhur al-Basatin fi Ta'rikh al-Sawadin, contains 1,700 pages of genealogies and historical commentary, mainly on his homeland of Futa Toro.²⁹ Kamara also treats neighboring states like Bundu, Gajaaga, Gidimaka and Khasso. He read existing histories in Arabic and conducted numerous interviews and, in the early 1920s, he wrote down several versions and commented on contradictions and discrepancies in the testimonies. His narration of Bundu history compares favorably to those by Roux and Rançon, though Kamara focuses almost exclusively on the political history and genealogy of the ruling Sy lineage. His treatment of the Jakhanke in Khasso solely emphasizes their religious role, while his histories of Gajaaga and Gidimaka are limited to the ruling Bathily lineages. Kamara's other relevant work, on the life of al-Hajj Umar, also relies on oral and written testimonies. Kamara stresses the religious aspects of the jihad and gives little attention to social and economic consequences.³⁰ Yet Kamara's work makes an important and singular contribution that invites comparison with other sources.

Oral sources are an integral component of any historical study concerned with West Africa. While considerable written documentation exists, the limitations of the evidence preclude a balanced portrayal

of the region's historical political economy without tapping the wealth of oral sources. Noteworthy or important topics to an administrator or explorer were not always immediate concerns of the administered. These silences are attributable to European ignorance, disinterest or deliberate omission to protect or to promote individual interests. Oral informants often fill noticable gaps in the written record. More significantly, oral sources comprise the primary internal evidence from the region. Written and oral documentation often treat the same event or issue from dramatically different perspectives. Oral sources are in indigenous languages, permitting a preliminary but unique insight into how the people of the region perceive, interpret and verbalize their own history.

Using oral sources on an equal basis with written documents raises several issues. Numerous scholars have eloquently advanced the arguments for the value of oral sources as historical evidence.³¹ Few scholars now doubt the potential value of oral data, but they justifiably question the authenticity, accuracy, reliability and interpretation of oral materials.³² The use of such sources poses many of the same problems already cited for archives and published accounts. The historian needs to ask similar critical questions of both written and oral sources.

Informants seek to protect and advance their own interests to the same extent as literate commentators. Temporal and spatial limitations, omissions and biases play an equally significant role in shaping the available written and oral resources. Each researcher must devise strategies for collecting and analyzing oral data. He must also assess

the reliability of what he hears and decide how to rely on oral evidence in relation to the existing written record. The oral sources for this study can be divided into formal and informal traditions, and individual remembrances.²³ Formal traditions include narratives that are generally known and transmitted from one generation to the next. They deal with important events and individuals, both mythical and actual. Primarily the preserve of griots, or professional oral historians, formal traditions are also recited by some non-griot elders. Informal traditions consist of testimonies dealing with local concerns and lesser-known individuals. Village elders of all social categories usually have a repertory of informal traditions transmitted to them by their predecessors. Personal reminiscences are first-hand, eye-witness accounts of events or remembrances of particular historic figures. Each category of oral evidence needs to be examined in detail.

For Africanist historians, formal traditions are the most familiar and widely used type of oral data. These "official" recitations deal primarily with important historical events and major political, military and religious figures. They can also focus on the origins of specific social, occupational or ethnic groups. Scholars have noted the problematic nature of the chronology of formal traditions, especially those concerned with origin myths and the precolonial period.²⁴ For this study, sufficient references exist in the oral and written sources to locate events and individuals accurately in time. Performances of oral traditions usually draw sizable audiences, and frequently the narrator acts out parts of the recitation. These meticulously orchestrated performances last from approximately one to four hours,

depending on the subject and the griot or elder's knowledge, stamina and audience interest. The traditions themselves serve to legitimize and to maintain the existing social order as well as to instruct listeners in acceptable modes of behavior. A strong moral code, which reflects the dominant ideology, underpins the narrations. The traditions operate as the collective, though selective, memory of a lineage, village or other unit. Formal traditions function simultaneously as both a source and an interpretation of the past and, consequently, historians need to treat them accordingly.

In the upper Senegal valley several African personalities recur in the formal traditions. Al-Hajj Umar and his jihad figure prominently, particularly in narratives recorded in Bundu, Khasso and other sites of major confrontations between the Umarians and their foes. Recitations about Mamadu Lamine focus on anecdotes and battles, with Soninke informants in Gajaaga and Bundu supplying the most detailed accounts. Traditions in Bundu and Khasso relate the reigns of Bokar Saada and Juka Sambala and their descendants. In Gajaaga and Gidimaka the ruling Bathily lineage dominates the formal recitations, while a series of local leaders appears in Bambuk traditions. Frequently these individuals interacted with leaders like Bokar Saada or the Bathilys.

In addition to Africans, some Europeans play prominent roles in the shared oral history. Not surprisingly, Louis Faidherbe receives a good deal of attention, especially in localities along the Senegal River. Usually the first toubab ("white man") explorer or administrator merits a story, though the narrations tend to focus on his "quaint" ways and lack of common sense and understanding of the society rather

than on the local impact of his arrival. Finally, disputes among villages or states warrant extended treatment. The constant raids of Bundu and Khasso into Bambuk during the late nineteenth century receive commentary from both sides. The Bambuk traditions stress the destructive aspects of the raids. Bundu and Khasso versions emphasize the "primitive" nature of Bambuk society and insist that the forays sought the retrieval of stolen property and fugitive slaves. Colonial archival sources reflect the Bundu and Khasso positions as they were staunch allies of the French.

While formal traditions focus on major events and personalities, thus permitting frequent comparison with archival materials, informal traditions or testimonies focus on local occurrences and lesser known individuals. These narrations often cover subjects not discussed in written sources. Informants represented all social and occupational groups though griots, marabouts (Muslim religious teachers) and village chiefs provided the most valuable information. Informal testimonies are more private and "small-scale" than formal traditions. Sometimes little more than a string of anecdotes, informal traditions deal with family and local histories and events. Like formal traditions, informal narratives are not eyewitness accounts but transmitted versions of first-hand accounts.

The language, structure, length and performance of these recitations differ markedly from formal traditions. Any member of society, male or female, may recite testimonies and their quality and interest vary considerably. Certain individuals in a village or town usually know several informal traditions and other villagers can

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identify those persons with an extended repertory. This category of oral sources also includes interviews directed to knowledgeable informants on specific historical subjects that occurred before the informant's lifetime. Questions usually elicited an extensive response with anecdotes and commentary. Informants based their answers on hearsay rather than memory as they had not participated in the actual events. Their sources for these informal recitations usually consisted of deceased griots and relatives.

Using formal and informal traditions as historical sources raises several questions about their origins and authenticity. Ideally, informants can name the creator of the original testimony, though the chain of transmission can usually be traced back one or two "links." Written European and Arabic language sources have influenced and modified the collective knowledge of oral societies. One must ultimately ask "How oral?" is any verbal testimony, particularly formal traditions in widespread circulation. The presence of Western and Muslim literate cultures and the introduction of new values have altered traditional testimonies. In parts of the upper Senegal, most notably in the central river valley, some of the most important changes in political, economic and social structures occurred with the imposition of colonial rule. Traditions gradually came to reflect these alterations, and this process of modification has been constant and is irreversible. Today radio broadcasting of historical narratives influences the oral traditions, redirecting and reshaping their analyses. The dynamic nature of traditions has forced historians and

anthropologists to examine transmitted testimonies cautiously and meticulously.³⁵

In contrast to formal and informal traditions, personal reminiscences are not links in a chain of transmission but eyewitness, first-hand accounts. Remembrances were collected across a broad ethnic and social spectrum. Elderly women, artisans and descendants of slaves offered important perspectives to contrast with one another and with those of older noble and free-born men. Women discussed the domestic domain and female activities such as carding and spinning cotton, embroidery, pottery-making and gender-specific agricultural and pastoral duties. Many older women of all social groups participated in exchange, describing different levels of markets and trading. They also talked about changes in the styles and functions of goods, most notably textiles and jewelry. Artisans related continuities and transformations in production equipment and techniques as well as products. They frequently demonstrated how things used to be made, and they reflected on the impact of imported goods. Interviews and discussions with descendants of slaves posed distinct difficulties. Some informants would address certain issues in private or without a tape recorder. Still others did not hesitate to discuss freely their former and present positions in society. Slaves and their descendants frequently practiced weaving and they provided valuable information on all aspects of cloth production and exchange. Marabouts supplied extensive commentary on religion, social mores and Koranic education. Free-born men, including active and retired village chiefs, nobles, merchants, herders, migrants and farmers also recounted their remembrances.

The quality and interest of these accounts differs enormously, and their accuracy is difficult to ascertain. To permit extensive comparison, as many recollections as time and resources allowed were collected. Certain themes and descriptions recurred, allowing some speculation. Several unusually informative and forthcoming narrators were interviewed repeatedly to gain greater depth and to verify original accounts. This technique was also used to check their memories and the reproducibility of their narratives. Informants were sometimes told what others had said on particular topics and were asked for comments and modifications. While initially a method for corroborating accounts, this also permitted a comparison of attitudes across social, occupational and gender lines. Exact dating and chronology posed a special problem with individual remembrances. People could not cite specific dates, yet they were able to locate events on a "time-line" constructed around local occurrences reported in archives and published accounts. For example, elderly people recalled the great famine of 1913-14 or recruitment for World War One and dated events accordingly. Personal reminiscences now provide information only for the early twentieth century. For the previous century, formal and informal traditions must suffice.

The written and oral sources provide a prism, not a window, on the past. All sources are already interpretations, equivalent to a historian's own synthesis of the past.³⁶ Each work that has survived, whether an archival report, Arabic text or oral tradition, has undergone a process of selection and modification. Administrators, griots, marabouts and military officers had reasons for recording and

preserving their accounts. Every written and oral document has a purpose, rarely purely historical, that fashions its content. Literate commentators like Faidherbe, who wrote apparently historical works, sought to secure their reputations rather than to bequeath a reliable source. Written documents are "fixed," generally accessible and structurally coherent. But the written word is not intrinsically more believable than the spoken word. The same rigorous analyses that researchers have suggested for oral sources must be equally applied to written sources in Arabic and European languages. Oral narratives are undeniably part of a dynamic process and not static, immutable texts. Yet that does not automatically diminish their value as historical sources. Despite their weaknesses, all sources need to be studied and evaluated for what they can realistically offer. The available documentation does not permit a complete and balanced reconstruction of the political economy of the upper Senegal valley from 1850 to 1920. However, by combining the available written and oral evidence, several lines of inquiry can be suggested and a reasonable synthesis can be presented.

Historiography

While several of the works already cited, most notably by H. Delafosse and C. Monteil, can serve as the beginnings of a historiography of the region, West African history developed a substantial critical literature only in the 1960s. At that time, the discipline of African history emerged in American, European and African universities. Rising African nationalism and independence stimulated new studies in history, geography, economics and anthropology. The early historical literature tended to focus on the political history of precolonial kingdoms and empires. Except for works on small, unique subjects, such as the Four Communes in Senegal, the colonial period in Senegambia has suffered from a marked neglect. In addition, owing to its distance from the French centers at Saint Louis, Goree and later Dakar, historians ignored or minimized the importance of the upper Senegal valley. Only in the late 1960s did the region begin to attract attention.

The upper Senegal initially interested modern military and administrative historians. A.S. Kanya-Forstner (1969) discusses one of the first regions in Africa's interior to fall to European colonialism.³⁷ He relies heavily on the accounts of Frey, Gallieni and Archinard as well as military archival reports and correspondence. His distinguished study concerns primarily French imperialism rather than regional history. William Cohen (1971) focuses on the French Colonial Service throughout Africa with emphasis on its early formative years in

the Western Sudan.³⁸ Cohen, like Kanya-Forstner, concentrates on French imperialism with little treatment of the local impact of colonial rule. His sources include many of those used by Kanya-Forstner, and both authors, focusing on the central river valley, tend to exaggerate the French presence throughout the region.

The political history of the upper Senegal valley remains the most developed and extensive branch of the region's historiography.

Senegalese and Malian historians from the area have examined state formation and politics. Sékéné-Mody Cissoko has written on Khasso from its origins in approximately the sixteenth century through the Umarian jihad of the mid-nineteenth century. In his scholarship, Cissoko relies on written and oral sources to present a comprehensive narrative political history of a small but pivotal state in the upper Senegal.³⁹ Abdoulaye Bathily's major work (1975; revised and expanded, 1985) on Gajaaga focuses on its apogee in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries.⁴⁰ He elevates the state to an artificially high "core" status in the region and traces its precipitous fall to a peripheral position within the colony. Bathily conducted some oral interviews but, given his important social status in Gajaaga, he could have accomplished considerably more with local informants. Writing initially in the mid-1970s, Bathily frames his views within dependency and underdevelopment theory which substantially weakens his economic analysis.

Michael Gomez's dissertation (1985) on the political history of Bundu lacks adequate sources and fieldwork and contains numerous factual errors. Despite a political focus, he does not investigate the

development and operation of the governmental structure. Drawing heavily on the dynastic histories of Roux and Ranson and the work of Philip Curtin, Gomez offers little analysis and no fresh insights into the political economy of a critically important state in the upper Senegal.⁴¹

Two pivotal political, military and religious leaders active in the region during the second half of the nineteenth century have received extensive attention. Al-Hajj Umar Tal justifiably figures prominently in the historiography of the nineteenth century Western Sudan. David Robinson (1985), in the major work to date on Umar, combines French, Arabic and Fulfulde written and oral materials to present a synthesis of the Umarian movement.⁴² However, Robinson does not focus on the impact of the holy war in the upper Senegal. A similar lacuna exists in the literature concerning Mamadu Lamine, a Soninke cleric from Khasso who galvanized the region between 1885 and 1887. Historians, working almost exclusively with military archives and published sources, have variously portrayed the marabout as an anti-imperialist resistance hero, fundamentalist Islamic reformer and Soninke patriot.⁴³ In attempting to justify their over-simplified labels, researchers have overlooked the internal dynamics of the regional political economy and the socio-economic ramifications of the widespread but short-lived revolt.

The economic history of West Africa emerged as a distinct field of study in the early 1970s. Two major works increased our understanding of the nascent topic and undeniably influenced later interpretations. A.G. Hopkins, in the first comprehensive economic history of West

Africa, interprets the economy through a single framework- the expansion of the market.⁴⁴ While the upper Senegal remains a peripheral area within his analysis, Hopkins provides an imaginative and lucid approach that can be usefully though carefully applied on a smaller scale. Philip Curtin conducted extensive interviewing and microfilming of documents in the upper Senegal in 1966. Initially, Curtin planned to present a thorough study of the economic history of the upper Senegal region. Unable to return to the field, however, he expanded his focus to include all of Senegambia in the well-known volume, Economic Change in Precolonial Africa (1975).⁴⁵ The most effective parts of his work concern the economic history of the upper valley prior to the 1850s. In these passages he treats production and products in addition to exchange. Curtin emphasizes long-distance trade while minimizing local and regional exchange. He focuses on the effects of the Atlantic slave trade and thus concentrates on coastal rather than Sahelian and Sudanic history. He also neglects to discuss how long-term changes in trading patterns affected social and economic structures in local societies. His study ends with the advent of French colonial rule in the upper Senegal. Consequently, there is no synthesis of the region's general economic and social history after 1850.

Several works deal with specific aspects of the economic history of Senegambia during the colonial period. Sheldon Gellar (1976) argues that rather than modernizing the political economy of Senegal, colonial policies and practices increased dependency and created "structural underdevelopment."⁴⁶ Like other dependency theorists, Gellar does not adequately analyze the precolonial and colonial eras, and relies almost

exclusively on secondary sources. Most importantly, he fails to examine the shifting axis from the riverain to the coastal region during the colonial period which brought increased migration, most notably among the Soninke who lived along the Senegal River.

François Manchuelle (1987) attempts an historical analysis of the social and economic developments among the Soninke since 1850.⁴⁷ He proposes that the demise of the gun and internal slave trades after 1890 caused the impoverishment of the Soninke homeland, centered on Bakel. According to Manchuelle, internal traditions and developments, rather than colonial taxes, forced labor policies or new patterns of consumption, encouraged extensive Soninke migration. However, Manchuelle failed to consult relevant archives in Bamako and did not conduct any fieldwork in Mali. His treatment, based only on limited archival materials in Dakar and scant oral evidence collected in Senegal, remains unconvincing for the early colonial period. Monique Chastanet (1983), who also concentrates on the Soninke and the economic decline of the Bakel area, examines reported incidents of famine from 1858 to 1945.⁴⁸ Relying on limited archival and oral data, Chastanet discusses methodological problems and lines of inquiry more effectively than the socio-economic history of Bakel and neighboring areas.

Curtin is also part of a debate revolving around the Jakhanke "merchant-clerics." In his treatment of the Jakhanke as a trading diaspora, Curtin views their commercial and religious roles as inseparable and stresses the advantages of fusing the two functions.⁴⁹ Lamin Sanneh, who studies the Jakhanke's own traditions, labels them a "clerical people," minimizing their commercial activities.⁵⁰ Thomas

Hunter, who examined the tarikhs or local histories of the Jakhanke, presents a view similar to Sanneh.⁵¹ Both Sanneh and Hunter contend that the Jakhanke dispersions resulted from a desire to maintain their religious purity and to avoid political and military involvement. Yet not all Jakhanke performed exclusively or even primarily religious functions. They were integrated into the regional economy and responded to changes in trading patterns. Curtin, relying on a greater variety of sources than Sanneh and Hunter, offers the more convincing, but not yet definitive, analysis.

In addition to historical studies, a sizable body of ethnographic and anthropological literature exists on the major ethnic groups in the region. The Fulbe, Soninke, Mandinka, Khassonke and Moors generally occupy large zones of the Western Sudan and Sahel of West Africa. Studies concerned with these groups, excepting the Khassonke, rarely focus specifically on the sub-groups resident in the upper Senegal valley. These works also tend to be ahistorical, written in an anthropological "eternal present," limiting their value to historians. The relevant literature on individual ethnic groups will be discussed in Chapter Two.

Despite the relatively abundant source material, the historiography of the upper Senegal remains weak and unevenly distributed. The region, particularly for the colonial period, has not received sufficient attention. The area's comparative inaccessibility (now divided between eastern Senegal and western Mali), its widely spread and ethnically diverse population, the absence of urban centers and modern communications and the area's general poverty have

discouraged sustained fieldwork. Perhaps more importantly, researchers have failed to appreciate the continuing political, military, economic and social significance of the upper Senegal valley from the beginnings of the French conquest to the end of World War One.

ENDNOTES

1. The most important archives are Archives nationales de la France, Section d'Outre-mer (Aix en Provence; hereafter ANF/SOM), Archives nationales du Sénégal (Dakar; hereafter, ANS), and Archives nationales du Mali (Bamako; hereafter, ANM). Other archives include the Archives diplomatiques (Paris; hereafter, AD); and the Service historique de l'Armée, Section d'Outre-mer (Château de Vincennes, Paris; hereafter, SHA/SOM).
2. This correspondence can be found primarily in the Archives nationales de la France, Section d'Outre-mer (ANF/SOM), formerly at Rue Oudinot in Paris and now in Aix-en-Provence. Additional correspondence is located in the Archives nationales du Sénégal (ANS), Dakar.
3. In the ANS, see the various files of correspondence in 136 (Sénégal) and 156 (Soudan). In the ANM, see 2E, Politique indigène.
4. This material is located in the Archives nationales du Sénégal (ANS) and the Archives nationales du Mali (ANM). The most relevant files for reports and correspondence from the posts and cercles are included in ANS 136 ("Affaires politiques, administratives et musulmans: Sénégal"), ANS 156 ("Affaires politiques, administratives et musulmans: Soudan"), ANM 1D ("Monographies-etudes-coutumiers"); ANM 1E ("Politique générale"), and ANM 2E ("Politique indigène.")
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10. This list excludes military campaigns. An asterisk indicates a published work, whereas all other works are from the archival files of ANS and ANM.

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CHAPTER TWO

The Regional Perspective

The Regional Framework and the Environment

The upper Senegal valley, centered on the Senegal River between approximately Bakel and Bafulabe, constitutes a unified ecological region. Beyond Bafulabe, situated at the limit of navigability, the Senegal River splits into two small affluents, the Bafing and the Bakoy. North and west of Bakel, the river flows into Futa Toro, the conventional middle valley, which has a drier climate, flatter terrain, diminished vegetation and more population density along the river than the upper valley. To the east of the upper Senegal, the Niger River system created its own distinct domain; to the west, the Gambia River formed the focus of another region. To the north stretched the Sahara Desert and, to the south, the Guinea rainforest formed a dramatically different environment.

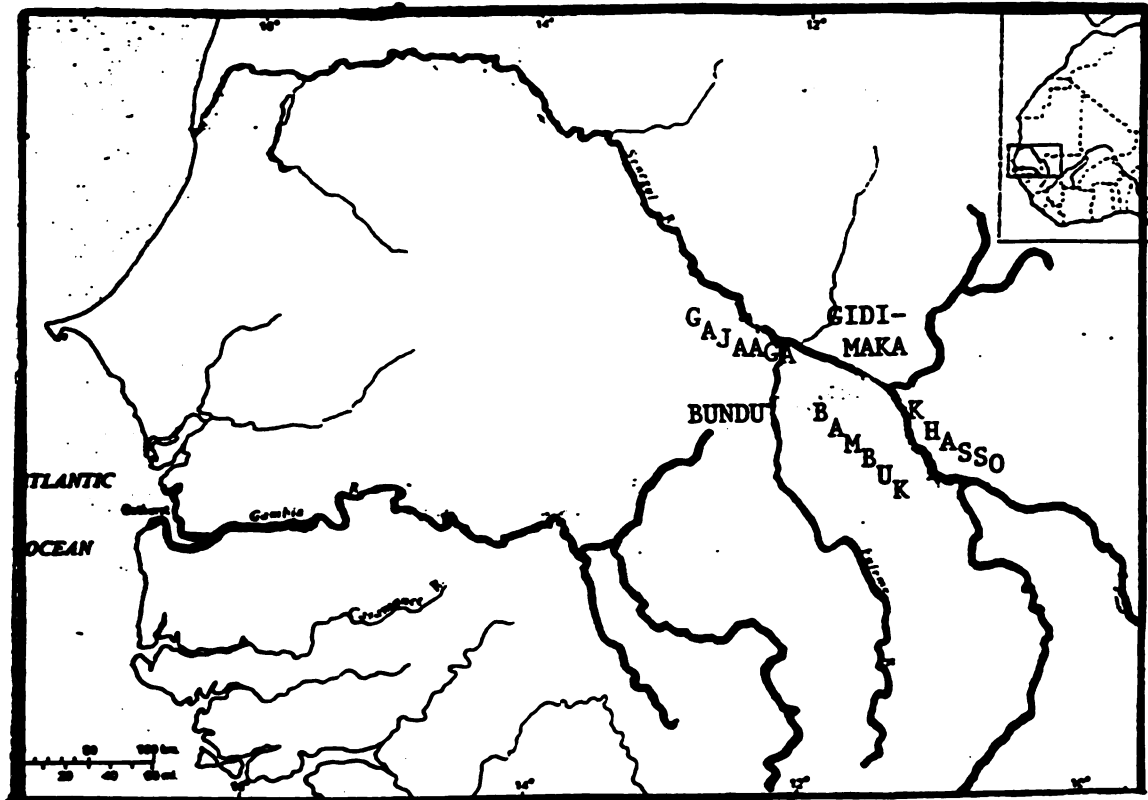


Figure 2
The Upper Senegal Valley

The upper Senegal, a transitional zone between desert and rainforest, consisted of dry savanna with rainy and dry seasons. The region, limited to the north by conditions too arid for cattle and to the south by tsetse fly breeding grounds, was suited for pastoralism. Millet and sorghum, the primary food crops, dominated agricultural production. Other major crops included maize, cotton, indigo and some rice cultivated along waterways. Though farmers in some localities grew significant quantities of groundnuts, the region lay east of Senegal's peanut basin, and most peanuts were consumed locally. The upper Senegal valley, sharing a common environment, effectively functioned as a distinct and generally uniform physical region.¹

A series of social and political formations interacted in the upper Senegal valley. The Fulbe and several Mande-speaking groups, consisting of the Soninke, Mandinka, Khassonke and Jakhanke, have dominated the region politically, economically and socially. These societies established and controlled the region's precolonial political formations, including Bambuk, Bundu, Gajaaga, Gidimaka and Khasso. Constant interaction over centuries and the multi-ethnic composition of polities contributed to the region's cultural homogeneity. Inhabitants were commonly bilingual or multilingual and often intermarried. The Khassonke, for example, trace their origins to the intermarriage of Fulbe and Mande. All the groups shared a common tripartite social structure: free-born, artisans and slaves. Each social formation also made similar distinctions within each group, recognizing a nobility among the free-born, dividing the artisan level by occupation and distinguishing between first and later generation slaves. While

distinct linguistic formations existed in the region, inhabitants' social identities had similar roots. The Fulbe and the Mande shared a fundamentally similar set of attitudes and beliefs shaped by comparable forces and circumstances. Islam in general and Sufi brotherhoods in particular functioned simultaneously as powerful unifying and distinguishing factors. Kinship played an equally significant and pervasive political, social, economic and ideological role. Kinship, like Islam, united and divided at the same time, broadly identifying and separating people into relatives (or believers) and outsiders (or "pagans").

Markedly different political and cultural patterns in northern and southern neighboring areas reinforced the sense of regional identity among groups in the upper valley. The Moors lived in the desert region north of the Senegal, spoke Arabic or Berber and practiced nomadic pastoralism. They worked in salt mines and collected gum arabic, occupations unknown to savanna people. With rare exceptions, interaction between the Moors and savanna dwellers rarely surpassed commercial transactions and raiding. The Moors' shifting confederations and coalitions bore no resemblance to the state structures of the Fulbe and Mande. The desert nomads' two-tiered social hierarchy, limited to free-born and non-Moor slaves, also differed from the common savanna pattern.² To the south, the egalitarian, non-Muslim and essentially "structureless" societies of the Bassari, Tenda and Coniagui in the upper Gambia formed a distinct amalgam. Living in small villages in the hills on the modern-day Senegal-Guinea border, they had virtually no direct contact with their northern and eastern neighbors. Their

languages, occupations and culture linked them with people in the Guinea forest zone rather than with the Muslims of the savanna.³ Finally, Futa Toro in the middle Senegal valley constituted a self-contained ecological, political and cultural unit.

It is difficult to define geographical and cultural boundaries to the east and west of the upper Senegal. The Wolof and Bambara who dominated areas adjacent to the region did share political, linguistic and social patterns with the Fulbe, Mandinka and Soninke. The Bambara formed part of the greater Mande social formation while Fulfulde, the language of the Fulbe, belonged to the West Atlantic family that also included Wolof and Serer. Similar social structures functioned and by the mid-nineteenth century, all groups were predominantly Muslim. Important distinctions existed, however, especially in political formations and economic and cultural spheres of influence.

The Wolof extended their hegemony over Atlantic coastal areas, yet had few political ties with polities in the interior of the Western Sudan and Sahel. Before the early nineteenth century, the number of Mande permanently in Wolof states remained minimal and few Wolof established themselves outside their homeland. The Wolof had early and continuous contact with Europeans and centered their commercial activities on maritime and river trade, particularly on the lower Senegal and Gambia Rivers.⁴

The Bambara controlled a vast area that included states along the eastern border of polities in the upper Senegal and once included most of Khasso. Karta, Segou and other Bambara-dominated formations in the east marked another sphere of economic and cultural influence. The

Bambara unified the area under their control, establishing commercial and social networks to connect the various parts of their state. The middle and upper Niger regions fell under the sway of the Bambara but most of the upper Senegal valley maintained its political and cultural independence.⁵

The Senegal River linked the area with the Atlantic Ocean and maritime, primarily European, trade. To a lesser extent, the Gambia River served a similar function, especially for the western part of the region. Economic historians in particular have viewed the lower, middle and upper Senegal and Gambia Rivers as demarcating specific trade zones. The emphasis on European contact and the Atlantic slave trade additionally contributed to this coastal bias. Finally, the focus on nationalist and political history has led scholars to partition the upper Senegal along colonial administrative lines. Rather than interregional connections, commentators have emphasized links between parts of the region with modern-day Senegal, Mauritania and Mali.⁶

From a contemporary European perspective, with its maritime emphasis, water arteries dominated an area's economy and society. The Senegal River's severe variations and limitations, discussed below, restricted interaction with coastal and lower valley areas. Though the river defined the region and operated as its economic focus, other forces emphatically shaped local patterns. The upper valley functioned as a desert-side region, linked to Sahelian and Sudanic history as well as Islamic civilization. The interaction with the desert and Islam antedated and more intensely affected local developments than European and coastal contact. Prior to the mid-nineteenth century, peripheral

European and maritime connections were limited to trade while fundamental ideological, social, political and economic influences originated in interior sections of the Sahel and Western Sudan. The Ghana, Mali and Songhai states, centered in the heart of the Sudanic belt, included parts or all of the upper Senegal, whereas no coastal power ever controlled the region. While important links undeniably existed, the upper Senegal valley shared more commonalities with areas to the east than with the rest of Senegambia.

Like other regions of the Western and Central Sudan, the upper Senegal receives seasonal but erratic rainfall. The rainy season generally lasts from June to early October, although the more southerly areas of Bundu and Bambuk have slightly longer growing periods. The dry season consists of a relatively cool harvest time (October to January) and a hot period (February to May). However, the amount and timing of precipitation during the growing cycle is more significant than the season's actual length. Average rainfall varies from approximately 600 millimeters in Gidimaka in the north to 750 millimeters at Bakel and Kayes to 1,200 mm. in southern portions of the region.⁷ Areas in similar latitudes receive roughly equal precipitation. Yet the amount of average annual rainfall alone does not indicate a sufficient growing season. The intensity and regularity of precipitation ultimately determines the quality of the season. Too much rain early in the period could mislead farmers to plant too hastily or wash away seeds, whereas an extended dry spell in the middle or heavy precipitation at the end of the season can damage certain crops. Localized storms or droughts sometimes ruin part of a single village's fields. Owing to extremely

localized conditions, a farmer with separate holdings under cultivation may have unequal harvests.

Besides variations within individual seasons, some scientists have noted sequences of wet and dry years in the West African savanna. In this century, four or five relatively wet years have generally followed a similar period of dry years. Scientists have also attempted to document long-term arid and wet phases. A dry cycle apparently started in the early seventeenth century and continued until approximately the 1860s, when rainfall gradually increased. The period from 1870 to 1920 falls into a long-term pluvial phase in western Africa.⁶ Historical climatology has failed to explain convincingly the reasons for these variations, but it is clear that shifts in short and long-term arid and humid cycles have significantly affected and altered the history of the Sahelian and Sudanic areas.

Variations in rainfall resulted in the practice of transhumant pastoralism, a pattern of seasonal movement of herds common in both the Western and Central Sudan.⁶ While limited to the south by the tse-tse fly zone, pastoralists in the upper Senegal had comparatively abundant uncultivated land, primarily to the north and east. In years of adequate precipitation, herders grazed and watered cattle away from settled areas for the duration of the rainy season. During the dry period, the water table level dropped too low for the use of traditional hand-dug wells, and pastoralists returned to surface-watered and cultivated areas. Their return often occurred precisely at harvest time, resulting in numerous conflicts between sedentary and transhumant people. When rainfall levels stayed low, pastoralists

curtailed the distance and length of their temporary migrations, much to the dismay of unprepared agriculturalists. Extensive brush fires at the onset of the dry season frequently destroyed pastures, forcing herders to return unusually early to shared water sources.

Competition and cooperation characterized the relations between agricultural and pastoral workers.¹⁰ Competition grew out of limited resources, whereas specialized production necessitated cooperation. Conflicts resulted in raids and minor disputes rather than outright warfare which would have drastically curtailed specialized exchange. Herders provided milk, meat and hides to farmers in exchange for grains and cloth.¹¹ While Moors and Fulbe comprised the greatest number of pastoralists, not all members of these groups practiced pastoralism predominantly. Sedentary peoples frequently owned livestock and participated in some pastoral activities. Sedentary and nomadic ecologies overlapped as did the categories of agriculturalist and pastoralist, which ranged from purely pastoral to exclusively agricultural, although the majority of people practiced some form of mixed farming. During the rainy season, select family members moved with large herds, while the rest of the family worked in agriculture. Other individual farmers, families or villages contracted with a herder to tend their cattle seasonally or year-round. The precarious nature of both herding and agriculture in the region led to the diversification of labor and investment.

The seasonal and cyclical nature of precipitation also affects the Senegal River which originates with the meeting of the Bakoy (or Badie in some sources) and the Bafing Rivers at Bafulabe (Mali). The Bafing,

the larger of the two permanent tributaries and the principal supplier of the Senegal, rises in the Futa Jalon highlands of Guinea. The rainy season there, averaging 2,500 millimeters annually, lasts from mid-May to early November, causing the Senegal River north of Bafulabe to enlarge in June and to recede in late November. In the upper Senegal valley, the river's maximum height coincides with the growing season. The river flows north through Futa Toro and then west, reaching the Atlantic Ocean near Saint Louis. During its 1,790 kilometer arc from rainforest to savanna to the coast, several affluents empty into the Senegal. Among these, the Faleme River, almost four hundred kilometers in length, also has a source in Futa Jalon and depends on seasonal rainfall. It flows into the left bank of the Senegal River about twenty kilometers south of Bakel. Another tributary, the Kolombine, sometimes called the Konyakary or the Kafing, begins in the plateau area north of Karta (Mali) and joins the Senegal's right bank just south of Medine.¹²

The Gambia River and its two main tributaries also figured in the regional ecology. The river rises in Futa Jalon and travels north and then west, receiving only a few affluents in its upper valley. These include the Niokolakoba and the Nieriko, both of which flow in from the east, making the Gambia accessible by water to Bundu. The river then flows westward, emptying into the Atlantic Ocean 850 kilometers from its source. It is a tidal river to the Barrakunda Falls, about five hundred kilometers east from the ocean, which blocked continuous navigation.¹³

The periodic overflows of the Senegal River system permit extensive flood recession agriculture. In the floodplain, farmers sow

several varieties which mature later than normal crops, augmenting productivity per capita and insuring some harvest even if local rains fail. Because standard crops depend on local precipitation and the floodwaters rely on considerably more southerly rains, riverine areas doubled chances for an adequate harvest. Though some land floods every year, the actual extent varies from season to season. Given the flat terrain of the river valley, a few inches difference in river levels substantially affects the amount of land covered, with the desirability of land calculated by its proximity to the river and the likelihood of its flooding regularly.¹⁴ On a smaller scale, wetlands cultivation also occurs along the Faleme and Kolombine Rivers and beside some of the streams in the region.

In addition to affecting agricultural and pastoral production, precipitation and water levels influenced river commerce in the upper Senegal. From approximately June 15 to October 15, boats up to 6,000 tons could generally navigate the 952 kilometers from Saint Louis to Kayes. In July and August, vessels up to 10,000 tons could also make the journey while steamers (bateaux à vapeur) up to 2,000 tons could only accomplish the trip in August.¹⁵ All large boats had to return to Saint Louis well in advance of the dry season to avoid running aground. During the remainder of the year, only much smaller boats, usually local pirogues (or dug-outs), could operate in the upper Senegal. By April and May, much of the river system was reduced to a mere trickle, eliminating any type of water transport. The Felu Falls, four kilometers south of Medine, prevented further navigation up the Senegal.¹⁶ The Faleme River was navigable from the Senegal River to

Senudebu only in the rainy season, and upstream it contained too many rocks and shallow stretches to allow any sizable vessels. River commerce peaked during the growing season. By harvest time, however, river levels fell too low to permit export, creating storage and preservation problems. All products imported by river during the rainy season had to be stored for distribution throughout the year.

Overland commerce also faced obstacles owing to the climate and environment. During the rainy season, land travel was difficult: flooded streams prevented passage, while dense vegetation impeded commerce in other areas. In the dry season, lack of water sources hindered large caravans, particularly in the Sahelian portions of the region. Traders and merchants in the upper Senegal had to overcome serious problems caused by the environment in both land and water transportation throughout the year.

The climate of a region dictates its disease environment which, in turn, demonstrably influences its economy and society.¹⁷ The growing season in the upper Senegal and throughout the Sudanic belt of Africa coincided with the "hungry season." The price of subsistence grains like millet and sorghum doubled or even tripled as people's supplies from the previous harvest dwindled or, in difficult years, disappeared. The period of most intensive agricultural and pastoral labor coexisted with the months of greatest malnutrition and, consequently, disease. Other factors also contributed to a rise in sickness during the growing season. Surface water afforded ample breeding grounds for infected mosquitos and flies which transmitted malaria, yellow fever and onchocerciasis (river blindness). Schistosomiasis, acquired from

contaminated water, obviously posed an increased health risk during the rains. These diseases caused serious and prolonged debilitation and, in malnourished populations, frequently proved fatal. Endemic throughout the year, these illnesses were particularly virulent and prevalent along the Senegal River and its affluents.^{1 a}

The Human Environment: Political and Social Formations

The upper Senegal valley consisted of numerous and diverse social and political formations. No people or state controlled the entire region. No state contained only one social formation or possessed an exclusive "ethnic" identity, although particular groups established and dominated specific political structures. The Fulbe in Bundu, the Soninke in Gajaaga and Gidimaka, the Mandinka in Bambuk and the Khassonke in Khasso constituted the primary social and political formations in their respective areas. The Idawaish Moors also figured prominently in the regional political economy. Though several other minor groups and nominally independent states also existed in the area, they depended upon the larger political and social entities.

The early ethnographic literature on the upper Senegal includes several general works on some or all of the major ethnic groups. Among the contemporary, encyclopedic accounts, Abbé Pierre Boilat (1853),

Frédéric Carrère and Paul Holle (1855) and Laurent Béranger-Feraud (1879), primarily concerned with recognizable states and their relevance to French interests at Saint Louis, describe physical attributes and the "quaint ways" of individual peoples. More astute observers like Anne Raffenel (1844; 1856) and Louis Faidherbe (1856; 1889) also attempt to depict less tangible aspects of the varied groups, including beliefs, attitudes and levels of "development." These outsiders based their speculations on preconceived notions of religion, progress and civilization, revealing more about European epistemologies than African realities. All the early written accounts and the infrequent pertinent archives suffer from racist stereotypes, gross over-generalizations and uncritical use of written and oral sources. Nineteenth-century Europeans defined ethnicity in terms of languages and "nationalities," seeking familiar distinctions and categories in other parts of the world.¹⁰

Among early commentators, Maurice Delafosse (1912), though hardly an objective observer, gives the most substantial discussion of the mythical origins, locations and distinguishing features of major linguistic groups in the upper Senegal and Niger valleys. His descriptions, based indiscriminantly on oral traditions and foreigners' conjectures, reflect his interests in physical anthropology, ethnography and linguistics. Delafosse's amateur classifications remained standard until the 1950s when anthropologists began to conduct serious field research in West Africa.

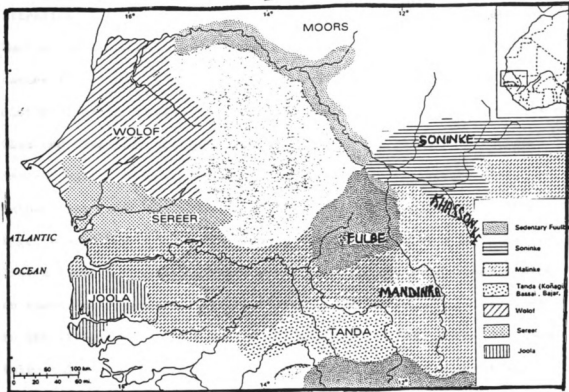


Figure 3
Ethnographic Map of Senegal
 [adapted from Curtin, Economic Change in Precolonial Africa.]

The Fulbe and Bundu

The Fulbe, one of the most sizable populations and easily the largest pastoral group in West Africa, have received extensive attention in the literature. However, arbitrary distinctions between Muslim and non-Muslim and between sedentary and nomadic Fulbe have caused variations in terminology and some confusion as has their distribution in the Sahel and savanna zones from southern Mauritania to Chad and Cameroun. All Fulbe speak Fulfulde, and those in the upper Senegal valley refer to themselves as Haalpulaar'en (speakers of Pulaar, the local dialect of Fulfulde). English observers in northern Nigeria used the Hausa term, Fulani, while ethnographers in Gambia and Sierra Leone borrowed the Mande word, Fula. Consequently, people with an essentially similar language, identity and social structure appear in the literature under a variety of names.²⁰ In this study, the term Fulbe (sing., pullo) will be used to describe all groups speaking Fulfulde, and any subdivisions (e.g., Futanke for the Fulbe of Futa Toro or Bundunke for those of Bundu) will be noted.

Nineteenth-century French ethnographers divided Haalpulaar'en into Toucouleurs (or Tukolors) originally from Futa Toro, and Peuls (or Peuhls) consisting of Fulbe from other areas. By the mid-nineteenth century, Toucouleur had become the standard designation for Fulbe whom the French considered to be "Muslim fanatics," openly hostile to European commercial and military activity and in favor of the establishment and maintenance of an Islamic state. In the 1850s, Al-Hajj Umar Tal of Futa Toro, given his tense relations with the French

and his call to jihad, contributed to this stereotypical image. The Toucouleur were contrasted with the seemingly more docile and cooperative Peuls and Mande-speakers, including the Soninke, Mandinka and Khassonke. The late-nineteenth century rebellions of Mamadu Lamine who was Soninke and Samori Ture, a Mandinka, revealed the inaccuracy of this artificial generalization.²¹

Fulbe myths of origin reflect the division of the social structure into free-born, artisan and servile levels. While the Fulbe shared this tripartite hierarchy with neighboring savanna groups, further distinctions existed within each status. The free-born consisted of nobles and, in Bundu, relatives of the almany (or ruler), and the remainder of the "pure" Fulbe. Artisans belonged to specialized, hereditary, endogamous, occupational groups, including ironworkers, silver and gold smiths, woodworkers, leatherworkers and entertainers. Slaves consisted of non-Fulbe acquired through capture or purchase and those "born in the house," meaning second or later generation slaves. Status, hereditary and irrevocable, did not determine or limit a person's economic position in society, even though rigid political, ideological and social restrictions clearly existed and operated.

Oral traditions suggest that Futanke, or Fulbe emigrants from Futa Toro, led by a Muslim cleric named Malik Sy, established the alamate of Bundu at the end of the seventeenth century.²² Sparsely settled by a mixture of Mandinka, Soninke and indigenous Fulbe, the relatively large land mass of Bundu consisted of the dry savanna area south of the Ferlo desert and west of the Faleme River. Several smaller states separated the alamate from Futa Jalon to the south. Malik Sy, whose leadership

rested primarily on religious prestige, took the title of almany as did his descendants. Theoretically, power alternated between the Bulebane and Kussan branches of the Sissibe lineage, with the succession passing from elder to younger brothers before returning to the eldest son of the eldest brother. By the 1840s, however, the Bulebane house, led by Almany Saada Sy, had allied with the Massassi Bambara of Karta and the increasingly visible French who built a fort at Sendudebu in 1845. When Saada died in late 1851, the Bulebane branch, confident of its alliances, refused to relinquish the leadership to Kussan, igniting a devastating civil war.

In addition to the ruling Futanke, Bundu contained a number of other Pulaar and Mande-speaking groups. Indigenous Fulbe belonged to numerous smaller subdivisions, including the Guirobe and Fadube in the east, the Haminabe concentrated in the west, the Fulabe in the north, and the Fulbe Futa or Jallonke, originally from Futa Jalon, who predominated in the south. Throughout the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, Bundu functioned as a refuge for people from other areas. Several large Soninke villages were established in Bundu, particularly in the east near Gajaaga and the Senegal River. A large Mandinka population inhabited a number of settlements, most notably near the Faleme River and Bambuk. Scattered throughout Bundu along major trade routes were a series of Jakhanke commercial and religious communities. A few predominantly Wolof, Khassonke and Bambara settlements contributed to the heterogeneity of Bundu's population in the mid-nineteenth century. However, despite this mixture, Bundu retained its Muslim Fulbe identity.²²

The Soninke of Gajaaga and Gidimaka

The Soninke heartland, primarily limited to an area of cultivable savanna along the desert fringe, occupied approximately eight hundred kilometers from the upper Senegal to the Niger bend. In the upper Senegal, the Soninke, also called the Serawoolies, Saracolets, Sarakholles and Marka, inhabited and dominated the states of Gajaaga (or Galam) and Gidimaka.²⁴ The Soninke had ruled the empire of Ghana (called Wagadu in indigenous traditions), the first known major state in the Western Sudan. The empire's decline in the late-eleventh century caused a Soninke diaspora, particularly of clerics and merchants, resulting in the formation of the Jakhanke, Gajaaga Soninke and the Juula (Dyula). However, the majority of Soninke remained in the transitional zone between the Sahara Desert and the Sudanic belt. Predominantly agriculturalists, they also engaged extensively and profitably in commerce, benefitting from the symbiotic relationship between the desert and savanna economies and the proximity of the Senegal River. The Soninke converted relatively early to Islam; in some places, the word "Saracolet" became synonymous with "marabout" (or religious teacher). According to traditions, the Soninke, though sharing the tripartite social division of other savanna peoples, contained a separate category of mercenaries and warriors who captured the slaves used by merchants and agriculturalists. The Soninke constituted a significant and integral component of the greater Mande social formation that, along with the Fulbe, dominated the middle and upper Senegal and Niger River valleys before the arrival of the French.

In the upper Senegal valley, the Soninke established two distinct political entities, Gajaaga on the Senegal River's left bank (now divided between eastern Senegal and western Mali) and Gidimaka on the right bank (in southeastern Mauritania and north-western Mali).²⁵ Gajaaga, which once controlled both Gidimaka and Bundu, stretched for eighty kilometers along the Senegal River. The Faleme River divided the province into upper and lower portions named Kamera and Goy which frequently quarrelled and operated independently. Owing to their riverine location, the Soninke of Gajaaga participated actively in commerce, most notably in gold from Bambuk directly to the south, in gum arabic with the Idawaish Moors to the north and in the trans-Atlantic slave trade. Frequent local and regional conflicts provided a steady flow of captives for export. The king or tunka belonged to the Bathily family that originated from the village of Tuabo. A dozen villages on the Senegal, dominated by Muslim cleric lineages, traditionally maintained autonomy from the secular government. These "maraboutic" villages were larger than other settlements in the province and contained considerably more slaves.²⁶ In addition, a group of Wolof refugees settled at the site of Bakel and negotiated a similar autonomy; their presence was a principal factor in the French decision to construct a fortified post there in 1820.²⁷

By the 1830s, competing branches of the Bathily lineage fought for the central office of tunka. As a result, the eldest male from a preordained list of six towns became ruler. This system quickly broke down, in large part because of competition for increased profits from the rapidly expanding "legitimate" commerce, mainly in gum arabic. The

French took advantage of the power vacuum and officially split the area into its two traditional parts- upper Gajaaga or Kamara south of the Faleme River, and lower Gajaaga or Goy (also spelt Goye or Goi) on the northern side of the river. Goy included Bakel, the region's major trading center by 1850.

If Gajaaga occupied a central place in the precolonial history of the upper Senegal region, Gidimaka operated on the periphery. The Soninke lived and farmed only in the comparatively secure and well-watered southwestern portion of the province. In both Gajaaga and Gidimaka, wetlands cultivation along the Senegal River accounted for a large proportion of total agricultural production. Primarily engaged in the gum trade and specialized exchange with the Moors, the Gidimaka Soninke did not benefit from the gold and slave traffic centered on the left bank of the Senegal. No effective central power existed, although theoretically, a tunka from the Kamara family ruled with a council of notables representing the most important lineages. Moorish incursions, particularly in the north, frequently disrupted trade and production, and Gajaaga residents cultivated extensive areas of Gidimaka. When the French arrived in the mid-nineteenth century, the province consisted of dispersed, independent settlements which offered no sustained resistance.

The Mandinka Formations

Like the Soninke, the Mandinka of the upper Senegal belong to the widely dispersed greater Mande social formation. The Mande, also referred to as the Malinke, Mandinko and Mandingue, occupied both savanna and forest zones of West Africa and dominated several precolonial states, including the empire of Mali.²⁸ Centered in the upper Niger savanna, the empire expanded north toward the desert and west toward the Atlantic, eventually controlling a vast area stretching from the mouths of the Senegal and Gambia Rivers to beyond the middle Niger delta. Mande speakers spread throughout the forest and savanna zones of West Africa, establishing new communities in supposedly uninhabited areas or negotiating to live among previously settled groups. Predominantly agriculturalists, the Mande hunted extensively and also engaged in iron and gold mining in mountainous places like Bure and Bambuk. The Mande social structure mirrored that of the Soninke and Fulbe; however, the Mande emphasized initiations into occupational and age associations. These ceremonies continued even after the comparatively late conversion to Islam of the majority of the Mande. Numerous groups, including the Mandinka of Bambuk, did not become Muslim until at least the late nineteenth century.

Located between the Bafing and Faleme affluents of the Senegal River, Bambuk consisted of numerous dispersed settlements with no central political authority.²⁹ Local traditions cite the Cissoko lineage, originally from the area near Kita (western Mali), as the first Mandinka rulers of Bambuk. Other lineages sought the Cissokos'

permission to establish villages. Each settlement had its own hereditary chief and complete autonomy, although a loose "confederation" developed, mainly to insure cooperation against raids from centralized adjacent states like Bundu. Mountainous terrain isolated and further protected the uniformly small villages, predominantly Mandinka and often including refugee slaves.

The most famous refugee slave haven in Bambuk, Farabanna, had a reputation for being entirely populated by runaway slaves from Bundu and Khasso. After a series of wars in the 1820s with neighboring Bambuk communities, Bundu and Khasso, the chief of Farabanna promised freedom to any slave who sought refuge in the severely depopulated settlement. The runaways had to work in mining and agriculture for the village chief for five years before obtaining their freedom. The rulers of Bundu and Khasso constantly tried to reclaim their slaves, initially through force and then, with the establishment of French control, by diplomatic means. Farabanna functioned as a "safety valve" for slaves in the area and threatened an important source of wealth for the ruling families of Bundu and Khasso.³⁰

Surface gold mining compensated for Bambuk's limited agricultural potential and also attracted the notice of Europeans who failed several times to improve on indigenous extraction methods. Several visitors erroneously described Bambuk as a series of independent "republics" living in a state of complete anarchy, a striking example of applying Western concepts uncritically to African realities.³¹ Bambuk, with its unique political and social formations, proved especially difficult for the French to understand and control.

Another Mande-speaking group, the Khassonke, dominated the pivotal state of Khasso, situated at the limit of navigability on the upper Senegal River.³² Surrounded by larger Soninke, Bambara and Mandinka populations and states, the Khassonke managed to retain their linguistic and cultural independence. Unlike the Fulbe and other Mande groups, the Khassonke lived almost exclusively in one state, Khasso, also known as Kasson or Xasso. In the sixteenth century, a group of Fulbe from Bakhunu in the Sahel, led by members of the Diallo lineage, reportedly migrated to the right bank of the upper Senegal River. According to traditions, these Fulbe intermarried with the resident Mande, assimilated their language and, by the seventeenth century, had created a state based on agriculture, pastoralism and some commerce. Khasso's location at the crossroads of the upper Senegal, the Sahel and the savanna zone contributed to a constant influx of Fulbe, Mandinka and Soninke. Fulbe and Mande influences predominated. Although the Khassonke developed their own distinct language, most also have fluency in Pulaar and/or Mandinka. Khassonke social structure contained the three main divisions already cited for Fulbe and other Mande groups: free-born, artisans and slaves. Within the free-born category, descendants of the ruling Diallo lineage comprised a nobility. Oral traditions insist on the influential role of Fulbe from Bundu and Futa Jalon in addition to Soninke and Jakhanke merchants in converting the Khassonke to Islam.

Considerably smaller than nearby states, Khasso barely maintained its independence in the face of both internal and external threats. Numerous succession struggles in the eighteenth century disrupted and

weakened central political power, ultimately creating several competing chiefdoms. Those lineages who identified with the Fulbe established close ties with the ruling Sy family of Bundu and intermarriages between royal families often occurred. Within Khasso itself, shifting alliances and constant raiding contributed to the area's instability and deterioration. At the turn of the nineteenth century, when the Massassi Bambara of Karta exerted their control over right bank settlements, descendants of the original ruling lineage fled to the left bank, an area centered on Medine. The nearly simultaneous arrival in the 1850s of the French and Umarians began a period of even more intense upheaval in Khasso.

It is appropriate to mention here the unusual network of Mande-speaking scholars, merchants and farmers called the Jakhanke. After the decline of Ghana/Wagadu, this group established specialized commercial and religious settlements throughout the upper Senegal, particularly in Bundu. Linguistically part of the Mandinka, the Jakhanke's similar origins, profession and allegiance to Islam and mercantile orientation linked them closely together, even over long distances.³³ As discussed in Chapter One, not all historians completely accept indigenous traditions describing the Jakhanke as exclusively religious communities seeking to preserve their identity and piety with minimal commercial involvement. Though lacking any formal, centralized political authority, the Jakhanke trading diaspora functioned effectively and continuously throughout numerous local and regional upheavals. The Jakhanke of Bundu in particular maintained close ties with the Gajaaga Soninke and likewise benefitted from the flow of gold and slaves from

the southern forest zone through Bundu to the Senegal River. The Jakhanke rejected political and military involvement, remaining neutral in disputes which permitted them to continue without interruption their mercantile activities. They shared the common Mande social structure, including large numbers of agricultural slaves. In the early 1800s, the Jakhanke networks on the Gambia and Senegal Rivers maintained close ties. This system, however, deteriorated in the late 1840s and early 1850s because of the civil wars in Bundu and Gajaaga, French expansion in the upper Senegal valley and the Umarian jihad.

The Idawaish Moors

Most of the literature on Saharan groups focuses on the Tuaregs whereas much less attention has been given to the Moors of the western Sahel.³⁴ The Moors had linguistic, political and social structures quite distinct from other groups in sub-Saharan Africa. Their linguistic affinities linked them with Berber and Arabic-speaking peoples of the Sahara and North Africa rather than the West Atlantic and Mande languages of the Niger-Congo family. Numerous divisions, usually designated "tribes" or clans by commentators, existed within the three primary confederations (sometimes called "nations") that lived north of the Senegal River. In the French ethnographic literature, the three dominant confederations were conventionally paired with a particular Senegambian region. The Trarza and Brakna

Moors interacted with states in the lower and middle Senegal valleys respectively while the Idawaish Moors operated on the upper Senegal. Moorish social structure contained two levels: free and servile. Artisans, who formed a separate category among savanna peoples, occupied a servile position in Moorish society. Linguistic, ethnic and occupational distinctions rigorously demarcated free-born and slaves. Among the free-born, certain groups constituted "maraboutic" lineages, creating a quasi-nobility. Islam exerted a pervasive and profound influence on all aspects of Moorish life.

Originally from the Tagant plateau area in central Mauritania, the Idawaish retained control of their homeland throughout the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. The Idawaish focused their attention on the Tagant and Adrar regions, far removed from the upper Senegal. However, they exercised hegemony over northern Gidimaka and dominated the supply side of the critically important salt and gum trade of the upper Senegal region. Within the Idawaish confederation, several lineages competed for political and commercial superiority over the transitional desert-savanna zone. In the early nineteenth century, two dominant coalitions emerged. Bakar ould Soueid Ahmed ruled the Abakak or Tagant contingent which controlled the salt mines. Ould Moktar reigned over the Sidi-Mahmoud or Chrattit coalition which spent part of the dry season with its herds in Gidimaka. Even after Bakar and Moktar signed treaties of commerce and friendship with the French, conflicts continued between and within the two coalitions. Non-Idawaish confederations posed a constant threat to Tagant and to upper Senegal trade routes well after French "pacification" of the region.

Other Social Formations

Traders from Saint Louis, primarily Wolof though including some Futanke, lived in the region, usually in the larger commercial centers of Bakel, Medine and, later, Kayes. Wolof refugees established Bakel and, even after French annexation, played an important role in its politics and society. Some of the Wolof and Futanke were farmers, but the vast majority participated actively in local, regional and long-distance trade. Saint Louisian merchants filled highly visible middleman positions in the gum arabic trade with the Moors along the Senegal River. In addition, European trading companies recruited workers in Saint Louis and assigned them upriver to manage branch offices.

Bambara merchants, sometimes referred to as the Marka, concentrated on the lucrative commerce between the upper Senegal and the middle Niger delta in general and Segou in particular. While the Marka did not dominate any political formation in the region, they were closely allied with the Massassi Bambara of Karta who controlled most of Khasso in the early nineteenth century. Like the Saint Louisians, the Marka exerted an economic influence disproportionate to their numbers. They frequently set up small enclaves in the major towns and established the largest and most active daily and weekly markets in the region.

ENDNOTES

1. On the ecology of the Senegal River valley in general, see Curtin Economic Change in Precolonial Africa (1975). Other relevant works include Paul Pelissier, Les paysans du Sénégal: les civilisations agraires du Cador à la Casamance (Saint-Yrieux, 1966), and R.J. Harrison Church, West Africa: A Study of the Environment and of Man's Use of It (London, 1975). On the upper Senegal valley in particular, see Bathily, "Imperialism and Colonial Expansion in Senegal" (1975), and idem, "Guerriers, tributaires et marchands" (1985), Cissoko, Contribution à l'histoire politique du Khasso (1985); P. Bradley, et al., The Guidimaka Region of Mauritania (London, 1977), and Chastanet, "Les crises de subsistance" (1983). On the Soudan in particular, see Jacques Meniaud, Haut-Sénégal-Niger: géographie économique (Paris, 1912). Other full-length regional studies concerned with West Africa include Stephen Baier, An Economic History of Central Niger (London, 1980), Richard Roberts, "The Maraka and the Economy of the Middle Niger Valley, 1790-1908," Ph.D. thesis, (University of Toronto, 1978), and idem, Warriors, Merchants and Slaves: The State and the Economy in the Middle Niger Valley, 1700-1914 (Stanford, 1987). A useful article on the Central Sudan is Paul Lovejoy and S. Baier, "The Desert-Side Economy of the Central Sudan," International Journal of African Historical Studies 8 (1975). For a brief introduction to the influence of geography on West African history, see P.Curtin, et al. African History (1978), pp. 76-9, and also Hopkins, An Economic History of West Africa (1975), pp. 15-21.

2. On the Moors, see Curtin, Economic Change (1975), and Charles Stewart, Islam and Social Order in Mauritania (Oxford, 1973). Further citations will be given later in this chapter on the section specifically concerned with the Idawaish Moors.

3. On the Bassari and Coniagui, see M. de Lestrangé, Les Coniagui et les Bassari (Paris, 1955).

4. The history of the Wolof in Senegal is quite extensive. Examples include Boubacar Barry, Le royaume du Walo, 1659-1859 (Paris, 1972), and idem, "Economic Anthropology of Precolonial Senegambia from the Fifteenth through the Nineteenth Centuries," in L. Colvin, et al. (eds.), The Uprooted of the Western Sahel (New York, 1981), Jean Boulegue, Le grand Jolof (Paris, 1987), Eumice Charles, Precolonial Senegal: The Jolof Kingdom, 1800-1890 (Boston, 1977), Donal Cruise O'Brien, The Mourides of Senegal (Oxford, 1971), and idem, Saints and Politicians (London, 1975). On Wolof social structure, see Abdoulaye-Bara. Diop, La société wolof: tradition et changement (Paris, 1981). On slavery among the Wolof, see Martin Klein, "Servitude among the Wolof and Serer of Senegambia," in S. Miers and I. Kopytoff (eds.), Slavery in Africa (Madison, 1977).

5. On the Bambara, see the various works already cited by C. Monteil and R. Roberts. Other relevant works include Louis Tauxier, Histoire des Bambara (Paris, 1942), Jean Bazin, "Guerre et servitude à Ségou," in C. Meillassoux (ed.), L'Esclavage en Afrique précoloniale (Paris, 1975), and idem, "A chacun son Bambara," in J.-L. Amselle and E. M'Bokolo (eds.), Au coeur de l'ethnie (Paris, 1985).

6. The coastal bias of economic history in West Africa is treated by John Flint and Ann McDougall, "Economic Change in West Africa in the Nineteenth Century," in J. Ajayi and M. Crowder (eds.), History of West Africa, Vol. II (1987). For examples of the division of the upper Senegal along colonial borders, see Gerti Hessler, Histoire politique du Sénégal (Paris, 1985), and Gellar, Structural Changes and Colonial Dependency (1976). For an overview of Senegalese historiography, see Mohammed MBodj and Mamadou Diouf, "Senegalese Historiography: Present Practices and Future Perspectives," in B. Jewsiewicki and D. Newbury (eds.), African Historiographies (London, 1986), and M. Klein, "The Development of Senegalese Historiography," in Jewsiewicki and Newbury (eds.), African Historiographies.

7. These figures are based on those forwarded by Pelissier, Les paysans du Sénégal, pp. 8-9, Curtin, Economic Change, Ada Cavazzani, La Région de Kayes (Mali) (Rome, 1985), Bradley, The Region of Gidimaka, and Chastanet, "Les crises de subsistance." The traditional divisions of the ecological zones of West Africa are the Sahel (areas receiving less than 700 mm of rainfall annually), the Sudanic zone (areas receiving from 700 mm to 1,300 mm rainfall annually), the pre-Guinean zone (rainfall between 1,300 mm to 1,500 mm annually), and the Guinean zone (areas receiving more than 1,500 mm rainfall annually).

8. This discussion is based on George Brooks, "A Provisional Schema for Western Africa," CEA (1986). Curtin, Economic Change, pp. 16-7, offers slightly different long-term periods.

9. On transhumant pastoralism as practiced by the Fulbe of West Africa, see Derrick Stenning, Savanna Nomads (London, 1959), and idem, "Transhumance, Migratory Drift and Migration: Patterns of Pastoral Nomadism of the Fulani," in S. and P. Ottenberg (eds.), Cultures and Societies of Africa (New York, 1960). See also Marguerite Dupire, Organisation sociale des Peul (Paris, 1970). On pastoralism in Senegal, see C. Ba, Les Peuls du Sénégal (Dakar, 1986). For Mali (French Soudan), see C. Pierre and C. Monteil, L'Elevage au Soudan (Paris, 1905).

10. This point is emphasized by Curtin, Economic Change, p. 5. For case studies on the interaction of Fulbe pastoralists and agriculturalists, see M. Adamu and Kirk-Greene (eds.), Pastoralists of the West African Savanna (Manchester, 1986).

11. Specialized exchange in the Western and Central Sudan is treated in Baier, An Economic History of Central Niger, Lovejoy and Baier, "The Desert-Side Economy," Roberts, "Long-Distance Trade and Production:

Sinsani in the Nineteenth Century," JAH 21 (1980), idem, "Linkages and Multiplier Effects in the Ecologically Specialized Trade of Precolonial West Africa," CEA 20 (1980), and idem, Warriors, Merchants and Slaves.

12. Sources on the hydrology of the Senegal River and its tributaries include B. Barry, "Le destin des hommes du fleuve Sénégal du xvème au xxème siècle," Historiens-géographes du Sénégal 2 (1987), J.E. Braouezec, "L'hydrographie du Sénégal et nos relations avec les populations riveraines," Revue maritime et coloniale 1-2 (1861), Curtin, Economic Change, and Delafosse, Haut-Sénégal-Niger, Vol. I (1912). Most early explorers in the region discuss the river system. In the archives, see ANS 1G 41, ANM 1D 74, 121 and 223. The Revue coloniale and its variously named successors contain numerous articles on the hydrology of the Senegal River system.

13. On the Gambia River, see Harry Gailey, A History of the Gambia (New York, 1965), J. Gray, A History of the Gambia (London, 1940), and Charlotte Quinn, Mandingo Kingdoms of the Senegambia (Evanston, 1972). Curtin, Economic Change, p. 28 also discusses the Gambia River.

14. On wetlands cultivation, see Bradley, The Region of Gidimaka, Chastanet, "Les crises de subsistance," and Curtin, Economic Change, pp. 17-8.

15. These weights and times of year are compiled from those given in C. Monteil, "La remontée du Sénégal en chaland," p. 1203. See also Exposition universelle de 1900: Sénégal-Soudan (Paris, 1900), pp. 110-5. Specific information is also given in monthly reports found throughout the archives in both the ANS and ANM.

16. On the Felou Falls, see P. Hair, "The Falls of Felou: A Bibliographic Exploration," History in Africa (1984).

17. On the role of disease in African history, the classic work is Gerald Hartwig and David Patterson (eds.), Disease in African History (Durham, 1978). For a bibliographic essay, see D. Patterson, "Disease and Medicine in African History: A Bibliographic Essay," History in Africa (1974).

18. On the disease environment of Senegal, see R. Menes, Syncretism: The Dynamics of Health (XIX: Senegal), Washington, DC: 1976. For an example of the impact of disease on French colonial policy, see W. Cohen, "Malaria and French Imperialism," JAH (1983). In the archives see ANS: H (Santé) and ANM: 1H (Santé).

19. On the question of ethnicity in West Africa, see J.L. Anselme and E. M'Bokolo (eds.), Au coeur de l'ethnie (Paris, 1985).

20. For a list of names used in various parts of West Africa for the Fulbe, see T. Diallo, Les institutions politiques du Fouta Djallon (1972), p. 26. Curtin, Economic Change, pp. 18-9, also discusses the variations in terminology.

21. On the dichotomy of Toucouleur and Peul in the French canon, see D. Robinson, The Holy War of Umar Tal (1985), Chapters 2 and 4 (esp. pp. 82, 143-4 and 214). See also Robinson, "Ethnography and Customary Law in Senegal," paper presented to the Joint Stanford-Emory Conference on 'Law in Colonial Africa', 7-9 April 1988. See also Robinson, "French 'Islamic' Policy and Practice in Late Nineteenth-Century Senegal," JAH 29 (1988).

22. On Bundu history, see Emile Roux, Notice historique sur le Boundou, and André Rançon, Le Boundou. See also L. Flize, "Le Boundou," Moniteur du Sénégal 37 (December, 1856). This piece is reprinted in the Revue coloniale 17 (1857). Another late nineteenth century piece on Bundu history is J.J. Lamartiny, Etudes africaines: le Boundou et le Bambouc (Paris, 1884). F. Carrère and P. Holle, De la Sénégambie française, provide a brief overview of Bundu history. For a different perspective, see Shaikh Musa Kamara, Zuhur (I: folios 147-57) as well as M. N'Diaye's translation, "Histoire du Boundou," (1975). See also M. Gomez, "Malik Sy, Bokar Saada, and the Almagate of Bundu," idem, "The Problem with Malik Sy and the Foundation of Bundu," CEA 25 (1985), and idem, "Bundu in the Eighteenth Century," IJAHS 20 (1987). For oral traditions from Bundu and the Sy lineage, see Felix Brigaud, Histoire traditionnelle du Sénégal (Saint Louis, 1962), pp. 217-22 and 289-96. See also Curtin, Economic Change, and idem, "The Uses of Oral Tradition in Senegambia: Maalik Si and the Foundation of Bundu," CEA 15 (1975).

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24. The Soninke of the region are described by Mungo Park, Travels in the Interior Districts of Africa, W. Gray and Dorchard, Travels in Western Africa, A. Raffenel, Voyage dans l'Afrique occidentale, A. Boilat, Esquisses sénégalaises, H. Hecquard, Voyage, Carrère and Holle, Sénégambie française, Eugene Mage, Voyage dans le Soudan occidental: Sénégambie-Niger (Paris, 1868), Gabriel Gravier (ed.), Voyage à Sékou de Paul Soleillet (1842-86), rédigé d'après les notes et journaux de Soleillet (Paris, 1887), Eugene Bechet, Cinq Ans de séjour au Soudan français (Paris, 1889), and Daniel Fernaude, "Etude sur Soninké ou Sarakolé," Anthropos 4 (1910). Soninke oral traditions are discussed by Monteil, "La légende du Wagadou," idem, "Textes soninkés," and Ibrahim D. Bathily, "Notices socio-historiques sur l'ancien royaume Soninké du Gadiaga (annotées par A. Bathily)," Bulletin de l'IFAN 31B (1969). See also J. Saint-Père, Les Sarakholle du Guidimaka (Paris, 1924), F. Colombani, "Le Guidimaka," BCNHSOAF 14 (1931), Gaston Boyer, Un peuple de l'ouest soudanais: les Diawara (Dakar, 1953), Eric Pollet and Grace

Winter, "Bibliographie des Sarakolé (Soninké-Marka)," Journal de la société africaniste 34 (1964), idem, "L'organisation sociale du travail agricole chez les Soninké (Mabumu, Mali)," CEA 8 (1968) and the English translation in D. Seddon (ed.), Relations of Production (London, 1978), idem, La société Soninké (Brussels, 1971). See also the works by A. Bathily, "Imperialism and Colonial Expansion" and "Guerriers, tributaires et marchands."

25. The major sources on Gajaaga include A. Bathily, "Imperialism and Colonial Expansion," and idem, "Guerriers, tributaires et marchands." Brigaud, Histoire traditionnelle, pp. 207-1, cites several oral traditions on Gajaaga. On Gidimaka, see Saint-Père, Les Sarakholle, Colombani, "Le Guidimaka," and P. Bradley, The Gidimaka Region of Mauritania.

26. On the Soninke clerical towns of Gajaaga, see Ibrahima Bathily, "Notices socio-historiques," and Curtin, Economic Change, pp. 68-75.

27. On the early history of Bakel, see Raffenel, Voyage dans l'Afrique occidentale, and Eugene Saulnier, Une compagnie à privilège au dixième siècle: la compagnie du Galam au Sénégal (Paris, 1921). Brigaud, Histoire traditionnelle, pp. 213-16, discusses some oral traditions on the founding of Bakel. Archival sources on the founding of Bakel can be found in Chapter Five.

28. A substantial travel and ethnographic literature focuses on Mande origins, language and settlements. Nineteenth century publications concerned with the Mandinka of Bambuk and other polities in the upper Senegal include M. Park, Travels, A. Raffenel, Voyage, A. Boilat, Esquisses sénégalaises, Carrère and Holle, Sénégal française, H. Hecquard, Voyage, L. Faidherbe, "Populations noires," L. Flize, "Le Bambouk," Moniteur du Sénégal (1857), S. Pascal, "Voyage au Bambouk et retour à Bakel," RAC 3 (1860) and reprinted in Le Tour du Monde (1860), L. Bérenger-Feraud, Les peuplades de la Sénégambie (Paris, 1879), Ernest Noirot, A travers le Fouta-Diallon et le Bambouk (Paris, 1882), Lamartiny, Etudes africaines, Jean Bayol, Voyage en Sénégambie, 1880-1885, (Paris, 1888), A. Rançon, "Dans la Haute Gambie," Le Tour du Monde (1895), M. Delafosse, Haut-Sénégal-Niger, and Henri Labouret, Les Manding et leur langue (Paris, 1934). See also Yves Person, Samori: une révolution Dyula (Dakar, 1968-1975), Carleton Hodges (ed.), Papers on the Manding (Bloomington, 1971), and Curtin, Economic Change. The Mandinka of the Casamance region of southern Senegal receive the most thorough treatment in C. Roche, Histoire de La Casamance (Paris, 1985), whereas C. Quinn, Mandingo Kingdoms focuses on the lower Gambia River area. F. Brigaud, Histoire traditionnelle, describes the settlement of the upper Gambia region by refugee Malinke families. The development, dispersion and social structure of the Malinke of western Mali, who most closely resemble those of Bambuk, are discussed by Diango Cissé, Structures des Malinkés de Kita (Bamako, 1970), D. Cissé and M. Diabaté, La dispersion des Mandenka (Bamako, 1970), Youssouf Cissé, "Notes sur les sociétés de chasseurs malinké," JSA 34 (1964), Bokar N'Diaye, Groups Ethniques au Mali (Bamako, 1970), and idem, Les Castes

au Mali (Bamako, 1970). Differing perspectives on the origins, position and functions of griots in Mandinka society are provided by Hugo Zemp, "La légende des griots malinké," CEA 6 (1966), Laura Makarius, "Observations sur la légende des griots malinké," CEA 9 (1969), and Sory Camara, Gens de la Parole: essai sur la condition et le rôle des griots dans la société malinké (Paris, 1976). The roles and functions of Mande blacksmiths are discussed by Patrick McNaughton, The Mande Blacksmiths (Bloomington, 1988).

29. The principal accounts for Bambuk in the mid-nineteenth century are Carrère and Holle, Sénégal française, pp. 169-76, L. Pascal, "Le Bambouk," and Commandant Rey, "Voyage à Farabanna," Revue coloniale 12 (1854). Archival sources include AMS 1G 3, 85, 92 and 110. On Bambuk gold, see Curtin, "The Lure of Bambuk Gold," JAH 14 (1973), and his Economic Change.

30. On Farabanna, see P. Rey, "Voyage à Farabanna (Haute-Sénégal)," Revue coloniale 12 (Jan., 1854): 34-62. For the correspondence between rulers of Bundu and Khasso with the French, see AMS 13G 208 and 209.

31. The most obvious example is Carrère and Holle, Sénégal française, pp. 169-76). Several archival reports in AMS and ANN also use these terms.

32. Comparatively few written works exist on the Khassonke political and social formation. Early published travel and ethnographic accounts include M. Park, Travels, A. Raffeneil, Voyage and Nouveau voyage, Rey, "Rapport sur un voyage dans le Khasso en juin-juillet 1851," Revue coloniale 9 (1852), F. Carrère and Holle, Sénégal française, L. Flize, "Le Khasso," Revue coloniale 18 (1857), E. Mage, Voyage dans le Soudan occidentale, Gravier, Voyage de Paul Soleillet, E. Bechet, Cinq ans de séjour, Alexandre Lasnet, Une mission au Sénégal (Paris, 1900), and M. Delafosse, Haut-Sénégal-Niger. C. Monteil's comprehensive monograph, Les Khassonké (1915), remains a standard work with sections on history, society, religion and linguistics. More recently, S.-M. Cissoko has published extensively on his homeland and his major work is Contribution à l'histoire politique du Khasso. Finally, Rokiatu Keita, in La région de Kayes (Bamako, 1972) has written a multi-volume geographical study of the Kayes region (western Mali) which encompasses historic Khasso.

33. The main works on the Jakhanke include T. Hunter, "The Development of an Islamic Tradition," L. Sanneh, The Jahanke, and P. Curtin, "Precolonial Trading Networks," and Economic Change, pp. 75-83. Other works on the Jakhanke of Bundu include A. Bonnel de Meijeres, "Les Diakhanke de Bani-Israïla et du Boundou meridional (Sénégal)," Notes africaines (1949), and Monique Fleury, "Un village Diakhanke du Sénégal-Oriental: Missirah," Cahiers d'outre-mer (1984). Abner Cohen's study, "Cultural Strategies in the Organization of Trading Diasporas," in C. Meillassoux (ed.), The Development of Indigenous Trade and Markets in West Africa (London, 1971), is the classic work on trading diasporas in West Africa.

34. On the Tuaregs, see H.I. Morris, The Tuaregs (Warminster, 1975). Shorter works include S. Baier and P. Lovejoy, "The Tuareg of the Central Sudan," in S. Miers and I. Kopytoff (eds.), Slavery in Africa, Edmond Bernus and Suzanne Bernus, "L'évolution de la condition servile chez les Touaregs sahéliens," in C. Meillassoux (ed.), L'esclavage en Afrique précoloniale, and André Bourgeot, "Idéologie et appellations ethniques: l'exemple twareg," CEA 48 (1972). The Idawaish Moors receive notice in only a few archival and published accounts. Archival documents on the Moors include ANS 96 (Mauritania); ANM 1D 4 and 2E 75. See also the Archives de la République Islamique de la Mauritanie (dossier 10), "La région des Idawaish: essai historique sommaire," (1911) by Cmdt. Frerejean. E. Bouet-Williamuez, Commerce et traite des noirs aux côtes occidentales d'Afrique (Paris, 1848), discusses the early gum trade between the Moors and Senegalese groups along the river, but he provides little information on their political and social structures. Carrère and Holle, Sénégalie française, describe Idawaish involvement in commerce as well as their agricultural activities in northern Gidimaka. R. de Lartigue, in a series of archival and published reports, including "Notice sur les Maures du Sénégal et du Soudan," BCAF/RC (July, 1897), "Notice historique sur le Sahel," BCAF/RC (April, 1898), and "Notice géographique sur la région du Sahel," BCAF/RC (June, 1898), attempts to sort out the seemingly vast array of Moorish associations and subdivisions in the Sahel and Sahara. Paul Marty, in his frequently cited works of colonial scholarship, discusses Islamic practices among diverse segments of the Moorish population in French West Africa. See Marty, Etudes sur l'Islam maure (Paris, 1916), idem, Etudes sur l'Islam et les tribus maures (Paris, 1921), and idem, Etudes sur l'Islam et les tribus du Soudan: les tribus Maures du Sahel et Hodh (Paris, 1921). Another source concerned with the religious aspect is P. Amilhat, "La petite chronique des Id ou Aich," Revue des études islamiques 11 (1937).

CHAPTER THREE

The Regional Economy in the Late Nineteenth Century

Production

Agriculture

In the upper Senegal valley, the local economy depended overwhelmingly on the quality of the annual harvest, and most non-agricultural activity was dramatically reduced during the growing season. In the dry period, however, farmers frequently engaged in other occupations such as hunting, fishing, mining, craft manufacture and trade. Many cultivators also practiced animal husbandry, though agriculture remained their primary means of subsistence. Moor and Fulbe pastoralists, who usually grew some short-term crops, depended on the region's agricultural surplus. Very few workers, and then primarily town dwellers in Bakel, Medine and Kayes, could afford to avoid agriculture altogether. No productive activity existed independently of the agricultural base of the economy.¹

Despite agriculture's primacy, most documentation focuses on more quantifiable sectors of the economy such as mining and exchange, particularly long-distance trade. The archives contain some small files on crops, farming techniques, and the estimated size of the annual harvest.² Travellers' accounts usually contained little beyond lists of major crops in a given setting. Observers tended to dismiss local, labor-intensive cultivation methods as technically backward and unproductive, offering no potential for expansion and profit. Finally, formal and informal traditions rarely provide specific agricultural evidence. A study of regional agricultural history therefore relies on a fairly restricted data base of oral interviews concerned with crops and production, recent scientific studies and the relevant but limited written documentation in travellers' accounts and archives.

Western concepts of "property" and "ownership" cannot convey adequately the nature of the region's land tenure systems in the nineteenth century. Land could not be bought and sold like a commodity. The ruling Sy, Diallo and Bathily lineages controlled most land in Bundu, Khasso and Gajaaga respectively.³ Farmers did not purchase land from these ruling families but instead paid an annual tax or tribute for rights of usufruct. Effective control of the land operated, to varying degrees throughout the region, at the village level. Local chiefs distributed plots and arbitrated most land disputes. Under normal circumstances, land rights belonged to the individual families or lineages who initially cleared, occupied and used the land. Usufructuary rights were clearly delineated and passed from eldest male to eldest male. The head of the extended family assigned subdivisions

of the fields to male and female members, with allocation depending primarily on the availability of labor. Reliance on family members and other dependents for labor limited the size of cultivated fields. Wealthy slave-owners like the almany of Bundu or the tunka of Gajaaga, however, commanded large plantations.⁴

Farmers generally planted fields in the immediate vicinity of the village. Because the location of a family's farmland frequently reflected their position in society, members of original, free-born lineages had plots nearest the settlement whereas artisans' and slaves' fields were more distant. New settlers in large villages sometimes received plots several kilometers away. Crops such as cotton and indigo that required considerable care and supervision were cultivated nearest the village or major pathways. Within the village itself, women occasionally tended communal or individual vegetable gardens which had to be watered by hand from wells and constantly protected from stray animals.⁵

In addition to permanent agricultural settlements, numerous rainy season villages (villages d'hivernage) existed throughout the upper Senegal. Generally along seasonal waterways or in especially fertile areas, these settlements were inhabited each year only for the duration of the growing period. Ranging from one family to several large compounds, these dispersed villages often escaped the notice of colonial administrators, tax-collectors and census-takers. Several of these villages, most notably in sparsely populated portions of Bundu and Bambuk, developed into permanent settlements.⁶

Farming techniques and implements did not undergo a radical transformation during the second half of the nineteenth century. In preparation for the rainy season, farmers burned leftover bush to clear their fields. If they needed additional farmland, they burned nearby wooded areas and hand-tilled the ground during the dry period. After the first precipitation in late May or early June, cultivators made rows of small "pockets" in the ground, dropped in a few seeds and covered the shallow holes with dirt. Farmers interplanted millet, sorghum and corn; cotton and groundnuts had separate fields.

Agriculturalists in the region generally followed a system of rotational cultivation. Each year they planted only some fields and let others lie fallow. While only men tilled the soil and planted seeds, both men and women, using a daba or short-handed hoe, weeded regularly throughout the growing season. Everyone worked in harvesting crops by hand, again using the daba to cut down millet, sorghum and corn stalks and to dig up groundnut bushes. Cotton-picking also involved men, women and children. After drying, farmers moved the harvest to their compounds in the village for storage in small, round silos of varying sizes.⁷

In the region, cereal crops predominated, and millet, the region's primary foodstuff and major crop, grew in two varieties. Bulrush millet (petit mil in French sources; botanically, pennisetum), the more widely cultivated form, required only 5-600 millimeters of precipitation annually, allowing cultivation throughout the region, even in relatively arid parts of Gidimaka. Sorghum (gros mil; botanically, sorghum vulgare), needed approximately 800 millimeters of rainfall

which restricted its production ordinarily to areas south of Bakel. Where conditions permitted, farmers usually interplanted both varieties to increase chances for an adequate harvest.

Bulrush millet planting began at the start of the rainy period, whereas sorghum planting occurred only after several heavy rains sufficiently moistened the soil. Newly planted millet crops were especially susceptible to insects, most commonly locusts and grasshoppers. The crops matured in four months with the final stage dependent on adequate rainfall to guarantee that the grains absorbed essential nutrients. One hectare of bulrush millet yielded about 500 to 1,000 kilograms of grain; one hectare of sorghum produced between 1,000 to 1,500 kilograms. In a good year, two hectares of combined millet and sorghum sufficed to feed a family of about ten. Besides being difficult to protect from insects and rodents, stored millet could only be preserved for approximately one year before rapidly deteriorating. Rather than storing all their harvest, non-Muslim Mandinka, especially in Bambuk, used some surplus grain to prepare millet beer.^a

Climatic conditions also favored the cultivation of maize and, in well-watered areas, rice. Maize, most likely introduced from South America in the sixteenth century, usually gave two crops a year with fairly good yields. The two varieties, yellow for human consumption and white for animal feed, were not traded. Maize, the first crop to be harvested each year and with few storage complications, provided food until the first millet matured. Rice cultivation started in early July and its harvest coincided with that of sorghum. Compared to more southerly and easterly regions, rice production in the upper Senegal

valley was limited. Yet in settlements alongside rivers and streams, rice production for local consumption played a significant agricultural role.⁹

Groundnuts (arachis hypogea), which were also probably introduced to West Africa from the Americas in the sixteenth century, were initially planted as a supplementary foodstuff, principally by the coastal Wolof and Serer of Senegambia. In those areas, intensive cultivation for export only began under French encouragement in the 1840s. While the development of peanut farming fundamentally influenced and dominated the economic history of western Senegambia, the upper Senegal valley only briefly exported groundnuts in the late nineteenth century. Owing primarily to soil conditions and transport costs and limitations, production was confined to western parts of Bundu and the riverine areas of Gajaaga and Gidimaka. Farmers in the region rarely devoted much land and labor to groundnuts, preferring to grow millet and maize. Groundnuts, planted shortly after millet and maize, did not mature until November. One hectare generally provided 1,500 to 2,000 kilograms of unshelled peanuts.¹⁰

Two non-food crops, cotton and indigo, mainly grew wild in the region. At least six local varieties of cotton were indigenous to West Africa, but gossypium punctatus, another crop brought from the Americas in the sixteenth century, rapidly became dominant in the region. The imported plant grew well in the area and produced a short, strong, resistant fiber that worked well in narrow strip-loom. Cotton prospered in the heat and humidity of the rainy season and in the clay-based soil, most notably along waterways. Local weavers used both wild

and domesticated cotton to produce cloth; only minor quantities of raw cotton were exported in the nineteenth century. Indigo, the primary dye for textiles, grew principally along the Senegal and Faleme Rivers. A few agriculturalists, primarily Soninke, planted some bushes for local use. As cotton, indigo in its raw state did not enter significantly into trade.¹¹ The following agricultural calendar lists the major rainfall agricultural crops in the upper Senegal valley.¹²

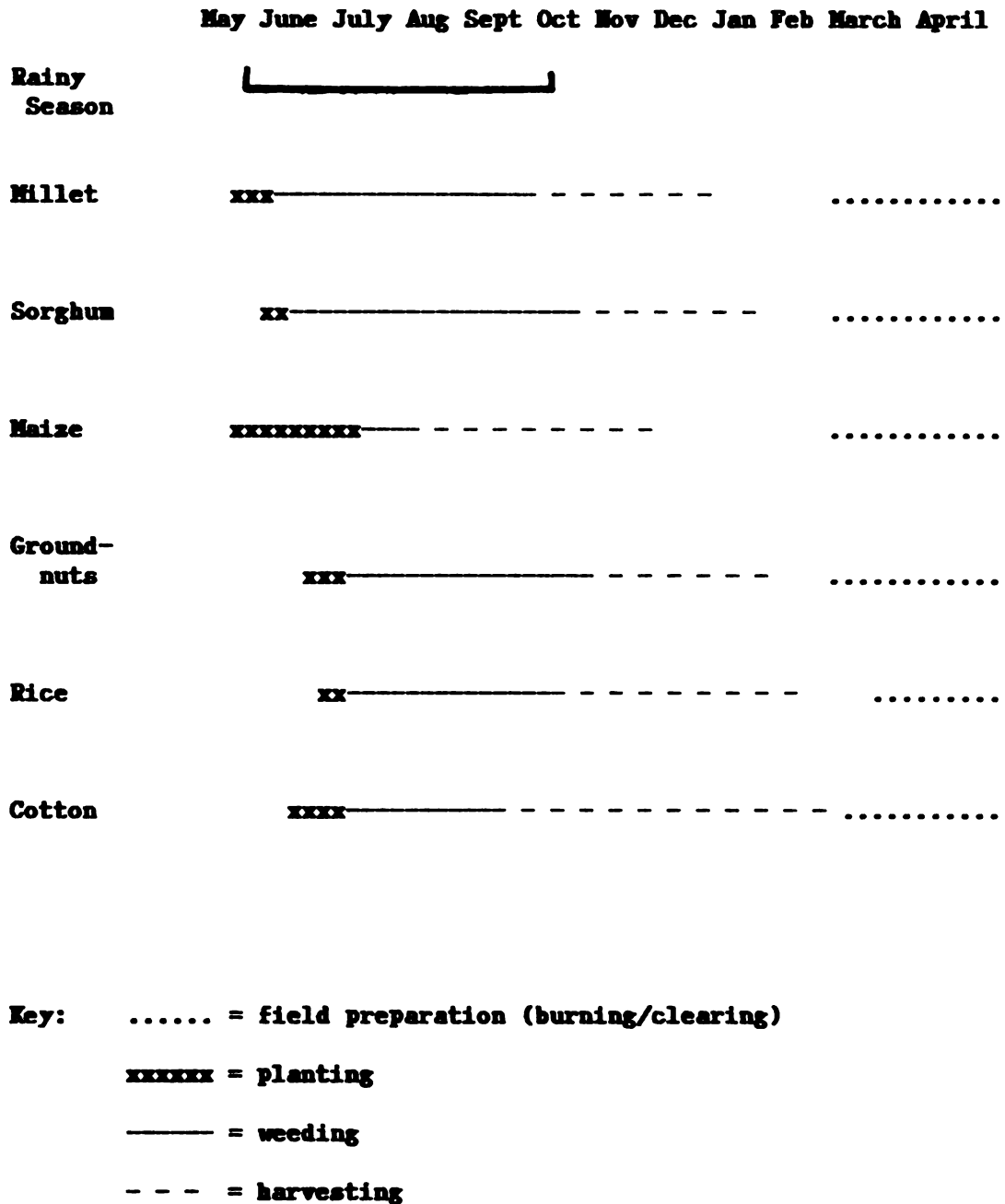
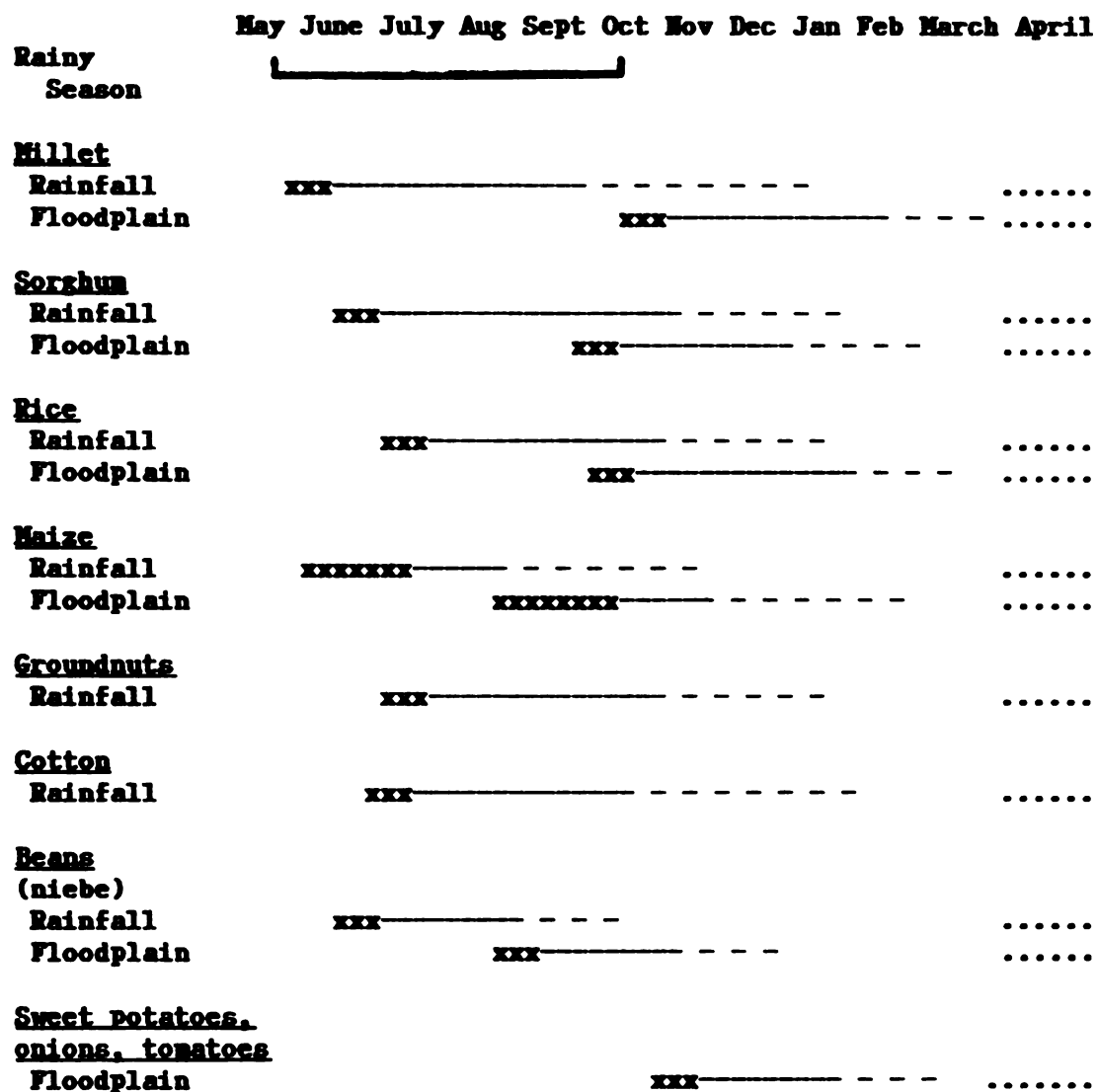


Figure 4. Calendar of Agricultural Activities in Areas of Rainfall Agriculture in the Upper Senegal Valley

In areas with floodplain agriculture, the rainy season remained the most labor-intensive period, but cultivation and harvests continued throughout the year. The floodplain consisted of different types of land, depending on the distance from the waterway and the quality of the soil. Rainfall crops grew in the jeeri or interior; floodplain crops were cultivated in different parts of the waalo. Farmers cultivated these areas at specified times to stagger the harvests. Beans, pumpkins, calabashes, onions, tomatoes, okra and sweet potatoes grew in regional wetlands and contributed to the local diet. Besides these foodstuffs, residents planted additional rain-fed crops which matured late in the dry season. The following calendar lists the major rainfall and wetland agricultural crops in areas along the upper Senegal and lower Faleme Rivers.



Key: = field preparation

xxxxxxx = planting

_____ = weeding

- - - = harvesting

Figure 5. Calendar of Agricultural Activities in Areas of Floodplain Cultivation in the Upper Senegal Valley

Several non-agricultural activities produced food solely for local consumption. The Mandinka and Khassonke in particular engaged extensively in trapping and hunting. Among the Mandinka, hunting associations, composed of free-born and artisans, exercised considerable authority. Traps, spears, clubs, bows and arrows and some firearms were used to capture fowl and game. Berries, wild honey, karite tree butter, baobab fruit and an array of edible roots, tubers and leaves supplemented the cereal-based diet. Many of these items also served medicinal purposes. Hunting and gathering occurred principally during the dry season whereas fishing reached a peak in the rainy period. Only men fished and hunted but fishermen in the upper Senegal valley, unlike those in some neighboring areas, did not form a separate category of artisans. Harpoons, nets, lines and traps remained the primary means of catching fish; pirogues and canoes were the most widely used crafts.¹³ Individual Soninke and Khassonke villages controlled fishing rights over the length of the upper Senegal River, whereas large portions of the less productive Faleme River in Bundu and Bambuk were accessible to all inhabitants.¹⁴

One final gathering activity was centered on gum arabic (also known as gum acacia or gum Senegal), a natural exudate of the acacia senegal tree, which flourished in the arid Saharan desert-side. In the Western Sudan, this east-west band stretched approximately three hundred kilometers across northern Senegal and southern Mauritania. Most of the gum arabic found in the upper Senegal was collected and imported from the Tagant, the desert region containing extensive groves of wild acacia trees and controlled by the Idawaish Moors. Requiring

from three to five hundred millimeters of precipitation, the trees in the thickest groves of the Tagant grew from twelve to fifteen meters apart. Rainfall levels and the intensity of the harmattan, or hot, dry Saharan wind, determined the amount of gum exuded. Though several harvests a year were possible, most gathering occurred in March, April and May when the harmattan reached its greatest strength. Slaves of the Idawaish, using hand-held knives or blades attached to short poles, scraped off the balls of gum, ranging from one to five centimeters in diameter. A single tree yielded eight hundred grams in an average year. Inhabitants of the upper Senegal used gum for medicinal purposes and as an appetite suppressant in times of famine. However, its primary local use was in textile production. Beating gum arabic into indigo-dyed cloth fixed the color and produced a highly desirable glossy surface while its bonding qualities strengthened the fabric.¹⁵ Gum arabic figured significantly in long-distance exchange.

Animal Husbandry

Inextricably linked to the seasonal and agricultural cycle, pastoralist activities occupied a prominent place in the regional economy.¹⁶ Unlike agriculture, which was practiced throughout West Africa, pastoralism was limited to an east-west zone between the southern desert fringe and the northern boundaries of the forest. In the upper Senegal, the absence of the tse-tse fly, combined with the availability of uncultivated land and pasturage, created favorable

conditions for animal husbandry. In many areas, salt and water sources posed a seasonal but generally surmountable problem.

Regional pastoral specialists followed a well-organized, cyclical pattern of movement. Transhumant migration, the form most widely practiced by Moors and Fulbe, involved a north-south movement during the dry season and a reverse migration when the rains began.¹⁷ Because they tended to return to the same sites, herders established camps at the limits of their annual movements. The herd's size ultimately determined the length and distance of transhumant migration, though other factors, such as the amount of precipitation and available labor, also had an effect. Frequently Fulbe, either exclusively or in conjunction with their own animals, herded livestock belonging to Soninke, Mandinka and Khassonke in return for a share of the milk supply and offspring.

Predominantly agricultural people practiced a modified form of transhumance. Throughout the wet season, farmers kept small herds of livestock in the immediate vicinity, watering them from wells and surface water sources. Once the rains stopped and harvesting started, certain members of each compound left the village with the animals. Like seasonal agricultural villages, temporary pastoral settlements were located primarily along waterways but in fairly remote, unpopulated areas. Although the herdsmen mostly ate milk products, they supplemented their diet with home-grown grain and other agricultural foodstuffs.¹⁸

Cattle served several functions in the regional economy and society. Villagers used the animals to draw water from deep wells, pull

plows and carry loads. In addition to having their own supply of milk, meat, hides and manure, owners found a ready market for the sale of these products. Owing to their mobility and universal value, cattle were a highly prized form of booty. Both local rulers and colonial officials welcomed livestock for payment of tributes and taxes. Cattle also figured prominently in marriage contracts and dispute settlements, especially among the Fulbe whose web of social relations was reflected in cattle. People valued particular cattle for the relationships that the animals symbolized. Throughout the region, cattle, like slaves, functioned as a form of currency and represented a major investment of capital in the late nineteenth century.

Animal husbandry in the region also included sheep, goats, donkeys, horses and, to a limited extent, camels. The Moors possessed considerable numbers of goats which thrived in the desert-side belt. Among other social groups, women and children generally tended small herds. When villages had a substantial herd, they hired a Moor or Pullo on a seasonal or permanent basis. The animals provided meat and hides as well as small quantities of milk. Many social and religious ceremonies required the sacrifice of a sheep or goat and the distribution of meat to all participants. Horses, previously used principally for military purposes, suffered from a host of diseases and proved difficult to breed in the region. For portage, traders preferred donkeys which were better suited to the climate and could carry heavy burdens for long distances. Camels, the primary pack animals for Moorish caravans, did not fare well in the upper Senegal's

rainy season and very few camels were kept permanently within the region.¹⁹

Mining

Gold mining was a relatively localized sector of the regional economy. The principal alluvial gold deposits were located in Bambuk along the Faleme River and the Tambaoura escarpment. The ridge rose 150 meters above the savanna and ran the length of Bambuk in a north-south direction. Within this small area, the gold deposits were scattered and variable in quality. The Mandinka and other inhabitants of Bambuk depended for their livelihood primarily on rainfall agriculture and, given the limited and poor quality floodplain along the Faleme River in Bambuk, mined during the dry season as an economic hedge.²⁰

Though their output was limited, the gold mines of Bambuk generated intense interest and speculation among Europeans as early as the sixteenth century.²¹ Relying more on fantasy than fact, foreigners envisioned a new El Dorado on the shores of the Faleme River. One early eighteenth century French traveller, J.B. Labat, christened Bambuk "the Peru of Africa."²² Europeans incorrectly assumed that the area contained vast gold deposits that Western technology could exploit far more successfully and profitably than local, "primitive" methods. In the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, the French made several unsuccessful attempts to tap the gold resources. The most concerted and well-documented scheme, devised by Faidherbe and undertaken at Kenieba

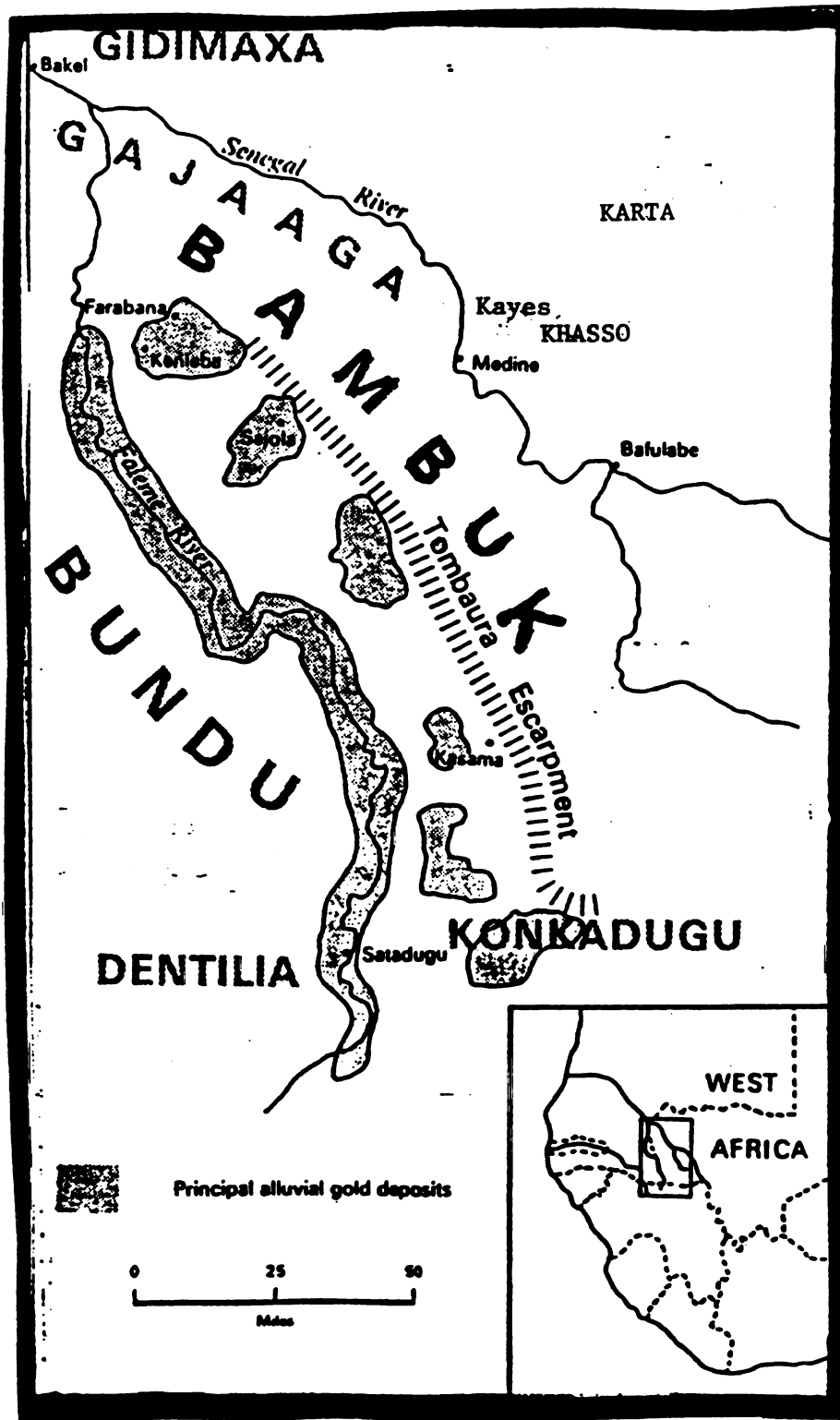


Figure 6
 Bambuk: Alluvial Gold Deposits
 [adapted from Curtin, "The Lure of Bambuk Gold," JAH.]

between 1858 and 1860, failed for a combination of reasons. The ore contained little gold, the technology was inappropriate, and the European workers fell victim to the region's many diseases.²³ A new effort in the 1890s suffered from similar problems.²⁴

A clearly defined system of traditional mining rights operated in Bambuk. Along the Faleme, each littoral village claimed a demarcated stretch of the waterway and, though the ruler monopolized all gold, its banks. Sites were mined collectively under the authority of a hereditary sanukutigi duratigi (chief of the goldfield), who assigned individuals and slaves to specific plots and preserved order during the operations. Bundu, Gajaaga, Dentilia and Konkadugu maintained dry season settlements in Bambuk which yielded mining rights to portions of the riverbanks and mountainside. In the area of the Tambaoura escarpment, large villages such as Kenieba, Farabanna and Kassama had access to sizable tracts of land which contained ores somewhat richer than riverine areas. Kenieba controlled deposits along the river and on the ridge, which partly explained Faidherbe's decision to base the European mining operation there.²⁵

Traditional techniques were ideally suited to the prevailing conditions in Bambuk.²⁶ There were several types of alluvial deposits, containing a low average gold content between 0.6 grams to 8.4 grams per cubic meter. The erratic distribution of low and high-grade quality ores discouraged large-scale mining in one location. The older alluvial deposits near the Tambaoura ridge ranged from one to twenty meters in depth. Villagers hand-dug vertical wells, about 75 centimeters in diameter. Upon reaching the bedrock in the deeper wells, miners

constructed horizontal tunnels short distances in each direction. The more recent alluvia along the Faleme River could be extracted directly from the banks though a number of shallow wells did exist. Some stretches of beach could be panned for gold after each rainy season.

Whereas men dug the mines and worked underground, women did most of the actual panning on the surface. Using water-filled calabashes, or hollowed out gourds, women sifted the sand or dirt for traces of gold. After several washings in the calabashes, the dirt eventually rose to the top while any gold dust or nuggets sunk to the bottom. After scooping out the gold powder with small shells, the women put the powder in animal horns for storage and transport. Most gold was exported to neighboring states or regions in dust or nugget form. The Mandinka of Bambuk wore very little gold jewelry, and few objects fashioned from local gold were found in the area.²⁷

Workers relied on the food they produced during the growing season because mining yields per worker barely surpassed subsistence costs. At the beginning of the nineteenth century, the region annually exported approximately 100 kilograms of gold; this rose to about 200 kilograms in the 1890s, still insufficient to make individuals or states wealthy. Bambuk consequently remained one of the poorer formations in the upper Senegal region.²⁸

Varying quantities of several other minerals, most notably iron, copper and mercury, also existed in the region.²⁹ Bambuk and Bundu contained extensive iron deposits which artisans mined during the dry season. In the late nineteenth century, however, higher quality iron imported from Europe largely replaced local varieties. The French found

quantities of copper and mercury in Bambuk, Bundu and Khasso but the people made little use of them. The variable distribution of small deposits and transportation difficulties prevented the significant export of any mineral except gold.

Craft Production

Domestic craft production, prevalent in all parts of the upper Senegal valley, contributed substantially to the regional economy. Weaving, iron, gold and silver smithing, leatherworking, woodcarving and pottery-making dominated artisanal activities. In the countryside, most artisans were also farmers but in towns they managed to practice their craft exclusively throughout the year. They produced for local, regional and long-distance markets, and some craftsmen were famous for particular products. The Soninke of Gidimaka made highly prized indigo-dyed cotton textiles known as guude saracolet.

Despite its vitality and significance, handicraft manufacture has generally been ignored in both written sources and the secondary literature. Travellers and colonial officials viewed local manufacturing methods as "primitive" and incapable of surviving the import of "superior" Western techniques and goods.³⁰ Economic historians have generally accepted this notion and, focusing on trade figures, have assumed that increased European imports, especially after the 1840s, gradually but effectively destroyed domestic craft production.³¹ Imported commodities, however, did not automatically undermine traditional, locally produced goods. Inhabitants of the upper

valley continued to purchase and use local craft products, often alongside European and Asian imports. The proportion of domestic commodities for sale may have declined during the early colonial period, but an expanded market permitted an absolute rise in local production.

Cotton textile manufacturing, the largest traditional industry in the upper Senegal valley, was a cooperative effort, a succession of operations performed by male and female. In the second half of the nineteenth century, craft production was the preserve of slaves. Male slaves cultivated and servile women and children harvested cotton. Women ginned, carded and spun while men did the actual weaving. Women ginned by rolling a wooden or iron bar over seed cotton, and carded with a light, home-made version of the carding bow. Spinning methods, using a hand-held spindle, required approximately eight hours to provide sufficient thread for one hour of weaving. Craftsmen used thread spun by women of their own households or, more frequently, wove cloth on commission with thread supplied by the customer. As early as 1830, local weavers solved the chronic thread shortage by importing machine-spun yarn from Europe. By 1890, approximately 200,000 pounds of French cotton yarn were being imported annually into Senegal with significant amounts reaching the river valley.³² Textile producers also unravelled imported garments to obtain thread of colors unavailable through local dyes. The more durable, imported thread allowed weavers more quickly to produce wider and longer strips of cloth.³³

The efficient, simple and versatile horizontal pedal loom produced strips between ten and twenty centimeters wide. The warp extended in

front of the loom, weighted down by a dragstone to maintain tension. The reed and heddles were suspended from a bar at the top of the loom by pulleys, and weavers worked the heddles by foot with toe-treadles. Craftsmen achieved a variety of patterns and textures by using either one or two sets of heddles, coarse or fine, which gave variety in the weft. The continuous strip cloth was cut up and sewn together to make any sized garment (known as pagnes), though standard bolts averaged sixteen meters in length.

Cloth production required virtually no capital as craftsmen constructed and repaired looms from locally available materials. Weavers labored outdoors rent-free and worked looms by hand with no operating costs. Portable looms allowed mobility and, during the rainy season, easy storage and protection from damage and theft. Weavers of slave descent passed skills to their sons, limiting craft entry to kin and eliminating training or apprenticeship fees. By monopolizing the supply of materials and into the craft, weavers controlled both the means of production and reproduction.³⁴

Cotton textiles, which functioned as necessity, currency and source of income, played an important role in the social and economic history of the upper Senegal valley. Clothing reflected differences in religious, political, social, economic and ethnic status. Islam influenced styles of dress, and the occupational and environmental variations of different ethnic groups required appropriate clothing. To facilitate recognition, owners often clothed slaves in distinct, worn garments. Among the Idawaish Moors, for example, slaves wore easily recognizable black garments. In the early nineteenth century, cloth

replaced iron bars and cowrie shells as the principal means of exchange, both for ceremonial and basic economic purposes. Cloth currency consisted of hand-loomed woven cotton strips, generally ten to twenty centimeters wide and two to four meters long. Textile strips were locally produced, easily rolled and transported, and flexible in size. However, cloth currency also deteriorated and fluctuated in price, depending on the time of year and annual production. Guinees, indigo-dyed cotton cloths imported from southeast India, also functioned as a currency in the region until the use of European money increased in the late nineteenth century. However, locally made textiles retained their importance as items of ceremonial exchange.³⁵

An important textile-related industry, dyeing, occupied female slaves, particularly among the Soninke. To produce the most highly valued color, women gathered leaves from wild or domesticated indigo, which they pounded, dried and boiled in a complicated process that lasted about one week. The resultant liquid was sun-dried and shaped into small balls or loaves for sale or local use. Besides indigo, which provided a deep blue to purple color, women used kola nuts for yellow, acacia tree fruit for black and millet seeds for red colorings. The dried, concentrated dyes were immersed in large, water-filled vats, or specially prepared ditches, to ferment for several days before white thread or woven pieces were added. In addition to coloring locally spun cottons, women also dyed imported white garments. Dyeing considerably increased the price of cloth.³⁶

One of the more important non-textile crafts in the region was smithing. Ironworking was particularly important in the regional

economy.³⁷ Bundu and other states manufactured iron in competition with European imports throughout the nineteenth century. The ore was easily extracted from surface outcroppings and dried riverbeds. Smithing required two stages, similar to spinning and weaving in textiles: smelting to produce the iron and forging to make objects. Blacksmiths fashioned their own anvils and hammers. They also made and repaired most weapons and implements used in agricultural, household and craft production. Like ironworking, gold and silver smithing occurred at the village level during the dry season. While even small settlements had a resident blacksmith family, a gold or silver smith ordinarily served several villages. Working generally on commission, these specialized smiths produced ornaments which functioned as symbols of marital, social, ethnic and economic status.

Leatherworkers and woodcarvers, like other artisans, were organized by family and caste groups and operated under similar conditions.³⁸ Craftsmen produced traditional footwear according to standard regional or Islamic patterns. Other products included sheaths for knives, bridles, saddles, harnesses and covered amulets. Wives of leatherworkers specialized in dyeing and coloring leather products.

Like smiths, woodworkers produced agricultural and craft implements from locally available materials. Carvers made and designed mortars and pestles, eating utensils and handles for knives and hoes. The basic agricultural tool, a daba, required a blacksmith and a woodworker. Craftsmen also made pirogues, or long wooden boats, used primarily for fishing, and smaller boats for transport. According to some informants, woodworkers in parts of the upper Faleme River would

make pirogues and travel downriver to villages along the Senegal River. There they would sell their wooden boats and return overland by donkey caravan with goods in demand in their home villages. Carvers also fashioned furniture and were involved in hut and compound construction. Wood products were usually too heavy and bulky to figure in long-distance trade.

Pottery-making, a widespread, localized industry throughout the region, relied on readily available raw materials that were easily worked by hand. Like smithing, pottery production was a fire-based craft but it was practiced only by women. They gathered the clay, threw pots and then fired them. Artisan women created, designed and repaired clay-based objects, mainly food and water containers, cooking pots and bowls for washing. Owing to its weight, size and fragility, pottery was never an important exchange commodity.

Raiding

Raiding also played a critical role in the regional economy during the nineteenth century. Forays were undertaken primarily for slaves, livestock and other booty, and were carried out on both caravans and villages. The archives contain numerous reports of attacks by Idawaish Moors on Soninke agricultural settlements and pastoral camps, particularly on the right bank of the Senegal River.³⁹ Rather than hasty, spontaneous strikes, Moorish raids were carefully organized and executed, usually during the dry season and especially at harvest time. Divided into groups of five or six, the raiders waited for farmers to

harvest their fields before attacking, taking animals and food, and even enslaving any residents.⁴⁰ Caravans passing through Gidimaka and other desert-side areas offered the Idawaish easy and frequent targets. Bambuk, with its hilly terrain and active trade routes, was notoriously unsafe for caravans. In addition, Bambuk's function as a slave haven prompted raiding by neighboring groups. The rulers of Bundu and Khasso, sometimes in joint expeditions, made regular incursions against Bambuk's isolated agricultural and mining settlements. Principally interested in capturing slaves, the Bundunke even attacked caravans in southern and western parts of the almanate. The small states in the upper Gambia also attracted predators from the Senegal valley. French administrators, aware of their limitations, made no genuine efforts to halt friendly rulers from pillaging caravans and settlements. Raiding in the region continued well into the twentieth century.⁴¹

Exchange

The preceding discussion has focused on the range and diversity of production in the upper Senegal valley with little attention paid to the regional distributive system. Virtually all of the products mentioned entered the exchange sector, if only on a local level, and many of the commodities also figured in regional and long-distance trade. Market systems permitted producers to buy goods not locally

produced or readily available and to sell surpluses. While most necessities were produced in households, trade contributed a substantial number of specialized items. Town, river valley and outlying village trading patterns differed more sharply than their productive activities, but every area of the region, no matter how isolated, engaged in some sort of commerce. After a brief survey of the relevant sources, this section considers various aspects of the regional exchange sector during the second half of the nineteenth century.

At first glance, trade statistics abound in the archives.⁴² Dossiers were devoted to the subject of imports and exports, prices, customs duties and market activity. Correspondence at all levels of the bureaucracy contained numerous references to the exchange sector. On closer inspection, however, the documents reveal severe limitations. Information from the precolonial and early colonial years remains scarce. Certain periods in particular areas received great attention, whereas whole decades were sometimes condensed into one table. The quantity and quality of trade figures recorded for a given area of the upper Senegal directly reflected changing French interests and involvement. Detailed figures exist for Bakel in the mid-nineteenth century, when the town was by far the most active trading post in the upper river. With the emergence of Medine in the late 1860s and then Kayes in the early 1880s as major administrative, military and economic centers, a dramatic shift in emphasis occurred in the documentation. Another problem concerns the import and export figures for the colonies of Senegal and Soudan. Statistics are provided for the entire colonies

with no breakdown by cercles or posts. The French were overwhelmingly interested in exports and imports rather than in the internal circulation of goods. Expatriate commercial firms and merchants received greater attention than indigenous network systems.

Besides suffering from temporal and spatial variations and gaps, trade figures also should be considered approximate at best. Caravans could easily elude official counts, and market activity outside of major villages and towns rarely attracted notice. While local chiefs were knowledgeable of caravans entering their area, colonial officials were often unaware of commercial activity outside the posts and major villages. With the notable exception of textile manufacturing, local handicraft manufacture did not appear in colonial tables. Distinctions among categories of products, like rainfall or floodplain crops and varieties of millet or sorghum, were generally ignored.

Oral sources, critical for an understanding of regional production, are markedly weak on quantitative aspects of trade. Informants can confirm little beyond broad generalizations about imports and exports. However, their narratives and responses provide invaluable evidence on the social relations of exchange, including the organization and operation of trading networks over long distances; recruitment and advancement within mercantile occupations; and the workings and functions of local markets. In order to present a cogent synthesis of exchange transactions and relations, the quantitative data present in the archives needs to be combined with the qualitative material available in oral sources.

Three broad categories of trade have been discussed in the literature: local, regional and long-distance. Most of the archival data focuses on long-distance exchange, particularly between colonies and the metropole. Historians who accepted dependency theory and world-systems analysis emphasized this luxury or prestige trade. More recently, regional exchange, especially between complementary ecological zones, has attracted the notice of economic historians. Basing their work on both written and oral sources, historians, working primarily on the Western and Central Sudan, have stressed the importance of trading between and within regions. Finally, local trade, mainly among families and neighboring villages, has received extended analysis, principally from economic anthropologists who have carried out extensive fieldwork. The commercial structures involved and the nature of the goods exchanged were more important than the actual distances covered. In order to understand the functions of the distributive system throughout the region, each category of exchange deserves attention.

Variations in the area's natural and human environments contributed substantially to the products of local trade. Depending on the micro-environment and the resident social formation, adjacent settlements grew different varieties of crops, raised particular animals, and manufactured special crafts. Settlements along waterways exchanged floodplain foodstuffs and fish internally and with neighbors. Erratic rainfall distribution caused crop shortfalls and surpluses in nearby villages. Craftsmen, herders, hunters and agriculturalists in

the same settlement traded with one another and with surrounding communities on a regular basis.

Most local exchange occurred in the market place. Periodic markets, held at intervals of between two and eight days, were well organized and regularly attracted people from nearby villages and specialty traders from more distant areas. The trading grounds were spatially and temporally distributed to serve the largest number of people on a convenient and regular basis. Locations and times for many of the smaller, more peripheral markets shifted frequently: some operated only during the dry season when demand was greatest, but continuous or daily markets were found in towns and some of the larger villages. Several sizable communities had more than one commercial area, each specializing in particular categories of products. Though some transactions occurred at the household level, open-air, public markets dominated local commercial activity.

The traders involved in local exchange tended to be female, part-time and small-scale. Trading supplemented and complemented household and agricultural production. Women of all ethnic groups and social categories sold goods produced by household members and dependents. Because of their limited role outside domestic production, the wives of craftsmen and herders were especially important in local trading. Periodic, rotating markets and the seasonal nature of supply and demand encouraged occasional participation in commerce. During the dry season, and most notably immediately after harvest, markets expanded, and more women acted as traders. Owing to a relative lack of capital, women remained small-scale merchants. A few male traders, pursuing local

commerce as a full-time occupation, moved constantly from one market to another with comparatively large amounts of diverse goods. However, they remained the exception at the local level.

Intense trading in specialized goods existed on the borders of geographical zones. In the upper Senegal valley, regional exchange was dominated by agricultural and animal products. The principal trade routes followed a north-south axis linking the complementary ecological zones. Soninke and Jakhanke merchants dominated the savanna side of this exchange, whereas Moors and Fulbe were involved with the desert and Sahelian portions. The pastoralists traded livestock, dairy produce, salt and gum arabic for millet, sorghum and cloth. Savanna cultivators in turn exchanged livestock, salt, cloth and local agricultural and craft products to southern peoples in return for slaves, kola nuts and forest goods. In addition to trading with both desert-side and forest peoples, savanna merchants acted as middlemen between the two non-contiguous zones. An east-west network, linking the upper Senegal with Karta and the middle Niger valley, also was available to traders.⁴³

Fewer markets specialized in regional and long-distance exchange than in local trade. Centers for interregional transactions were ordinarily located in or adjacent to major towns. Large, daily markets of this type functioned in Bakel, Medine and Kayes. Bafulabe developed into a similar forum with increased French presence in the late-nineteenth century. Mioro, Segou, Kita and later Bamako, in addition to the commercial centers of Futa Jalon, had extensive interregional markets that interacted with those of the upper Senegal valley.⁴⁴ In

the 1870s, Medine was the most active market in the region. Caravans from the north, principally Moor, and southern forest areas dominated regional commerce. The following table lists the provenance and primary goods of caravans that arrived in Medine between April 1885 and December 1887.

Table 1. Caravans Arriving in Medine: April 1885- December 1887

<u>DATE</u>	<u>NUMBER</u>	<u>PROVENANCE/COMMODITIES</u>
1885		
April	30	not available
May	35	not available
June	29	north: gum and millet; east: cattle
July	17	north: gum, millet, sheep; east: cattle
August	20	north: gum, millet. south: kola nuts
September	17	north: gum, sheep. south: kola nuts
October	34	north: millet, sheep. east: cattle
November	20	south: kola nuts, gold, karite butter
December	7	south: slaves, kola nuts, karite butter
1886		
January		not available
February	8	south: gold, karite butter, kola nuts
March	4	south(3): gold, karite. east(1): donkeys
April	7	south(5): gold, kolas. east(1): salt
May	11	south(8): kolas, gold. north(3): gum
June	18	south: gold, kolas; east(2): donkeys
July		not available
August	35	east(21);south (14) [no products listed]
September	29	east(16);south (13) [no products listed]
October	25	north(20); south(5): kola nuts
November	16	north(12): gum; east (4)
December	15	north: gum, millet, sheep; east: cattle
1887		
January	18	north: gum, millet; east: cattle
February	15	south: kolas, karite; east: cattle, salt
March	10	south: gold, kolas; east: cattle, donkeys
April	21	south: gold, kolas; east: donkeys, salt
May	14	south: gold, kolas, karite butter
June	12	north: gum, millet, sheep
		south: gold, ivory, karite butter
July	16	north: gum, millet; south: gold, karite
August	9	south: gold, karite; east: cattle
September	11	north: gum; south: kolas
October	16	north: sheep; east: cattle, donkeys
November	28	north: millet, sheep; east: cattle, donkeys
December	32	north: millet; south: kolas; east: cattle

Source: ANM 1Q 70: Rapports commerciaux, Medine. 1885-86.

Professional traders in regional and other-long distance exchange generally travelled overland in large caravans numbering up to forty men and with hundreds of livestock. Donkeys and, among the Moors, camels were the primary pack animals although convoys also included porters, usually slaves. Security was a primary concern especially for groups travelling from the forest region through Bambuk or from the Tagant plateau and other desert oases via Gidimaka to the markets in the upper Senegal. To insure adequate water and food supplies, the caravans followed well-established routes between markets and entrepots. Convoys rarely spent more than one week in any major commercial center. Merchants bought, bartered and sold goods at numerous locations along the way. Local commerce was intricately linked to regional and long-distance exchange through the sale of supplies to passing convoys and the redistribution of caravan goods.⁴⁵

Seasonal, part-time merchants also engaged in regional trade. During the dry season, men who were primarily cultivators travelled to specific locations with their own products or a supply of commodities they had purchased. Artisans often participated in seasonal trade. They sold their implements when and where prices were favorable and bought stocks of desirable trading items like salt or kola nuts. Part-time merchants resided temporarily in market towns and returned to agricultural settlements once they had sold all their goods or the rains began.

Grain, principally the main varieties of millet and sorghum, constituted the most important agricultural commodity in regional exchange. Prior to 1860, Bakel was the major grain market in the

region, supplying Moorish caravans and Fulbe pastoralists and shipping quantities of millet downriver to Saint Louis. Localized, periodic surpluses and shortfalls in the Bakel area also contributed to market activity. In the 1860s, Medine surpassed Bakel as the primary regional grain center. Improved relations between the French and the Umarians in Karta spurred the expansion of the Medine market because much of the grain traded was grown in Jombokho.⁴⁴ The French purchased large amounts of grain at Medine to supply the string of posts in the Senegal valley and the Soudan. Traitants, primarily Senegalese merchant middlemen, involved in the booming gum trade additionally participated in the exchange of grain. By the 1870s, the grain market operated throughout the year. With the expansion of their military presence in the 1880s, the French purchased even more grain in the area near Kayes, which replaced Medine as the new administrative center. While exact archival figures are virtually non-existent, the main grain markets in the region clearly expanded throughout the second half of the nineteenth century.

Several other commodities of regional exchange in the upper Senegal valley also deserve attention. Kola nuts comprised a substantial proportion of imports from southern forest zones. In the second half of the nineteenth century, annual imports, primarily from the British colony of Sierra Leone, averaged approximately 250,000 kilograms. Kola nuts, an acceptable stimulant for Muslims who avoided alcohol and tobacco, also functioned as an important ceremonial item. Another significant forest product, karite or shea butter, served in cooking and soap and candle-making. Moorish caravans carried salt bars

southward from the Ijil salt mines in north-central Mauritania to Tishit in the Tagant. Idawaish Moors then transported the salt to markets in the upper Senegal. Finally, cotton and woolen textiles from diverse parts of the Western and Central Sudan figured prominently in regional imports. Blankets, wrappers and turbans from the Segou area, woolen items from Masina, and dyed cloths from Kano were especially prized.⁴⁷

Long-distance trade on the Senegal River, particularly involving European nations, comprises the best documented and most fully discussed category of Senegambian exchange.⁴⁸ The export of gum arabic, centered on the lower river, also dominated long-distance commerce in the upper valley throughout the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. The trade on the Senegal River made Saint Louis the major French commercial establishment in sub-Saharan Africa. The upper valley's economic and military importance to the French during the second half of the century rested on its location at the limits of the river's navigability. Though some trans-Saharan trade routes were connected directly to the region, by the 1840s the river axis dominated exchange with Europe.

Several Bordeaux commercial firms with bases at Saint Louis established branches in the upper Senegal. Maurel et Prom, Deves et Chaumet, Buhan et Teisseire and Peyriassac all operated upriver throughout the second half of the nineteenth century. Besides exporting gum arabic, each commercial house specialized in certain categories of products. The firms were usually represented by European negociants, though Africans, mostly Saint Louisians, increasingly supervised branch

offices. Numerous local merchants with bases in Bakel, Medine and Kayes also participated actively on long-distance commerce. By 1900, twenty-one of the thirty-seven registered negociants in Kayes were African. In Medine, five Europeans and four Africans were registered.⁴⁹

Trading in gum arabic, the primary intercontinental export, recorded a dramatic increase in the nineteenth century that demonstrably affected the history of the upper valley. The creation of the French post at Bakel in 1820 marked a critical juncture in the gum trade. While the gum on the lower river was more readily available and generally superior in quality, world demand made trading in upper valley gum sufficiently profitable. Moreover, the French, experiencing political problems with the Trarza and Brakna Moors who supplied the commodity in the lower and middle vallies, maintained continuously friendly relations with the Idawaish Moors who controlled trade routes to the upper valley. The gum market at Bakel thrived as did several comptoirs flottants situated between Bakel and the Felu Falls. In 1848 the French passed an ordinance which overturned the trade monopoly of the traitants and permitted French commercial houses to operate upriver. In the 1860s, Medine, because of its recent establishment and lack of entrenched gum interests, attracted numerous traitants and eventually supplanted Bakel as the leading gum-export center in the upper Senegal valley.⁵⁰ The following table lists the volume of traitant gum purchases in Bakel and Medine from 1860 to 1895.

Table 2. Volume of Traitant Gum Purchases at Bakel and Medine, 1860-95

<u>Year</u>	<u>Bakel</u>	<u>Medine</u>
1860	221,780k	0
1861	300,175k	0
1862	252,600k	0
1863	265,727k	0
1864	295,000k	0
1865	306,807k	0
1866	301,387k	30,000k
1867	105,316k	42,000k
1868	121,464k	176,875k
1869	511,825k	211,459k
1870	384,710k	367,000k
1871	362,611k	344,600k
1872	438,755k	483,300k
1873	416,553k	85,000k
1874	368,671k	580,545k
1875	375,483k	575,000k
1876	414,667k	363,672k
1877	405,962k	576,069k
1878	522,508k	360,758k
1879	471,176k	523,533k
1880-84 (Annual average)	255,000k	320,000k
1885-88 (Annual average)	300,000k	n.f.
1889	350,000k	n.f.
1890	225,000k	n.f.
1891	600,000k	n.f.
1892	157,000k	n.f.
1893	250,000k	n.f.
1894	122,500k	n.f.
1895	310,000k	n.f.

N.B.: Figures for 1880-1895 are estimates.

Sources: AMS Q22-25, esp. Q23 (#59); AMS 13G 190-197.

European and Asian textiles comprised the leading imports in long-distance exchange in the upper Senegal valley. These fabrics included, among others, Chinese and Indian silks and cotton-silk mixtures, woolen goods from England and Flanders, Belgian linens, Manchester calicot, and coarse linens from the Netherlands. The most common textile import, however, was guinée, indigo-dyed, dark blue heavy cotton, which served as the preferred exchange currency in the region throughout the nineteenth century. Moor and Jakhanké merchants particularly favored the durable cloth which was used for a variety of garments. Manufactured in France, primarily in Rouen, the untreated cloth was shipped to India for dyeing at Pondichery which had a long-established and well-organized dyeing industry. After coloring, the guinées were re-exported to France before being sent to its colonies. The British manufactured untreated cotton cloth in Manchester before sending it to Pondichery as well. Belgian and Dutch versions also existed. The quality and price of each variety differed and fluctuated in the Senegal valley. The French type, referred to as "filature X" because all bolts were stamped with this trademark, was less sturdy and consequently less expensive than other versions.⁵¹

A hierarchy of cloth, including domestic and imported textiles, characterized the economy. Traditional, locally produced cloth, owing to its low cost, durability, suitability to the climate and its everyday and ritual use, dominated the least expensive, and largest, level. Most imported cloths commanded the market for medium-priced textiles, qualifying as relatively inexpensive but good quality material. Luxury, expensive fabrics included imports like linens,

velvets and Belgian guinées, in addition to elaborate, highly prized traditional cloth. Certain ceremonies (for example, baptisms, weddings and funerals) required specialty cloths. By dominating the highest and lowest levels in the textile hierarchy, locally made cloths maintained their wide distribution and importance in the face of substantial European and Asian imports.⁵²

While textiles and gum arabic dominated long-distance exchange, other products also entered into intercontinental trade. Imports into the upper Senegal valley included European manufactured goods like silverware, china, glassware, ink, paper and some firearms. Data on weapons firearm imports remain scarce, though the trade was probably quite active. Exports from the region consisted primarily of agricultural products, although groundnut and cotton production for export never expanded beyond limited areas directly on the river or the railroad. Some Bambuk gold, in nugget or dust form, figured in long-distance exchange, but quantities gradually diminished throughout the period.

Conclusion

This chapter has presented an overview of the most important aspects of the economic system operative in the upper Senegal valley in the second half of the nineteenth century. The regional economy consisted of several different types of productive and exchange

activities. The domestic economy, based on the household and heavily dependent on slave labor, was dominated by agriculture. Pastoralism, craft production and an important mining component in Bambuk complemented the domestic economy throughout the region. The upper Senegal's exchange sector, integrated with production, was comprised of concentric local, regional and long-distance trade networks. The region's location in the transitional savanna zone between desert and forest and the occupational specialization of the inhabitants also shaped the exchange sector. Shifts in emphasis, rather than dramatic changes, occurred in both production and exchange during the period. Production and exchange expanded rapidly throughout the nineteenth century. While some new products and techniques were adopted, appropriate technologies, which produced low-cost, durable goods, persisted. Pre-existing trade routes and networks continued to operate throughout the region. Continuity,[?] diversification and expansion characterized the regional economy of the upper Senegal valley during the second half of the nineteenth century.

ENDNOTES

1. The main archival sources for agriculture in the upper Senegal valley during the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries are AMS Serie Q ("Affaires économiques," but especially Q48, 1896), AMS R ("Agriculture," and esp. R4), ANM 1Q (Affaires économiques), and ANM 1R (Agriculture). Among early travellers, A. Raffenel, Voyage and Nouveau voyage provides the most detail on agriculture. Early twentieth century works that deal at length with agriculture include C. Monteil, Les Khassonké, and J. Méniand, Haut-Sénégal-Niger: géographie économique (Paris, 1912). The classic secondary works on the economic history of West Africa and Senegambia include A. Hopkins, An Economic History of West Africa, and P. Curtin, Economic Change in Precolonial Africa. Studies more focused on the upper Senegal valley consist of S.-M. Cissoko, Contribution à l'histoire politique du Khasso, Keita, Kayes et sa région, Chastanet, "Les crises de subsistance," E. Pollet and G. Winter, La société soninké, and P. Bradley, et al, The Gidimaka Region of Mauritania. Finally, P. Pelissier, Les paysans du Sénégal, though primarily on western Senegal, contains much relevant information on agriculture.

2. Cf. AMS R and ANM 1R. Compared to political correspondence or files on military campaigns, these dossiers are not very extensive or comprehensive.

3. For Bundu and Gajaaga, see Curtin, Economic Change, pp. 24-5. Also on Gajaaga, see I. Bathily, "Notices socio-historiques," and A. Bathily, "Imperialism and Colonial Expansion" and "Guerriers, tributaires et marchands." Cissoko, Contribution, briefly treats land tenure in Khasso. Some oral informants who discussed land tenure include interviews with Mamadu Boye Sow at Bidiancoto (Bundu), 27 August 1987, Lamine Camara at Bidiancoto (Bundu), 30 August 1987, Bubakar Issa Kante at Kanioube Mayo (Bundu), 19 September 1987, Niocuro Diallo at Bagadaji (Bundu), 23 September 1987, Sadia Signate at Sinthoué (Bambuk), 16 November 1987, Samba Soumare at Kayes (Khasso), 11 April 1988, and Samba Gadja Diallo at Medine (Khasso), 12 April 1988.

4. Curtin, Economic Change, and Bathily, "Imperialism and Colonial Expansion" and "Guerriers, tributaires et marchands," treat this subject. See also the interviews from Senudebu with Amadou Wopa Sy, 1 November 1987 and with Ibrahima Bokar Sy, 2 November 1987. For the tunka of Gajaaga, see the interview with Musa Hawa Bathily at Bakel (Gajaaga), 18 April 1988.

5. In addition to numerous references in oral interviews, see Pelissier, Les paysans du Sénégal, and Curtin, Economic Change.

6. Interviews with Bubakar Issa Kante at Kanioube Mayo, 20 September 1987, Samba Hadja Diallo at Kanioube Mayo, 21 September 1987, and Chierno Suleymane An at Saadatu (Bambuk), 2 October 1987. See also M. Dupire, Organisation sociale des Peul, p. 255.

7. This discussion of agricultural techniques is based mainly on personal observations and oral interviews with cultivators in the region. Archival sources include several files in AMS R ("Agriculture"). In the secondary literature, see Robert July, Precolonial Africa (New York, 1975), pp. 76-82, and Hopkins, An Economic History of West Africa, pp. 36-7.

8. Archival references to millet in the upper Senegal valley are numerous. See, in particular, the various "Notice agricole, commerciale et industrielle" which appeared annually in ANM 1Q as well as reports in AMS R. For a discussion of the varieties of millet and different conditions necessary for cultivation, see the semi-official publication Exposition universelle de 1900: Sénégal-Soudan: agriculture, industrie, commerce (Paris, 1900), esp. pp. 47-8. Other good sources on millet include Méniaud, Haut-Sénégal-Niger, Volume Two, Curtin, Economic Change, p. 32, and Pelissier, Les paysans du Sénégal, pp. 86-7. On millet growing in Gidimaka, see Bradley, The Gidimaka Region, pp. 21-2.

9. On maize production in Senegal and Soudan, see Exposition universelle, p. 49, Méniaud, Haut-Sénégal-Niger, p. 213, Hopkins, An Economic History of West Africa, p. 30, and Curtin, Economic Change, p. 25. The classic work on maize in Africa in general is Marvin Miracle, Maize in Tropical Africa (Madison, 1966). Miracle discusses several other crops as well. On rice, see Exposition universelle, p. 39-40 and the works cited for maize and millet.

10. Groundnuts have received extensive treatment in the literature. An interesting account is L. Faidherbe, Le Sénégal: le France dans l'Afrique occidentale, pp. 104-5. See the works previously cited for other crops and Hopkins, An Economic History of West Africa, p. 141. Pelissier, Les paysans du Sénégal, dealing with the "peanut basin" of Senegal, has a lengthy discussion on groundnuts.

11. On cotton, see ANM 1R 79-1R 123, "Correspondance sur le coton au Soudan." The most relevant archival piece is 1R 121, "Les origines de la culture du coton au Soudan," 3 notices, 1903-08. Consult also Faidherbe, Le Sénégal, pp. 100-04, Exposition universelle, pp. 50-1, and Hopkins, An Economic History of West Africa, pp. 137-8 and 219. On indigo, see ANM 1R 205, "Correspondance sur l'indigo," Cercle de Kayes, 2 notices, 1898-1901, AMS R4, "Notice sur la culture de l'indigotier," (Kayes, 1900) by Vuillet. Non-archival sources include A. Decaux, "Note sur les indigos du Sénégal," Revue coloniale 18 (1857), Faidherbe, Le Sénégal, pp. 10-4, and Exposition universelle, p. 59. Among contemporary travellers, A. Raffenel, Nouveau voyage, discusses indigo-dyeing in detail.

12. The calendar is based on information from the archives (relevant dossiers on agriculture and crops in AMS and ANM) as well as personal observations and oral interviews conducted in the region. For other examples of regional agricultural calendars, see Bradley, The Gidimaka Region, p. 75, Chastanet, "Les crises de subsistance," p. 19, and M. Fleury, "Un village Diakhanke du Sénégal-Oriental," p. 83.

13. On hunting in general, see Hopkins, An Economic History of West Africa, p. 43. On hunting among groups in western Mali, see Bokar N'Diaye, Les Ethnies au Mali. C. Monteil, Les Khassonkés, discusses hunting among the Khassonkes, while the Malinke are treated by Youssouf Cissé, "Notes sur les sociétés de chasseurs malinke." Archival notes on gathering include ANM 3R ("Fôrets") and ANM 1R 213, which is specifically on karite tree butter. Fishing references can be found in ANM 4R ("Pêche"), esp. 4R 1, "Pêcheries du Felou" (November, 1895). Monteil and N'Diaye also treat fishing among different ethnic groups. For the area near Kayes/Medine, see R. Keita, La région de Kayes, vol. I, pp. 126-8. See also Hopkins, An Economic History of West Africa, p. 43. An interesting article on fishermen in a nearby region is R. Roberts, "Fishing for the State: The Political Economy of the Middle Niger Valley," in D. Crummey and C. Stewart (eds.), Modes of Production in Africa (1981).

14. On fishing rights on the upper Senegal River, see ANM 4R 1 and Monteil Les Khassonké, p. 107. On the Faleme River, see interviews with Ibrahima Bokar Sy at Senudebu (Bundu), 3 November 1987, Chierno Suleymane An at Saadatu (Bambuk), 2 October 1987, and Samba Gadjia Diallo at Medine (Khasso), 12 April 1988.

15. The literature on gum arabic in West Africa is quite extensive. Early accounts on Moorish gathering methods include Carrère and Holle, Sénégal française, pp. 328-32, Raffenet, Second voyage, p. 229, and A. Chevalier, "L'exploration agricole et forestière du Soudan français," Bulletin de la société des études coloniales et maritimes 26 (1901). For the early trade in gum arabic, see E. Bouet-Williamuez, Commerce et traite des noirs aux côtes occidentales d'Afrique (Paris, 1848). See also Curtin, Economic Change, pp. 215-17. An excellent recent article is James Webb, "The Trade in Gum Arabic: Prelude to French Conquest in Senegal," JAH 26 (1985). See also the dissertations by John Hanson, "Umarian Karta (Mali, West Africa) during the Late Nineteenth Century," (1989), Ch. 4; and F. Manchuelle, "Origins of Black African Emigration to France," (1987), Ch. 2.

16. On pastoralism in the Western Sudan, see Hopkins, An Economic History of West Africa, pp. 39-42, and Pelissier, Les paysans du Sénégal, pp. 252-60. Curtin, Economic Change, is surprisingly weak on pastoralists and their activities. Earlier accounts on pastoral groups in the upper Senegal include C. Pierre and C. Monteil, L'élevage au Soudan (Paris, 1905) and Meniaud, Haut-Sénégal-Niger. A good, recent study is Cheikh Ba, Les Peuls du Sénégal (Dakar, 1986).

17. D. Stenning, "Transhumance, Migratory Drift and Migration: Patterns of Pastoral Nomadism of the Fulani," in S. and P. Ottenberg (eds.), Cultures and Societies of Africa (1960); also, Stenning, Savannah Nomads (1959). Transhumance is also discussed by Hopkins, p. 41.

18. See the interviews in Bundu with Ibrahima Ba at Kanioube Mayo, 19 September 1987, Suleymane Ba at Hamdalli, 30 November 1987, and El Hadji Kousou Sylla at Bani-Israyel, 27 November 1987. Interviews in Bambuk include Samba Guissé at Banbuka, 5 October 1987. See also Dupire, Organisation sociale des Peul, p. 255.
19. On animals present in the region, see ANM 1Q 257, "Enquêtes sur les productions animal," all cercles, 1905. Consult also Exposition universelle, pp. 53-5, Pierre and Monteil, L'élevage au Soudan, and Rançon, Le Boundou, pp. 32-3. Curtin, Economic Change, pp. 221-2 discusses horses in the region. On the horse in West Africa in general, see Robin Law, The Horse in West African History (Oxford, 1980).
20. There are numerous sources on Bambuk gold. See, in particular, Curtin, "The Lure of Bambuk Gold," and the relevant sections of his Economic Change in Precolonial Africa.
21. Curtin, "The Lure of Bambuk Gold," provides an excellent synthesis on early reports on Bambuk. Archives directly concerned with mining in Bambuk include AMS 15G 121, AMS 1G 212, and ANM 3Q ("Mines"). See also André Delcourt, Les établissements français au Sénégal entre 1713 et 1763 (Dakar, 1952), Jacques Machat, Documents sur les établissements français et l'Afrique occidentale au xvii^e siècle (Paris, 1906), Jacques Labat, Nouvelle relation de l'Afrique occidentale, 4 vols. (Paris, 1728), esp. vol. II, pp. 3-4 and vol. IV, pp. 18-21, P. Curtin with J. Boulegue, "Claude Bocard: Relation du Bambouc (1729)," Bulletin de l'IFAN 36B (1974), A. Delcourt (ed.), Journal d'un voyage fait en Bambouc en 1744 par Pierre David (Paris, 1974), A. Boilat, Esquisses sénégalaises, pp. 419-22, Medina Ly-Tall, "Le Haut-Sénégal et le Haut-Niger dans la politique française de la fin du xvii^e siècle au milieu du xviii^e siècle: l'attrait de l'or du Bambouc et du commerce du Soudan," Bulletin de l'IFAN 43B (1981). See the table in Chapter One for a list of early travellers to Bambuk.
22. J.B. Labat, Nouvelle relation de l'Afrique occidentale (1728), II, p. 3.
23. On the Kenieba project, see AMS 13G 250 (1858-60). Consult also Faidherbe Le Sénégal, pp. 218-20, Annuaire du Sénégal, pp. 441-2, A. Raffanel, Voyage, Chapters XII to XV, Boilat, Esquisses sénégalaises, pp. 262-6, and M. Barrat, "Les mines d'or du bassin du Sénégal," Bulletin de la société des études coloniales et maritimes (1896). See also Rançon, Le Boundou, pp. 25-27. A good secondary account of Faidherbe's role in the ill-fated Kenieba scheme can be found in L. Barrows, "General Faidherbe, the Maurel and Prom Company and French Expansion in Senegal," pp. 452-60.
24. For reports on the 1890s, see AMS Q25 (esp. #64, 1893), Barrat, "Les mines d'or," Exposition universelle, pp. 64-71, and Méniaud, Haut-Sénégal-Niger, II, p. 179-81.

25. Gold mining rights in Bambuk are discussed in Henri Hubert, "Coutumes indigènes en matière d'exploitation de gîtes aurifères en Afrique occidentale," Annuaire et mémoires du Comité d'études historiques et scientifiques de l'AOF (1917), esp. pp. 238-9. Curtin, "The Lure of Bambuk Gold," relies heavily on this source for his treatment of mining rights. See also Méniaud, Haut-Sénégal-Niger, vol. II, pp. 175-9. Among oral interviews in Bambuk dealing specifically with mining rights, particularly along the Faleme River, see Mamadu Samba Djaby at Laminea, 7 November 1987, and Sadia Hamady Camara at Sadiola, 10 November 1987.
26. For traditional mining techniques, see ANS 1G 212, "Rapport sur Bambuk par Ballieu," Hubert, "Coutumes indigènes," pp. 226-43, Méniaud, Haut-Sénégal-Niger, vol. II, pp. 175-9, and A. Belan, "L'or dans le cercle de Kedougou," Notes africaines 31 (1946). Among early travellers, the best description is provided by Raffeneil, "Sénégal. Exploration de la rivière Falémé et des mines d'or du Bambouck et du Boundou," Revue coloniale 4 (1844).
27. On the process of women sifting sand and dirt for gold, see Raffeneil, "Sénégal. Exploration," (1844), pp. 193-4.
28. These are estimates based on archival export figures found in ANS and ANM. See also Curtin, "The Lure of Bambuk Gold," pp. 626-7.
29. Sources on minerals other than gold are limited. See Exposition universelle, pp. 69-71. On iron, see Hecquard, Voyage, (1853), p. 349, and Charles Colin, Le Soudan occidental (Paris, 1883), which is reprinted in the Revue maritime et coloniale 78 (1883). Curtin, Economic Change, especially Chapter 5, discusses iron and ironworking in the region. On mercury deposits, see ANS Q25 (#64, 1893).
30. Archival references can be found in ANM 2Q. For weaving descriptions, see ANM 1R 58 (1903) and ANM 1R 67 (1905). Travellers who treat craft production include Carrère and Holle, Sénégal française, Raffeneil, Voyage and Nouveau voyage, Ranson, "Dans la Haute Gambie," and Frederic Riembau, De Dakar au Niger (Paris, 1908).
31. Examples include J. Suret-Canale, Afrique noire: l'ère coloniale, 1900-1945 (Paris, 1962), Walter Rodney, How Europe Underdeveloped Africa (Washington, DC, 1974), S. Gellar, Structural Changes, and Rita Cruise O'Brien (ed.), The Political Economy of Underdevelopment: Dependence in Senegal (London, 1979).
32. Marion Johnson, "Technology, Competition and African Crafts," in C. Dewey and A. Hopkins (eds.), The Imperial Impact (London, 1978), p. 265. On carding and ginning, see Raffeneil, Nouveau voyage (1846), I, p. 407, and Venice Lamb, West African Weaving (London, 1975). For a consideration of textile production in the middle Niger valley, see Richard Roberts, "French Colonialism, Imported Technology and the Handicraft Textile Industry in the Western Sudan, 1898-1918," Journal of Economic History 47 (1987). The role of women and slaves in various

aspects of textile production are discussed by Claude Meillassoux, "État et conditions des esclaves à Gumbu (Mali) au XIXe siècle" in L'Esclavage en Afrique précoloniale (1975). Roberts, "Women's Work and Women's Property" discusses the role of women in textile production and dyeing in the middle Niger valley. Several informants discussed weaving at length, including Sirare Ba At Bidiancoto (Bundu), 15 August 1987, Lamine Camara at Bidiancoto (Bundu), 31 August 1987, Bubakar Issa Kante at Kanioube Mayo (Bundu), 22 September 1987, and Abdulaye Omar Diallo at Bakel, 17 April 1988.

33. Philip Shea, "The Development of an Export Oriented Dyed Cloth Industry in Kano Emirate in the Nineteenth Century," (U. of Wisconsin, Ph.D. thesis, 1975), p. 90. See also Venice and Alistair Lamb, West African Narrow Strip Weaving (Washington, DC: 1975), and Johnson, "Technology," p. 261.

34. Angela Browne, "Rural Industry and Appropriate Technology: The Lessons of Narrow-Loom Ashanti Weaving," African Affairs 82 (1983), p. 31. In addition, consult Johnson, "Technology," p. 267, and Shea, "The Development of an Export-Oriented Dyed Cloth Industry," p. 14.

35. See Shea, "The Development of an Export-Oriented Dyed Cloth Industry," p. 53, Hopkins, An Economic History of West Africa, p. 48, Lars Sundstrom, The Exchange Economy of Pre-Colonial Tropical Africa (New York, 1974), pp. 164-9, M. Johnson, "The Atlantic Slave Trade and the Economy of West Africa," in R. Antsey and P. Hair (eds.), Liverpool, the African Slave Trade and Abolition (Lancashire, 1976), p. 20, and Delia Pitts, "An Economic and Social History of Cloth Production in Senegambia," Ph.D. thesis, (University of Chicago, 1978), p. 153.

36. On dyeing, see references in previous endnotes, especially Raffenel, Nouveau voyage, pp. 407-10, Lasnet, Une mission au Sénégal, p. 94, Rançon, "La Haute Gambie," pp. 408-9. See also Curtin, Economic Change, p. 215, and Richard Roberts, "Women's Work and Women's Property: Household Social Relations in the Maraka Textile Industry of the Nineteenth Century," Comparative Studies in Society and History 26 (1984).

37. On ironworking, see ANM 1R 67 (1900), and AMS 1G 135, "Tournée dans le cercle de Bakel par Ct. Roux," 1 April 1892. See also Raffenel, Voyage dans l'Afrique, p. 306, Rey, "Voyage à Farabana," and "Rapport au Gouverneur du Sénégal par Ct. Rey," Revue coloniale 9 (1852), p. 262, and Rançon, "La Haute Gambie," pp. 499-500. See also Keita, Kayes et sa région, II, p. 103, Curtin Economic Change, p. 210, and July, Precolonial Africa, pp. 256-62. On gold and silver smithing, see Marion A. Johnson, "Black Gold: Goldsmiths, Jewelry and Women in Senegal," Ph.D. thesis (Stanford University, 1980), and Curtin, Economic Change, pp. 214-16.

38. On leatherworking, see ANM 2Q 6 ("Peaux"), ANM 1R 46 (1903), and ANM 1R 58 (1903 and 1904). Other references include Hopkins, An Economic History of West Africa, p. 49, D. Gamble, The Wolof of Senegambia (London, 1967), p. 13, and Martin Klein, "Colonial Rule and Structural Change: The Case of Sine-Saloum," in R. Cruise O'Brien (ed.), The Political Economy of Underdevelopment (1979), p. 92.
39. For archival references on raiding, see ANS 13G 195, Bakel (November, 1894), and ANS 15G 113 (May, 1882). For the reference to Soninke cooperation with the Moors, see ANS 1D 158, piece 14: "Colonne du Guidmaka," 1894, p. 6. This piece also describes the organization and raiding patterns of the Moors.
40. Consult ANS 13G 195, June and July, 1894, and ANS 15G 113, 1881.
41. ANS 15G 113 piece 6: July, 1881, and ANS 13G 167, 1855-59. Oral interviews in Bundu on raiding include Saliou Diallo at Turé-Kunda, 3 October 1987, and Musa Cissoko at Sansandé, 5 October 1987. For interviews from Bambuk on raiding, see Abdul Djaby at Laminea, 7 November 1987, and Mamadu Samba Djaby at Laminea, 7 November 1987.
42. Dossiers specifically concerned with trade include ANS Q ("Économie de l'AOF: 1896-1919"), ANS Q25 ("Commerce: affaires diverses: 1881-94"), and ANM Q ("Affaires économiques: 1884-1920"), especially 1Q 37-40 and 1Q 63-70.
43. Consult ANS Q48, "Notice agricole: 1896," notably Chapters 3-4 which list the principal trade routes connected to the upper Senegal valley. See also Curtin, Economic Change.
44. For Guinea, see Odile Goerg, Commerce et colonisation en Guinée: 1850-1913 (Paris, 1986). On Karta routes, see Hanson, "Umarian Karta." On the Bamako grain market, see Richard Roberts, "The Emergence of a Grain Market in Bamako," CJAS 14 (1980). On Segu, see Roberts, Warriors, Merchants and Slaves.
45. See ANS 13G 165, "Rapport de H. Hequard," 30 July 1857, pp. 7-8, and Raffenel, "Divers itinéraires de la Sénégambie et du Soudan," RSPG (1849). See also Curtin, Economic Change, pp. 271-8. The organization of Moorish caravans is discussed by Ann McDougall, "The Ijil Salt Industry: Its Role in the Precolonial Economy of the Western Sudan" Ph.D. thesis (Birmingham University, 1978), and idem, "Camel Caravans of the Saharan Salt Trade: Traders and Transporters in the Nineteenth Century," in C. Coquery-Vidrovitch and P. Lovejoy (eds.), The Workers of African Trade (London, 1985). See also Hopkins, An Economic History of West Africa, pp. 62-4.
46. ANS 13G 210 and ANS 15G 108. See also Hanson, "Umarian Karta," especially Chapter 5.

47. For the trade in kola nuts, see ANS R4, piece 9: 1896. See also ANS 1G 135, "Tournée du Ct. Roux," April 1892. Other sources include Rançon, "La Haute Gambie," pp. 457-8, and A. Chevalier and E. Perrot, Les kolatiers et les noix de kola (Paris, 1911). The standard secondary works on kola nuts in West Africa are Paul Lovejoy, "Kola in the History of West Africa," CEA 20 (1980) and his more comprehensive treatment, Caravans of Kola: The Hausa Kola Trade, 1700-1900 (Zaria, 1980). On karite tree butter, also called shea butter or "buerre de Galam," see ANS R4, piece 9: 1896, and ANM 1R 213, "Notice sur le karité, 1905-07," by Vuillet. Consult also Rançon, "Dans la Haute Gambie," pp. 246-7, and Exposition universelle, pp. 85-6. On salt, see ANS Q 48, "Notice agricole par Ct. Ballieu," 1897. In addition, see P. Baillaud, Sur les routes du Soudan (Paris, 1899), p. 43. The salt trade is analyzed by McDougall, "The Ijil Salt Trade." For the trade in textiles, see Exposition universelle, pp. 85-6. On Segu textiles, see J. Vuillet, "L'agriculture dans le pays de Ségo et les régions voisines," BCAF/RC 11 (1920). On Masina woolen cloth, see Pascal Imperato, "Wool Blankets of the Peul of Mali," African Arts 4 (1973). On Kano cloth, see Shea, "The Development of an Export-Oriented Dyed Cloth Industry."

48. In addition to the archival and published sources already cited throughout these notes, see Margaret McLane, "Commercial Rivalries and French Policy on the Senegal River, 1831-1858," African Economic History 15 (1986).

49. ANM 1Q 22, 1897. Maisons de commerce were listed annually in the Annuaire du Sénégal et dépendances. On the négociants, see ANS Q 49, piece 87: 1900.

50. ANS Q22-25, especially Q23, piece 59, and ANS 13G 190-197. For an early account of the gum trade, see E. Bouet-Williamuez, Commerce et traite des noirs aux côtes occidentales d'Afrique. The most recent summary of the trade in gum arabic from Senegal is Webb, "The Trade in Gum Arabic."

51. A good summary on imported textiles is Marion Johnson, "The Atlantic Slave Trade and the West African Economy." On calicot, see M. Johnson, "Calico Caravans: The Tripoli-Kano Trade after 1800," JAH 17 (1976). On guinées, archival sources include ANM 1R 46, piece 1: March, 1896, ANS Q24, piece 23: June, 1865, and ANS Q25, piece 50: 1887, and piece 60: 1888. In addition, textile imports are listed in the Exposition universelle, pp. 32-33 and 91-4. A good secondary article on guinées in Senegal is Colin Newbury, "The Protectionist Revival in French Colonial Trade: The Case of Senegal," Economic History Review 21 (1968).

52. The idea of a "hierarchy of cloth" was first forwarded by P. Manning, Slavery, Colonialism and Economic Growth in Dahomey, 1640-1960 (Cambridge, 1982), pp. 124-6.

CHAPTER FOUR

The Political Economy of the Upper Senegal Valley, 1850-1920

In the second half of the nineteenth century, the upper Senegal region consisted of several political formations centered on the river valley. Gajaaga (Goy and Kamera), Gidimaka and Khasso stretched along the Senegal River, and the Faleme River served as the main water artery for Bundu and Bambuk. The river system divided the region and some polities into varying degrees of core and periphery which shifted over time. The settlements along the water routes were generally larger, more economically diverse and market oriented, and in closer contact with the French administration. The remainder and largest part of the region, consisting of widely scattered agricultural and pastoral settlements with a limited colonial presence, was further divided into shifting core and peripheral villages, depending on their distance from the capital, major trade routes, or more densely settled sections. The political economy of the region from the civil wars of the late 1840s and the Umarian jihad of the 1850s through the revolt of Mamadu Lamine in the late 1880s will be considered, with particular emphasis on the

traditional polities of Bundu and Khasso. The following chapter will discuss the more completely commercialized sectors of the region, including the towns of Bakel, Medine and Kayes and the surrounding central river valley.

Sources

The written documentation, including archival materials and travellers' accounts, for the vicinities of Bakel, Medine and Kayes from 1850 to 1890 appears to be relatively abundant since the archives contain correspondence exchanged between the commanders in the towns and the governor in Saint Louis. Census figures, detailed maps, court records and trade statistics for these locations easily surpass data from the rest of the region in both quantity and quality throughout the period. Monographs from the early-twentieth century were written on each of the three centers. Touring governors and officials from the metropole spent a disproportionate amount of time at the posts and devoted most of their correspondence and reports to describing conditions there. Travellers and officials on scientific, diplomatic and military missions used the towns as bases, and Europeans venturing further east invariably passed through and described at least one settlement on the Senegal River.

There is much less documentation available for the outlying rural areas, and the quantity of data also varies within the individual

polities. European attention was directed primarily to commercial and military posts and, with the shift of gravity from Bakel to Medine and later Kayes, the documentation on the towns and river valley experiences a similar spatial change. Villages near or between posts in the river valley, especially those that interacted economically with the forts, received some consideration, while settlements removed from the rivers, capital areas, or major routes rarely figure in the written sources. However, in times of crisis or unusual activity, certain rural areas did warrant notice. During the revolts of al-Hajj Umar and Mamadu Lamine, sites of major confrontations received extensive coverage, albeit with written sources emphasizing French victories and minimizing their losses. For Mamadu Lamine's revolt, the written documents are concentrated overwhelmingly on Bundu, the main theater of events.

Given the biases and inadequacies of the written documentation, oral sources become particularly important for a discussion of the region's socio-economic history. Informants approach the Umarian jihad and Mamadu Lamine's revolt from perspectives that differ radically from the written sources with their emphasis on the French interpretation of events. Slavery and the internal slave trade, officially illegal during the period, are generally absent in the written record, whereas oral sources shed some light on the acquisition of slaves and the operation of servile relations of production. Oral narratives are also illuminating on raiding, a widespread and complex phenomenon crucial to the reconstruction of the region's economy in the 1860s, 1870s and early 1880s.

While there is limited variety in oral traditions collected in villages, several spoken versions dealing with a specific topic or individual are usually available in towns. Bakel and Kayes contain several ethnic groups, facilitating comparison of recitations across social and economic lines. Kayes, presently the largest center, has the most diversified population and consequently, the greatest number of variants of formal and informal traditions. Bakel has a fairly diverse ethnic composition and a sizable number of versions, whereas Medine now constitutes little more than a large village, and oral sources are not so varied as in nearby Kayes or Bakel.

Compared to oral testimonies collected in rural areas, considerably more "interference" has entered traditions from Bakel and Kayes. Town informants have greater contact with written cultures, including French and Arabic, and a number had some modern education and enhanced traditions with facts and attitudes learned in schools. Town informants are also more inclined to listen to radio broadcasts or cassette tapes of oral recitations and add details and anecdotes from these sources. Radio Mali regularly broadcasts performances by professional griots, and informants were sometimes influenced by this external source. Towns also host a number of travelling griots from villages and other regions whose narrations contribute to the interference in local traditions. Outside influences in sources are not so marked in the hinterland, although radio broadcasts and travelling performers reach even the most remote areas.

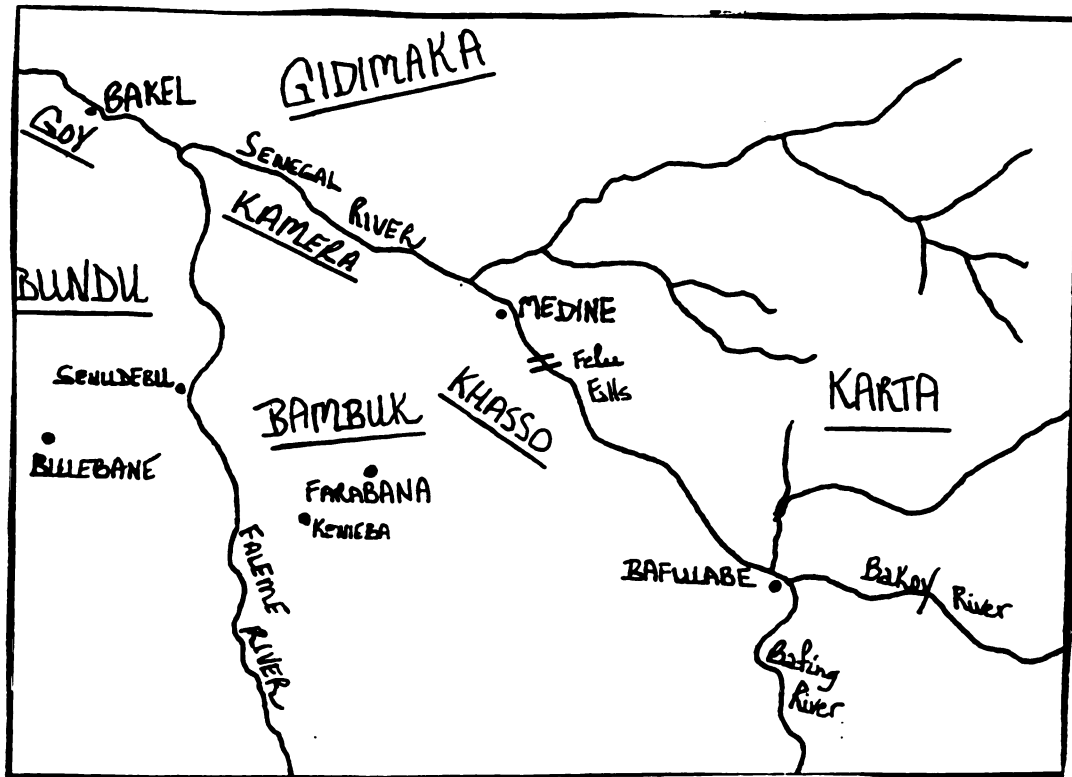


Figure 7
The Upper Senegal Valley in the Mid-Nineteenth Century

Conflicts and Destruction, 1850-60

A series of devastating civil wars preceded the Umarian movement in the upper Senegal valley. In Bundu, power had traditionally alternated between the Kussan and Bulebane houses of the Sissibe lineage. By the 1840s, the leader of the Bulebane branch, Almany Saada Sy, also known as Saada Amadi Aissata, had allied with the Massassi Bambara of Karta and the French. In return for a token payment and military support, he permitted the Europeans to build a fort at Senudebu on the Faleme River in 1845. The French hoped to divert caravans from the Gambia, but Saada continued to trade with the British.¹ When Saada died in late 1851, the Bulebane house refused to relinquish power to Kussan, which opposed the Sendubeu fort and had cultivated friendly relations with the British. Several claimants to the throne soon emerged, and the resulting civil war seriously disrupted production and exchange. Moors and Bambara from Gidimaka and Karta raided the Senegal and Faleme valleys constantly. Many Bundunke were killed or migrated from the area, Jakhanke trading links with the Gambia were severed, and two seasons of poor rainfall destroyed the remaining agricultural and pastoral production. On the eve of the Umarian jihad in 1854, Bundu was a ruined and deserted land.²

An equally destructive civil war occurred in Gajaaga in the late 1840s when the system of choosing a tunka from a rotating series of villages disintegrated. Resentment over political and military domination among religious, commercial, and warrior settlements was fueled by rivalry for control of the increasingly profitable gum trade

and its revenues. By the mid-nineteenth century, Gajaaga was divided into the warring provinces of Goy and Kamera. Goy, which included Bakel, was ruled by the Tuabo-based Bathily lineage who had maintained cordial relations with the French, whereas another branch of the Bathily family ruled the upriver state of Kamera in alliance with Karta. Constant warfare among settlements and competition between the commercial and religious lineages in both provinces weakened their economies. Like their compatriots in Bundu, the Jakhanke in Gajaaga lost connections with the Gambia, while the bad harvests that plagued Bundu also affected Goy and Kamera.

Because of its commercial links to Gajaaga and Bundu, Gidimaka also suffered from the civil wars in the two polities. The Gaajaga Soninke, who controlled most of the larger settlements in Gidimaka, were unable to provide protection from raiders. The Idawaish Moors took advantage of the situation, attacking Soninke villages along the Senegal River in southern areas of Gidimaka.³

The Mande formations of Khasso and Bambuk likewise experienced violent conflicts in the years immediately preceding the Umarian jihad. The Massassi Bambara of Karta, having driven the Diallo royal family across the Senegal River to a cluster of villages near Medine, controlled the right bank of the old kingdom of Khasso. Skirmishes between the Kartans and Khassonke were frequent, and divisions within the Diallo lineage periodically erupted into violent clashes. Throughout the early-nineteenth century, but particularly during the expansionist reign of Almany Saada, Bambuk experienced numerous raids for slaves and cattle from Bundu, Khasso and Karta. Because of the

importance of the integrated regional economy, the civil wars in neighboring Bundu, Gajaaga and Khasso affected local exchange and production in Bambuk. Agriculture and gold mining activities declined dramatically in the 1840s and early 1850s.⁴

The life and career of al-Hajj Umar Tal have been described and analyzed in numerous accounts.⁵ Umar, a Muslim of Fulbe descent, was born in the late eighteenth century in Futa Toro in the middle Senegal valley. He travelled widely, including a pilgrimage to Mecca and a lengthy residence at Sokoto in the 1830s. Umar returned to the Western Sudan and established a base in Futa Jalon, attracting many followers from Futa Toro, Bundu and Futa Jalon. In 1849, he moved to Dingiray in the Mandinka kingdom of Tamba which bordered Futa Jalon. In 1852, the ruling elite of Tamba, threatened by the growing number of the interloper's followers, attacked Dingiray, and Umar reacted by declaring a jihad or "holy war."

Al-Hajj Umar Tal took advantage of existing political divisions and economic crises in the upper Senegal valley. In July 1854, he mobilized approximately 2,000 men and moved up from Dingiray along the Tambaoura ridge of Bambuk to avoid Kartan influence in the east and the Senudebu fort to the west. The jihad forces met sustained resistance from the predominantly non-Muslim Mandinka who used the mountainous terrain to wage a fierce guerilla war. The campaign occurred during the rainy season which seriously hindered Umarian maneuvers. However, both Umarian and Mandinka contingents suffered heavy losses. Rather than incorporating the Mande into his armies, Umar killed the resisters and

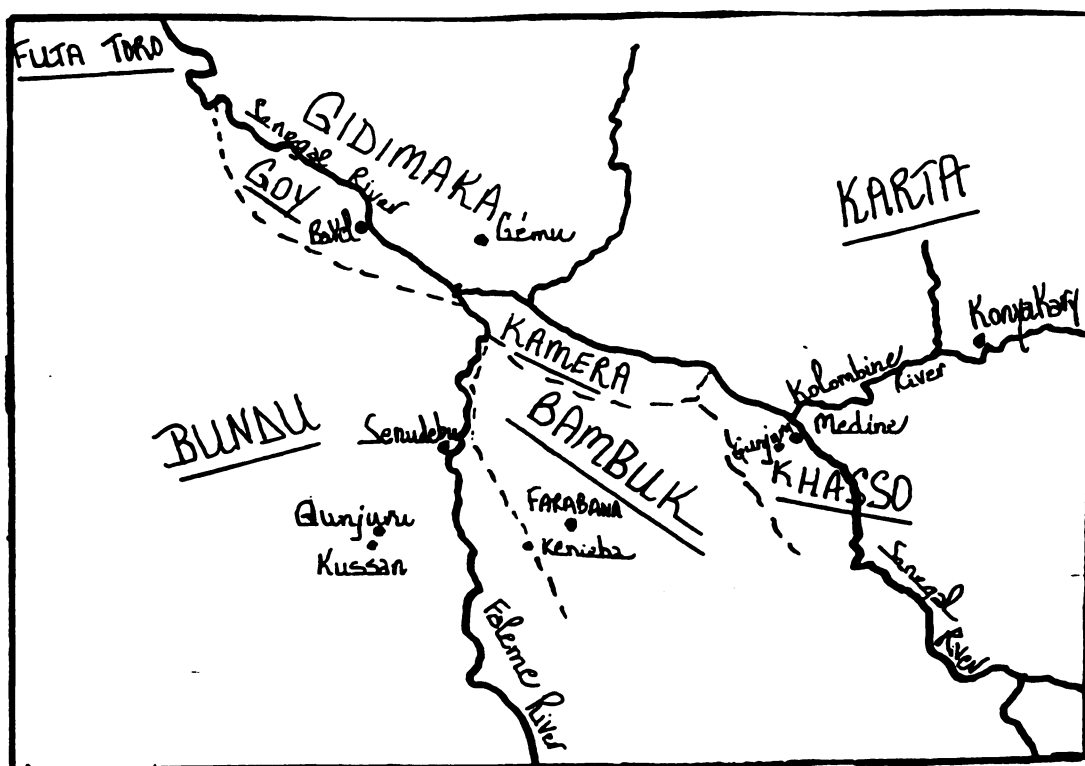


Figure 8
The Eastern Senegambian Theater, 1854-60
[adapted from Robinson, The Holy War of Umar Tal.]

destroyed numerous villages; women and children were captured and sold into slavery. He made no attempt to establish an administration over the area. By late 1854, Umar had successfully crushed the Mandinka of Bambuk and established his capital at Farabana.⁶ Besides its strategic location above the confluence of the Senegal and Faleme Rivers, Farabana, populated almost entirely by refugee slaves, had been an unwelcome symbol of resistance to the rulers of nearby polities.

Umar rapidly gained the support of the ruling classes in eastern Senegambia. In order to secure their allegiance, Umar returned some of the refugee slaves in Farabana to their former masters in Bundu, Khasso, and Goy.⁷ He exerted pressure on the losing sides involved in the civil wars to support his cause. The exhausted and much weaker Kussan branch in Bundu quickly joined the jihad. Umar then persuaded most members of the Bulebane faction, including Bokar Saada Sy, son of Almany Saada, to end their dispute with Kussan and endorse the jihad. The Diallo lineage in Khasso, seeking to overthrow Kartan hegemony and extend its influence beyond Medine, joined the Umarian forces. Goy also supported the Umarian side, owing to recent losses to Karta-supported Kamera and the tax and labor exactions imposed by the Bakel commander. Finally, the residents of Gidimaka, closely tied to the Soninke of Goy, embraced the jihad. Supporters from all over the region joined the Umarian army which rapidly swelled to about 10,000 men.⁸

From his headquarters in Farabana, Umar carefully maintained and consolidated his control over the upper valley. His domination of Bundu kept open vital trade routes to the Gambia. His support among Muslim Jakhanke and Soninke merchants throughout the region enabled him to

secure supplies despite a French arms embargo imposed in 1855. His stronghold at Gemu in Gidimaka controlled the gum routes of the Idawaish Moors, and he virtually halted the flow of gum arabic to the upper valley. Opponents of the jihad had to retreat to the French enclaves which were the only sites in the region not ruled by Umar. Some Mandinka from Bambuk fled to Makhana in Kamera where they sought the protection of the royal family allied with the Bambara of Karta, but Umar attacked and destroyed Makhana in mid-January 1855. In preparation for a direct attack on Karta, Umar moved his base to Konyakary, one of the old capitals of northern Khasso.⁹

Louis Faidherbe, appointed governor of Senegal in 1854, undertook several initiatives in the region during the high water season of 1855, including alliances with Bokar Saada Sy of Bundu and Juka Sambala Diallo of Khasso. The son of Almany Saada and a Massassi princess, Bokar Saada initially supported Umar but objected to the latter's killing of many of his Bambara relatives at Yelimane near Konyakary. He also had family who opposed his candidacy as head of Bundu.¹⁰ Realizing he would play a limited role and wield little influence in a Umarian political formation, Bokar Saada travelled to Medine and professed his opposition to Umar and his loyalty to the French. Although Muslim and Fulbe like Umar, Bokar was perceived as a "friendly Peul" as opposed to an "anti-French Tukolor." Faidherbe saw the opportunity to restore the French advantage in Bundu that existed during the reign of Almany Saada and informally recognized Bokar Saada as almany in 1855.

The new almany initially had little indigenous support, but French weapons and ammunition and the logistical aid of the Bakel and Senudebu

posts enhanced his position. Successful raids for slaves and booty into Bambuk and the area around Bakel soon won Bokar Saada a loyal following. Assisted by the Senudebu garrison, the almany was able to limit Umar's recruitment efforts in Futa Toro and block Umarian access to Gambian and Bambuk trade routes that passed through Bundu. Faidherbe hoped Bokar would also help the French secure Bambuk and its reputedly extensive gold deposits.¹¹

The other notable alliance involved Juka Sambala Diallo of Medine. Like Bokar Saada, Juka Sambala had sworn allegiance to Umar in Bambuk in 1854, but he objected to the 1855 raids on commercial factories of traitants allied to his family. His brother, Kartum Sambala, had already gained an important position on the north bank of the Senegal. In order to play a significant role in Khasso, Juka realized he had to ally with the French.

The 1855 agreement between Faidherbe and chiefs from eleven of the twelve parts of Khasso was in the form of a peace treaty. The French agreed to pay Juka Sambala an initial sum of 500 francs with annual payments of 1,200 francs for four hectares of land in Medine on which to construct a new fort. The French also received rights to the river's left bank from Medine to the Felu Falls, which constituted a duty-free zone, in return for which they promised to provide protection to the inhabitants of Medine. After completion in November 1855, a garrison of sixty men staffed the fort under the command of Paul Holle, the néfis Saint Louisian officer and author, whose previous posts included Bakel and Senudebu. Because of the garrison at Medine and French support,

Juka Sambala became the most important leader in Khasso, amassing slaves, land and booty.¹²

Juka Sambala Diallo and Bokar Saada Sy gave legitimacy to colonial operations in the upper Senegal valley while manipulating French support to their own advantage. The indigenous leaders additionally sought to extend their hegemony and increase their wealth, prestige and position by allying with rulers in other parts of Senegal, including Abdul Bokar Kan of eastern Futa Toro. Bokar Saada, Juka Sambala and Abdul Bokar conducted numerous joint raids into Bambuk, the upper Gambia and the Ferlo with French approval and, frequently, encouragement. Umar's former headquarters at Farabana became a frequent target for slave and cattle raids, with Bokar Saada taking revenge against the members of the Kussan branch still resident in there.¹³ However, Bokar Saada and Juka Sambala only came into their own as strong leaders after the battle at Medine in 1857 and Umar's withdrawal to the east after 1860. The French decision in the early 1860s to concentrate on the peanut growing basin of western Senegal permitted the leaders of Bundu and Khasso to act virtually independently of the colonial administration. Rather than operating as puppets of the French, Bokar Saada and Juka Sambala developed their own agendas and strategies.¹⁴

The agreements with indigenous leaders and Umar's shift to Karta did not signal an end to the conflicts and destruction in the villages of the upper Senegal valley. The colonial military and its allies carried out a series of raids and incursions on communities that supported the jihad, while Bokar Saada, Juka Sambala and other pro-

French chiefs raided with impunity. The administration encouraged Idawaish Moors to strike pro-Umarian Fulbe and Soninke villages in Gidimaka, Goy and Kamera. The commanders at Bakel, Senudebu and Medine frequently bombarded and attacked nearby settlements, whose inhabitants were often enslaved and handed over to local allies or to colonial troops as payment. Occasionally Umar's partisans retaliated against the fortified French positions.¹⁵ In March 1855, the Senudebu commander was briefly captured in a skirmish along the Faleme River and only freed after a ransom payment. This was a minor incident, but Faidherbe magnified the event in his works to demonstrate the necessity of large-scale retaliation against Umar's supporters.¹⁶

The colonial military carried out several major campaigns against Umurian strongholds in the region. The Goy capital at Tuabo and several Soninke villages bordering the Senegal River in Goy and Gidimaka were destroyed by gunboats in 1855. Immediately following the siege at Medine in mid-1857, Faidherbe attacked Sonson, an Umurian fortress near Bakel situated on an important east-west trade and recruitment route. Previous attempts by Bokar Saada and the Bakel commander to take the position had failed, but Faidherbe had a fresh supply of troops and impressive firepower, including cannon. Many inhabitants fled before the attack; others were enslaved after the battle. With the destruction of the fort, Bokar Saada was finally in control of Bundu.¹⁷ After official recognition as almany in 1858, Bokar moved his capital from Bulebane to Senudebu where the garrison was increased significantly. Colonial troops also defeated Kartum Sambala, brother and rival of Juka and supporter of Umar, at his headquarters in Kana-Makhunu near

Konyakary. The victory consolidated Juka Sambala's rule in Khasso.¹⁸ In October 1859, colonial troops, aided by supporters of Bokar Saada and Juka Sambala, moved successfully against the Umarian stronghold of Gemu in Gidimaka. This marked the last major confrontation between the French and their Umarian antagonists in the upper Senegal valley.¹⁹

A number of population movements contributed to serious displacement and depopulation throughout the region. The climatic, economic and political conditions of the late 1840s and early 1850s encouraged migration, and civil wars, endemic in the region at the time, displaced a sizable portion of the population. Many Soninke and Mandinka from the upper Senegal migrated to the Gambia to grow groundnuts, while others travelled downriver to Saint Louis to work in the gum trade.²⁰ Large numbers of Bundunke and Soninke travelled to the province of Tamba after Umar declared the jihad, and others migrated to Umar's headquarters at Farabana in 1854. During the campaign in Bambuk, many non-Muslim Mandinka fled to Kamera, Karta and other Bambara-dominated areas to the east. After Umar's destruction of Makhana in early 1855, many recruits from Gidimaka, Kamera and Khasso joined Umar's forces in the east, with another wave of reinforcements arriving from the upper Senegal during the conquest of Karta. When Umar began to move toward Medine in early 1857, inhabitants of Khasso left in large numbers for Bambuk and southern Bundu, and many died on the journey.²¹

Umar's massive recruitment drive of 1858-59, while centered in his homeland of Futa Toro, also involved large numbers of people from the upper Senegal valley. In March 1858, when Umar travelled to the Faleme River valley, Bokar Saada, previously ordered out of Senudebu by the

French commander, took refuge at the fort. Umar quickly occupied the traditional Sissibe capital at Bulebane and called for large-scale emigration to the east. In April, as many as 10,000 people left the area and settled around Mioro in Karta. Most of the population of Bundu, including virtually every member of the Sissibe lineage, participated in the fergo, and a number of Soninke from Gajaaga soon followed. Other Soninke moved into the interior of Gidimaka beyond French control. The exodus was the final blow to the region's fragile economy, particularly in the rural areas. In 1859, approximately 5,000 people, fleeing bad harvests and the worst famine in memory, left the region for the Gambia River valley and southern Senegal.²²

The combined effects of civil wars, jihad, population movements and bad harvests in the 1850s devastated the upper Senegal valley. Most of the population was displaced, imprisoned, enslaved, pawned or killed. Numerous villages, some quite large, were destroyed and many settlements, especially in Goy, Bundu and Bambuk, were abandoned. Traditional agricultural, pastoral, mining, craft and commercial pursuits fell in abeyance. Because of the Umarian blockade of the French posts and unstable conditions in the rural areas, few overland caravans circulated, and river traffic was also severely reduced. Merchants were subjected to raids and confiscation of their goods by bandits and organized raiding expeditions. The lack of imports and locally produced goods caused a dramatic decline in regional and daily markets.

Reports of widespread famine appear periodically in the archives, with the worst incidents recorded in the last years of the jihad.²³ The

prolonged siege at Medine in 1857 caused serious food shortages in Khasso, and villagers who remained in the area were preoccupied with military activities rather than farming. The shortage of grain prevented cultivators from planting seeds during the next growing season.²⁴ The most severe famine occurred after the initial emigration to Mioro in 1859-60, when residents were reduced to a diet composed mainly of leaves, wild berries and roots. Some inhabitants of Khasso had to eat horses and donkeys. According to a late-nineteenth century tradition in Bundu, Bokar Saada had only one cow at Senudebu to milk to feed his children, and he had to rely on the Bakel and Senudebu commanders to provide his family with food.²⁵

The decade of the 1850s was a period of conflict, migration and destruction throughout the region which served as both battlefield and recruitment ground. Climatic conditions also contributed to widespread food shortages. However, the cessation of hostilities in 1860, when Umar directed his efforts toward Segou and the middle Niger valley, signalled the end of recruitment and logistical support for the jihad in the upper Senegal. Inhabitants began the slow and difficult process of rebuilding the shattered economy.

Recovery and Stability in the Upper Senegal, 1860 to the Mid-1870s

The Umarian jihad transformed the political, economic and social structures of the upper Senegal valley. Umar had taken advantage of existing cleavages and created new divisions and alliances. For much of the region, Kartan hegemony was replaced first by Umarian control and then by French rule. Bokar Saada and Juka Sambala, who owed their positions directly to the French, continually emphasized their roles as "compromise" candidates during the civil war period and as active participants in campaigns against Umar to insure colonial support. In the early years of their reigns, neither Bokar Saada nor Juka Sambala faced serious challenges from brothers or other claimants to their positions. In addition, French military and administrative efforts were concentrated on the upper valley which insured the stability of their allies.

A network of alliances among African leaders, primarily based on kinship, contributed to a stable political situation in the 1860s and early 1870s. Reviving traditional ties between the Sissibe of Bundu and the Diallo of Khasso, Bokar Saada married one of Juka Sambala's daughters. The Futanke ruler of eastern Futa Toro, Abdul Bokar Kan, established relations with both the Sy and Diallo lineages by marrying a daughter of each ruler in the early 1870s. In exchange for information, weapons and contacts with commandants at Bakel and Medine, Abdul Bokar was frequently called upon to resolve disputes and participate in campaigns in the upper river. Bokar Saada, Juka Sambala and Abdul Bokar relied on one another to exert influence on French

commandants to gain access to arms and other supplies, secure overland and water trade routes through their territories, and lend physical and moral support in battles and raids. Their alliances also presented a strong and united front against Amadu Sheku, Umar's son and principal successor, in Nioro and Segu. The three leaders participated in numerous military and raiding campaigns, particularly in the middle and upper Gambia valley which was beyond any large state's control or sphere of influence. The French were anxious to see allies extending their hegemony toward the important Gambian trade routes.²⁶

The process of economic reconstruction was considerably more rapid in the central river valley than in the peripheral areas. Except for the failed mining expedition at Kenieba in Bambuk between 1858 and 1860, French efforts at rebuilding the region's economic base were mainly confined to the towns and their vicinities. The expansion and diversification of the colonial bureaucracy in river valley centers also contributed to their redevelopment. In addition, the posts and large villages in the heartland relied primarily on regional and long-distance exchange, and the resumption of trade was swift after 1860.

By contrast, in the hinterland, bad harvests and food shortages caused a scarcity of seeds for several years after the cessation of hostilities. Consequently, villagers in Khasso raided grain stocks in Diomboko and areas in the east under Bambara control, while Bundunke raided settlements in Wuli, Niani and other states in the upper Gambia. Likewise, predators targeted caravans carrying millet and other foodstuffs enroute to Bakel and Medine. Besides grain, raiders took caravan animals, and also stole livestock from settlements in the Ferlo

and upper Gambia regions. Even with the additional animals, herds had been decimated throughout the upper Senegal, and the recovery of the pastoral sector was particularly slow. Craft manufacture in the outlying areas had virtually ceased during the upheavals because, with the disappearance of local demand and periodic markets, many craftsmen moved to the rapidly expanding posts and central river valley.²⁷

Because of population movements, the shortage of labor in the rural areas was the major obstacle to the resumption of all types of production. Pawning and selling dependents enabled some inhabitants to buy grain and seeds for planting, but further reduced the pool of labor available at the household level. Villagers who had previously practiced mining or craft manufacture during the dry season had to forage and hunt for food, while others took up floodplain agriculture along waterways. Some men abandoned agriculture and pastoralism to work as porters or guards on caravans. Migration to the posts, the lower river valley, the Gambia and the Casamance region of southern Senegal further reduced the labor force in the peripheral rural areas of the upper Senegal.

Large slave owners like Bokar Saada, Juka Sambala and the Bathilys in Goy and Kamera resumed agriculture and pastoralism almost immediately after the Umarian jihad. In order to buy grain and seeds, Bokar Saada sold some of his slaves in the Gambia River valley and southern Senegambia. Wealthy leaders, able to purchase more dependents and benefit from the availability of vacant land, also used revenues from customs duties on caravans, head taxes, and payments from the colonial administration to purchase slaves, grain and cattle. Wealth,

in the form of grain, livestock, land and slaves, was increasingly concentrated in the hands of a few individuals.

The 1860s was a period of intense raiding in the upper Senegal valley. Idawaish Moors attacked agricultural settlements in Gidimaka, Goy, Kamera and northern parts of Bundu and Khasso, while Bokar Saada, Juka Sambala, Abdul Bokar and the Bathilys raided for booty and slaves in Gidimaka, the Ferlo, Bambuk, southern Bundu and the small states of the upper Gambia. The rulers led major expeditions, whereas relatives or deputies usually commanded minor incursions and strikes. The major raids often involved contingents of several hundred men from Bundu, Khasso, Futa Toro and smaller polities in the region with settlements bordering the larger states especially vulnerable to attack. Raiders travelling long distances ransacked villages along their routes for supplies. Because freemen and slaves primarily engaged in agriculture comprised a significant number of participants, most raiding occurred in the months after harvest and before the next rainy season. The colonial administration, anxious to see the area ruled by their allies repopulated and rebuilt, accepted the leaders' argument that they were only concerned with recapturing runaway slaves and cattle or avenging border incidents. In addition, the French had little effective control over their allies and could not prevent the forays.²⁰

Raiding occurred in areas to the south and west which had escaped the brunt of civil wars and jihad. The non-Muslim states of Gamon, Tenda, Wuli and Miani bordering Bundu and the primarily Mandinka polities along the Gambia River were frequent targets. In archival correspondence and oral accounts, inhabitants of raiding states

emphasized the non-Muslim nature of the societies being attacked. Besides being independent from nearby large polities, these societies were beyond the control of the colonial powers who focused on advances in other regions and did not have the resources to mount several campaigns simultaneously.

The predators primarily sought grain and slaves, especially women. Captives were taken back to the raiders' capitals for distribution among the participants, although the rulers kept most slaves for their own use in agricultural, domestic and craft labor. Rulers also sought to secure trade routes and consolidate their control by raiding settlements suspected of still supporting Umar and his successors or reluctant to recognize newly appointed chiefs. Other villages were threatened with enslavement or destruction if they did not pay an annual tribute.

Political formations in the region became increasingly centralized when communities previously beyond the borders of structured states were attacked and incorporated. In the 1860s, Bokar Saada, almost exclusively through raiding, expanded the sphere of influence and extended the borders of Bundu by annexing parts of the upper Gambia, the Ferlo and Bambuk. Juka Sambala similarly gained control over much of Khasso. The hegemony of the Gajaaga Soninke was advanced further into the interior on both sides of the Senegal River with raids into the Ferlo and Gidimaka, while several settlements in Bambuk likewise extended their sovereignty by attacking and destroying small neighboring villages.

In addition to large, well-organized expeditions, small-scale attacks on caravans and settlements also intensified immediately after the Umarian jihad. Overland trade routes in Bambuk and Gidimaka were reopened and attracted predators with local rulers using attacks on friendly caravans in their domains as a license to raid villages and nearby states supposedly harboring brigands. The leaders pillaged caravans suspected of carrying stolen goods or runaway slaves. Because of French complicity and indifference, merchants' complaints to colonial officials about attacks in the rural areas were dismissed. Despite the risks, caravans continued to circulate throughout the region. Merchants traveled in larger groups with more armed guards and, consequently, raiding parties increased in size. Villages, particularly near border areas, were frequently subjected to attacks by small bands of raiders with strikes, usually at harvest time, against individual settlements, their grain stocks and herds. Temporary, rainy season agricultural, pastoral and mining camps presented little defense against raiders.

By the early 1870s, the upper Senegal valley had generally recovered from the destruction of civil wars and jihad. The stable political situation in most parts of the region encouraged economic activity. The French actively encouraged migration into the region, and administrators wanted to attract the Bundunke who had migrated to Mioro in 1858. However, Umarian influence continued throughout the 1860s and 1870s, and the regional population did not reach its pre-jihad level. A marked increase in the slave population of certain polities contributed, however, to a growth in production. The subsequent

expansion of the gum, grain and groundnut trades in the central valley stimulated further production and exchange and revived the pastoral sector, crafts, especially weaving and mining.²⁰

The economic recovery of areas beyond the immediate river valley during the 1860s and 1870s depended on slave labor, and the wealth and power of Bokar Saada and Juka Sambala also rested principally on the considerable number of slaves acquired after 1860. Raiding in Wuli, Miani, Bambuk and southern parts of Bundu and the wars of Samori Ture in the south produced most of the captives brought into the upper Senegal. Senudebu was populated almost entirely by slaves of Bokar Saada, whereas captives belonging to Juka Sambala resided in Medine and several surrounding settlements. The majority of slaves under their control were engaged in agriculture, raiding, mining and other dry season pursuits. French officials, preoccupied with political stability and economic recovery, permitted their allies to reclaim all captives who fled to the French posts.²⁰ Consequently, many slaves sought asylum in villages in isolated parts of Bambuk, especially Farabanna which became a constant destination for the armies of Bokar Saada, Juka Sambala and other leaders, as it had been a target for Umar previously. While some colonial officials in Bakel and Medine complained about raids against refugee captives, no action was taken against French allies.²¹

Less wealthy individuals and households acquired slaves through raiding or purchase from caravans or markets. According to oral sources, Senudebu and Komentara, near Medine, had active slave markets which received many captives from the raids of Bokar Saada and Juka

Sambala. The leaders sold off slaves who had attempted to escape, committed crimes or who proved poor workers. Because raiders usually killed men, female captives far outnumbered male prisoners in the 1860s and 1870s throughout the upper Senegal valley.³²

Captives generally lived in the household with their masters or, in larger settlements, specified compounds or locations. Among the social formations in the upper Senegal, there were distinctions between newly acquired slaves and second or later generation dependents. First generation captives were more likely to be sold in times of need, while less arduous tasks were given to slaves who had resided for a longer period with their masters. Slaves were engaged principally in agriculture, domestic service, craft manufacture and textile production, which occupied large numbers of male and female slaves during the dry season. Merchants used male captives as porters, guards and messengers, and female slaves of merchants worked in agriculture and in the household. Captives, especially women, belonging to colonial troops frequently travelled with the column.³³

Beyond the river valley, the 1860s and 1870s were a period of retrenchment for the colonial apparatus in the upper Senegal, and the French presence remained minimal. The administration relied on African allies to conduct their own internal affairs and to maintain stability. For economic reasons, the French abandoned their fort at Senudebu in 1863. Several villages in southwestern Gidimaka and the left bank of Khasso paid taxes to Amadu Sheku, but the French did not attempt to establish control over the settlements. Officials in Saint Louis and the metropole were preoccupied with developments in Cayor and the

peanut growing basin of western Senegal. Commerce expanded and agricultural and pastoral products continued to arrive in the towns. When problems arose, the commanders at Bakel and Medine, rather than leaving their enclaves, summoned indigenous leaders to the posts. Few explorers or officials travelled in the area. The modus operandi established by Faidherbe and French allies in the region appeared to be functioning as planned.³⁴

Discontent and Instability, Late 1870s-1885

In the mid-1870s, several cracks began to appear in the hegemony of the French-supported leaders. Colonial officials increasingly criticized Bokar Saada's cordial ties with the British, and his relations with Juka Sambala threatened to turn violent over the distribution of slaves and booty. Both rulers additionally complained to colonial authorities about raids into their territories, while chiefs in Goy, Kamera, Natiaga and other states near Khasso accused Juka Sambala of attacks on their villages. After 1877, no joint expeditions were undertaken, and the two leaders rarely participated in raids, preferring to send deputies. Their predatory armies, led by less skilled individuals, suffered several costly setbacks. Settlements in outlying areas, increasingly defiant of centralized control, reorganized their defenses, obtained firearms from the Gambia, and

built fortifications which enabled them to ward off attacks. Raiders, whose loyalty rested on the continued accumulation of slaves and booty, grew discouraged by the losses. Villagers in the region were visibly discontented with the ruling classes and their centralized wealth and power, and migration to areas in southern Senegal and the upper Gambia escalated.³⁵

Although Amadu Sheku's influence on the left bank of the upper Senegal had long concerned the French, they had taken no direct action. Khasso functioned as a generally effective buffer zone between Amadu, who temporarily moved his capital from Segou to Nioro in the early 1870s, and the French. In 1873, Amadu returned to Segou and the threat of conflict in the upper valley was reduced. By the mid-1870s, however, the situation in Khasso deteriorated with Juka Sambala's failing health, loss of Khassonke support and the emergence of several succession quarrels. British advances to Amadu and other leaders in the upper Senegal in order to deter trade from the Western Sudan to the Gambia worried the French, and they reoccupied the fort at Senudebu in mid-1878.

In September 1878, the French attacked Logo, Amadu's client riverine state which had waged constant war on Khasso. Niamody, the chief of Logo who had switched his allegiance from the French to Amadu, was defeated and killed. His capital at Sabusire was destroyed, the province was incorporated into Khasso and the eastern frontier of Senegambia was secured against invasion from Karta and Segou. The French also proved their willingness and ability to support allies in the region.³⁶

The establishment of the Haut Fleuve administration and the creation of the post at Bafulabe in 1880 marked a new phase in the conduct of French operations in the upper Senegal valley. Construction began in earnest on the Kayes-Niger railroad, and, owing to the lack of indigenous skilled labor, Chinese and Moroccan workers were stationed at Kayes in the early 1880s. By 1884, most of the workers had succumbed to the region's many diseases, and local inhabitants were pressed into service on the railroad. Many chiefs sent their slaves rather than relatives to fill the work quotas. The river valley between Bakel and Bafulabe, which was to serve as the main supply line to the east, became even more the focus of attention in the region, with the telegraph line extended from Bakel to Medine and, later, to Bafulabe.³⁷

Discontent with the Fulbe and Khassonke ruling classes and, to a lesser extent, the revitalized and expanded French presence, quickly escalated. Juka Sambala died in 1880 and his brother, Makhassé Sambala, became ruler of Khasso. The French soon realized Makhassé had little ability to govern and practically no indigenous support. Concerned with other areas and in order to avert conflict, the administration granted the various provinces of Khasso limited autonomy.³⁸ In Bundu, Bokar Saada's heavy taxations and forced labor demands grew more oppressive, and migration increased to southern and western areas. Defeats at Gamon in 1881 and 1883 seriously demoralized the Bundunke military. With the almany's health deteriorating, divisions within the Siasibe ruling lineage were more pronounced. Food shortages from 1878 to 1881, a yellow fever epidemic in 1878 and a severe outbreak of smallpox in 1881 contributed to the declining situation.³⁹

With French support and protection, Juka Sambala and Bokar Saada had exercised considerable authority. Their successful raids in the 1860s and early 1870s into neighboring areas for slaves and commodities contributed to the redevelopment of the region, although wealth and power were increasingly centralized in the hands of a few individuals. By the mid-1870s, discontent with the status quo and renewed French initiatives caused resentment. Military defeats, the rulers' declining health and popularity, and a decrease in French tolerance and support for the leaders also contributed to the region's declining political stability. The appearance of Mamadu Lamine in the area in 1885 occurred when villagers were seeking an alternative, and Lamine, like his predecessor al-Hajj Umar, took advantage of existing conditions to gather widespread and fervent support.⁴⁰

The Revolt of Mamadu Lamine and Its Impact, 1885-90

The revolt of Mamadu Lamine, confined primarily to the upper Senegal and upper Gambia regions, lasted from mid-1885 until his death in December 1887. While short-lived and geographically restricted, the multi-faceted movement had a considerable impact on the upper Senegal. The rapidity, relative ease and early widespread success of Lamine's revolt underscored the tenuous nature of French control in the upper valley. To deal with Lamine, the French delayed their expansion into the Niger valley for two years and suspended construction on the Kayes-

Wiger railroad. In addition to threatening the position of the French, the revolt of Mamadu Lamine undermined traditional Fulbe and Khassonke dominance in the area.

Demba Dibassi Drame, later known as Mamadu Lamine Drame, was born about 1835 into a family of Soninke marabouts at Gunjuru, an important center of Islamic learning located just south of Medine. He began his clerical studies in the Diakha province of Bundu and continued them in Bakel. According to traditions, in the 1850s Lamine travelled to Mecca where, like al-Hajj Umar, he spent several years and gained enormous prestige from his hajj. In the late 1870s, Lamine began his return to the upper Senegal valley, visiting the Islamic states of Masina and, probably in 1880, Segou, the capital of Amadu Sheku, son and successor of al-Hajj Umar.

Although there are no definitive sources on the subject, relations between Lamine and Amadu quickly grew hostile. The sultan of Segou took offense at Lamine's apparent lack of deference and respect. The newly returned pilgrim from Mecca, who was already gathering a following in Segou, reportedly chastised his host in public for certain religious, political and personal practices. Undoubtedly, the son of al-Hajj Umar felt threatened by Lamine who proclaimed himself the "true" follower of Umar. Amadu interpreted the reformer's actions as an attempt to interfere in Segovian politics and imprisoned Lamine until the spring of 1885.

Mamadu Lamine built on existing cleavages in political and social formations in the upper Senegal. His initial partisans were Soninke and Jakhanke merchants based in Khasso, Goy, Kamera, and Bundu under Fulbe,

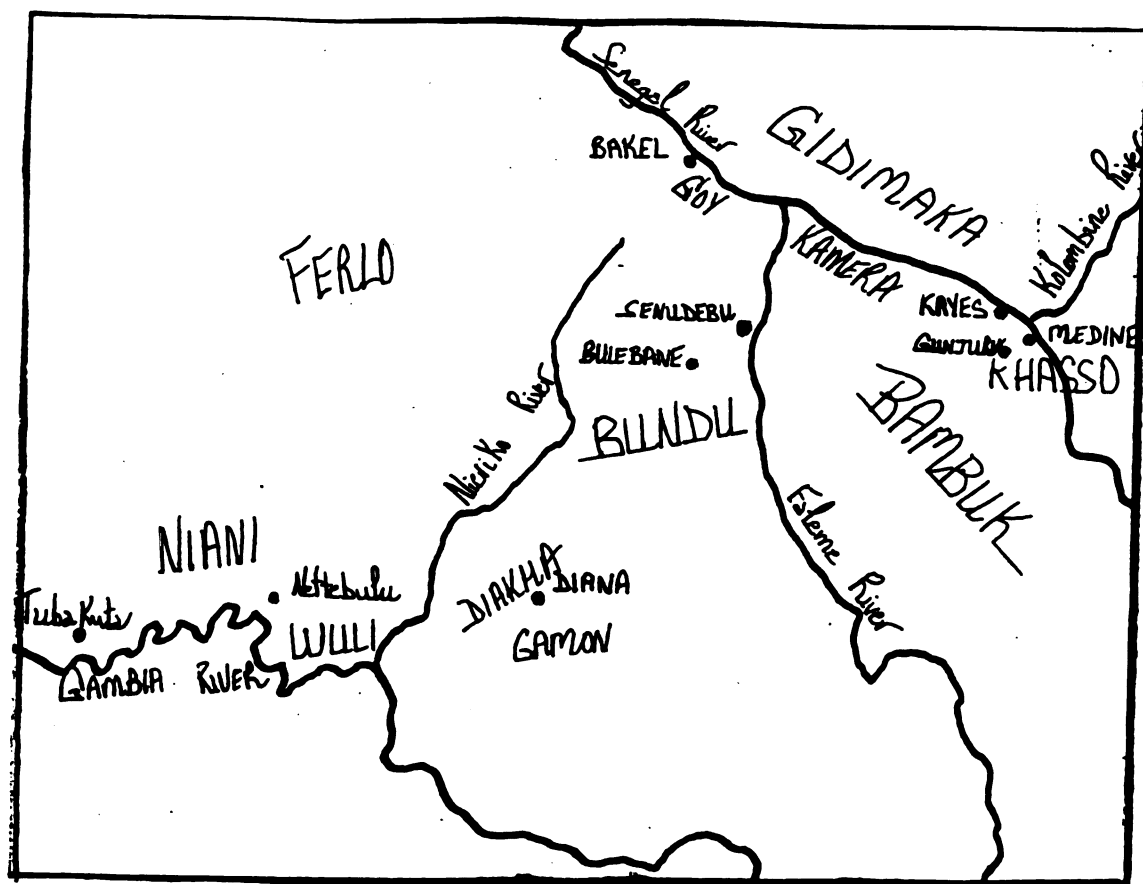


Figure 9
The Revolt of Mamadu Lamine, 1885-87: Main Theater of Events

Khassonke and French domination and where the Jakhanke network of trading villages was extensive. Gidimaka also contained a significant Soninke population that rallied to Lamine's cause. The Soninke and Jakhanke throughout the region resented their submission to other groups, and perceived Lamine as a Soninke leader against the status quo. During his house arrest in Segou and after his return to Gunjuru in Khasso, Lamine manipulated the extensive commercial and communication networks already in place to spread his agenda and enhance his reputation. He preached religious reform and attacks on non-Muslim states, especially Gamon to the south of Bundu. Noting the success of Bokar Saada, Juka Sambala and their armies, many recruits to Lamine's forces undoubtedly saw the opportunity to acquire booty and slaves from raids. Makhassé Sambala, unaware of Lamine's antagonism toward him, encouraged the French to permit the marabout to attack non-Muslim states in the area. Lamine had already attracted a considerable following before the French became aware of the actual extent of his appeal.⁴¹

Because of his antagonism toward Amadu Sheku, some colonial officials initially regarded Lamine favorably, and Commandant Supérieur Frey even permitted him to move freely about the area. Although a Tijani Muslim like Umar, Lamine was perceived as a "friendly Soninke" as opposed to a "fanatic Tukolor." Frey, preoccupied with campaigns against Samori Ture and Amadu Sheku and confident of French control in the upper Senegal, ignored the base of his operations. He left only small garrisons at Bakel and Kayes and neglected to provision the posts adequately. The forts needed major repairs, communication lines were

sorely inadequate, and morale among the colonial military, both African and French, declined considerably. The Soninke cleric was able to take full advantage of the French dereliction.⁴²

Lamine's first strategic move was in Bundu in late 1885, when he sought permission from Bokar Saada to travel through the almanate to attack Gamon in the south. Because of Bokar Saada's recent defeats there, Lamine hoped to receive a favorable response, but he was rebuffed by the almany who died shortly thereafter in December 1885. Bokar Saada's oldest brother and legitimate successor, Koli Mody Sy, had achieved an influential position at the Umarian court in Bandiagara (Masina) and did not return to Bundu. Umar Penda, the next brother in the line of succession, was recognized by the French and some of the Sissibe lineage in Bulebane.

Elderly and nearly blind, Umar Penda had quarrelled with Bokar Saada in the 1870s and lived in Bulebane, while Usman Gassi, Bokar's son and deputy, inherited his father's land, slaves, and other accumulated wealth at Senudebu. Citing Umar Penda's quarrel with his father and professing disinterest in the affairs of Bundu, Usman refused to aid his uncle. Other members of the Sy family, hoping to gain some autonomy and a share of Bundu's wealth, likewise declined to endorse the new almany. Lamine moved into Bundu, exploiting Umar Penda's weakness, Usman Gassi's professed disinterest and mounting divisions within the Sy lineage. In addition, Commandant Frey and his troops were engaged in the annual dry season campaign in the south against Samori. Finally, owing to the low waters of the Senegal River,

Lamine knew no reinforcements could be sent from Saint Louis until well into the rainy season.⁴³

The Soninke leader mobilized his army and indigenous support within Bundu and quickly drove Umar Penda out of Bulebane. Lamine destroyed the village and, in a manner similar to Umar's at Farabana in 1854, called on all members of the divided Sissibe lineage to unite and support him as leader of Bundu. Usman Gassi failed to organize expeditiously and fled Lamine's approaching forces. However, other Sissibe, unable to defend themselves, endorsed Mamadu Lamine. The few villages between Bulebane and Senudebu that refused to support the revolt were burned and, with the capture of Senudebu in early 1886, Lamine effectively controlled all of Bundu.⁴⁴

By the time Commandant Supérieur Frey returned to Kayes from his dry season campaign against Samori Ture in April 1886, Lamine had established his influence over all of the upper Senegal valley, excluding the posts at Bakel, Medine and Kayes. He had abandoned his initial intentions of conquering non-Muslim states in the upper Gambia and south of Bundu and, instead, concentrated on the upper Senegal. Dissatisfaction with the ruling classes was rampant, and Lamine easily won the loyalty of most of the region's ethnically diverse population. His forces, numbering between six and seven thousand, consisted of Soninke and Jakhanke from Goy, Kamera, Gidimaka and Bundu, Mandinka and Khassonke from Bambuk, Khasso and Bundu and even many Fulbe from Bundu.⁴⁵ After a costly defeat at Bakel in April 1886, Lamine took refuge in friendly villages throughout Bundu, burned hostile settlements, including Senudebu, and established his headquarters at

Diana about 200 kilometers southwest of Bakel in the southern Bundu province of Diakha. Diana, advantageously situated on trade routes linking the forest zones with the Gambia, provided Lamine with control over many caravan routes and direct access to firearms from the British.

After the siege at Bakel, Frey concentrated his efforts on crushing support for the rebellion, although the distance of Diana from the post and Bundunke support for Lamine prevented the Commandant Supérieur from attacking directly. Frey led a punitive column through Gidimaka in reprisal for the villagers' support of the Bakel attack and the revolt in general. Rather than deserting the movement to save their villages, supporters of Lamine fled the area. Frey's expedition devastated a number of villages, fields and herds with Soninke settlements receiving particularly harsh treatment. Consequently, resentment of French rule increased throughout the region. Many of the Gidimaka settlements attacked by Frey owed allegiance and paid taxes to Amadu, but he took no retaliatory action against the French.⁴⁶

During his residence at Diana in mid-1886, Lamine tried to regain strength and regroup his forces. The distance from Bakel and an exceptionally good rainy season provided protection from a French attack. Supporters from throughout the region continued to travel to Diana, and some Mandinka villages in Bambuk, resentful of raids by Bokar Saada and Juka Sambala, had also joined the revolt. Lamine authorized attacks on hostile settlements and on caravans heading to French posts. His forces ransacked several Bambuk communities and some Mandinka and Fulbe villages in nearby areas of the upper Gambia and

southern Bundu. Besides spreading Lamine's hegemony, raids on caravans and villages provided the rebel army with much needed supplies and booty. Diana became an important commercial center, and caravans travelling to both the Gambia and Senegal River valleys included Lamine's headquarters.⁴⁷

Several developments in late 1886 checked the momentum and success of Lamine's revolt. At the beginning of the 1886-87 campaign, partly in response to Frey's failure to crush the revolt, Joseph Gallieni was appointed Commandant Supérieur. He established relations with Amadu Sheku, enlisting his aid against Mamadu Lamine and Soybu, Lamine's son. The latter, who ruled a series of settlements in the Kolombine valley, was eventually defeated by Amadu's troops.

Gallieni concentrated his considerably enlarged forces on the fight against Lamine, and local leaders quickly realized the French had gained the upper hand. Several villages in Gidimaka sought annexation to the cercle de Bakel, while numerous settlements in Goy and Khasso expressed their allegiance to the French. Usman Gassi returned from exile near Bakel to Senudebu and attacked several pro-Lamine villages, while colonial forces ventured into the interior of Bundu and Khasso. Whereas Lamine was able to capture and kill Umar Penda, Usman Gassi successfully defended Senudebu against the rebel forces. Gallieni and Usman Gassi marched through Bundu, destroying a number of settlements, including Diana. Lamine fled first to Nettebulu and then to Tubacuta in the upper Gambian state of Wuli. His forces were demoralized by recent defeats and the retreat into Wuli, and many returned to their villages in the upper Senegal, refusing to follow Lamine out of Bundu.⁴⁸

By the beginning of the 1887-88 campaign, Lamine shifted his base of operations to the upper Gambia, and the regional economy of the upper Senegal began to recover. With the return of Lamine's followers to the area, agriculture and other productive activity increased. Some villages that had been deserted or destroyed during the rebellion and its suppression were repopulated and rebuilt. Raids on caravans and settlements were temporarily halted and, with the resumption of trade, Jakhanke villages began to desert Lamine's cause. Other settlements soon followed suit and declared their loyalty to the French. Mamadu Lamine's movement in the upper Senegal effectively ended several months before his capture and death in the upper Gambia area in December 1887.⁴⁰

Historians have offered numerous interpretations of Mamadu Lamine and his revolt. Some scholars, accepting archival reports and writings by Frey, Gallieni and other military officers, have inaccurately portrayed him as an anti-imperialist resistance hero or a "fanatic" Muslim. Another view, also based heavily on French accounts, focuses on Lamine's ethnic background and labels his movement a "nationalist" struggle of Soninke against other groups in the region. While perhaps more valid than the anti-French view, this interpretation ignores Lamine's appeal to his Jakhanke, Mandinka, Khassonke and Fulbe followers. A final approach concentrates on Mamadu Lamine as a fundamentalist Islamic reformer. This view unquestionably accepts Lamine's early propaganda and does not adequately explain his later actions. Although his initial ascendancy over the Soninke and other

Mande groups may have been primarily religious, his military activities were not principally "Islamic," reformist, or pro-Soninke.

The rebellion must be understood in the larger context of the regional political economy of the upper Senegal valley in the mid-1880s. Mamadu Lamine initially launched his Islamic reform crusade against the Fulbe Sissibe in Bundu, who had allied themselves with the French, and several nearby non-Muslim polities. Clearly, the Soninke, Jakhanke and other Mande-speakers had the most to gain from the success of the revolt. In addition to the dissatisfaction with the status quo and resentment of French economic domination, supporters were also attracted by Lamine's reputation and great charisma. Lamine may have underestimated French concern with Bundu and their determination to maintain control over the entire upper Senegal. In any case, Lamine faced a much more formidable military and colonial administration than any previous religious reformer.

What began as a religious-political movement with strong ethnic roots rapidly became a broad-based military operation. Owing to the elusiveness of its leader and the fervor of its proponents, the rebellion was quite successful in its early stage. However, Mamadu Lamine lacked the requisite military and administrative skills to wage a prolonged guerrilla war or to establish a viable state. After he was driven from the upper Senegal valley, his supporters left in the area were unable to continue the rebellion without Lamine. By mid-1887, it was apparent that the revolt had failed to achieve any lasting result. The superficiality of support for the revolt was demonstrated by its disappearance with the death of Lamine.

Both the uprisings of al-Hajj Umar and Mamadu Lamine had considerable impacts on the upper Senegal region, but Umar's was more profound. The economic and social effects of Lamine's revolt were considerably less devastating than the massive disruption and transformation caused by the Umarian jihad. The earlier movement occurred at a time when the regional economy had already been undermined by civil wars and climatic conditions, whereas the period preceding Lamine's revolt was a time of relative recovery and stability in the upper Senegal. The impact of Lamine's revolt was comparatively short-lived and geographically limited. In 1886 and 1887 only Bundu and parts of Gidimaka and the Kolombine valley suffered severe consequences. Agricultural, pastoral and craft production declined, and trade was disrupted by rebel forces in the southern provinces. Many people left the almanate for the upper Gambia and the peanut basin of western Senegal. Recovery after both revolts was markedly more gradual in outlying areas than in the towns and central river valley. Compared to exchange in the posts, rural agricultural, pastoral and craft production and mining redeveloped slowly.⁵⁰

Like the jihad of al-Hajj Umar, the revolt of Mamadu Lamine caused a significant influx of slaves into local societies. Lamine's forces frequently killed men but women and children prisoners were given to loyalists as booty or sold into slavery for supplies, guineas, or other commodities. The French, hoping to crush dissent, frequently destroyed the settlements they captured from Lamine's forces. Rather than killing the inhabitants, the colonial troops took large numbers of prisoners, who were distributed to allies like Usman Gassi and among individual

soldiers, although captive men were often pressed into military service. After 1887, the colonial administration placed some captives, especially women and children, in villages de liberté near Bakel, Medine and Kayes, and used them in colonial projects and domestic service within the forts.⁵¹

After the suppression of Lamine's revolt, the administration turned its attention to re-establishing control, maintaining order and preventing future rebellions. The entire upper Senegal valley was placed formally under French protectorate, and was subjected to tax and labor requirements. The region was divided between the colonies of Senegal and Soudan français. Gallieni also expanded the colonial military and bureaucracy in the region and appointed indigenous leaders directly loyal to him.⁵² Saada Amadi, who succeeded Umar Penda as almany of Bundu in July 1886, was deposed by the French in 1888. His replacement was Usman Gassi, Gallieni's trusted ally who was even given a trip to France. Contrary to colonial expectations, Usman Gassi levied heavy taxes, neglected the administration of the province and rapidly lost local support. However, the administration applied no pressure on him to reform.

Because of geographical and changes in military and administrative strategy, Bundu no longer occupied a prominent place in French imperial policy toward the Western Sudan after Lamine's revolt. The center of gravity had shifted definitively from Bakel, on the northern border of Bundu, to Kayes in Khasso. Yet the colonialists were determined to maintain grain production in the area. Regional depopulation continued to plague the administration and military which depended on the upper

Senegal for provisions and to supply labor for construction projects. In an effort to encourage agricultural production and to prevent large-scale migration from the region, the colonial government permitted individuals to reclaim slaves who had fled to the annexed areas. The system of villages de liberté, established in part to deal with the large number of captives created by Lamine's revolt, only became fully operative after 1890 when the region had regained some of its prosperity.

ENDNOTES

1. On negotiations between the French and Almany Saada, see AMS 13G 165, ANF/SOM, SEN. III, p. 6, ANF/SOM SEN. IV, piece 18: Letter of Raffenet to MC, 8 March 1847, AMS 1G 18, "Dossier Raffenet," AMS 13G 246, piece 12: 25 October 1850, AMS 13G 247 and 13G 23, "Rapport sur la situation générale de la colonie (1854)." The text of the treaty with Almany Saada can be found in AMS 13G 242, 23 August 1845. See also Raffenet, Voyage dans l'Afrique occidentale (1846), Carrère and Holle, Sénégal française, pp. 163-5, and Rançon, Le Boundou, pp. 71-2. In addition, see Theirno Bah, "Les forts français et le contrôle de l'espace dans le Haut-Sénégal-Niger, 1855-1898," in Le sol, la parole et l'écrit, Vol. II (Paris, 1981) pp. 980-81, Saulnier, La compagnie de Galam (1921), Cissoko, Contribution, p. 183, and Curtin, Economic Change, p. 150.

2. See AMS 13G 246, letters of 9 January and 8 February 1853: Ct. Senudebu to Gov. Consult also AMS 13G 247, December 1850: Report to Gov. from Ct. Senudebu. On Bundu in the 1840s, see Raffenet, Voyage dans l'Afrique occidentale, idem, Nouveau voyage and his various articles from the 1840s in the Revue coloniale. On Bundu in the early 1850s, see Hecquard, Voyage sur la côte et dans l'intérieur de l'Afrique occidentale (1853) and L. Flize, "Le Boundou," Revue coloniale 17 (1857). On the Bundu civil wars, a particularly detailed account is provided by Kamara, "Histoire du Boundou," pp. 806-10. See also the descriptions by Carrère and Holle, Sénégal française, pp. 165-7, and Rançon, Le Boundou, pp. 74-5.

3. On Gajaaga, see ANF/SOM SEN. III, dossier 19: "Correspondence de post de Galam," 1840-54. See also Raffenet, Voyage dans l'Afrique occidentale, pp. 279-97, and Raffenet, "Sénégal. Exploration du pays," pp. 160-61. On Gajaaga in the early 1850s, see Hecquard, Voyage sur la côte, pp. 392-5, and Carrère and Holle, Sénégal française, pp. 139-49. On the civil wars in Gajaaga, see Bathily's thesis, "Imperialism and Colonial Expansion" as well as his doctorat d'état, "Gourriers, tributaires et marchands" esp. Part IV, Ch. 3, "Un demi-siècle de guerre civile endémique (1800-1851): la disintégration de l'unité politique au Galam." On the conflicts between Gajaaga and Gidimaka, see AMS 1G 18, "Voyage de Raffenet vers Bakel et Ségou, 1846-48," 12 pieces. For a chronology of events in Gajaaga during the civil war period, see P. Curtin, "Chronology of Events and Reigns in the Upper Senegal Valley," Bulletin de l'I.F.A.N. 36B (1974), pp. 536-42.

4. On Khasso, see ANF/SOM SEN. III, dossier 8: "Rapport sur le Khasso au gouverneur par Ct. Rey," 1 September 1851, ANF/SOM SEN. III, dossier 19: "Correspondence de la poste de Médine," 1840-54, and ANF/SOM SEN. I, 4b, piece 402: Faïdherbe to MMC, 1 October 1855. Published sources include Flize, "Le Khasso," Revue coloniale 18 (1857), and Carrère and Holle, Sénégal française, pp. 151-57. The situation in Khasso is discussed in detail in Cissoko, Contribution à l'histoire politique, esp. Ch. 5, "Le royaume du Khasso-Dembaya (1808-1854)." See also B.O.

Oloruntimehin, The Segu Tukolor Empire, pp. 18-9, and Robinson, Holy War, pp. 151-2. On Bambuk, see Flize, "Exploration dans le Bambouk," Revue coloniale 17 (1857), Carrère and Holle, Sénégal française, pp. 169-76, Pascal, "Voyage au Bambouk et retour à Bakel," Revue algérienne et coloniale 3 (1860), and Rey, "Voyage à Farabanna (Haute Sénégal)," Revue coloniale (1854). For a chronology of events in Khasso and Bambuk, see Curtin, "Chronology of Events," pp. 546-51.

5. The major work on al-Hajj Umar Tal is David Robinson, The Holy War of Umar Tal. In Chapter One, Robinson discusses various sources on the life of Umar. Other major works on Umar Tal include Yves Saint-Martin, L'Empire toucouleur, 1848-1897 (Paris, 1970), B.O. Oloruntimehin, The Segu Tukolor Empire (London, 1972), and C. M. Kamara La vie d'El Hadi Omar. An interesting account in Pulaar is Mohammadou Aliou Tyam (ed. and trans. by Henri Gaden), La vie d'El Hadi Omar: Qacida en Poular (Paris, 1935).

6. The main contemporary sources on the Bambuk campaign include Carrère and Holle, Sénégal française, pp. 174-5, and Carrère, "Siège de Medine," pp. 199 ff. Consult also ANS 1G 63, "Notice sur El Hadj Omar," Saint Louis, 25 May 1878. Secondary works describing the Bambuk campaign include Kamara, La vie d'El Hadi Omar, pp. 30-1, Tyam, La vie d'El Hadi Omar: Qacida en Pulaar, p. 245, Robinson, Holy War, pp. 152-4, Ly-Tall and Robinson, "The Western Sudan and the Coming of the French," pp. 357-8, and Saint-Martin, L'Empire toucouleur, pp. 46-8. Oloruntimehin, in The Segu Tukolor Empire, describes the Bambuk campaign but claims incorrectly that "the Tukolor invaders won an easy victory over their opponents" (p. 72). On the destruction in Bambuk, see Tarikh anonyme d'El Hadi Omar, Fonds Brévié, cahier no. 10, IFAN/IFCAD, Dakar. See also Bibliothèque Nationale de Paris, Manuscripts Orientaux, Fonds Arabe, 5559, folios 1-2.

7. Kamara, Zuhur, II, folios 30 and 41, and Robinson, Holy War, p. 153f.

8. ANS 13G 247: Ct. Senudebu to Gov., 7 January 1855, p. 1. In this letter, the Senudebu commander claims that all the leaders of Gajaaga, Gidimaka and Bundu were allied with Umar. See also ANS 1G 78, "Notice historique sur le pays de Boundou jusqu'à la fin du regne de Boubakar Saada par Ct. Emile Roux," 1889, p. 14. This report was published under the same title (Saint Louis, 1893). On divisions within the Bulebane house over supporting Umar, in addition to Roux, see Flize, "Le Boundou," pp. 176-7, Kamara, "Histoire du Boundou," p. 809, and Rançon, Le Boundou, p. 77. On Gidimaka support for Umar, see Bathily, "Guerriers," p. 632. Bathily states that, of all Soninke polities, Gidimaka was the most enthusiastic for Umar. He also discusses Gajaaga support for Umar. Barrows, "General Faidherbe," p. 368, writes that, among polities in the region, Goy and Gidimaka were the most solidly Umarian in sympathy. The number of troops in Umar's army is from ANS 13G 166, piece 91: Ct. Senudebu to Gov., 16 December 1854. This figure is cited in Ly-Tall and Robinson, "The Western Sudan," p. 358, and Robinson, Holy War, p. 154.

9. On the destruction of Makhana, see the dispatches in AMS 13G 166, esp. piece 89: Ct. Senudebu to Gov., 27 November 1854. Refer to ANF/SOM SEN I, 41d: Governor to MMC, 1 October 1855, and AMS 15G 108 piece 6: 15 October 1855. In addition, see Faidherbe, Le Sénégal, p. 161, Carrère and Holle, Sénégalie française, pp. 202-4, I. Bathily, "L'ancien royaume soninké du Giadiaga," Bulletin de l'I.F.A.N. 31B (1969), Barrows, "General Faidherbe," p. 360, and Robinson, Holy War, pp. 157-9.

10. Bokar Saada's brother, Koli Modi Sy was an important Umarian leader. He moved to the court at Masina where he attained a high position. A cousin of Bokar's, Malik Samba Tumane, who belonged to the Kussan branch, commanded the fort at Somson, the site of a major battle between French and Umarian forces. See ANF/SOM, SEN. I, 43b: Faidherbe to MMC, 29 August 1857. Secondary sources include Emile Blanc, "Contribution à l'étude des populations et de l'histoire du Sahel soudanais," BCHSAOF (1924), p. 262 and pp. 304-5, Kamara, "Histoire du Boundou," p. 810, Méniand, Pionniers, II, pp. 46-8 and 201ff, Rançon, Le Boundou, p. 78, and Robinson, Holy War, p. 170.

11. AMS 13G 167: letters of 1 July and 10 October 1855 and 22 February 1856. For Faidherbe's account of his meeting with Bokar Saada, see Faidherbe, Le Sénégal, pp. 175, and Annales sénégalaises, p. 117. See also Flize, "Le Boundou," pp. 176-8, and Rançon, Le Boundou, p. 78. Kamara, "Histoire du Boundou," p. 810, claims that Bokar Saada travelled to Saint Louis ("N'Dar") to meet Faidherbe but the meeting actually took place in Medine. On Bokar Saada, see Barrows, "General Faidherbe," pp. 373-77, Robert Griffiths, "Varieties of African Resistance to the French Conquest of the Western Sudan, 1850-1900," Ph.D. thesis (Northwestern University, 1968) pp. 56-8, David Robinson, Chiefs and Clerics, (Oxford, 1975) pp. 42-3, and Robinson, Holy War, pp. 170-71. For Faidherbe's alliances with Bokar Saada and Juka Sambala, see Barrows, "Some Paradoxes of Pacification," pp. 528-31, and Ly-Tall and Robinson, "The Western Sudan," p. 360. For the joint operations of the French and Bokar Saada, see Faidherbe, Le Sénégal, pp. 179-80.

12. Faidherbe's account of his meeting with Juka Sambala can be found in Le Sénégal, pp. 172-73, and in ANF/SOM SEN, I 41b, Faidherbe to MMC, 13 May 1855. See also Carrère, "Siège de Medine," pp. 46-9, Mage, Voyage, p. 481, and Piétri, Les Français au Niger, pp. 70-8. For a sympathetic biography of Juka Sambala, see C. Monteil, Les Khassonké, pp. 38-44. In addition, consult Kanya-Forstner, The Conquest of the Western Sudan, p. 40, Oloruntimehin, Segu Tukolor Empire, pp. 87-8, Robinson, Holy War, pp. 168-70, Saint-Martin, "Les relations diplomatiques entre la France et l'Empire toucouleur de 1860 à 1887," Bulletin de l'I.F.A.N. 27B (1965), and Saint-Martin, L'Empire toucouleur, pp. 52-4. See also Cissoko, "Contribution à l'histoire politique," Parts IV and V. Cissoko's book only covers the period up to 1854 and does not deal with Juka Sambala. However, see Cissoko's article, "L'Impact de la guerre sainte umarienne dans les royaumes du Xasso (1855-1860)," in Le sol, la parole et l'écrit, Vol. II,

13. On joint raids, see ANS 1G 78, "Notice historique sur le pays du Boundou," pp.15-7. In addition, consult the various dispatches from the Bakel, Senudebu and Medine commanders in ANS 13G and 15G, esp. 15G 64 and 108. Rançon, Le Boundou, pp. 78-80, discusses some joint raids of Bokar Saada and Juka Sambala.

14. In 1857, Faidherbe wrote to the Bakel commander that the authority of Bokar Saada "n'est pas encore aussi bien assise." See ANS 3B 77, piece 3: Faidherbe to Ct. Bakel, 18 February 1857. For references to Bokar Saada and Juka Sambala emerging as leaders after 1860, see Barrows, "Some Paradoxes of Pacification," p. 530, as well as in his "General Faidherbe," p. 626. The shift in French colonial policy from a riverine to coastal orientation is discussed by Boubacar Barry, Le Sénégal du XVe au XIXe siècle: traite négrière, Islam et conquête coloniale (Paris, 1988), Part Three, Ch. 1. See also Ly-Tall and Robinson, "The Western Sudan," p. 370. On Saada's marriage to a daughter of Juka Sambala, see Monteil, Les Khassonké, p. 42.

15. For the perspectives of the Bakel, Senudebu and Medine commanders, see ANS 13G 167 (Bakel correspondence, 1855-59), ANS 13G 247 (Senudebu correspondence, 1846-60), and ANS 15G 108 (Medine correspondence, 1853-69). On the various unsuccessful attempts on Senudebu, see Rançon, Le Boundou, pp. 79-80.

16. ANS 13G 167, piece 7: 16 April 1855, and ANS 13G 247, various pieces for April 1855. See also Annales sénégalaises, p. 106, and Faidherbe, Le Sénégal, p. 165. Secondary accounts include Barrows, "General Faidherbe," pp. 286-7 and p. 369, Kanya-Forstner, The Conquest of the Western Sudan, p. 38, and Robinson, Holy War, p. 166f.

17. Somson is sometimes referred to as "Somson tata." Archival reports on Faidherbe's initiatives can be found in ANS 13G 167 (Bakel) and ANS 15G 108 (Medine). For Faidherbe's account of the attack on Somson, see Le Sénégal, pp. 202-5, Annales sénégalaises, pp. 147-50, and ANF/SOM SEN., I 43b: Faidherbe to MMC, 29 August 1857. See also Rançon, Le Boundou, p. 81-3, Barrows, "General Faidherbe," pp. 385-6, General Albert Duboc, L'Epopée coloniale en Afrique occidentale française (Paris, 1938), p. 40, and Robinson, Holy War, pp. 211-12.

18. Faidherbe's account of the battle against Kartum Sambala at Kana-Makhunu near Konykary appears in ANF/SOM SEN. I, 43b: Faidherbe to MMC, 29 August 1857. Consult also Annales sénégalaises, pp. 148-50, and Faidherbe, Le Sénégal, pp. 206-8. See also Rançon, Le Boundou, p. 82-3, Barrows, "General Faidherbe," pp. 386, Duboc, L'Epopée coloniale, p. 40, and Robinson, Holy War, pp. 212.

19. On Gemu, see ANS 1D 14, "Expedition de Gémou contre le prophete El Hadj Omar," 3 pieces: 1859. Faidherbe's detailed account of the battle at Gemu can be found in Le Sénégal, pp.226-35, Annales sénégalaises, pp. 175-86, ANF/SOM SEN. IV, 45d: "Mémoire sur la capture de Gémou," December 1859, and Moniteur du Sénégal, No. 190, 15 November 1859, pp. 207-8. See also Théophile Aube, "Trois mois de campagne au Sénégal,"

Revue des Deux Mondes (February, 1863), Prospero Cultru, Histoire du Sénégal du XVe siècle à 1870 (Paris, 1910), pp. 343-6, Kamara, Zuhur, I, folios 159-61, Kamara, "Condamnation de la guerre sainte," pp. 170-71, and Rançon, Le Boundou, p. 87. See also Barrows, "General Faidherbe," pp. 247-49, Cissoko, "Contribution," Parts V and VI, Ly-Tall and Robinson, "The Western Sudan," p. 363, Oloruntimehin, Segu Tukolor Empire, pp. 112-13, and Robinson, Holy War, pp. 232-33. Bokar Saada was made a "chevalier de la Legion d'honneur" because of his participation in the battle at Gemu. See AMS 3B 78, piece 9: Faidherbe to Ct. Bakel, 20 February 1860.

20. For a discussion of Soninke migration, see François Manchuelle, "Origins of Black Emigration to France;" and the article based on his dissertation, "Slavery, Emancipation and Labour Migration in West Africa: The Case of the Soninke," JAH 30 (1989). See also Bathily, "Imperialism and Colonial Expansion in Senegal," and "Guerriers, tributaires et marchands," Part IV, Chapter 2, Philippe David, Les navetanes (Dakar, 1980), Martin Klein, Islam and Imperialism in Senegal. Sine-Saloum, 1847-1914 (Stanford, 1968), pp. 177-78, Frances Leary, "Islam, Politics and Colonialism: A Political History of Islam in the Casamance Region of Senegal, 1850-1914," Ph.D. thesis (Northwestern University, 1970), and Ken Swindell, "Serawoollies, Tilibunkas and Strange Farmers: The Development of Migrant Groundnut Farming along the Gambia River," JAH 21 (1980).

21. For the migrations during 1853, see AMS 13G 166, piece 56: Ct. Rey to Gov., 25 April 1853. See also Oloruntimehin, Segu Tukolor Empire, pp. 56-7, and Robinson, Holy War, pp. 131-2. The movements of 1854 are discussed in AMS 13G 166, piece 91: Ct. Senudebu to Gov., 16 December 1854. For the 1855 migration, see AMS 13G 167, piece 9: Ct. Senudebu to Gov., 1 July 1855. For the Kartan period, see Robinson, Holy War, esp. Chapter 5: "The Jihad in Karta, 1855-6," and Hanson, "Umarian Karta," Ch. 2. For Khasso, see AMS 15G 108, piece 55: Holle to Gov., 14 April 1857, and AMS 1G 41, piece 1, "Mission Gallieni-Bayol à Bafoulabé," 1879, p.9. Consult also Cissoko, "L'Impact de la guerre sainte umarienne," 219-31.

22. The recruitment drive of 1858-9 is analyzed in detail by Robinson, Holy War. See also Faidherbe, Le Sénégal, pp. 214-15, Annales sénégalaises, pp. 160-2, Rançon, "Le Boundou," pp. 84-5, Kamara, Zuhur, I, folios 159-61, Kamara, La vie d'El Hadi Omar, p. 46, Ly-Tall and Robinson, "The Western Sudan," p. 362, and Tyam, La vie d'El Hadi Omar, p. 46. On the movement to Gambia and Casamance, see AMS 13G 364, piece 21: Ct. Sedhiou to Gov., 14 July 1859, AMS 13G 168, piece 5: Ct. Bakel to Gov., 30 May 1862. See also Robinson, Holy War, p. 239.

23. AMS 3B 78, piece 6: Faidherbe to Ct. Bakel, 12 October 1859, AMS 15G 108, piece 67: Ct. Medine to Gov., 10 September 1858, and piece 83: Ct. Medine to Gov., 16 June 1859, and piece 87: Ct. Medine to Gov., 18 July 1859. See also Le moniteur du Sénégal et dépendances, 2 August 1859, and 23 August 1857.

24. AMS 1D 13, piece 12: Ct. Medine to Gov., 27 July 1857. See also Cissoko, "L'Impact de la guerre sainte umarienne," pp. 717-22, and Oloruntimehin, Segu Tukolor Empire, p. 101.
25. Rançon, "Le Boundou," p. 85. This tradition is also cited in Robinson, Holy War, pp. 239-40. For the famine in Khasso, see AMS 15G 108, piece 4: Ct. Medine to Gov., 18 July 1859. See also Cissoko, "L'Impact de la guerre sainte umarienne," pp. 719-20. The famine in Gajaaga is discussed by Bathily, "Geurriers, tributaires et marchands," pp. 623-5. For an overview of famine and food shortages in the Bakel area, see Chastanet, "Les crises de subsistance."
26. On Abdul Bokar Kan, see David Robinson, Chiefs and Clerics: Abdul Bokar Kan and Futa Toro, 1853-1891 (Oxford, 1975). Archival sources include AMS 13G 163, AMS 13G 172, and AMS 13G 174.
27. On the slow economic reconstruction of the rural areas in the late 1850s and early 1860s, see AMS 13G 167, 208, 209, 242, 246, and AMS 15G 64.
28. AMS 15G 64, Sambala to Faidherbe, 6 February 1861. On raids into the Gambia, see AMS 3B 95, piece 6: Gov. to Bokar Saada, 21 April 1866. See also AMS 1F 6, piece 3: Gov. d'Arcy (Bathurst) to Gov. Pinet-Lapadre, 16 April 1866, and Pinet-Lapadre's response, 1F 6, piece 6: 21 April 1866. On caravan raiding, see AMS 3B 92, piece 11: Gov. Faidherbe to Bokar Saada, 5 October 1863, AMS 3B 95, piece 22: Gov. to Juka Sambala, 6 November 1866, and AMS 1D 64. See also Rançon, Le Boundou, pp. 88-107. Rançon gives details of several campaigns undertaken by Bokar Saada as well as his joint expeditions with other leaders. Finally, consult Anonyme, "Note sur le Sénégal," Bulletin de la société des études coloniales et maritimes 1 (1879).
29. In addition to previous references, see AMS 3B 92 and 95, and AMS Q 24 and 25.
30. AMS 3B 77, piece 9: Faidherbe to Ct. Bakel, 3 October 1855, p. 10. Faidherbe stated the policy in the following manner: "Favorisez l'évasion et recueillez comme hommes libre, dans nos établissements, les esclaves des pays avec lesquels nous serons en guerre. Rendez au contraire scrupuleusement ceux des pays avec lesquelles nous sommes en paix." See also Gallieni, Deux campagnes, p. 29.
32. On slave raiding, the internal slave trade and slavery in the region, see AMS 3B 32, piece 6: Faidherbe to MMC, 16 December 1857, AMS 3B 78 (1859-1861), AMS 13G 167, piece 4: Flize to Gov., 10 March 1857. See also the relevant files in Série K ("Esclavage et travail"), especially K 11, 12 and 25. An interesting list of caravans arriving in Kundu in the upper Senegal valley lists the number of captives in each arrival, and is contained in AMS 1D 79, piece 72: "Revue statistique, 1 July- 30 September 1885." Select oral interviews specifically on slavery include Mamadu Boye Sow at Bidiancoto (Bundu), 26 August 1987, Lamine Camara at Bidiancoto, 31 August 1987, Bubakar Issa Kante at

Kanioube Mayo (Bundu), 19 and 20 September 1887, Moicuro Diallo at Bagadadji, 23 September 1887, Sadia Signaté at Sinthoué (Bambuk), 16 November 1887, Mamadou Samba Djaby at Laminea (Bambuk), 7 November 1887, Samba Soumare at Kayes, 11 April 1888, Samba Gadjia Diallo at Medine (Khasso), 12 April 1888, Yiya Bathily at Kidira, 16 April 1888, and Aly Sylla at Kidira, 17 April 1888. The classic work on Samori Ture is Yves Person, Samori (Dakar, 1968-75), 3 volumes. See also Person, "The Atlantic Coast and the Southern Savannas, 1800-1880," in J. Ajayi and M. Crowder (eds.), History of West Africa (London, 1987), Vol. II. An example of an official complaint against slave raiding can be found in ANS 1D 79, piece 8: Ct. Sup. to Gov., 28 January 1885, pp. 1-2. In this letter, Combes asserts that many slaves from Bundu and Khasso fled into Logo and Watiaga. He insists that if the Bundunke and Khassonke treated their slaves better, there would be less flight. He concludes that the colonial army should not be preoccupied with deserter captives, "tant pis pour les Kassonkais and Boundounkes." See also J. de Crozals, Les Peulhs: étude d'ethnologie africaine (Paris, 1883), pp. 212-13.

32. See the interviews cited in the previous note. According to most informants, women outnumbered men during the period. See the archival reports in ANS K 11, "Esclavage et captivité, 1854-80" and K 12, "Esclavage et captivité, 1881-92." For a traveller's account that briefly describes slavery in Bundu in the early 1880s, see J. de Crozals, Les Peulhs: étude d'ethnologie africaine (Paris, 1883), esp. pp. 210-15. In the secondary literature, see the case studies in C. Robertson and M. Klein (eds.), Women and Slavery in Africa (Wisconsin, 1983).

33. On slaves in military columns, see ANS 1D 74, Ordre #115: Ct. Sup., 15 December 1883, pp. 64-7.

34. For the closing of the Senudebu fort, see ANS 3B 92: Gov. Faidherbe to Bokar Saada, 28 August 1863, p. 11, and ANF/SOM SEN. I 50b: Faidherbe to MMC., 28 September 1864. See Chapter One for a list of explorers and officials on tour in the region during the 1860s and 1870s. Between 1860 and 1880, only six Europeans travelled in the upper Senegal and all confined their journeys to the river valley.

35. On discontent in the 1870s, see Rançon, Le Boundou, and Kanya-Forstner, The Conquest of the Western Sudan. Some archival references can be found in ANS 13G 167 and 242, and ANS 15G 64. On Bokar Saada's relations with the British, see ANS 1D 64, "Rapport par Borgnis-Desbordes," 1882. On complaints against Sambala, see ANS 1D 76, "Campagne du Haut-Fleuve, 1883-84," esp. piece 12, pp. 15-17.

36. Sabusire is usually spelt Saboucire in French sources. The primary archival sources include ANS 1D 37, "Expedition dans le Haut-Fleuve. Colonne de Sabousire," 1878, ANF/SOM SEN. I, 61c: Gov. Brière to MMC, 23 January 1878 and 5 June 1878, ANF/SOM SEN. I, 61e: Brière to MMC, 3 July 1878, and ANS 1G 64, "Rapports sur la mission de Paul Soleillet," 2 reports, 1879. See also G. Gravier (ed.), Voyage à Ségou de Paul

Soleillet, 1842-86. For the perspective of the Sambala lineage, see C. Monteil, Les Khassonké, pp. 42-4. In addition, consult Kanya-Forstner, The Conquest of the Western Sudan, pp. 58-60, Colin Newbury and A.S. Kanya-Forstner, "French Policy and the Scramble for West Africa," JAH 10 (1969), Ly-Tall and Robinson, "The Western Sudan," p. 374, Monteil, Les Khassonké, p. 372, Oloruntimehin, Segu Tukolor Empire, and Saint-Martin, L'Empire toucouleur, pp. 122-23. The view from Karta during the late 1870s is presented in Hanson, "Umarian Karta," Ch. 8.

37. On the importation of labor, see Méniand, Pionniers du Soudan, p. 99. In 1881, two hundred Chinese and an unspecified number of Moroccans were in Kayes to work on fort and railroad construction. In 1883, 1,200 Moroccans were at work on the railroad. Repatriation took place during the rainy season of 1884. Some officials did observe changes in the region. For example, in 1884, Commandant Combes remarked that Bundu "se detache de nous de plus en plus" and that Bokar Saada "perd de jour en jour son autorité" (pp. 2-3). See AMS 15G 83, piece 32: Ct. Sup. to Gov., 3 October 1884. On the initial construction projects at Bafoulabe in 1880, see AMS 1D 57, piece 56: "Rapports sur les travaux de Bafoulabé." For a report on Bafoulabe in 1885, see AMS 1D 79, piece 75: Ct. Bafoulabe to Gov., 30 June 1885. Consult also ANM 1Q 3: "Correspondance commerciale. Cercle de Bafoulabé, 1884-1907," esp. Notices 1 (12 August 1884) and 2 (29 August 1884), both Ct. Bafoulabe to Ct. Sup. On the establishment of Kita, see AMS 1D 59: "Rapport sur le campagne 1880-81 dans le Soudan par Ct. Sup. Borgnis-Desbordes."

38. Correspondence with and concerning Makhassé Sambala can be found primarily in AMS 15G 64, Correspondence indigène, 1880ff. See also AMS 1D 64, "Rapport sur la campagne 1881-82 dans le Soudan par Borgnis-Desbordes," pp. 76-80, and 1D 73, piece 17: Ct. Sup. to Gov., 9 October 1883. On Makhassé Sambala's rule, see Monteil, Les Khassonké, pp. 44-5.

39. Archival references for Senegal can be found in AMS H ("Santé"), while references for the Soudan are contained in ANM 1H ("Santé"). On the yellow fever epidemic, see AMS 1D 64: "Rapport sur la campagne 1881-82 dans le Soudan, par Borgnis-Desbordes." See also Bathily, "Geurriers," pp. 658-9 and Chastanet, "Les crises de subsistance." On the losses at Gamon as well as Bokar's deteriorating health, see Rançon, Le Boundou, pp. 103-06. Rançon claims that in 1883 more than 300 of Bokar Saada's forces were killed in action and 200 were sold into slavery in Niani. For travellers' accounts describing Bambuk in the early 1880s see Ernest Noirot, A travers le Fouta-Djallon et le Bambouc. Souvenirs de voyage (Paris, 1882), Jean Bayol, "Voyage dans le Fouta-Djallon et le Bambouc," Bulletin de la société des études coloniales et maritimes 3 (January, 1883), and Charles Brizel, "Le Haut Sénégal en 1883," Bulletin de la société des études coloniales et maritimes (1883).

40. A good summary of conditions in the upper Senegal valley in the early months of 1885 can be found in AMS 1D 79, "Hivernage 1885. Lettres et rapports du Commandant Supérieur au Gouverneur du Sénégal," 69 pp.

41. On early French perceptions of Lamine, see ANS 1D 79, piece 21: Ct. Sup. to Gov., Kayes, September 1885. Throughout ANS 1D 79, one can trace the development of French suspicions toward Lamine. The most relevant accounts on military operations are the published works of Frey and Gallieni. A good summary of archival reports on Lamine is D. Nyambarza, "Le marabout El Hadj Mamadou Lamine d'après les archives françaises," Cahiers d'études africaines 9 (1969). On Sambala's support for Mamadu Lamine, see ANF/SOM SEN. III, 11f: Rapport Brosselard, 1886, p. 40. Secondary sources particularly useful on Lamine's activities in the rural areas include Rançon, Le Boundou, Nymabrazza, "Le marabout El Hadj Mamadou Lamine d'après les archives françaises," Nyambarza, "Le marabout El Hadj Mamadu Lamine, 1835-1888," Bathily, "Mamadou Lamine Drame et la résistance," idem, "La conquête française du Haut-Fleuve (Sénégal), 1818-1887," Hrbek, "A Fighting Marabout;" and idem, "The Early Period of Mahmud Lamin's Activities." Lamine's religious motivations and his impact on the Jakhanke are analyzed by Lamin Sanneh, The Jahanke, esp. Ch. 4. On Lamine's early antagonism toward Gamon, see Humphrey Fisher, "The Early Life and Pilgrimage of al-Hajj Muhammad al-Amin the Soninke (d. 1887)," JAH 11 (1970), p. 55, and Pierre Smith, "Les Diakhanké: histoire d'une dispersion," Bulletins et memoires de la société d'anthropologie de Paris 8 (1965).

42. For an example of a favorable French view of Lamine, see ANS 1d 79, piece 21: September, 1885. Lamine continued to protest his friendship for the French as late as September 1886. See ANS 1D 85, piece 9: Lamine to Gov., 24 Sept. 1886. Frey's account of the 1885-86 campaign is contained in his Campagne dans le Haut-Sénégal et dans le Haut Niger, 1885-1886 (Paris, 1886). In the archives, see ANS 1D 79 and 81.

43. On Frey's preoccupations and campaigns, see his Campagne dans le Haut-Sénégal, and ANF/SOM SEN. IV 84b: "La situation politique dans le Haut-Sénégal fin 1885 par Ct. Sup. Frey," 11 November 1885.

44. For Lamine's activities in Bundu in late 1885 and early 1886, see Frey, Campagne dans le Haut-Sénégal, pp. 252 ff., and Brosselard, Rapport sur la situation dans la vallée du Sénégal en 1886. Archival reports are contained in ANS 15G 51, piece 34: Houry to Bailly, 11 March 1886 and 12 March 1886, ANS 15G 67, piece 30: Mussala to Combes, 30 April 1888. Consult also ANF/SOM SEN. I, 73a: Gov. to MMC, 12 December 1885, and Frey to Gov., 7 February 1886, ANF/SOM SEN. IV, 84b: Frey to Gov., 28 February 1886. In addition, see ANS 1D 81, piece 1: Ct. Sup. Houry to Gov., 6 September 1885, p. 4. See also Hrbek, "The Early Period of Mahmud Lamine's Activities," pp. 222-23, Kanya-Forstner, The Conquest of the Western Sudan, pp. 133-4, Nymabarza, "Le marabout d'après les archives françaises," idem, "Le marabout El Hadj Mamadou Lamine," pp. 49-54, and Rançon, Le Boundou, pp. 119-20.

45. ANF/SOM SEN. I 73a: Gov. to MMC, 14 March 1886, ANF/SOM SEN., I, 73b: Frey, Rapport, 22 June 1886, and ANS 1D 51, piece 30: "Rapport des opérations qui ont eu lieu dans le Boundou pendant la colonne 1886," par Frey, 25 May 1886. See also ANS 1D 81, "Campagne Frey au Soudan, 1885-86," and Frey, Campagne dans le Haut-Sénégal. See also Méniaud, Pionniers, pp. 257-74, Rançon, Le Boundou, pp. 120-3, and Kanya-Forstner, The Conquest of the Western Sudan, p. 134. On Khassonke support for Lamine, see C. Monteil, Les Khassonké, pp. 373-78. The contradiction between the Jakhanké's professed "pacifism" and support for Mamadou Lamine is discussed by L. Sanneh, The Jahanke. According to Sanneh, the Jahanke supported Lamine until the movement turned violent.

46. On Frey's expedition in Gidimaka, see ANS 1D 51, piece 28: "Journal de marche pendant la campagne du Guidimaka, 10 April-24 May 1886." See also Frey, Campagne dans le Haut-Sénégal, Brosselard, Rapport sur la situation dans la vallée du Sénégal en 1886, pp. 43-4. See also Gallieni, Deux campagnes, Duboc, L'Épopée Coloniale, p. 115, Kanya-Forstner, The Conquest of the Western Sudan, pp. 134-5, Méniaud, Pionniers du Soudan, p. 346, and Nyambarza, "Le marabout El Hadj Mamadou Lamine," p. 79. On Amadu's control of Gidimaka villages, see ANS 1D 84, piece 1: Ct. Sup. to Gov., 14 August 1886, and 1D 86, piece 2: Ct. Bakel to Ct. Sup., 6 November 1886. See also Oloruntimehin, The Segou Tukolor Empire, and Saint-Martin, L'Empire toucouleur. Gidimaka had generally been under French control since the Umarian jihad but was ceded to Amadu in 1874 to demonstrate French goodwill.

47. On Lamine's residence in Diana, see ANF/SOM SEN. I 73a: Gov. to MMC, 14 March 1886, ANF/SOM SEN. IV 85a: Rapport Frey, 22 June 1886, ANS 1D 51, piece 32: Chef de bataillon Floury to Ct. Sup., 26 May 1886, and piece 35: Sous-Lt. Yoro-Coumba to Ct. Bakel, 23 September 1886, ANS 1D 86, piece 2: Ct. Bakel to Ct. Sup., 6 November 1886, pp. 8-10. See also Frey, Campagne dans le Haut-Sénégal, and Gallieni, Deux campagnes. On the situation in Wuli, Miani and other upper Gambian states, see Gallieni, Deux campagnes, pp. 301-2. Other references can be found in Rançon, Le Boundou, pp. 128-34, Kanya-Forstner, The Conquest of the Western Sudan, p. 134, and Nyambarza, "Le marabout El Hadj Mamadou Lamine," pp. 100-06.

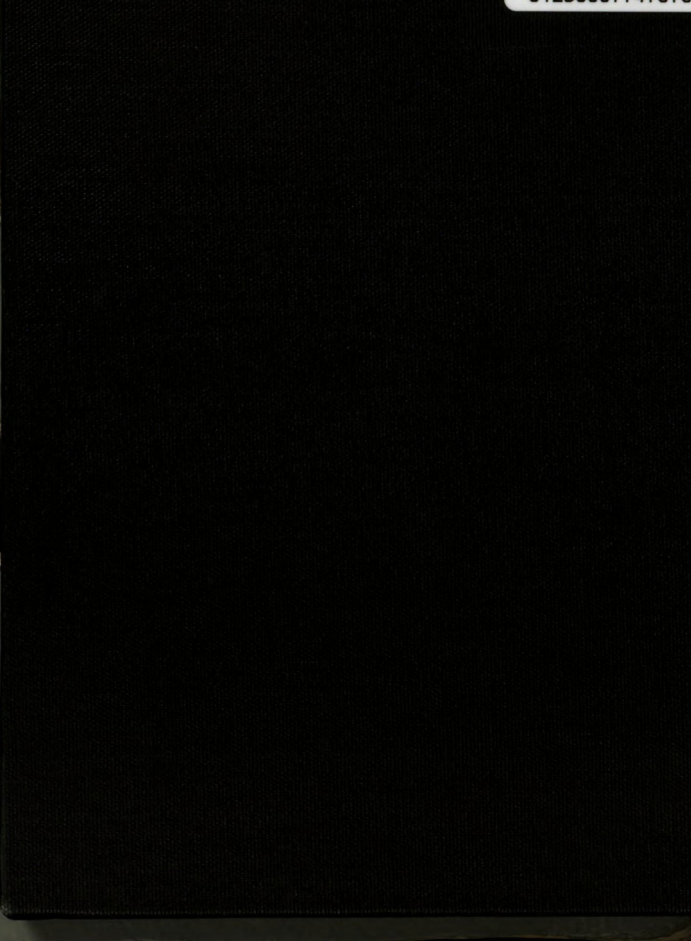
48. Gallieni, Deux campagnes au Soudan français, pp. 19-137. Consult ANF/SOM SEN. IV 87b(bis): Rapport Gallieni, 15 February 1887, also Gallieni to Gov., 8 December 1886, and Rapport Combes, 5 October 1886. In addition, see ANS 1D 85, "Campagne du Soudan 1886-87. Colonne de la Haute-Gambie contre Mamadou Lamine," ANS 1D 87, "Historique de la colonne contre Mamadou Lamine, 1886-87," ANS 1D 89, "Campagne Gallieni au Soudan, 1886-87." Other sources include Méniaud, Pionniers du Soudan, pp. 257-73, F. Quiquandon, "Pénétration de la France dans le Soudan," Bulletin de la société des études coloniales et maritimes (1887), Rançon, Le Boundou, pp. 139-49, Kanya-Forstner, The Conquest of the Western Sudan, pp. 144-45, and Nyambarza, "Le marabout El Hadj Mamadou Lamine," pp. 143-56.

49. AMS 1D 92, "Campagne au Soudan 1887-88." On the economic redevelopment of the area, see AMS 1D 92, piece 30: Gallieni to Gov., 10 May 1888. The main published work on the 1887-88 campaign is Gallieni, Deux campagnes, pp. 323-372. For a summary of Gallieni's campaigns against Lamine from a biased, admiring perspective, see Meniaud, Pionniers, pp. 275-300. On the repopulation and recovery of villages in 1886, see AMS 1D 84: piece 1, Ct. Sup. to Gov., 14 August 1886, and AMS 1D 92, piece 30: Gallieni to Gov., 10 May 1888. On the economic impact of the revolt on the region, see Bathily, "Guerriers, marchands et tributaires," and idem, "Mamadou Lamine Drame," Notes africaines, pp. 30-1. On the shift of Jakhanke support, see Sanneh, The Jahanke, pp. 80-7.

50. On the economic reconstruction of the area, see AMS 1D 92: piece 30, Ct. Sup. Gallieni to Gov., 10 May 1888. Gallieni reported that villages were being rebuilt, merchants had returned to their stores and monthly fairs were reactivated in the major settlements. See also Rançon, Le Boundou.

51. Archival reports on slavery are contained in AMS K (Esclavage et travail). The main published source on the freedom villages is Denise Bouche, Les villages de liberté en Afrique noire française, 1887-1910 (Paris, 1968). On the increase of the slave trade and slavery in Gajaaga and Gidimaka, see Bathily, "Mamadou Lamine Drame;" also his "Imperialism and Colonial Expansion in Senegal," and idem, "Guerriers, marchands et tributaires." The increase in slaves among the Jakhanke is discussed by Sanneh, The Jahanke, p. 87, and idem, in his "Slavery, Islam and the Jahanke People of West Africa," Africa 46 (1976).

52. Gallieni's initiatives are discussed in his Deux campagnes. Consult AMS 1D 92, piece 30: Gallieni to Gov., 10 May 1888.



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**ECONOMY AND SOCIETY IN THE UPPER SENEGAL VALLEY, WEST AFRICA
1850-1920**

Volume 11

By

Andrew Francis Clark

A DISSERTATION

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Department of History

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CHAPTER FIVE

The Central River Valley and the Towns, 1850-1890:

Bakel, Medine and Kayes

The emergence and expansion of trading and colonial administrative centers in the upper Senegal valley and the resultant division of the region into core and periphery are important themes in the history of the regional political economy in the second half of the nineteenth century. Although the French had established several forts and trading posts, including Bakel, before the mid-nineteenth century, it was only after the liberalization of gum commerce and the military campaigns against al-Hajj Umar that Bakel expanded and the towns of Medine and, considerably later, Kayes emerged in the region. In addition to becoming major regional and long-distance trading centers, these locations, all in the central valley directly on the Senegal River, served as the headquarters of the burgeoning colonial military and bureaucracy. The expansion of towns caused the reconfiguration of the region into a core or heartland, centered on the river valley, and a periphery or hinterland, comprised of the rural areas removed from the river.

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The heartland or central river valley consisted of Bakel, Medine and, later, Kayes and their vicinities. The heartland had the largest concentrated population, the strongest colonial presence, and a market-oriented economy dominated by regional and long-distance trade. The central river valley had the most contact with the desert-side exchange with the Moors, specialized regional trade with the southern forest zone and the Umarian polities to the east, and long-distance commerce down the Senegal River. French and Saint Louisian commercial houses and their agents controlled a significant amount of the exchange in the central valley, whereas Jakhanke and indigenous merchants dominated trade in the hinterland. The towns and neighboring settlements were more completely commercialized, and less economically dependent on agriculture, pastoralism and craft production, than the rural areas. Because of the marked differences in political economy between the central valley and the hinterland, the economy and society of the towns and the surrounding areas along the Senegal River need to be considered separately from the remainder of the region.

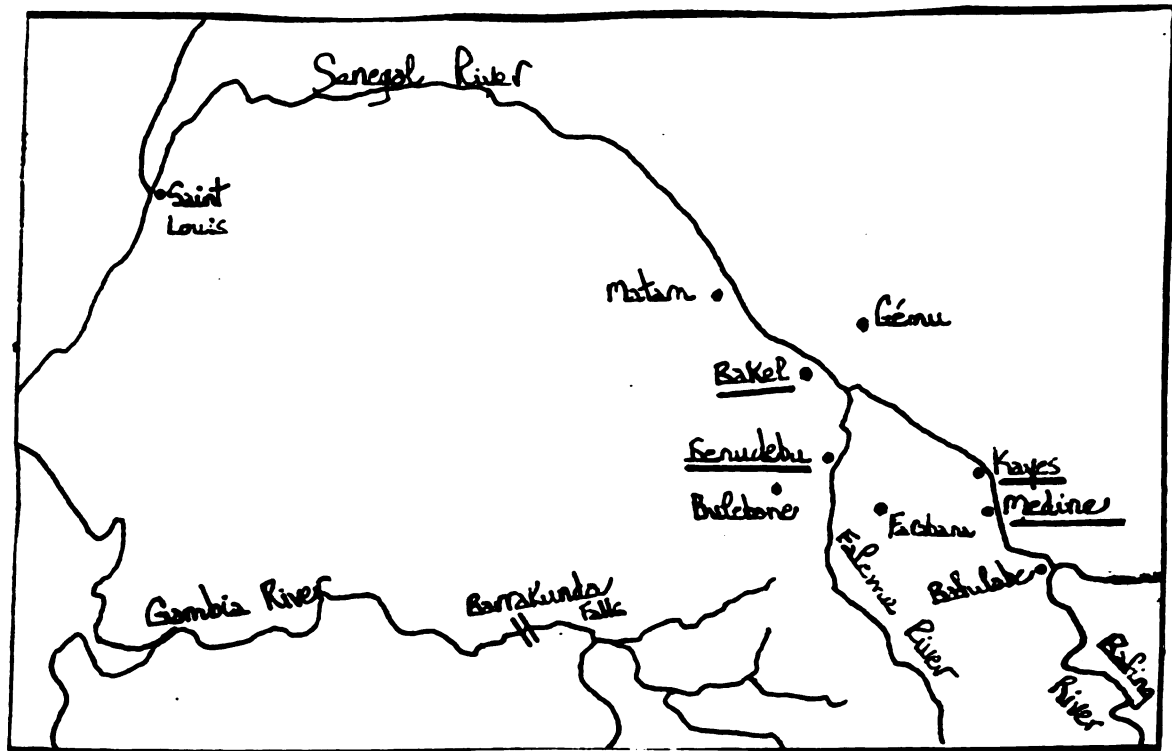


Figure 10
Towns of the Upper Senegal Valley, 1850-90

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The Coming of the French and the Umarian Jihad, 1850-60

Prior to the early nineteenth century, French economic interests in the Senegal valley were concentrated on the gum arabic trade of the lower river. To protect the relatively stable gum trade from the upper Senegal, the French built fortifications at Fort Saint-Joseph on the Senegal River in Gajaaga and Fort Saint-Pierre on the Faleme River, just north of Senudebu in Bundu. These forts gradually fell into disrepair and were eventually abandoned. With the growth in the upriver gum trade and increased British initiatives from the Gambia River into Bundu, the French decided to construct a permanent, fortified post on a high point at Bakel, which was completed in 1820.¹

Advantageously situated to benefit from trade, Bakel was located on the left bank of the Senegal River near the border of Goy, the northern province of Gajaaga, and Bundu. Numerous overland and river exchange routes, including the well-established and profitable ivory, slave and gold trades from Bambuk and the forest zone, passed through the Bakel area. Idawaish Moors transported gum from the Tagant plateau in the Sahara to the river's right bank directly across from the French post. The latter also hoped that Bakel's location would permit them to divert trade from the British posts on the Gambia River.²

During the years immediately following construction of the fort at Bakel, the French did not try to dominate local commerce or politics, operating through existing networks of Moor, Soninke, Jakhinke and other African merchants in the upper valley. The fort at Bakel was isolated during the six-month dry season, and, when accessible, small

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boats took almost forty days to make the trip from Saint Louis. Health conditions caused high mortality among Europeans, and the garrison never totalled more than twenty-six men. Commanders and subordinate officials who survived the poor conditions rarely remained more than two years. The commanders' primary duties were to maintain friendly relations with indigenous leaders, pay the required duties to local rulers for trading rights and monitor British advances from the Gambia.³

It was only in the 1840s that the French decided to consolidate their military and economic position in the upper Senegal region. Anne Raffenet undertook several extended trips to the area and wrote detailed accounts on the political and economic situation.⁴ Raffenet encouraged the construction of a string of forts along the Senegal and Faleme Rivers to divert commerce from the Gambia and to increase trade in the region. In 1845, the French restored the deteriorating post at Bakel, built a fort at Senudebu in Bundu, and planned additional posts in the middle and upper river valley.

By 1850, Bakel was the most important trading post in the colony of Senegal after Saint Louis. The principal export remained gum arabic secured from Idawaish Moors. During the high water season from August to December, vessels from Saint Louis brought guinées, assorted European textiles, gunpowder and other manufactured items to exchange for gum. The Compagnie de Galam, represented in Bakel by agents from Saint Louis, had an official monopoly over the upriver gum trade from January to August. During the remainder of the year, other Saint Louisian traitants were permitted to participate in the gum trade. With

the liberalization of the gum trade in 1848, commerce expanded rapidly.⁵

Bakel was also the center of an active local and regional trade in millet, gold, ivory, kola nuts, hides and slaves. Although some Soninke and Moor traders operated in the post, Jakhanke merchants controlled a sizable portion of local and regional trading and markets in Bakel. Farmers in Gajaaga and Gidimaka exchanged grain, primarily millet, and floodplain crops with the Europeans for manufactured goods and guineas, while Moor and Fulbe pastoralists provided a steady supply of meat and milk products. The colonial military administration hired Africans as soldiers, interpreters, guards, messengers, porters, cooks, gardeners and caretakers for animals. A number of local women were employed as millet pounders, laundresses, maids and mistresses.⁶

The civil wars of the late 1840s and early 1850s in Bundu, Gajaaga, Khasso and other polities in the upper Senegal had varying impacts on settlements in the central river valley. Villages directly on the river in Gajaaga suffered from the violent competition among clerical, warrior and commercial lineages and the partition of the state into Goy and Kamera. Khassonke settlements, divided between the Kartan and Medine spheres of influence, also experienced a period of intense conflict and destruction. With al-Hajj Umar's arrival in the region, river valley communities, anxious to end hostilities and establish supremacy over rivals, quickly embraced the jihad.

Owing to his position at Farabana in 1854 and widespread support in the region, al-Hajj Umar was able to disrupt most French commercial activities in the central river valley. In February, 1855, he ordered

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Alfa Umar Baila, a prominent Futanke, to seize all the merchandise left in commercial factories in the central valley in Khasso and Gajaaga. The Bakel traitants, many of whose factories were attacked, sent Njay Sur, head of Maurel and Prom operations in the upper valley, to inquire into Umar's motivations. In response, Umar composed a letter to the Bakel merchants and the African Muslim community of Saint Louis, outlining his grievances against the French in general and their selective arms embargo against him in particular. This famous letter marked the beginning of a period of intense confrontation in the upper Senegal between the Umarians and French.⁷

Traders who remained in Bakel after 1854 feared an Umarian offensive and sent their families to live in nearby villages. Umar had already halted gum shipments and threatened to cut off food supplies to the town. By early 1855, the only anti-Umarian groups remaining in the town were the Idawaish Moors and some Wolof of the founding M'Diaye lineage. The Umarians raided in the vicinity of the fort and were able to seize stocks of merchandise belonging to Moors, Wolof and the French. Many Moors and Wolof then left the post because of the disruption of trade and constant raiding of their stocks. In April 1855, the Bakel commander used his cannons to level the town outside the fort's walls in order to rebuild it with a loyal population. However, inhabitants of the river valley, overwhelmingly supportive or else fearful of Umar, did not heed the commander's call to relocate in Bakel. The town was virtually deserted throughout the remainder of the jihad.⁸

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The only other French installation in the area at that time was Medine. Prior to the mid-1850s, Medine was a small periodic trading post in Khasso on the left bank of the Senegal River, just north of the Felu Falls which prevented navigation further upriver. The site was settled in the early-nineteenth century by Hawa Demba Diallo, a Khasso chief seeking refuge from the Massassi Bambara of Karta.⁹ Gum trading, the major commercial activity, was conducted originally at a comptoir flottant located at Kainu (called Caignoux or Kéniou in French sources), north of Medine. Several Moor clans transported their gum to Kainu and, after the establishment of the first European enterprise in 1828, to Medine because they feared attacks by Idawaish groups in Gidimaka. Other Moor and Bambara merchants who wanted to avoid Bakel also brought their goods to Medine. Although gum was the principal trade item, gold and slaves also entered into local and regional exchange with caravans from Bambuk and other southern areas stopping in Medine on their way to Bakel or the Gambia. Owing to a decline in commerce, the trading post was abandoned after 1841, and it was only with Faïdherbe's advances in the region in the mid-1850s that Medine regenerated French interest.

The details of the Umarian siege of Medine, lasting from 20 April until 18 July 1857, are well-known and have been recounted numerous times in European and Arabic written documents and in oral traditions.¹⁰ The defeat of the Umarian forces at Medine marked a turning point in the jihad; Umar focused his recruitment efforts on Futa Toro and directed his military campaigns against states further east. The French gradually but effectively demonstrated their military

superiority in the upper Senegambia by establishing a colonial bureaucracy that, while still preoccupied with military matters, was also concerned with administering the region. In 1855, the French annexed Bakel, subjecting the town to taxes and corvée. In 1858, the five villages directly on the Senegal River between the post and the Faleme were placed under a French protectorate called Goye annexé or Goye supérieur. The area downstream from Bakel to the border of Danga in Futa Toro constituted Goye independant or Goye inférieur. Khasso, with its capital at Medine, became a protectorate in 1860.¹¹

The Umarian jihad had a quick and devastating economic impact on the heartland of the upper valley. The recently liberalized and expanded gum commerce was halted almost immediately after Umar moved to Farabana in 1854. French trade in other goods was severely reduced because Umar, in addition to threatening both overland and river commerce, had the support of most Muslim traitants and merchants in the region. The French enclaves, vitally dependent on adjacent villages for food and provisions, were surrounded by hostile areas. The isolation of the posts from Saint Louis made them even more vulnerable to the effects of raids and boycotts. Communities on both banks of the Senegal River between Bakel and Medine suffered from constant bombardment by French gunboats and Idawaish raids. Famine and destruction in the countryside also affected the supply of food and raw materials in Bakel and Medine. Despite the jihad's destructive economic impact on the posts and their vicinities, the heartland recovered more quickly than the peripheral areas once Umar left the region and the French asserted control over the upper Senegal. Merchants relocated in the posts, and

commerce was redirected back to the enclaves. Unaffected by the upheaval, regions to the south resumed caravans, particularly to Bakel which swiftly regained its economic vitality. The repopulation of the posts benefitted neighboring agricultural and pastoral settlements which supplied foodstuffs and other products. Finally, the establishment and operation of an expanded colonial bureaucracy and military contributed substantially to the recovery of the river valley in the post-jihad period.

Stability and Growth in the Heartland, 1860-85

The French Colonial Administration in the Upper Senegal, 1860-85

The French colonial administration was characterized by compartmentalization, with the fragmented structure of the overseas service giving significant authority to administrators "on the spot." The military commandants de cercle, based in Bakel and Medine, and later the Commandants Supérieurs dans le Haut Fleuve, initially headquartered in Medine and then transferred to Kayes, possessed considerable autonomy both in relation to the ministry in Paris and to the colonial governor in Saint Louis. Before 1860, the small colonial

administration in the upper Senegal valley focussed almost exclusively on military matters.

During his two tenures as governor of Senegal (1854-61; 1863-65), Faidherbe established a territorial administration with officials assigned to specific regions and charged with supervising local chiefs. He divided the colony of Senegal into three arrondissements: Saint Louis (or Lower Senegal), Gorée (including all French possessions south to Sierra Leone), and Bakel (or Upper Senegal). The arrondissement of Bakel was divided into four cercles: Bakel, Medine, Matam and Salde (the latter two in Futa Toro). The commandant de cercle at Bakel also served as the commandant d'arrondissement. In 1863, the latter office was abolished, and the commandant de cercle became the principal territorial representative of the French administration.¹² In the early 1860s, the commander at Bakel virtually controlled the small Medine fort and the post at Matam in Futa Toro. Because he made all decisions during the low water season when the post was isolated from Saint Louis, the Bakel commander was selected with greater care, and he tended to serve longer than other colonial officials in Senegal. The commandant was usually a lieutenant or captain with a troop of up to fifty men and a local militia of about two hundred, much larger than the garrisons at neighboring posts. The commandant's staff included a French schoolteacher, two or three interpreters for Arabic and indigenous languages, and two medical technicians.¹³

Personnel, financial, health and logistic problems limited colonial control between the towns and their vicinities, and outlying areas. The commanders at Bakel and Medine directed their immediate

posts and were usually able to collect taxes from the townspeople. In the case of Bakel, taxes were briefly collected in the few villages along the Senegal River in Goy (called Goye annexé). Perhaps because of the difficulties of controlling these adjacent settlements, no villages near Medine or Kayes were annexed. Small French protectorates, centered on the river valley in Gajaaga and Khasso, were officially under direct colonial rule but maintained some autonomy from the administration. The remainder and largest part of the region experienced varying degrees of exposure to French rule, depending primarily on their distance from the heartland of the river valley.

The colony of Senegal was administered by the Ministère de la Marine et des Colonies. Naval personnel filled the majority of positions in the colonial service, and neither the officers' studies nor practical experience prepared them for administrative duties. Because of their diverse backgrounds and periods of service, the degree of administrative reach varied from tenure to tenure. Officials were shifted among various posts in numerous colonies, and they could be unexpectedly ordered back to naval service. The lack of continuity in the colonial bureaucracy seriously hindered French efforts to extend their hegemony beyond the immediate river valley in the upper Senegal.¹⁴ The year 1880 marks a turning point in the colonial administrative history of the region. The ministry in Paris created the Service des travaux du Haut-Sénégal et du Niger, or Haut-Fleuve administration, headed by a military Commandant Supérieur based at Medine. The latter ranked over the commandants de cercles and all other civilian and military personnel in the region. He maintained control

over postal, telegraph, veterinary and medical bureaux and also supervised construction on the Kayes-Bamako railroad. The commandant exercised considerable autonomy, mainly owing to his seasonal isolation from the governor at Saint Louis. In effect, the Commandant Supérieur became an unofficial "Lieutenant-Governor of the Upper Senegal." Although Medine and Bakel remained the respective military and administrative capitals of the Haut-Fleuve, in the early 1880s new posts were created further south at Bafoulabé, Kita and Bamako. Kayes also began to develop into a major colonial center which, by 1890, became the headquarters of all French military and administrative operations in the Western Sudan.¹⁵

Between 1882 and 1885, the administration of the Commandant Supérieur dans le Haut-Fleuve grew and diversified significantly. In 1882, the commander's staff consisted of twenty-three officials, including four medical personnel, two veterinarians and four interpreters. In 1884, thirteen medical personnel were assigned to Bakel and ten resided in Medine, mostly treating local illnesses like malaria, dysentery and typhoid rather than military wounds. At Bakel, veterinarians increased to four, while three more were posted to Medine. At Bakel in 1882, there were two interpreters for Arabic correspondence and two for indigenous languages, mainly Mandinka and Pulaar, the local dialect of Fulfulde. By 1884, the number of interpreters increased to eleven.¹⁶

Interpreters wielded considerable influence as the primary mediators between the colonial administration and local inhabitants. Their official duties included translating written correspondence and

providing simultaneous translations of conversations. The need for more interpreters in Bakel and Medine in the early 1880s reflected the increase in military and civilian missions in the region. The variety of languages spoken in the upper Senegal necessitated several translators, and commanders frequently had to settle for less qualified and perhaps less reliable recruits. The French lacked the ability to verify information supplied by informants who could be bribed or purposely misled by local leaders. Some interpreters, especially relatives of indigenous rulers, used their position to inform local leaders of French activities. Many traitants, particularly Wolof speakers from Saint Louis and Bambara-speaking Marka, hired interpreters for translating and dealing with the Moors, Jakhanke and other local groups. Interpreters, regardless of their employers, had their own loyalties, interests and careers to advance.¹⁷

By 1885 the French were confident of their control over the immediate upper river valley. The existing infrastructure was sufficient to meet peacetime goals and for the initial expansion eastward. Increased numbers of personnel and equipment in the early 1880s resulted from an expansionist effort to the east, rather than a reinforcement phase in the upper Senegal. The French were also engaged in a major campaign in the south against Samori Turé. Bakel, Medine, Kayes and their vicinities served important logistical functions, but the French neglected their control in the area. Their pacification and hegemony over the region were severely tested by the revolt of Mamadu Lamine, which was partially a reaction against the increased French presence.

Economic and Social Developments in the Central Valley, 1860-85

The growth of the colonial bureaucracy in the upper Senegal valley was one factor that influenced economic developments in the central river valley from the period after the Umarian jihad until the revolt of Mamadu Lamine in 1885. The increased French presence also contributed to a degree of stability which encouraged exchange and production. The expansion of the gum and grain trades in the central valley had a major impact on the local economy and society. Farmers, herders, tradesmen and merchants benefitted from the demand created by the expansion of both the African and European populations. In this section, the focus will be on economic activities in the areas of Bakel and Medine between approximately 1860 and 1885. Kayes emerged only at the very end of the period, and will be discussed in the final part of this chapter.

During the 1860s and 1870s, the most important economic development in Bakel and Medine was the dramatic expansion of the gum trade. In 1858, Faidherbe signed a treaty with Bakar Sidi Mahmoud, leader of the Idawaish Moors, limiting gum commerce in the upper Senegal to the posts at Bakel and Medine.^{1*} Although some gum undoubtedly was sold in other villages along the river, the two towns benefitted greatly from the treaty. Peace had been restored in the region and trade routes to the towns were reopened, and the Senegal River from Saint Louis to Medine was firmly under French control. While raids continued on caravans in all areas, especially on gum convoys in

Gidimaka travelling to Bakel, transporters no longer had to contend with Umarian boycotts, blockades and attacks.

Relations between the French and Idawaish Moors were consistently friendly, insuring a steady flow of gum to Bakel and Medine. The Idawaish continued to transport significant quantities to the posts even when the price fluctuated because the Moors' movement southward would have occurred whether or not they were involved in the gum trade. They had to travel seasonally from the desert to the upper river to seek pasture for their herds and to secure food in exchange for their animal products and salt. Gum was exchanged for guineés, other imported cloths and manufactures.

Bakel experienced an expanded gum trade in the 1860s, whereas Medine's boom occurred in the following decade. Before the Umarian jihad, Bakel was the undisputed center of commerce in the upper valley. With the cessation of hostilities, the trade resumed at approximately its pre-jihad pace. However, Medine's lack of entrenched gum interests offered new opportunities to traitants, who increasingly made it their permanent base in the late 1860s. The absence of European firms in Medine additionally enhanced the merchants' profit margins. The French encouraged further settlement in Medine by setting up an autonomous town assembly, composed primarily of traitants, to settle market disputes.

Caravans also favored Medine over Bakel. There were fewer raids on convoys travelling to Medine than on those heading to Bakel. Numerous Moorish groups set up seasonal camps on the right bank of the Senegal across from Medine. By 1880, Medine was the dominant commercial center

in the river valley and had a population of approximately four thousand. In 1884, only thirty traitants were registered at Bakel, a significant decrease from the 1860s and 1870s, when over two hundred operated in the town.¹⁹

The steady growth of the gum trade in the upper valley was matched by an increase in the exchange of grain, mostly millet. The gum and grain markets expanded in similar locations and periods with Bakel in the 1860s and Medine in the 1870s being the dominant entrepôts for the grain trade. Traitants in Bakel secured grain from agriculturalists in Gidimaka, Gajaaga and Bundu, whereas traders in Medine relied upon farmers in Umarian Karta, notably Diomboko, and Khasso. After the Umarian jihad, Bakel resumed shipping large quantities of grain downriver to Saint Louis. The colonial military and administration purchased grain supplies from Medine traitants for the increasing number of posts and personnel in the upper Senegal.²⁰

Exact figures for the grain trade in Bakel and Medine are incomplete and problematic. Estimates must be compiled from scattered and periodic references in correspondence and monthly agricultural reports. Officials neither distinguished between varieties of millet nor identified the source of the grain. Despite these difficulties, the amount of grain that passed through the markets at Bakel and Medine can be estimated, and it demonstrates the importance of the regional grain market and the rise of Medine in the 1870s and 1880s.

**Table 3. Volume of Traitant Grain Purchases at Bakel and Medine,
1860-85**

<u>Year</u>	<u>Bakel</u> (estimates in kilograms)	<u>Medine</u> (estimates in kilograms)
1860-1870	500,000 (annual est.)	no figures available
1871	300,000	65,000
1872	n.f.	n.f.
1873	275,000	127,000
1874-1876	n.f.	n.f.
1877	250,000	400,000
1878	275,000	n.f.
1879-1880	n.f.	n.f.
1881	200,000	355,282
1882	n.f.	500,000
1883-1884	n.f.	n.f.
1885	200,000	500,000

Sources: AMS 13G 171-175 and 184; AMS 2B75; AMS 15G 109-114; AMH 1Q 70;
AMH 1E 54; ANF/SOM. SEN I.56b.

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In addition to gum and grain, Bakel and Medine exported quantities of groundnuts in the 1860s and 1870s. European efforts at expanding groundnut production were focussed on western Senegambia rather than the upper valley. Although peanut exports, in particular from Bakel, did increase in the 1860s, they declined in the 1870s and never recovered. Prices for peanuts dropped following the opening of the Suez Canal and the arrival on the market of large amounts of peanuts from India. With the slump in prices, traitants were no longer willing to pay expensive storage and transport costs from the upper river valley to Saint Louis. Groundnuts from Cayor and the "peanut basin" dominated exports of the crop from Senegal, while traders in the upper valley concentrated their efforts on the gum trade. Figure B illustrates the quantity of groundnuts exported from Bakel and Medine from the 1860s until 1884.

Table 4. Volume of Groundnuts Exported from Bakel and Medine, 1860-84

	<u>BAKEL</u>	<u>MEDINE</u>
1860s	1,290 (annual est.)	550 (annual est.)
1870s	1,212 (annual est.)	380 (annual est.)
1880-84	250 (annual est.)	175 (annual est.)

Sources: ANM 15G 109 (Medine, 1870-75); ANM 15G 111 (Medine, 1877-79); ANM 15G 113 (Medine, 1881-82); ANS 13G 171-175 (Bakel, 1869-80); ANS 13G 184 (1884); ANS Q 25 (1881-94).

The seasonal nature of exchange in gum, grain and groundnuts in the upper Senegal valley required an expanded storage capacity, first at Bakel in the 1860s and then at Medine which became the dominant river port before giving way to Kayes in the early 1880s. The export of significant quantities of gum, grain and groundnuts meant an increase in imports into the towns, the immediate river valley and, eventually, the countryside. Guinées of various kinds and other textiles comprised the largest portion of imported commodities, but silverware, paper, ink, alcohol, glass items, firearms and ammunition also arrived. Villages on the Senegal River between Bakel and Medine became increasingly commercialized. Traders from the rural areas came into the commercial centers, usually during the high water season, to purchase manufactured goods before returning to villages to sell the products at local markets. Both Bakel and Medine had sizable communities of immigrant Jakhinke merchants whose networks distributed imported goods throughout the region.²¹

Bakel and Medine were also the locations of important and active slave markets. The official abolition in 1848 of slavery and the slave trade in all French colonies and possessions was not strictly enforced in the posts of the upper Senegal. In February 1856, the French commander at Bakel sold into slavery several hundred Umarian captives. He also gave Bokar Saada of Bundu 225 prisoners and Juka Sambala of Khasso sixty captives. A second public sale was held at the town market in September 1856.²² In the 1860s and 1870s, raids and skirmishes among the polities in the region and to the east produced a constant supply

of slaves, many of whom were eventually taken to Bakel and Medine for clandestine sale. Given the reluctance of French officials to acknowledge the activity, oral sources become crucial for understanding the slave trade and slavery in the area, and they agree that the markets were clandestine only to the Europeans. Merchants travelling to the commercial centers often used slaves as porters and then sold them in the towns. Idawaish Moors needed additional slaves to collect gum arabic in the Tagant, and purchased many of the slaves sold in Bakel and Medine.²³

Slaves performed many tasks in the towns and adjacent settlements. Traitants used them as porters, guards and messengers, while others manned their masters' stalls at the daily markets. Male slaves served as agricultural laborers, herders, cooks, water carriers, wood gatherers and assistants to smiths. Female slaves worked in the household, serving as domestics, millet pounders, laundresses, seamstresses and water carriers, and frequently did the daily marketing. In cotton cloth production, female slaves did the ginning, carding, spinning and dyeing, whereas male slaves did the weaving. The majority of both male and female slaves lived in their masters' households, although slave quarters existed in Bakel, Medine and Senudebu.²⁴

In addition to being at the crossroads of exchange, Bakel and Medine were situated in the middle of fertile floodplain and rainfall agricultural land. A ready and growing market, greater numbers of traitants, troops, and other colonial employees, and French reliance on a sufficient supply of food for the string of newly established forts

encouraged agricultural and pastoral production in the heartland. Daily markets in central valley settlements usually had various vegetables, grains, meats and fish available. Neighboring villages of Fulbe supplied milk, meat and hides year-round, while Moor caravans seasonally brought animal products into the towns. At Bakel, a ferry linking the riverbanks carried an estimated 2000 persons daily in 1864.²⁵

There were also increases in imported raw materials and opportunities for local craftsmen. Smiths in Bakel and Medine fashioned jewelry with gold imported from Bambuk, and both towns had small tanning industries which produced leather goods. Cotton production along the Senegal River prospered, and the number of weavers in Bakel increased during the 1860s. The Soninke of the town were noted throughout the region for their highly prized cloth dyed with locally available indigo. A series of dye pits were dug near the riverbank to accommodate the large quantities of cloth brought there by inhabitants of the town and nearby settlements. Ironworkers, woodcarvers and pottery-makers were in demand to meet the increasing needs of the central valley's population. The heartland's connections with the coast and long-distance trade also contributed to the growth of productive activities.²⁶

During the two decades under consideration, a series of natural occurrences and disease epidemics periodically disrupted daily life in the towns and their vicinities. There was insufficient rain in 1862, 1866-68 and 1878-80, leading to food scarcity, especially between 1867 and 1870 and from 1878 to 1881, when disease epidemics also occurred.

In 1868-69, approximately 580 people in Bakel and an undetermined number in Medine died from cholera, and smallpox outbreaks in 1870 and 1881 killed many children in both posts. During a yellow fever epidemic in 1878 a quarantine was imposed in the river valley posts. Severe floods occurred in 1862, 1870, 1873, 1878 and 1881 coinciding with and contributing to outbreaks of disease and food scarcity.²⁷ Incidents of typhoid fever also escalated in flood years. Epidemics were more severe in the river valley than in the countryside because population density, sanitary conditions, constant circulation of many traders, and riverine location increased the severity, frequency and duration of contagious illnesses. In addition, written sources on epidemics are more detailed for the towns and neighboring settlements than for outlying areas.

The preceding discussion has focussed exclusively on the areas near Bakel and Medine with no mention of Kayes. During the two decades following the Umarian jihad, Bakel and Medine were the dominant administrative, political and commercial centers in the upper Senegal valley with their vicinities constituting the core of the river valley. Kayes, several kilometers north of Medine, was officially designated the headquarters of the Commandant Supérieur in 1880, but the initial administrative and commercial development of the town was gradual. Bakel retained its importance as an administrative and economic center until the 1890s, and Medine remained the base for traitants and maisons de commerce and the terminus of Moorish caravans until the mid-1880s. Once the infrastructure developed, however, Kayes quickly surpassed Bakel and Medine in importance. The cercle de Medine was discontinued after 1890, whereupon the town was administered directly from Kayes.

Prior to 1880, Kayes was a small village of about two hundred inhabitants, mostly slaves of the ruling Diallo lineage of Medine.²⁸ Faidherbe had chosen Medine for its strategic and easily defended position, but its location on the bluffs restricted growth, and before beginning the 1880-81 campaign Commandant Supérieur Borgnis-Desbordes selected Kayes for his primary base. It was situated on a large plain on the left bank of the Senegal River but, unlike Medine, there were no steep river banks. In addition, the military could transfer its headquarters from Medine to Kayes with little disruption. The land was purchased from Juka Sambala for a small fee, and construction of a fort was begun in November 1880. An embankment was built, and beginning with the 1881-82 campaign, all troops disembarked and lodged at Kayes.²⁹

Traitants of the Saint Louis and Bordeaux commercial houses, previously engaged in the gum and gold trade, became interested in profits from provisioning the military forces and transporting material for construction projects. The line of French forts, stretching from Kayes to the Niger River, included Bafulabe, Kita, Badumbe and, in 1883, Bamako. As in the case of Medine in the 1860s, Kayes had no entrenched interests, and the traitants shifted their bases of operation to take advantage of the new opportunities, retaining only a few agents in Bakel and Medine. The construction of the Kayes-Niger railroad, beginning in 1881, encouraged this shift still further.³⁰ By 1883, the Bordeaux commercial house of Maurel et Prom had two steamers travelling throughout the high water season between Saint Louis and Kayes, and Deves and Chaumet had a steamer on the same route. At the beginning of the 1885-86 campaign, Colonel Henri Frey reinforced Kayes'

military fortifications. By then the town's population had grown to 6000 permanent residents in addition to colonial troops.³¹ This figure far exceeds numbers recorded for Bakel and Medine. The majority of commodities exported from or imported to the upper Senegal and Niger valleys passed through Kayes. River traffic had already begun to abandon Medine in favor of Kayes and its superior docking facilities, and caravans moving west now skipped Medine entirely. By 1890, the latter was the dominant military, political and economic center in the upper Senegal region.

The Impact of Mamadu Lamine's Revolt on the Central Valley, 1885-90

Compared to the Umarian jihad, the revolt of Mamadu Lamine only partially affected economic life in the towns, its effects being most evident during 1886 and the early part of 1887. Lamine's short-lived siege on Bakel in April 1886 had only a minor impact on the post and its vicinity. Thereafter, the Soninke leader, aware of his inability to launch a prolonged assault or massive attack, avoided direct confrontation with the French. Unlike earlier military officials, Commandant Supérieur Gallieni left the central river valley and pursued his enemy into the rural areas. Consequently, the region's heartland escaped the worst effects of the rebellion.

Because of resentment toward French domination of commerce, Lamine had the support of virtually all Soninke and Jakhanke merchants in

Bakel, Medine and nearby settlements. Many left the towns and joined the revolt, but they did not move their families away from the posts. The number of Moor, Saint Louisian and Marka traders in Bakel, Medine and Kayes had increased markedly since the Umarian period, and these merchants continued to operate throughout Lamine's revolt.

Overland exchange, in particular the caravan routes from southern areas, was periodically disrupted but never halted. The rebel forces, unable to initiate trade boycotts, had to rely on raids on caravans in the limited areas under their control. Because Lamine had no strongholds on Sahelian trade routes and lacked Idawaish support, regional exchange with the Moors was generally unaffected by the events. Unlike Umar, Mamadu Lamine never controlled the Senegal River and water transport continued on a regular basis.

A number of inhabitants left the central valley and joined Lamine at his headquarters in the rural areas, curtailing some agricultural, pastoral and productive activities. However, increased troops in the heartland meant a larger market and offset any population loss owing to the revolt. The productive sector of the central valley's economy was strong enough to withstand the effects of the relatively short-lived and geographically confined rebellion.

The main impact of the revolt was on the French colonial administration in the region. Gallieni, having firmly established military and political control, concerned himself with administrative and economic matters in the upper Senegal and Niger valleys. By May 1888, Gallieni reported that Kayes was a growing commercial center with 7,000 inhabitants; and that Bakel had only 3,000 inhabitants.³² The

road network was extended to Bamako while the railroad reached Bafulabe. Monthly fairs were organized in all the posts, and Gallieni also began the construction and operation of schools in all posts in the upper river area. This was a prelude to his unrealized plan for the complete indigenization of the lower echelons of the Haut Fleuve administration. The commandant stressed financial and health concerns since Africans required less pay, and they were accustomed to local climate and conditions. For similar reasons he also proposed more indigenous troops. The administration did employ larger numbers of Africans to fill military and bureaucratic positions at the posts. The French no longer had to rely on independent allies in the region. They could install their own protégés such as Usman Gassi in Bundu, or simply not fill offices deemed unnecessary once indigenous leaders died.²²

ENDNOTES

1. ANS 1G 3, "Mission Hesse et Dupont: Fondation de Bakel," (1820). On the founding of Bakel by the N'Diaye of Jolof, see Brigaud, études sénégalaises pp. 213-16, and Kamara, "Histoire du Boundou," pp. 793-4. On the French and the Bakel fort in the early nineteenth century, see Saulnier, Une compagnie à privilège au XIXe siècle: la compagnie du Galam au Sénégal, Paul Marty, "L'établissement des Français dans le Haut-Sénégal, 1817-1822," RHCF 18 (1925), Bah, "Les forts français," p. 980, Bathily, "Guerriers, tributaires et marchands," esp. Part IV, "Le Galam au 19e siècle," and Cissoko, Contribution à l'histoire politique du Khasso, pp. 316-9.

2. The French desire to divert British trade from Gambia is discussed in Curtin, Economic Change, pp. 84-91.

3. ANS 13G 22-3, Rapports de situation politique, 1785-1889. Consult also ANS 13G 165: Holle to Gov., 5 June 1846, and Raffenet, "Sénégal. Exploration de la rivière Falémé et des mines d'or du Bambouck et du Boundou," Revue coloniale 4 (1844).

4. In the archives, see ANS 1G 18: "Voyage de Raffenet vers Bakel et Segou, 1846-48," 12 pieces. The main published works by Raffenet include "Sénégal. Exploration de la rivière Falémé et des mines d'or du Bambouck et du Boundou," "Sénégal. Exploration du pays de Galam, du Boundou et du Bambouck et retour par la Gambie," Revue coloniale 4 (1844), Voyage dans l'Afrique occidentale (1846) which describes his travels in 1843 and 1844, "Le Haut-Sénégal et la Gambie en 1843 et 1844," Revue coloniale 8 (1849), Second voyage d'exploration (1850), and Nouveau voyage dans le pays des nègres (1856) which concerns his travels in 1846.

5. On gum commerce in the 1840s, see Bouet-Williamuez, Commerce et traite des noirs (1848). For the early 1850s, see ANS Q 22: "Traite de la gomme (1850-1853)." On the Compagnie de Galam, see Saulnier, Une compagnie à privilège au XIXe siècle: La compagnie de Galam au Sénégal. See also Bathily, "Guerriers, tributaires et marchands," Part Four.

6. On commerce in gum, millet and other products, see the relevant archives in ANS Q ("Affaires économiques"). For the numbers of Europeans and Africans working for the colonial administration at Bakel and Medine, see ANS 1D 12: piece 5, 1858.

7. The original of the 1855 letter in Arabic and a French translation can be found in ANF/SOM, SEN. I 41b: Letter of Faidherbe to MMC, 11 March 1855. A French translation can also be found in Carrère and Holle, Sénégal française, pp. 204-9, Barrows, "General Faidherbe," pp. 256-7, and Robinson, Holy War, p. 164. See also Faidherbe, Le Sénégal, pp. 163-4. Discussions of the significance of the letter can

be found in Barrows, "General Faïdherbe," pp. 255-57, J. D. Hargreaves, "The Tokolor Empire of Ségou and its Relations with the French," Boston University Papers on African History, II (1960), p. 130, Kanya-Forstner, The Conquest of the Western Sudan, pp. 39-40, Ly-Tall and Robinson, "The Western Sudan," p. 359, Robinson, "French 'Islamic' Policy and Practice in Late Nineteenth-Century Senegal," JAH 29 (1988), p. 419, Saint-Martin, "La volonté de paix d'El Hadj Omar et d'Ahmadou dans leurs relations avec la France," Bulletin de l'I.F.A.N. B (1968), idem L'Empire toucouleur et la France: un demi-siècle de relations diplomatiques (1846-93) (Dakar, 1966), and idem, L'Empire toucouleur, p. 48.

8. The destruction of Bakel by the commander is described in AMS 13G 167, piece 7: 16 April 1855. Consult also Faïdherbe, Le Sénégal, p. 166, and Annales sénégalaises, pp. 106 ff. For the perspectives of the Bakel and Senudebu commanders, see AMS 13G 167.

9. AMS 1G 8 (1824-30): Mission Durnaton. Exploration du Kaarta, Bundu et Bambuk. In addition, see Claude Faure, "Le premier séjour de Duranton au Sénégal, 1819-26," Revue d'histoire des colonies françaises 9 (1921), and Georges Hardy, "L'affaire Duranton, 1828-1838," Annuaire et mémoires du Comité des études historiques et scientifiques de l'A.O.F. (1917). Duranton is also discussed by Curtin, Economic Change, pp. 141-9. Also, see the extended treatment by Cissoko, Contribution à l'histoire politique, pp. 336-62. Cissoko provides the best description of Medine in the first half of nineteenth century.

10. The battle at Medine has been the subject of numerous accounts. See F. Carrère, "Le siège de Médine." Other descriptions are included in C. Pietri, Les Français au Niger (Paris, 1885), pp. 65-94, Annales sénégalaises, p. 130, Etienne Peroz, Au Soudan français (Paris, 1889), and Mage, Voyage. The principal report by Faïdherbe on the siege is enclosed in AMS 2B 32, piece 431: 10 August 1857. See also Barrows, "General Faïdherbe," pp. 379-85, Oloruntimehin, Segu Tukolor Empire, pp. 93-101, Robinson, Holy War, pp. 205-14, and Saint-Martin, L'Empire toucouleur, pp. 53-5. The Umarians' decision to attack and their failure to capture Medine has caused considerable debate in the literature of the jihad. Internal narratives, intent on preserving Umar's reputation, blame his followers for attacking the fort before consulting their leader. Among the sources blaming the talibés are Kamara, La vie d'El Hadj Omar, pp. 41-2, and M.A. Tyam, La vie d'El Hadj Omar, p. 101. Robinson, Holy War, p. 206, lists several other accounts. French sources blaming Umar directly for the defeat at Medine include Carrère, "Siège de Médine," and Annales sénégalaises, pp. 128 ff.

11. Annales sénégalaises, p. 438-42. The five villages annexed in Goy were Kungani, Golmi, Yafera, Arundu, and Balu on the banks of the Faleme. Taxes included a head tax of three francs a year, payable in cash, in labor at the rate of 1 franc per day, or in cotton, depending on the current price. Taxes were collected annually by agents of the native affairs bureau or by village chiefs. ANF/SOM SEN. VII 26bis: 3

August 1861, also ANF/SOM SEN. I 47a: Faidherbe to Gov., 1 June 1861. See also Barrows, "General Faidherbe," pp. 605-6, and Ibrahima Bathily, "Notices socio-historique sur l'ancien royaume Soninké du Gadiaga," Bulletin de l'I.F.A.N. 31B (1969), p. 96.

12. This discussion is based on William Cohen, Rulers of Empire: The French Colonial Service in Africa (Stanford, 1971), pp. 11-12. For a discussion of the colonial bureaucracy specifically in Senegal, see Barrows, "General Faidherbe," Ch. 25. Barrows notes (p. 892) that in 1863, when Faidherbe decreed that all posts should be called cercles, the meaning was quite different from later periods. In 1863, the French posts were merely enclaves and not administrative centers of large areas as implied by the term cercle. For a somewhat later period, see Sheldon Gellar, Structural Change and Colonial Dependency, esp. pp. 34-6. See also W. Cohen, "A Century of Modern Administration: From Faidherbe to Senghor," Civilizations (1970).

13. See, for example, Annuaire du Sénégal et dépendances (Saint Louis), 1872, p. 89, Annuaire, 1876, p. 128, Annuaire, 1877, p. 89, and Annuaire, 1878, p. 129.

14. For the various ministries concerned with French colonies, see Annuaire du gouvernement général de l'Afrique occidentale française (Paris, 1900), p. 139. On the personnel that filled administrative posts in Senegal, see Cohen, Rulers of Empire, p. 14.

15. Annuaire du Sénégal, 1880, p. 151 and p. 140, Annuaire, 1882, p. 163, Annuaire, 1884, pp. 214-15. In addition, see Albert Duboc, L'épopée coloniale, p. 348, and Kanya-Forstner, The Conquest of the Western Sudan, p. 87.

16. Annuaire du Sénégal, 1882, p. 172, and Annuaire du Sénégal, 1884, pp. 214-15.

17. Sources on interpreters include ANS 1D 59 (1880-81), Anonyme, "Note sur le Senegal," Bulletin des études coloniales et maritimes 1 (1879), p. 28. For a later period, see Capitaine Peroz, La tactique dans le Soudan (Paris, 1890), pp. 44-5. For traitants hiring interpreters, see ANS Q 25, pièce 20: C^{mdt.} LeBrun to Governor, Bakel, 17 Dec. 1855.

18. The treaty between the French and the Idawaish Moors can be found in the Annuaire du Sénégal, 1861, pp. 266-7.

19. ANM 1D 48: "Monographie de Médine," 1888-89, ANS 15G 111: Bulletin agricole, commercial et politique, Médine, March 1879, ANS 1D 62: C^{mdt.} Médine to C^{mdt.} Sup., Médine, 2 December 1881. See also Cissoko, Contribution à l'histoire politique, p. 612 and p. 633.

20. On the growth of the grain market at Medine, see ANS 13G 210: Cmndt. Medine to Cmndt. Bakel, Médine, 27 July 1864, and ANS 15G 109: Cmndt. of Medine to Cmndt. of Bakel, Médine, 1 August 1872.

21. References to storage facilities can be found throughout ANS 13G 171-188 for Bakel and ANS 15G 109-114 for Medine.

22. The incident in February, 1856 is reported in ANS 13G 167, piece 32: Cmndt. Bakel to Governor, 10 March 1856. The second incident is reported in ANS 2B 32: Faidherbe to MMC, 16 December 1857. After the second incident, Faidherbe inflicted a month of detention on the Bakel commander as punishment. See ANS 1B 73, piece 28: Faidherbe to MMC, 19 January 1858. See also Barrows, "General Faidherbe," p. 295. Robinson, Holy War, p. 172f, cites these incidents as well and points out that Faidherbe did not include these events in the Annales sénégalaises in an effort to protect his "liberal" reputation.

23. Oral sources on slavery in Bakel include Musa Hawa Bathily, 18 April 1988, and Abdulaye Omar Diallo, 17 April 1988. For an interview from Kayes, see Samba Soumare, 11 April 1988, and for Medine, see Samba Gadjia Diallo, 12 April 1988. Officials in Bakel and Medine were aware of slave trading in the towns but made no concerted effort to suppress it. See, in particular, ANS K 14, piece 5: "Rapport sur la captivité dans le cercle de Médine par Adm. Songe," 22 April 1894, and piece 12: "Rapport sur la captivité dans le cercle de Kayes, par Capt. Mazillier," 8 July 1894. For Bakel, see ANS K 18, piece 26: "Questionnaire au sujet de la captivité dans le cercle de Bakel, par Ct. Maubert," 1904.

24. See the oral citations in the previous note. Also, there are numerous references in ANS K ("Esclavage et travail"), especially ANS K 13, "Captivité au Sénégal: ventes et achats de captifs," 1893-94.

25. ANS 13G 169, piece 7: 19 October, 1864. See also Bathily, "Guerriers, tributaires et marchands," p. 634.

26. References to these activities can be found in ANS 13G 167-188 and ANS 15G 109-114. Relevant oral interviews from Bakel include Musa Hawa Bathily, 18 April 1988 and Abdulaye Omar Diallo, 17 April 1988. For Medine, see Abdoulaye Keita, 13 April 1988, and Samba Gadjia Diallo, 12 April 1988. Charles Colin, Le Soudan occidental (Paris, 1883), pp. 3-14, describes productive activities in Bakel and Medine for the early 1880s. See also Bathily "Guerriers, tributaires et marchands," especially Ch. 4, "Le Galam de 1854 à 1885."

27. References to epidemics can be found in ANS H ("Santé"), and ANM 1H ("Santé"). See also Bathily, "Guerriers, tributaires et marchands," pp. 658-669, and Chastanet, "Les crises de subsistance."

28. AMS 1G 310: "Renseignements historiques, géographiques et économiques sur le cercle de Kayes, par l'administration du cercle," 1903-04, p. 2. See also Méniaud, Pionniers du Soudan, p. 69.

29. AMS 1D 62, 63, and esp. 1D 64: "Campagne 1881-82. Rapport de Ct. Sup. Borgnis-Desbordes." Consult also AMN 1D 1: "Le Soudan après la première période d'occupation (1881-1890)." See also Bah, "Les forts français," p. 988.

30. On the number of steamers operated by the commercial houses, see ANF/SOM XII 76/bis, 1883. See also Colin Newbury and A.S. Kanya-Forstner, "French Policy and the Scramble for West Africa," JAH 10 (1969).

31. AMS 1D 79: 1885. See also Frey, Campagne dans le Haut Sénégal, p. 23-7.

32. The Bakel figure is from AMS 13G 188: "Rapport de Ct. Dorr, 5 November 1888." The Kayes/Medine figure is from ANF/SOM SEN. 4.90 (b): 17 April 1888. See also Gallieni, Deux campagnes, pp. 573-603, and Kanya-Forstner, The Conquest of the Western Sudan, p. 147.

33. Gallieni, Deux campagnes, pp. 622-25. Gallieni's initiatives are also discussed by Oloruntimehin, Segu Tukolor Empire, pp. 276-77.

CHAPTER SIX

The Apogee and Decline of the Central River Valley, 1890-1920:

Bakel, Medine and Kayes

In 1890, Bakel, Medine and Kayes were among the most important administrative and commercial centers in the interior of the colonies of Senegal and Soudan français. Between 1890 and the end of the First World War, the towns and the central river valley experienced an initial growth followed by a general economic decline. A sharp drop in gum prices in 1894 and the transition from river to rail traffic precipitated their decline, while the decrease in trans-Saharan and regional trade also affected the exchange economy of the central river valley. Dakar, on the coastal Cap Vert peninsula and at the terminus of the Dakar-Niger railway, rapidly exceeded other French West African towns in size and significance. Bamako on the Niger River, designated a colonial capital in 1904, developed into the major administrative and commercial center of the interior. The severe famine of 1913-14, intensive recruitment and mobilization efforts for the First World War

and increased migration to other regions sealed the position of the river valley and its primary centers, Bakel, Medine and Kayes, on the periphery of the French colonial empire in West Africa.

Sources

The written documentation for Bakel, Medine and Kayes from 1890 to 1920 is the most abundant and informative for any period or location under consideration for this study. The creation of the new colony of the French Soudan with its capital at Kayes and the construction of the Kayes-Niger railroad considerably increased the number of official observers in the area. With less reliance placed on local leaders, the French played a greater role in supervising and administering the region, and colonial interests, particularly in the first two decades of the period, were more diversified than previously. After 1890 and the establishment of a civilian administration, there are no detailed military accounts. The creation and operation of villages de liberté for ex-slaves in Bakel, Kayes and Medine meant comparatively rich documentation on servile labor in the towns. Surveys specifically on slavery conducted in 1894 and again in 1904 provide relatively extensive and useful data. In addition, the quality of written evidence exceeds that available for earlier periods. Scholar-administrators like Maurice Delafosse, Charles Monteil and Paul Marty wrote their works during the first part of the twentieth century. Extensive

correspondence from the cercles as well as numerous political, agricultural and commercial reports and monographs provide invaluable sources for the socio-economic history of the region.

The varying quantity of data available reflects the changing fortunes of the central valley and its major towns during the period. Bakel retained its traditional administrative and economic importance within the colony of Senegal until approximately 1894 but, with the establishment of administrative units at Selibaby, Satadugu, Tambacunda and Kedugu in the 1890s and early 1900s, the area and influence of the cercle of Bakel was considerably reduced. Data on Medine remains quite substantial for the 1890s and the first years of the twentieth century, when a large freedom village was established at the post and caravans continued to stop at its marketplace. Even when Kayes became the focus of the colonial administration, Medine maintained its central role in the regional economy. With the departure of the last French administrator from Medine in 1910, written documentation for the town virtually disappears. Kayes dominated the colony of Soudan francais until approximately the early 1900s, when Bamako was designated the capital and the Kayes-Bamako railroad was completed. The data for Kayes and Bakel increases briefly with World War One recruitment and mobilization.

Oral sources from the towns consist of formal and informal traditions and a few individual remembrances, with railroad construction, the 1906 flood in Kayes, the famine of 1913-14 and war recruitment figuring in spoken recollections. The renegotiation of relationships between masters and ex-slaves and migration to the

Gambia, Casamance and the Senegalese peanut basin also appear in spoken narratives. The relatively recent nature of the events permits more thorough comparison of traditions and recollections. The abundant oral record complements and enhances the rich written data to provide a relatively strong although incomplete data base.

Prosperity and Decline:

Bakel, Medine and Kayes, 1890 to the Early 1900s

In the early 1890s, Bakel, Medine and Kayes experienced varying degrees of economic prosperity. Production and exchange increased annually in each center, with French advances into the interior of the Western Sudan and the southern forest zone benefitting the upper Senegal's economy. Yet the prosperity was short-lived. The dramatic drop in gum arabic prices after 1894 seriously affected Bakel which was heavily dependent on the trade, and several climatic events contributed to the town's rapid and early demise. While Medine and Kayes managed to survive the initial impact of the fall in gum prices, by the mid-1900s, the two towns had been eclipsed by Bamako. The railroad supplanted river traffic, and colonial efforts in Senegal focused on the groundnut basin. Bakel, Medine and Kayes, once the center of commerce and administration, were relegated to a peripheral position in French West Africa.

The years between 1890 and 1894 were relatively prosperous for the commercialized central valley and the towns of Bakel, Medine and Kayes. Exchange, which dominated the economy, recorded an impressive growth. Owing to their superior docking and storage facilities, Kayes and Bakel virtually monopolized long-distance river traffic in the region. The French capture of Segou, Amadu Sheku's capital, and Niore in the early 1890s secured trade routes between the region and the east, especially the Niger valley. Colonial military successes against Samori Ture contributed to increased exchange with the southern forest zone. Most overland caravans passing through the region included Bakel, Medine and Kayes on their itineraries. Railroad construction between Kayes and Bamako on the Niger River, delayed during the revolt of Mamadu Lamine, was undertaken with renewed interest, and Kayes, headquarters of the railway, benefitted significantly from the rise in the number of railroad and other personnel. The extension of the tracks into the interior increased the amount and diversity of goods that arrived in the central valley. The area on the Senegal River near Kayes-Medine continued to supply the string of French forts in the upper Senegal and Niger.

Because of its distance from the rail line, Bakel depended primarily on the Senegal River for the gum trade.¹ After the growth of Medine and Kayes, Bakel traitants concentrated their efforts almost exclusively on the export of gum arabic. The establishment of a post at Selibaby in southwestern Gidimaka in 1894 improved security on Moorish trade routes and insured a steady gum supply to Bakel.² Some millet grown in Goy, Bundu and Gidimaka was exported downriver to Saint Louis

and other posts in the middle valley. Other exchange items included livestock, slaves, Bambuk gold, limited quantities of groundnuts and locally produced textiles, notably guude saracole woven and dyed in the Bakel vicinity. The following chart lists the main exports from Bakel in 1894.³

Table 5. Principal Exports from Bakel, 1894

<u>Item</u>	<u>Value in Francs</u> (approx.)	<u>Percentage of</u> <u>Total Exports</u>
Gum	600,000f(est.)	75%
Millet	52,000f	6.5%
Gold (Bambuk)	36,000f	4.5%
Textiles	32,500f	4%
Slaves	32,000f	4%
Livestock	4,000f	0.5%
Groundnuts	3,000f	0.4%

Source: AMS 13G 195, "Rapport agricole et commerciale, 1894."

While imports into Bakel were more diverse than exports, the import-export trade in Bakel in the early 1890s was primarily an exchange of gum for cloth. Textiles comprised approximately 62% of all imports with guinees surpassing all other commodities. The dyed cloth functioned as the preferred currency throughout the 1890s since Moor and Jakhanke traders and porters from outside the area favored guinees as payment for their goods and services. Other European and Asian textiles, including woolens, calicot and silks, formed a significant proportion of goods brought into the region. Merchants also imported large quantities of white cottons which were dyed locally in indigo and other colors, increasing their price. Because of the large livestock population in the Bakel vicinity, rock salt from the Ijil and Taodeni mines in the Sahara was in great demand. Some seasonal workers returning to the Bakel area after the groundnut harvest in the Gambia brought supplies of sea salt. Manufactured products, building materials and regional products, primarily from the southern forest zone, arrived in large quantities in Bakel. The following chart lists the principal imports into Bakel in 1894.

Table 6. Principal Imports into Bakel, 1894

<u>Item</u>	<u>Value in Francs (est.)</u>	<u>% of Total Imports</u>
<u>TEXTILES</u>		62%
Guinées	305,200f	[53%]
Other textiles	43,500f	
Raw cotton, threads	7,850f	
<u>FOODSTUFFS</u>		16%
Millet	29,225f	
Salt	26,500f	
Rice	15,000f	
Sugar, molasses	10,000f	
Biscuits	3,000f	
Dried fish	2,000f	
Cooking oil	1,300f	
Canned goods	800f	
Spices	500f	
Tea, coffee	250f	
<u>MANUFACTURED GOODS</u>		2%
Soap products	4,600f	
Glassware	2,000f	
Iron cooking pots	1,000f	
Sieves	425f	
Carding boards	425f	
Paper, ink	250f	
Gunpowder	225f	
Mirrors	200f	
Perfumes	75f	
Others (including guns)	3,000f	
<u>MISCELLANEOUS GOODS</u>		2%
Wines and spirits	3,000f	
Others (unspecified)	8,000f	
<u>COAL</u>	8,300f	1.5%
<u>CONSTRUCTION GOODS</u>		0.5%
Wood	1,300f	
Other	200f	
<u>REGIONAL PRODUCTS</u>		16%
Kola nuts	32,500f	
Horses	21,000f	
Donkeys	15,000f	
Tobacco	13,000f	
Cattle	5,000f	
Coral and amber	2,000f	
Sheep, goats	500f	

Source: ANS 13G 195, 1894.

Productive activities in Bakel, centered on agriculture, pastoralism, and crafts, generally prospered in the late 1880s and early 1890s. River and precipitation levels were adequate between 1888 and 1893, and millet, rice and groundnuts, for export and local consumption, were the principal crops. In the late 1880s, Bakel residents owned over 2,000 cattle and sizable numbers of sheep and goats. Despite a rise in imports of manufactured textiles, local artisans imported cotton and colored threads in response to increased demand for locally made cloth. Leather production was also particularly active during the period. While imported iron began to replace local varieties, blacksmithing remained an important and burgeoning occupation.⁴

In the early 1890s, Medine occupied a unique position in the central valley. After the establishment of Kayes, Medine was no longer a major military and administrative center, but this did not diminish its local and regional economic significance. Several maisons de commerce had agents based in the town, the Jakhanke maintained a strong network centered on Medine, and Moors continued to bring some gum, sheep and other animal and desert-side commodities to its markets. Caravans from the forest zone stopped in Medine before proceeding to Kayes and Bakel. More than any other town in the region, Medine was closely linked by trade routes with Mioro, Segu, Timbuktu and other commercial centers in the Niger valley.

Many of the productive activities that operated in Bakel were also practiced in Medine. Although floodplain cultivation was limited, increased precipitation levels permitted a greater variety of rainfall

agricultural crops in Medine, and considerable quantities of millet were grown in the central river valley between Medine and Kayes. Fishing, especially near the Felu Falls, contributed substantially to the town's economy. Woodworkers crafted pirogues that they sold throughout the Faleme and Senegal valleys before returning overland with goods to trade in Medine. Other artisans, notably weavers and blacksmiths, also worked and prospered in the town.⁵

Kayes experienced a similar period of economic prosperity in the early 1890s when it became the preeminent commercial center in the region. By 1897, thirty-seven maisons de commerce were located in Kayes, compared to nine in Medine and four in Bakel. While many of the same imports and exports reported for Bakel figured in trade statistics for Kayes, some variations existed. Kayes exported considerably less gum and Bambuk gold, but larger quantities of millet and other foodstuffs were sent downriver from the Kayes area than from Bakel. Forest commodities, primarily rubber, karite butter and kola nuts, and salt bars from the Sahara mines were represented prominently in both regional and local exchange. Kayes was headquarters for several major railway and road projects and, consequently, construction materials, including wood, comprised a large percentage of total imports.⁶

Production in Kayes in the early 1890s matched the rapid growth of the exchange sector. Like Medine, Kayes had restricted floodplain cultivation but relatively productive rainfed agriculture. Owing to its strong pastoral sector, colonial efforts to establish a regional cattle market were centered on Kayes. Local craft industries benefitted from numerous colonial building projects both in the town itself and its

vicinity. The need for more storage and docking facilities, administrative buildings and commercial structures created new opportunities for a variety of artisans in Kayes. For example, between 1893 and 1895, building projects included a hospital, the governor's residence, rail service headquarters, and several other administrative offices. Weavers, tailors, smiths, woodworkers, pottery makers and leatherworkers all shared in the relative prosperity of Kayes.⁷

An important component of the towns of Bakel, Medine and Kayes during this period were the villages de liberté created by Joseph Gallieni in 1887. The settlements, eventually established throughout French Africa, were a direct response to conditions in Soudan français in general and the central upper valley in particular. The villages de liberté provided an answer to the administration's labor shortage problem while simultaneously addressing the increasingly important issue of abolition. Residents of freedom villages served primarily as unpaid porters and manual laborers for the administration. A few large villages were situated along the Kayes-Bamako axis which constituted the "backbone" of the French advance into the interior. The vast quantity of supplies that arrived in Kayes during the high water season (August-November) had to be distributed quickly and cheaply overland to the string of posts in the region. In addition, railway and road construction required considerable numbers of workers. Local inhabitants refused to participate in forced labor projects, and many moved into the interior of Bundu and Bambuk rather than respond to colonial demands for laborers.⁸

Bakel, Medine and Kayes were the sites of the earliest liberation settlements in Soudan français. These multi-ethnic "freedom villages" were constructed adjacent to the French forts or commanders' headquarters, and residence was restricted to refugee or freed slaves. Captives, liberated by colonial personnel from slave caravans, were placed in the villages as were town dwellers convicted of serious crimes. Runaway slaves not claimed by their masters in three months were allowed to remain in the settlements. Because of French fears of the spread of Islam, young slaves belonging to Muslims were often allowed to remain in the villages. A salaried chief, appointed by and directly responsible to the commander, supervised the daily activities of the settlement. The commander settled disputes involving masters and ex-slaves or fugitives from the freedom villages. Settlement dwellers, who provided their own subsistence, cultivated gardens, tended small herds, practiced crafts and engaged in petty trading. Their main occupations, however, were to work in colonial projects, serve as tirailleurs and porters and supply the administration and military with foodstuffs.⁹

The villages de liberté situated in the three major towns in the upper Senegal valley experienced their most significant growth in the mid-1890s. In 1895, slave caravans were officially prohibited from circulating in the upper Senegal valley, and liberated captives were placed in the villages. The number of runaway slaves seeking asylum was always the largest segment of settlement inhabitants. Mistreated slaves theoretically could not be reclaimed by their masters; however, the definition of mistreatment was vague. Women outnumbered men throughout

the entire period of the villages' operation. Liberations from the freedom villages in 1894 and 1895 averaged approximately thirty to forty a month in each settlement. Captives liberated from the villages were given a "certificat de liberté" and permission to leave the area, with most returning to their homelands in the south.¹⁰

The colonial ministry ordered a major investigation into slavery and the slave trade in 1894, producing the first comprehensive census of the villages de liberté in the upper Senegal. Prior data on the settlements consisted of periodic estimates of arrivals and liberations but for the 1894 census, commanders submitted quarterly reports detailing the number of men, women and children resident in the villages. They also listed the frequency of liberations, births and deaths. The following chart lists the number of freedom village residents in Bakel, Medine and Kayes between 1894 and 1895.

Table 7. Number of Residents in Villages de Liberté, 1894-95

<u>Date</u>	<u>Location</u>	<u>Women</u>	<u>Men</u>	<u>Children</u>	<u>Total</u>	<u>Change</u>
1894						
March	Medine	365	342	139	846	
	Kayes	256	193	149	598	
	Bakel	120	84	93	297	
June	Medine	379	353	157	889	+43
	Kayes	268	205	154	627	+29
	Bakel	126	86	106	318	+21
August	Medine	476	402	153	1021	+132
	Kayes	283	219	165	627	0
	Bakel	129	83	99	315	-3
November	Medine	482	433	174	1099	+78
	Kayes	287	229	176	692	+65
	Bakel	131	89	94	324	+9
1895						
March	Medine	543	497	183	1223	+124
	Kayes	389	293	214	896	+204
	Bakel	146	102	102	353	+29
June	Medine	599	554	197	1350	+127
	Kayes	396	304	222	923	+27
	Bakel	153	121	113	387	+34
August	Medine	643	591	197	1431	+81
	Kayes	420	321	249	990	+67
	Bakel	155	132	118	405	+18
November	Medine	665	603	216	1484	+53
	Kayes	427	321	258	1006	+16
	Bakel	155	137	122	514	+109

Sources: Medine: ANM 1E 140 (1894-95).
 Kayes: ANM 1E 134 (1894-95).
 Bakel: AMS 13G 195 (1894-95).

While the number of freedom village inhabitants in 1894 and 1895 appears impressive, it represents a tiny fraction of the slave population in the towns and rural areas. In 1894, administrators estimated that between one-third and one-half of Bakel's approximately 2,500 inhabitants were slaves, with similar proportions reported for Medine and Kayes. Most slaves were women, many of whom were concubines with children by their masters, which served to prevent them from fleeing to the freedom villages.

Refugees in the settlements, especially women, were easily and frequently reclaimed by their masters. Liberations from the freedom villages by commanders, who needed the free labor provided by residents, were rare, and escapees from the villages were pursued, recaptured and punished. Some inhabitants of the villages de liberté were allowed to own other slaves to fulfill their duties. Free-born town dwellers referred to the residents as "captifs de commandant" or "captifs des blancs" because the condition of freedom village inhabitants hardly appeared to be an improvement over that of other town slaves.¹¹

According to oral informants, the vast majority of captives in the central river valley remained with their masters, because there were few alternatives in the late-nineteenth century for slaves, particularly women. While masters could manumit captives, the practice was extremely uncommon, and manumitted or liberated slaves generally did not possess artisanal or other marketable skills. More importantly, ex-slaves had no access to cultivable land or agricultural tools and seeds. Most captives in the central valley had been born either in

captivity or in Segu, Wassulu and other southern regions. Colonial officials, fearing that large-scale manumission would cause massive social dislocation, invariably favored masters in slave reclamation disputes. They waited until 1903 to abolish the legal status of slavery and prohibit colonial and indigenous tribunals from hearing cases involving claims over slaves.^{1 2}

Even after the official abolition of slavery and the slave trade and the establishment of villages de liberté, slave markets continued to operate in upper Senegal towns. In 1894, the French administrator in Medine filed an unusually candid report on the slave market that operated there. The majority of captives originated in the southern forest zone near Wasulu and Kong. They were initially brought to Segu before being attached to caravans, usually organized by Jakhanke, heading to the upper Senegal. The administrator indicated there were four or five slave merchants based in Medine, all Putanke from Futa Toro, with approximately thirty men, women and children on the market at any one time. Female captives sold for approximately 200 francs, whereas male slaves averaged 150 francs. Any captives not sold in Medine were transported to markets in Kayes, Bakel and Futa Toro.^{1 3}

Gum prices plummeted by nearly half between 1894 and 1896, and, by the early twentieth century, were one-fourth their pre-1894 levels. Bakel was overwhelmingly dependent on the gum trade which accounted for approximately 75% of its total exports. The sharp fall in prices made the trade from the upper valley unprofitable, and traitants rapidly and drastically reduced their payments for gum. Idawaish Moors, who had participated in the trade as a supplement to exchange in desert-side

and animal products, refused to sell gum at such low prices. A series of wars among the various Moorish factions in the Sahara further reduced the supply of gum and the number of caravans. Unlike much of western Senegal, the upper valley did not participate in the expansion of groundnut production, and no other commodity emerged to replace gum arabic. Traitants and agents of Bordeaux and Marseilles maisons de commerce abandoned Bakel for Kayes and posts in the Niger valley.¹⁴

With the decrease in the gum trade, all types of exchange in Bakel fell markedly. Fewer ships made the journey between the coast and the town, and most boats from Saint Louis proceeded directly to Kayes which commanded a larger market with higher prices. On their return journeys, ships were filled with goods at Kayes and bypassed Bakel completely. In addition, much of the trade from the forest zone that previously headed for Bakel and the Senegal River was diverted to posts on the Gambia River.¹⁵

Several other factors contributed to Bakel's rapid decline in the mid-1890s. A particularly virulent cattle disease epidemic in 1892 virtually destroyed the pastoral sector which never recovered its economic significance. Bad harvests and locust plagues after 1893 severely curtailed agricultural production. The creation of villages de librté and the official abolition of slave caravans in 1895 particularly affected the Soninke of Bakel whose farms in Gidimaka were tended by slaves. The owners could not afford to purchase new captives or hire free labor. Idawaish Moors, deprived of income from gum, launched extensive raids on Gidimaka settlements for foodstocks, herds, and captives. Migration increased and, rather than returning seasonally

to the upper Senegal, many migrants established permanent settlements in the peanut basin of western Senegal and the Gambia.¹⁶

The economic crisis in Bakel worsened throughout the next few years. Owing to a series of droughts late in the rainy season, millet production dropped, while insects posed an annual problem. In 1897, the commander reported that town inhabitants were selling livestock, agricultural produce, jewelry and even clothing to pay taxes and purchase basic foodstuffs. A severe drought disrupted the 1900 growing season, causing famine in the central valley near Bakel. That same year, a serious yellow fever epidemic and resultant quarantine temporarily halted the high water season trade with Saint Louis and other river posts.¹⁷

Medine and Kayes, considerably less dependent on the gum trade than Bakel, experienced fewer immediate effects from the fall in gum prices after 1894. Their hinterland remained relatively productive. Throughout the 1890s, Moors brought gum and other desert-side products to the posts, and traitants carried the gum to Kayes and loaded it on ships there. The markets remained among the most active in the French Soudan. The cattle epidemic of 1892 and the periodic droughts in the mid-1890s that plagued Bakel did not occur in the Kayes-Medine area, and millet production actually increased throughout the 1890s. Farmers in the area continued to supply French posts, and migration and slave exoduses did not pose a serious problem.¹⁸

A series of events around the turn of the century, however, did precipitate the permanent demise of Kayes-Medine which had already been eclipsed by posts to the southeast at Bafulabe and Kita. Situated

at the confluence of the Bafing and Bakoy Rivers, Bafulabe was directly on the rail line, while Kita expanded rapidly and was briefly the military headquarters of the colony of Soudan français. With the progress of the railroad in the early 1900s, Bafulabe and Kita annually attracted more trade from Kayes-Medine. In 1904, the Kayes-Niger railroad was completed and, shortly thereafter, Bamako was designated the capital of Soudan. With the administrative shift to Bamako, the Kayes-Medine vicinity was no longer the official center of French activity. The colonial administration purchased supplies in Bamako which developed into the major grain market in the upper Senegal and Niger valleys. Regional commerce from Futa Jalon and other forest areas headed directly to Gambia River posts.¹⁹

The overall decrease in trans-Saharan trade in the Western and Central Sudan in the early twentieth century had serious repercussions in Medine which had maintained strong ties with desert-side regions in the Western and Central Sudan. During Umarian rule in Karta, large quantities of grain from Diomboko were sold on the Medine market, and supplies of gum and salt headed for the upper valley passed through Karta. With the end of Umarian hegemony, the interconnections between Medine and eastern areas crumbled. By the early 1900s, increased raiding, general instability, and heavy taxation on desert caravans contributed to the abandonment of trade routes between North Africa, the Niger valley and the upper Senegal.²⁰

Kayes experienced a degree of prosperity throughout the late 1890s because the depressed gum prices did not dramatically affect the diverse exchange sector of the town. Before the end of the nineteenth

century, Kayes was the plaque tournant between Senegal, Soudan and Mauritania with more resident traitants than any other center in the interiors of Senegal and Soudan français. The European and African populations increased annually, with Lebanese traders setting up commercial enterprises.²¹ Besides the extensive railway bureaucracy and work force, the military and colonial administration were headquartered in Kayes, and the town's infrastructure expanded as new colonial services were established.

The markets at Kayes in the late 1890s reflected the intense activity of the productive and exchange sectors. The town had several daily markets in different locations, while specialty trading centers for cattle, horses, and sheep, operated seasonally or periodically, usually on the outskirts of the residential areas. The main market near the railroad station operated all day throughout the year and provided agricultural and pastoral produce and fish. Because of railway construction, local forests were devastated by the mid-1890s, and wood had to be carried long distances, fetching a high price at the daily market. Cloth, both imported and locally made, comprised a large proportion of the available dry goods. Soninke from neighboring villages bought large quantities of indigo which grew wild in the Kayes vicinity. While most artisans worked primarily on commission, all types of craft manufactures were sold at markets as were kola nuts and karite butter from the forest zone.²²

Kayes owed much of its initial prosperity, as well as its subsequent decline, to the railroad. Once the line reached Bamako and Koulikoro on the Niger River in 1904, Kayes was abandoned by the

colonial bureaucracy. With the earlier demise of Bakel and the rapidly deteriorating economic situation in Medine, Kayes became an isolated commercial center. The productive sector of the central valley also experienced a number of environmental setbacks. Kayes, with its extensive docking and warehouse facilities, continued to be an important storage and transit center during the first two decades of the twentieth century. However, the town witnessed the same economic depression that Bakel had experienced earlier. After the mid-1900s, the towns of the upper Senegal valley, once on the frontier of French expansion, constituted a hinterland in the colonial empire.²³

Stagnation and Famine, c. 1905-14

Between approximately 1905 and 1914, the economic situation of the central valley was characterized by stagnation and depression. The region had lost all military and strategic importance when the colonial bureaucracy was rapidly transferred to Bamako and, to a lesser extent, Dakar. The spatial shift in colonial interests and the decrease in river traffic seriously affected Saint Louis and, consequently, all centers along the Senegal River. No new crops or industries were introduced, and environmental problems contributed to the region's stagnation. An exodus of slaves from the towns disrupted production and

exchange. Finally, the great famine of 1913-14, partly a result of some of these factors, prevented any initiatives or development.

In 1905, the millet, maize and groundnut crops throughout the upper Senegal valley suffered from insects and a devastating drought. Administrators reported virtually no food crop exports since supplies were hardly sufficient for local needs. Owing to the lack of grain, few Moorish caravans arrived in the region at harvest time. The dry season of 1906 was one of severe food shortages in all parts of the upper Senegal with the areas around Bakel and Kayes-Medine particularly affected. While the French had already drastically reduced purchases of millet in the upper Senegal, the failure of the 1905-06 crop signalled the end of the region's role as a supplier of grain to the colonial administration.²⁴

The rainy season of 1906, while better than the previous year, failed to alleviate food shortages in the central valley, and the millet crop was again attacked by insects. Migration to the peanut basin, Dakar and Bamako increased throughout 1906 as it became apparent the harvest would be insufficient. Large numbers of captives, especially among the Soninke of Gidimaka, left their masters, while others were apparently manumitted by owners who could not feed their dependents. A virulent smallpox epidemic during the dry season of 1906-07 killed many elderly people and over 400 children in the Kayes-Medine vicinity alone. Although a vaccine was available, colonial administrators reported few inhabitants consented to be inoculated.²⁵

Unusually heavy and concentrated precipitation in the Futa Jalon highlands during the months of June and July 1906 caused the Bafing

River, the primary source of the Senegal River, to rise sharply. Because of its location on a low lying plain bordering the river, Kayes was rapidly inundated in mid-August. All economic activity came to a standstill. Many buildings, including numerous warehouses and administrative headquarters, portions of the railroad, and most commodities in storage were destroyed. Financial losses among the traitants and other traders were quite high. Once the river receded, many traitants, rather than rebuilding their storehouses and dwellings, abandoned the town, while fears of future floods discouraged the colonial administration from making only a token effort to reconstruct the town. The flooding contributed to outbreaks of smallpox, yellow fever and several other contagious diseases.²⁴

Between 1905 and 1907, a slave exodus occurred in several parts of French West Africa. The largest incident, centered on the Banamba area of the middle Niger valley, began before the 1905 agricultural season and lasted until 1910 with an estimated twenty thousand slaves reportedly migrating to other areas. In the upper Senegal, a number of slaves, almost exclusively men belonging to the Soninke of Bakel and Gidimaka, began to leave their masters in 1905. Some slaves returned to their original homelands, usually in the cercles of Buguni and Sikasso; others moved to the groundnut basin of Senegal and the Gambia. This movement, which ended by 1908, disrupted production, especially millet cultivation and weaving, the two primary activities of Soninke male slaves. Kayes-Medine experienced some departures just prior to the start of the rainy season in 1907. By 1908, the exodus from the upper Senegal valley which involved approximately one thousand slaves, had

ended. The vast majority of slaves stayed in the towns and maintained connections to their masters.²⁷

From 1907 to 1912, environmental conditions in the central valley of the upper Senegal demonstrably deteriorated. Harvests of millet, the dietary staple and most widely cultivated crop, suffered yearly from periodic droughts and insect invasion, and incidents of famine were reported annually. The towns suffered from the reduction of agricultural and pastoral production in their hinterlands necessitating food imports, especially into the towns, to meet subsistence needs. The upper Senegal valley was no longer the "breadbasket" of the Soudan français but an importer of basic foodstuffs. In 1912, 2,000 metric tons of grain were imported into Kayes from Bamako.²⁸

The population of the central valley, including Bakel and Kayes-Medine, continually declined, contrasting with the growth of other centers in Senegal and the Soudan. Dakar, Bamako and Thies, an important railway center, and Kaolack, in the heart of the peanut basin, recorded significant population increases. Bakel's population remained approximately 2,500 between 1907 and 1913. Ex-slaves, most notably from Gidimaka, came to Bakel before heading to more productive areas, usually to the Gambia and southern Senegal. Medine, numbering about 2,000 inhabitants during this period, had already experienced an exodus. After its remarkable rise in the late 1880s and early 1890s, the population of Kayes dropped from approximately 7,000 in 1905 to 5,800 in 1912. Opportunities for artisans in construction and other services in Kayes no longer existed, and craftsmen moved to the newer colonial centers or became itinerant artisans in the rural areas. The

previous trend of migration to towns was replaced by people moving from the central river valley back to villages in the hinterland of the upper Senegal.²⁹

The period between 1900 and the First World War was one of unrest in the Islamic world and, consequently, the colonial administration of the upper Senegal became preoccupied with Islam and religious brotherhoods. An "Islamic policy," shaped by encounters with Umar, his successors, Samori Ture and other Islamic leaders, had been applied in West Africa by the French since the mid-nineteenth century. However, after 1900, the administration adopted a number of measures to deal systematically with Islam and religious brotherhoods in French possessions in West Africa. These steps included the establishment of the Service des affaires musulmanes in Dakar in 1906 and the circulation of several documents outlining French policy toward Islam and marabouts. The teachings and movements of certain marabouts considered hostile to colonial rule were closely monitored. Officials feared the stagnant economic situation in the central valley might provide fertile ground for proselytism and were determined to prevent future rebellions in the region that had witnessed the revolts of al-Hajj Umar and Mamadu Lamine.³⁰

Based on previous experience, the French divided the Tijani brotherhood into a hostile "Umarian" branch, with overtones of al-Hajj Umar and Mamadu Lamine, and an acceptable and cooperative "Wolof" branch, headed by Malik Sy based in Tivouane near Thies.³¹ The majority of men in Bakel and Kayes-Medine ostensibly belonged to the so-called Umarian branch of the Tijani brotherhood. There was also concern with

the considerable influence of certain Mauritanian marabouts in Bakel, and the French feared the supposed capacity of Islamic leaders to organize secretly large-scale resistance. In 1912, the commander at Kayes suggested banning the pilgrimage to Mecca to prevent interaction between local Muslims and leaders from other parts of the Islamic world.³²

Islamic education had been an important factor in Bakel and Kayes-Medine, but it is only in the early twentieth century that there is written evidence on its operation. In 1913, Paul Marty reported that all seven important marabouts in Bakel were Tijani and that the only large Koranic school had forty-five talibés or students. Medine had ten marabouts with approximately 125 students. Kayes, proportionally less Islamicized than Bakel and Medine, was the residence for twelve religious teachers who supervised about two hundred talibés. Students usually worked in the marabout's fields in the morning and studied the Koran in the afternoons. The vast majority of talibés were young boys from the rural areas, living with the marabout who provided them with food, although students usually had to beg as well. After several years of study, most of the talibés returned to their families and practiced agriculture or a trade. Only a few continued further studies, assisting the marabout with teaching the younger boys until being able to start their own schools.³³

No insurrection among Muslims occurred in the heartland of the upper Senegal valley during the early part of the twentieth century. French fears of secret organized resistance were based on ignorance rather than reality because, while there was an apparent increase,

particularly among the Mandinka, in the number of converts to Islam, no heir to al-Hajj Umar or Mamadu Lamine emerged to threaten French hegemony. In 1911, the French imprisoned and later deported Fodé Ismaila Tunkara, a Soninke marabout from Gidimaka, for planning an insurrection, but none took place. In Bakel and Kayes-Medine, marabouts and talibés pursued their own religious, educational and economic activities. None of the leaders preached the violent overthrow of colonial rule or exercised significant influence beyond the region.³⁴

By the end of the rainy season of 1913, colonial attention was abruptly turned from the fear of Islam to the very genuine threat of severe famine throughout French West Africa. Insufficient rain had affected several of the previous harvests, especially those between 1905-1907 and 1912-13, and many people had been reduced to eating their seeds. Farmers needed an early and steady rainy season in 1913 to avoid repeat widespread food shortages but, while the rains began promisingly enough, precipitation levels during the months of August and September were inadequate for even the most hardy crops. Millet and sorghum, vitally dependent on rains late in the season, suffered massive losses. Rather than a localized drought, the entire Sahelian-Sudanic belt of West Africa was affected. The "great famine" of 1913-14 can be traced in political correspondence, commercial and agricultural reports, and oral traditions which recount vividly the course and effects of the crisis.³⁵

The already depressed economic situation of the central valley made it especially vulnerable to a severe drought and famine. Early in 1913, administrators in Bakel and Kayes-Medine predicted correctly that

the situation would become the worst in memory. The maize crop, which traditionally ripened early and provided subsistence until the grain harvest, was reduced because many people had eaten their maize seeds before the 1913 growing season. The entire millet and sorghum crop was ruined by the lack of rain, and low river levels affected floodplain agriculture. Some inhabitants left the towns and river valley permanently in search of food in the bush. Reports of people subsisting on leaves, roots, and berries, reminiscent of traditions from the late 1850s in Bundu, are frequent in both the written and oral evidence. According to one informant, some parents sold or pawned their children to Saint Lousians and Moors who then transported the children to other regions.³⁶

The pastoral sectors of Bakel and Kayes-Medine, already in a precarious state, were devastated during the 1913-14 crisis. The failure of the rains reduced available pasturage and water sources in both Sahelian and savanna belts. According to official reports, herders in desert-side zones travelled further south and at an earlier time than normal in search of adequate supplies, causing serious outbreaks of animal disease. The more resistant Moorish herds carried parasites that destroyed a significant portion of the goats and sheep, while other animals perished from thirst and starvation. People sold large numbers of their livestock and many livestock were killed for meat. The commander at Bakel reported a surplus of animal skins on the market.³⁷

Exchange was also disrupted by the crisis since low river levels in 1913 and 1914 prevented many boats from reaching Kayes. Because Bakel and Kayes-Medine imported a substantial amount of food from

neighboring areas, the widespread nature of the drought and famine contributed to the severity of food shortages in the towns. Stocks were rapidly depleted and prices for basic foodstuffs increased monthly. Some Moorish caravans continued to arrive in the towns with gum arabic and hides even though prices paid for desert-side commodities were extremely low. Merchants from Bakel travelled to the Gambia with local cloth to exchange for foodstuffs, primarily groundnuts, while others remained in the Gambia until the following rainy season when conditions improved somewhat.³⁸

Rather than taking steps to alleviate the situation, the colonial administration exacerbated the crisis by levying head and herd taxes at their usual levels. Duties on caravans, individual traders and market stalls were also collected, and forced labor requirements were not relaxed. In late 1914, well before the crisis had passed, the administration commenced mandatory war recruitment and mobilization. Prices for imported goods increased dramatically. In addition to causing considerable hardship and hindering recovery, these colonial measures encouraged further migration to the British-controlled Gambia.³⁹

The rainy season and harvest of 1914 were adequate enough to permit the beginnings of a slow recovery in the central valley near Bakel and Kayes-Medine. Although economic activities gradually resumed after the improved harvest of 1914, production and exchange were notably reduced from pre-famine levels, and the outbreak of war in Europe retarded economic reconstruction. The drought and famine of 1913-14 marked the culmination of a series of events which eventually

sealed the peripheral status of upper Senegal towns in the French colonial empire.

The War Effort and Its Impact in Bakel and Kayes-Medine, 1914-20

With the declaration of war in Europe, a new phase began in relations between the metropole and the French colonies. Previous efforts had centered on extracting the economic potential of colonies with the production of certain commodities for export dominating the metropolitan agenda. Forced labor was generally confined to local projects, including railroad and road construction, aimed to facilitate and increase the export of products. In 1914, the French initiated an unprecedented recruitment and mobilization effort throughout their colonies, focusing on manpower and resources to fight the war in Europe.⁴⁰

The first order for mobilization was received in Bakel and Kayes on 1 August 1914, and, by the end of the month, 170 reservists had been recruited in Kayes. In early October, the number of recruits there had risen to 373 while Bakel officials enlisted approximately twenty men. During the war effort, approximately two-thirds of the potential recruits failed to meet the physical requirements and were rejected immediately. The commanders at both towns reported there was no resistance to recruitment and no difficulties arose filling quotas. Undoubtedly, the difficult economic situation which culminated in the

famine of 1913-14 and continued throughout the duration of the war contributed to the willingness of inhabitants to enlist. However, migrations to British-controlled Gambia and Sierra Leone, which may have constituted a form of resistance, continued throughout the war period.⁴¹

The number of men who entered military service varied between Bakel and Kayes and from year to year. The French launched major recruitment drives throughout West Africa in 1916 and 1918, and figures for Bakel and Kayes increased notably during these campaigns. Administrators in Kayes enlisted considerably more soldiers annually than officials in Bakel. The following chart lists the yearly totals of recruits in the cercles of Bakel and Kayes. Because no numbers exist for residents of the towns alone, these figures include the entire cercles. In addition, archival figures combine volunteers and draftees pressed into military service.

Table 11. Military Recruitment in Bakel and Kayes, 1914-1918⁴²

<u>Cercle</u>	<u>1914-15</u>	<u>1916</u>	<u>1917</u>	<u>1918</u>	<u>Total Recruits</u>	<u>Population of Cercles (1914)</u>	<u>% of pop.</u>
BAKEL	45	120	75	144	384	28,458	1.95
KAYES	926	1470	139	1232	3705	78,057	3.03

Recruits came from various parts of the region and included men of all social categories and ethnic formations. During the 1915-16 recruitment drive, every soldier was given 200 francs and his family received a monthly payment of 15 francs. Drafted men served for two years; enlistees could sign up for terms ranging from two to five years. When there were not enough volunteers, village chiefs frequently sent slaves to fill quotas. In 1918, one official estimated that the army was at least 75% slave origin. According to some oral informants, many slaves had to give their owners part or all of the 200 franc enlistment bonus. In addition, a large number of ex-slaves volunteered for military service to earn money and skills and leave the area.⁴³

The war in Europe had its most striking and lasting economic impact on long-distance exchange which had already been affected by earlier events. The lack of ships and the closure of some European markets curtailed exports with quantities of millet and other agricultural products markedly reduced from pre-war levels. Owing to a shortage of ships, transport costs climbed considerably after 1914, causing a sharp price increase for imported goods, especially in the last months of the war. The following chart lists the rise in prices for some of the most common imported goods in Kayes between 1914 and 1918.⁴⁴

Table 9. Prices for Imported Goods in Kayes, 1914-18

<u>Item</u>	<u>Jan.</u> <u>1914</u>	<u>Jan.</u> <u>1917</u>	<u>Jan.</u> <u>1918</u>	<u>Dec.</u> <u>1918</u>
<u>Guinées</u> (15 meters)				
Filature	6.5	15	25	30
Chandora	8.5	25	40	47.5
 Calicot (30 meters)				
good quality	9	22.5	30	40
superior quality	15	25	45	50
 Shirting (30 m.)	18	37.5	45	50
 Sugar (1 kilo.)	1.25	2	3.5	5
 Tea (1 kilo.)	10	12.5	15	20
 Rice (imported/1 kilo.)	.4	.8	1.5	2.5

Prices in francs.

Source: ANM 1Q 63, "Rapports commerciaux. Kayes (1914-1918)."

The shortage and high price of imported goods encouraged the expansion of indigenous manufacturing, especially the textile industry in Bakel and Kayes. Cotton production in the area increased and weavers purchased more cotton thread from Europe and wool from the Masina region to meet local demand for cloth. Leatherworkers in Bakel and Kayes profitted from the availability of animal hides after the 1913-14 famine and exported more leather goods to southern areas. With a decrease in imported iron, blacksmiths returned to using local supplies. Woodworkers, gold and silver smiths and pottery-makers in the towns likewise benefitted from the changes in long-distance exchange.⁴⁵

Despite the decrease in long-distance exchange, local and regional trade in the heartland remained constant throughout the war years. The amount of money in circulation was augmented by pensions and payments to recruits and their families or masters. Daily and specialty markets in Bakel and Kayes functioned at a steady level, and the towns remained important transit centers. Idawaish Moors continued to bring livestock and animal products to the towns in exchange for cloth and grain, and Senegalese traders travelled to Kayes to purchase cattle and sheep for markets near Kaolack and Dakar. Merchants from the forest zone exchanged kola nuts and karite butter for savanna and desert-side commodities.⁴⁶

The war effort had a greater impact than abolition and the creation of villages de liberte on slavery in the upper Senegal. Many slaves pressed into military service were freed when they paid their masters with the enlistment bonus while others were granted liberty when drafted. When non-manumitted slaves returned from the war, many

refused to acknowledge the authority of their masters. Most had become literate in French or learned mechanical, construction and other skills and, as veterans, they were entitled to certain positions in the colonial bureaucracy. The Soninke of Bakel and Gidimaka, where most of the soldiers had been slaves, were particularly affected. According to the commander at Bakel, some Soninke veterans set up their own quarters or new villages, with the local branch of the Société de Prévoyance, an agency that aided farmers, providing the ex-slave veterans with seeds, tools and plots of land confiscated from the ruling Bathily lineage. Ex-slaves who continued to reside with their ex-masters renegotiated the terms of their servility.⁴⁷

The expansion of the textile industry in the towns during and immediately after the war benefitted ex-slaves. All ethnic groups in the region still considered weaving and dyeing the exclusive preserve of men and women of servile descent. Slaves who had left their masters and veterans could start textile production with very little capital, fashioning utensils and looms from locally available materials and working portable looms outdoors rent-free. Because they worked primarily on commission, weavers did not necessarily need to purchase cotton or thread. Once they accumulated some money, textile makers could create additional cloth which wives and other dependents sold at markets in towns and in nearby villages.⁴⁸

Veterans took advantage of new labor opportunities with the colonial administration in the towns. In 1915, a few jobs in the civil service were reserved for injured soldiers, but, after demobilization in 1919, approximately sixty positions were limited to Anciens

Combattants. The jobs were classified into three categories, depending on the level of skill required and salary. The third or lowest category usually only required speaking ability in French but paid between 400f and 700f monthly whereas positions in the highest category paid up to 5000f monthly in addition to a pension. While no data exists on the numbers of veterans employed by the colonial administration, most ex-soldiers worked in the railway and postal services in second and third category jobs. Ex-slaves formed the majority of veterans and profited most from the reserved positions. The following table lists some of the positions open only to Anciens Combattants.

<u>Service</u>	<u>1st category</u>	<u>2nd category</u>	<u>3rd category</u>
ADMINISTRATION	interpreter scribe	police agent	office orderly concierge messenger manual laborer gardener
RAILWAY	station chief conductor telegraphist	mechanic storeman	brakesman switchman watchman
POSTAL SERVICE	clerk telegraphist mechanic	asst. clerk carrier	auxiliary clerk gardien concierge
PUBLIC WORKS	supervisor	mechanic	driver gardien
CUSTOMS	agent		border guard
HEALTH		nurse attendant	vaccinator orderly

Source: Journal officiel de l'Afrique occidentale française,
13 March 1920, pp. 161-71, decree of 31 December 1919.
Also cited in Marc Michel, L'appel à l'Afrique, p. 412.

Figure 11. Administrative Positions Reserved for Veterans, 1920

Veterans also took advantage of economic opportunities in other regions on a seasonal or permanent basis. Seasonal workers returned to the upper valley after harvest and often practiced crafts, especially weaving, during the extended dry season. Permanent migrants settled in previously established villages or founded new settlements, and the area along the railroad between Dakar and Kayes experienced a significant population growth during and after the war. Tambacunda in Niani-Wuli grew in importance with the arrival of rail transport and the influx of migrants. The Gambia and Casamance regions, which had access to the coast, also witnessed a wave of migrants, including many veterans and ex-slaves from the Senegal River valley.⁴⁹

Owing to climatic conditions and transport costs, most of the upper Senegal valley was never incorporated into the groundnut-producing region. The railroad created a new division in the region, with the area around Tambacunda becoming the new center of gravity for production and exchange. Bakel and Kayes-Medine, far removed from the peanut basin, were relegated to an even greater peripheral status.

The war effort had economic and social impacts on the towns of the upper Senegal valley. One of the major economic effects was the decline in long-distance exchange, both trans-Saharan and Atlantic. Bakel and Kayes, once noted for exports of gum, millet and other products, became centers of migration to other regions. The social impact of recruitment, demobilization and migration was particularly evident in the towns. Veterans, most of whom were ex-slaves, utilized increased and varied commercial opportunities to assert their economic and social independence. More than abolition decrees and villages de liberté, the

war effort had an impact on traditional slave relations of production in the centers of the upper Senegal valley.

Conclusion

The period between 1890 and 1920 marks a critical turning point in the history of the towns of the upper Senegal valley. A period of prosperity in the 1890s and early 1900s ended abruptly. The drop in gum prices in 1894 and the decline in trans-Saharan and river trade seriously affected exchange, the towns' primary economic base. The extension of the railroad to Bamako and the growth of Dakar sealed the peripheral status of the towns in the colonies of Senegal and Soudan français. A series of environmental conditions, coupled with the deteriorating economic situation, contributed to the great famine of 1913-14 which devastated Bakel and Kayes-Medine. Recovery was hindered by the war effort which began before the crisis had passed. Mobilization curtailed the already depressed long-distance exchange sector. In addition, recruitment and demobilization seriously affected slavery in the towns. Another lasting impact of the war was increased migration. Bakel and Kayes-Medine were transformed from central exporters of products to backwater labor reserves.

ENDNOTES

1. See the figures presented in Chapter Three, Table 5. Gum exports from Bakel were as follows: 1889: 350,000k; 1890: 225,000k; 1891: 600,000k; 1892: 157,000k; 1893: 250,000k; 1894: 122,500k; 1895: 310,000k.
2. On the establishment of the post at Selibaby, see ANS 9G 15: "Poste de Selibaby, 1894-95."
3. On imports of millet from the upper Senegal to Saint Louis, see ANS 13G 195, piece 9: Ct. Bakel to Gov., "Rapport commercial," January 1894.
4. On the number of cattle in Bakel, see ANS 13G 189, piece 12: Ct. Bakel to Ct. Sup., 25 April, 1889, and piece 23: same to same, 12 March 1890, ANS 13G 192, piece 98: same to same, 28 March 1892. For Bakel in 1891, see ANS 13G 191. In addition, see ANS 13G 195: 1894-95.
5. Oral sources on the trade in pirogues include interviews with Samba Soumare at Kayes, 11 April 1988 and Abdoulaye Keita at Medine, 12 April 1988.
6. The number of maisons de commerce is listed in ANS Q 48: "Notice agricole, commerciale et industrielle," especially Ch. 2, "Commerce interieur; patentes; concessions." See also ANM 1Q 22: "Correspondence commerciale: Medine," esp. files for 1896, 1897 and 1902. On the salt trade in Kayes in the 1890s, see ANS Q 48. See also Ballaud, Sur les routes de Soudan, and Curtin, Economic Change, p. 227.
7. On the various construction projects in Kayes, see Méniand, Pionniers du Soudan, pp. 110-11.
8. On the villages de liberté in the French Soudan, see ANS K 12, 13, 14, 17 and 25. See also ANS 13G 195: Bakel, ANM 1E 134: Kayes, and ANM 1E 140: Médine. The best secondary account is Denise Bouche, Les villages de liberté en Afrique noire française, 1887-1910 (Paris, 1968).
9. On the founding of villages in Bakel, Medine and Kayes, see Gallieni, Deux campagnes, p. 142. Some correspondence on the Medine settlement is contained in ANS 15G 116: 1895-1900. On putting slaves liberated from caravans into freedom settlements, see ANS K 16, piece 37: Gov. Ponty to Commandants, 18 October 1900. In addition, see Bouche, Les villages, pp. 80-1. Official instructions for commanders can be found in the publication of the Ministry of Colonies, Instructions à l'usage des commandants de régions et de cercles (Paris, 1897), pp. 18-9. On the role of chiefs in the settlements, see Bouche, Les villages de liberté, pp. 126-7, and ANS K 18 and 19. For an overview of the administration of the villages, see Bouche, Les villages de liberté, Ch. 7, "L'organisation administrative," pp. 124-38.

10. On the abolition of slave caravans, see ANS 15G 5: 1895. In 1903, another ban on caravans was issued. Liberated slaves were placed in the freedom settlements, while the slave traders were jailed for 15 days and fined 100 francs for each slave being traded. See ANS K 15: Circular of 11 October 1903, Ponty to Administrators. Ponty noted that Grodet had already prohibited the trade and it was necessary to enforce the ban. See also Bouche, Les villages de liberté, p. 100-1. For various dates on different circulars dealing with slavery and the slave trade, see the files in ANS K ("Esclavage et travail"). Finally, consult François Renault, L'abolition de l'esclavage au Sénégal: l'attitude de l'administration française, 1848-1905 (Paris, 1972).

11. Figures and percentages for Bakel in 1894 can be found in ANS 13G 195, piece 130: Ct. Bakel to Gov., 20 May 1894. The Medine and Kayes figures can be found in ANM 1E 134 and 140. On the expressions "captifs des blancs" and "captifs de commandant," see Bouche, Les villages de liberté, p. 156, and Hopkins, An Economic History of West Africa, p. 227.

12. On the freedom village in Bakel, see Bouche, Les villages, pp. 94-5. On the origins of slaves in the Bakel area and French fears for massive manumission, see ANS 13G 195, piece 130: "Rapport sur la captivité," Ct. Bakel to Gov., 20 May 1894. The commander at Bakel insisted that only slaves worked in agriculture and liberation would mean famine since freemen disdained manual labor. The best collection of articles on the end of slavery is Suzanne Miers and Richard Roberts (eds.), The End of Slavery in Africa (Madison, 1988). The introduction and the articles by R. Roberts on the French Soudan and Igor Kopytoff on the cultural dimension of abolition are the most relevant for this study. See Roberts, "The End of Slavery in the French Soudan, 1905-1914," and Kopytoff, "The Cultural Context of African Abolition," in Miers and Roberts (eds.), The End of Slavery in Africa.

13. The unusually candid reports on the Medine slave market can be found in ANM 1E 174: "Correspondance et rapports sur les villages et captifs libérés," Cercle de Médine, 1888-1895. The most relevant documents include piece 3: Administrator of Medine to Governor, 10 March 1894, piece 4: same to same, 9 April 1894, and piece 9: Mohamed bin Said (interpreter) to Administrator of Medine, 1 September 1894. This correspondance is in response to letters sent by the Governor to the Medine administrator which can be found in ANM 1E 172: "Correspondance et rapports sur les villages et captifs libérés," Cercle de Kayes, 1894-1897. The most relevant documents in this file are notice 2: letters of 4 April 1894, 19 October 1894, and 22 October 1894. On slave markets in Kayes and Medine, see ANS K 25, "Rapport Deherme," 1905, p. 110. The orders abolishing the slave trade and markets were issued on 17 May 1895 and took effect on 22 July 1895. Caravans carrying slaves into Medine were listed in commercial reports until 1893. See ANM 1Q 70: "Rapports commerciaux, Cercle de Medine, 1884-1894." An interesting discussion of slave markets in West Africa in general can be found in C. Meillassoux, Anthropologie de l'esclavage (Paris, 1986), Part Three, "L'esclavage marchand."

14. An assessment of the fall in gum prices can be found in ANM 1Q 203: Lt. Gov. of HSW to Minister, 18 July 1917. On the internal conflicts and the impact of the gum price decrease on the Idawaish Moors, see ANM 2E 75, "Politique indigène. Renseignements sur les tribus Maures du Sahel, 1898-99," 2 notices. See also R. de Lartigue, "Notice sur les Maures du Sénégal et du Soudan," BCAF/RC (July, 1897; supplement) and Geneviève Désiré-Vuillemin, "Un commerce qui meurt: la traite de la gomme dans les escales du Sénégal," Cahiers d'outre-mer 17 (1952), and idem, Contribution à l'histoire de la Mauritanie de 1900 à 1934 (Dakar, 1962), pp. 78-85.

15. An account of Bakel in 1897 can be found in C. Monteil, "Le remontée du Sénégal en chaland de Saint-Louis à Médine (1897)." A description from 1900 can be found in A. Lasnet, Une mission au Sénégal (Paris, 1900), pp. 5-8. An interesting account of Bakel's decline after 1894, aptly titled "Bakel sous les cendres de l'oubli," is by I. Bathily, "Notices socio-historique sur l'ancien royaume Soninké du Gadiaga," Bulletin de l'I.F.A.N. 31B (1969), pp. 95-99.

16. On the Gidimaka raids, see AMS 13G 195, piece 4: "Rapport politique et militaire de novembre, 1894," Ct. Bakel to Gov., p. 1.

17. On the impact of the 1900 yellow fever epidemic on transportation and railroad construction, see ANM 1H 17 and 19. In addition, see Mahoumet Diop, "Etude sur le salariat: Haut-Sénégal-Niger, Soudan, Mali (1884-1969)," Etudes maliennes 14 (1975).

18. Archival reports on Medine are located in ANM 1R 58: "Rapports agricole et commerciaux, Cercle de Medine, 1882-1906." The reports are monthly between 1882 and 1897, and trimestriel between 1898 and 1906. Commercial reports can be found in ANM 1Q 70: "Rapports commerciaux, Cercle de Médine, 1884-1912." Agricultural correspondence from Medine is contained in ANM 1R 12: 1896-1903. Some additional information on Medine in 1900 can be found in Exposition universelle de 1900. A good monograph on Medine in the early twentieth century is in ANS 1G 315: "Monographies du Cercle de Médine, 1904." On fishing in the Medine area, see ANM 4R 1: Ct. Kayes to Gov., 3 November 1895.

19. An interesting account on Medine around the turn of the century is C. Monteil, "Fin de siècle à Médine, 1898-1899," Bulletin de l'I.F.A.N. 28B (1966). Further information on Medine in the early 1900s can be found in M. Delafosse, Haut-Sénégal-Niger, vol. I. On commercial activities in Bafoulabe, see ANM 1Q 205: "Renseignements commerciaux, 1899-1907. Political correspondence from Bafoulabe is contained in ANM 1E 16: "Rapports politiques, Cercle de Bafoulabe, 1881-1903."

20. On the complex commercial relations between Medine and Karta, see Hanson, "Umarian Karta," esp. Chapters 4 and 5. On the end of the Tripoli-Kano trade, see Baier, An Economic History of the Central Sudan, pp. 79-95. Desert-side economy and changes are discussed in Lovejoy and Baier, "The Desert-Side Economy of the Central Sudan," and Baier and Lovejoy, "The Tuareg of the Central Sudan." On the Niger

valley, see Roberts, Warriors, Merchants and Slaves. Hopkins, An Economic History of West Africa, does not mention the decline in trans-Saharan trade.

21. Surveys of economic activity in Kayes and the colony of Haut-Sénégal-Niger in general between 1897 and 1900 can be found in the annual reports contained in ANM Q 48: "Situation commerciale et économique du Haut-Sénégal-Niger, 1897-1900." A series of reports are contained in ANM 1R 28: "Rapports agricoles et commerciaux, Soudan (I), 1894-96," and 1R 29: "Rapports Soudan (II), 1897-1917. Agricultural and commercial reports on Kayes are located in ANM 1R 46: 1894-1905. Correspondence on commercial activities is located in ANM Q 49: 1896-1901. On the military presence in Kayes, see Colonel Trentinian, "La situation politique et militaire du Soudan français," BCAF/RC 7 (1897).

22. See AMS 1G 310 on Kayes during the period 1903-04, and ANM Q 48 (1897-1900). An interesting and informative traveller's account on the Kayes markets in 1897 is Gaston Lautour, Journal d'un Spahi au Soudan, 1897-99 (Paris, 1909), pp. 30-6. General correspondence on agriculture in Kayes is contained in ANM 1R 8: "Correspondance agricole, Cercle de Kayes, 1890-1911." On indigo in Kayes, see ANM 1R 205: Ct. Kayes to Gov., 12 January 1898. On karite in Kayes, see ANM 1R 213: "Notice sur le karité par Vuillet," n.d. (but most likely 1905). On rubber, see ANM 1R 131: "Correspondance sur le caoutchouc, Cercle de Kayes, 1894-1903." On cotton, see ANM 1R 86: "Correspondance sur le coton, Cercle de Kayes, 1896-1912." On the pastoral sector, see ANM 1Q 257: "Enquêtes sur la production animales, 1905." See also C. Pierre and C. Monteil, L'Elevage au Soudan (Paris, 1905), and Exposition universelle de 1900. A good secondary source on various craft activities in the town of Kayes is R. Keita, Kayes et le Haut-Sénégal, 3 volumes (Bamako, 1972), esp. vol. II: La ville de Kayes, pp. 90-104.

23. On the economic situation in Kayes, see ANM 1Q 215: "Renseignements sur les maisons de commerce: Kayes," 1903-07. For monographs on the cercles of Kayes and Medine in 1904, see AMS 1G 310 (Kayes) and AMS 1G 315 (Medine). On the railroad in 1905, see C. Crosson-Duplessis, "Chemin de Fer de Kayes au Niger: la main d'oeuvre," Bulletin de la société des études coloniales et maritimes (June, 1905). Other studies partially concerned with the railroad during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries include R. Cu villier-Fleury, La main d'oeuvre dans les colonies françaises de l'Afrique occidentale et du Congo (Paris, 1907), and M. Diop, "Etude sur le salariat."

24. On the 1905-06 growing season, see AMS 2G 5 (29) and AMS 2G 6 (34) for Bakel, AMS 2G 5 (11) and AMS 2G 6 (6) for Kayes-Medine.

25. ANM 1E 44: Cercle de Kayes, reports for 1906 and 1907.

26. The flood in Kayes is described in AMS 15G 124: "Kayes: Inondation, 1906." Other archival sources include ANM 1D 298, 299 and 300. Oral sources from Kayes on the flood include Mahamdou Soumaré, 11 April 1988 and Chierno Issa Sow, 13 April 1988.

27. Archival reports on the Banamba slave exodus are located in ANS 15G 170: 1905, and ANS K 19, "Rapport Brevié." The best secondary treatment of the Banamba slave exodus in 1905 is Richard Roberts and Martin Klein, "The Banamba Slave Exodus of 1905 and the Decline of Slavery in the Western Sudan," JAH 21 (1980). See also Roberts, "The End of Slavery in the French Soudan, 1905-1914." Roberts makes some of the same points in his Warriors, Merchants, and Slaves especially Chapter Five, "The End of Slavery, 1905-1914." See also Martin Klein, "The Demography of Slavery in the Western Soudan: The Late Nineteenth Century," in D. Cordell and J. Gregory, (eds.), African Population and Capitalism (Boulder, 1987), and C. Meillassoux, Anthropologie de l'esclavage esp. pp. 304-32. Hopkins, An Economic History of West Africa, p. 227, claims that 300,000 slaves were freed in French West Africa between 1905 and 1907 but he does not indicate how he arrived at this figure. Slave movements in the Senegal valley after 1900 are also mentioned by Philippe David, Les navétanes (Dakar, 1980), p. 35.

28. Archival sources on Kayes and vicinity include the reports in ANS 2G 11 (10), 1911; 12 (12), 1912; and 2G 13 (12), 1913. On Bakel, see the reports in ANS 2G 11 (37), 1911; 2G 12 (56), 1912; and 2G 13 (49), 1913. An account of Kayes-Medine in the early 1900s can be found in M. Delafosse, Haut-Sénégal-Niger (1912), vol. I. On grain imports, see Roberts, "The Emergence of a Grain Market in Bamako," CJAS 14 (1980) and idem, Warriors, Merchants and Slaves (1987), p. 162.

29. See the census figures given in ANM 5D: "Recensements, 1899-1914." For Bakel, see ANS 2G 6 (34); 2G 10 (37); and 2G 13 (49). For Kayes, see ANM 5D 29 and 67. For Medine, see ANM 5D 34 and 67.

30. On French Islamic policy during the period, see D. Robinson, "French 'Islamic' Policy in Late Nineteenth Century Senegal." Robinson offers a corrective to the article by D. Cruise O'Brien, "Towards an Islamic Policy in French West Africa, 1854-1914," JAH 8 (1967). An overview of French policy can be found in C. Harrison, France and Islam in West Africa, 1860-1960 (Cambridge, 1988). A good source on Islam in the region in the early twentieth century is Paul Marty, Etudes sur l'Islam au Sénégal (2 vols., Paris, 1917), and idem, Etudes sur l'Islam et les tribus du Soudan (4 vols.), esp. vol. IV: La région de Kayes, le pays Bambara, le Sahel de Mioro (Paris, 1920). Archival sources include ANS 19G: "Affaires musulmane," esp. 19G 1: "Situation de l'Islam en A.O.F., 1906-16. Consult also ANM 4E: "Politique musulmane." For a survey of marabouts in Mauritania, see 9G 40-43: "Fiches de renseignements sur les marabouts de Mauritanie, 1911-13." An early assessment of Islam in the Soudan is Charles Marchand, "La religion musulmane au Soudan français," BCAF/RC (October 1897).

31. See Robinson, "French 'Islamic' Policy." This division can be found in Marty, Etudes sur l'Islam et les tribus du Soudan, vol. IV: La région de Kayes. In addition, see the various files in ANM 4E: "Politique musulmane." In particular, see ANM 4E 12: Ct. Kayes to Gov., 15 September 1894, and ANM 4E 35: "Rapport sur les confréries musulmanes," 25 March 1897. See also ANS 19G 1, piece 1: "Situation de

l'Islam en AOF," n.d. (but early twentieth century).

32. See the various files in ANS 19 G: "Affaires musulmanes, Afrique occidentale française, 1900-1920," and files in ANM 4E: "Politique musulmane." See also Harrison, France and Islam in West Africa (1988).

33. The Marty report is included in ANM 1G 106: Marty to Gov., 20 November 1913, and can also be found in ANS J 86. On Koranic schools in Kayes-Medine and other towns in Soudan français, see C. Morisson, "Les écoles au Soudan français," Bulletin du comité de l'Afrique française, Renseignements coloniaux (1897).

34. On Fodé Ismaila Tunkara, see ANS 9G 28, piece 3: "Affaires musulmanes: marabouts du Guidimaka. Fodé Ismaila," Selibaby, 7 September and 29 September 1911. See also ANM 1E 45, piece 1B: "Rapport annuel sur la politique," Ct. Kayes to Gov., February 1912. A good secondary source on Fodé Ismaila is Marty, Etudes sur l'Islam et les tribus du Soudan, vol. IV: La région de Kayes, pp. 27-31. A brief mention of Fodé Ismaila can be found in Harrison, France and Islam in West Africa, p. 95.

35. There is abundant written and oral evidence on the famine of 1913-14. The deteriorating situation in Kayes can be traced through the monthly reports contained in ANM 1E 45: "Rapport politiques," April to December, 1914. For Kayes, see ANS 2G 13 (12): 1913, and 2G 14 (8): 1914. For Bakel, see ANS 2G 13 (49): 1913, and 2G 14 (44): 1914. For the cercle of Kedugu, see ANS 2G 13 (50): 1913, and 2G 14 (45): 1914. For Miani-Wuli, see ANS 2G 14 (47): 1914. Oral sources include interviews in Bakel with Harouna Alio Konté, 21 April 1988, Musa Diakhité, 20 April 1988, and Salif Tidiane Sy, 20 April 1988. For Kayes, see Yiya Diallo, 12 April 1988, and, for Medine, see Dema Issa Gueye, 13 April, 1988 and Abdurahmane Kanté, 15 April 1988. Secondary sources include Baier, An Economic History of the Central Sudan, and Lovejoy and Baier, "The Desert-Side Economy of the Central Sudan." Chastanet, in "Les crises de subsistances," labels the 1913-14 events a "grande famine," or the most severe form of food shortage. Hopkins, An Economic History of West Africa, ignores the famine. Suret-Canale, in his Afrique noire: l'ère coloniale 1900-1945, blames the colonial administration for creating conditions conducive to a massive famine. The famine in the Niger valley is only briefly mentioned in Roberts, Warriors, Merchants and Slaves.

36. The deteriorating food situation in the area can be traced in the monthly reports contained in ANS 2G 14 (44): 1914, Cercle de Bakel. In February, 1914, the commander noted that villagers were searching for leaves and roots. In addition to the oral citations from Bakel and Kayes in the previous note, see Saliou Diallo at Turé-Kunda (Bundu), 3 October 1987, and Ibrahima Bokar Sy at Senudebu (Bundu), 3 November 1987.

37. Archival reports on pastoral sector include ANM 1E 45: "Rapport politique, June 1914." On the pastoral economy of the Central Sudan during the famine period, see Baier, An Economic History of Central

Sudan, pp. 116-41.

38. A good summary of events in 1914 in Kayes can be found in the monthly reports contained in ANM 1E 45: "Rapports politiques et rapports de tournées, Cercle de Kayes, 1914." In addition, see ANM 1Q 63: "Rapports commerciaux, Kayes, 1914." For Kayes and Medine, see ANS 2G 14 (8): 1914. Monthly reports on Bakel are contained in ANS 2G 14 (44): 1914. Reports on neighboring cercles in the Soudan include ANM 1E 17: "Bafulabé, 1914," and ANM 1E 69: "Satadugu, 1914."

39. On migration to the Gambia, see ANS 1F 13: "Relations avec la Gambie, 1913-1918," esp. piece 1: "Faits de traité commis à la frontière franco-Anglaise," 1913, also piece 2: "Renseignements économiques sur la Gambie," 1915, and piece 3: "Questions générales-divers," 1915. The best secondary work on war recruitment and mobilization is Marc Michel, L'Appel à l'Afrique: Contributions et réactions à l'effort de guerre en A.O.F. (1914-1919) (Paris, 1982). See pp. 154-5 of Michel's book for an overview of the crisis of 1913-14 in French West Africa immediately prior to the start of the war effort.

40. There are several secondary sources that deal with the impact of World War One on Africa. The definitive work on French West Africa and World War One is Marc Michel, L'appel à l'Afrique: contributions et réactions à l'effort de guerre en A.O.F., 1914-1919 (Paris, 1982). For an overview of French policies and attitudes, see C. Andrew and A.S. Kanya-Forstner, "France, Africa and the First World War," JAH 19 (1978) as well as their book, France Overseas: The Great War and the Climax of French Imperial Expansion (London, 1981). General articles on the war effort in West Africa include M. Crowder, "West Africa and the 1914-1918 War," Bulletin de l'I.F.A.N. 30B (1968). This article is reprinted in Crowder (ed.), West Africa under Colonial Rule (London, 1968). See also M. Crowder and J. Osuntokun, "The First World War and West Africa, 1914-1918," in J. Ajayi and M. Crowder (eds.), History of West Africa, vol. II (1987). On West Africans in the military, see Charles Balesi, From Adversaries to Comrades-in-Arms: West Africans and the French Military, 1885-1918 (Waltham, Mass.: 1979). Myron Echenberg has written a number of relevant articles on this topic. See his "Paying the Blood Tax: Military Conscription in French West Africa, 1914-1929," CJAS 9 (1975), idem, "Les migrations militaires en Afrique occidentale française, 1900-1945," CJAS 14 (1980), and idem, "Slaves into Soldiers: Social Origins of the Tirailleurs Sénégalais," in P. Lovejoy (ed.), Africans in Bondage (Madison, 1986). On the effects of World War One on French Islamic policy, see Harrison, France and Islam in West Africa, Chapter 7.

41. On the number of recruits in Kayes, see ANM 1E 45: Reports for August, September and October 1914. For Bakel, see ANS 2G 14 (44): October, 1914. The governor in Kayes, in ANS 2G 14 (8), 1914, p. 5, noted that "la crise économique qui pèse sur la colonie n'a pas été sans influence sur l'empressement que certains jeunes gens ont montré à s'engager." For the physical requirements of recruits, see ANS 4D 59, piece 39: 31 May 1915. For percentages of recruits rejected owing to

the physical requirements, see Michel, L'appel à l'Afrique, p. 53-4. On the combination of famine and war recruitment, see Michel, p. 154.

42. Archives containing numbers of recruits include ANM 1E 45: 1914, 1915, 1916, 1917 and 1918. The statistics in Figure D. are from Michel, L'appel à l'Afrique, pp. 479-81. He also cites these figures in "Les recrutements de tirailleurs en A.O.F. pendant la première guerre mondiale: essai de bilan statistique," Revue française d'histoire d'outre-mer 60 (1973), pp. 648-50.

43. On payment, see the decree of 9 October 1915, Gov.-Gen. Clozel to Cmdts. See also Michel, L'appel à l'Afrique, p. 80. Christian Roche, Histoire de la Casamance 1850-1920 (Paris, 1985), p. 328, cites a similar payment to recruits in the Casamance. On the number of slaves and ex-slaves joining the military, see F. de Kersaint-Gilly, "Essai sur l'évolution de l'esclavage en Afrique occidentale française: son dernier stade au Soudan," Bulletin de Comité des études historiques et scientifiques de l'A.O.F. 7 (1924) p. 474. An interesting article on the origins of the tirailleurs sénégalaises prior to World War One is Myron Echenberg, "Slaves into Soldiers: Social Origins of the Tirailleurs Sénégalaises." Oral interviews on payment include Maudo Sirare Ba at Bidiancoto (Bundu), 10 May 1988, Samba Hadja Diallo at Kanioube Mayo (Bundu), 21 September 1987, and Harouna Aliou Konté at Bakel, 21 April 1988.

44. On shipping costs and the lack of transport between 1914 and 1918, see Hopkins, An Economic History of West Africa, p. 184, and Michel, L'appel à l'Afrique, pp. 173-4.

45. On the increase in local manufacture during World War One, see the various reports in ANS 2G 14-20. See also Hopkins, An Economic History of West Africa, pp. 250-53.

46. See the commercial reports for Bakel and Kayes-Medine throughout ANS 2G 14-20 which includes the period from 1914 to 1920.

47. See ANS 2G 20 (22): "Rapports mensuels," Ct. Bakel to Gov., 1920. See especially the report for January 1920, p. 1. See also I. Bathily, "Notices socio-historique sur l'ancien royaume du Gadiaga," p. 86. These events are also briefly mentioned by Manchuelle, "Slavery, Emancipation and Labour Migration in West Africa," pp. 101-2.

48. Interview with Lawine Camara at Bidiancoto (Bundu), 30 August 1987, Bubakar Issa Kante at Kanioube Mayo (Bundu), 20 September 1988, and Harouna Aliou Konté at Bakel, 21 April 1988. In the archives, see ANS 2G 19 (21, 1919): Bakel, and ANM 1Q 63: Kayes.

49. ANS 2G 19 (21, 1919): Bakel, ANS 2G 20 (7, 1920): Haut-Sénégal-Niger, and ANS 2G 20 (24, 1920): Tambacounda.

CHAPTER SEVEN

The Political Economy of the Hinterland, 1890-1920

The previous chapter discussed the initial prosperity and then rapid and irreversible decline of the commercialized central valley of the upper Senegal in the late-nineteenth and early-twentieth centuries. A somewhat different picture emerges from the region's hinterland, or the rural areas. While the drop in gum prices, deteriorating environmental conditions, the great famine and war effort affected the entire upper Senegal valley, there were some differences in the extent and timing of their impact on the rural areas. The hinterland experienced extended prosperity until the early 1900s. A period of stagnation and decline was exacerbated by the 1913-14 famine and World War One recruitment and mobilization. By the time of marked decline in the mid-1900s, the distinction between the central river valley and the rural areas of the upper Senegal valley was less pronounced, and the entire region was peripheralized within the French colonial empire in Africa.

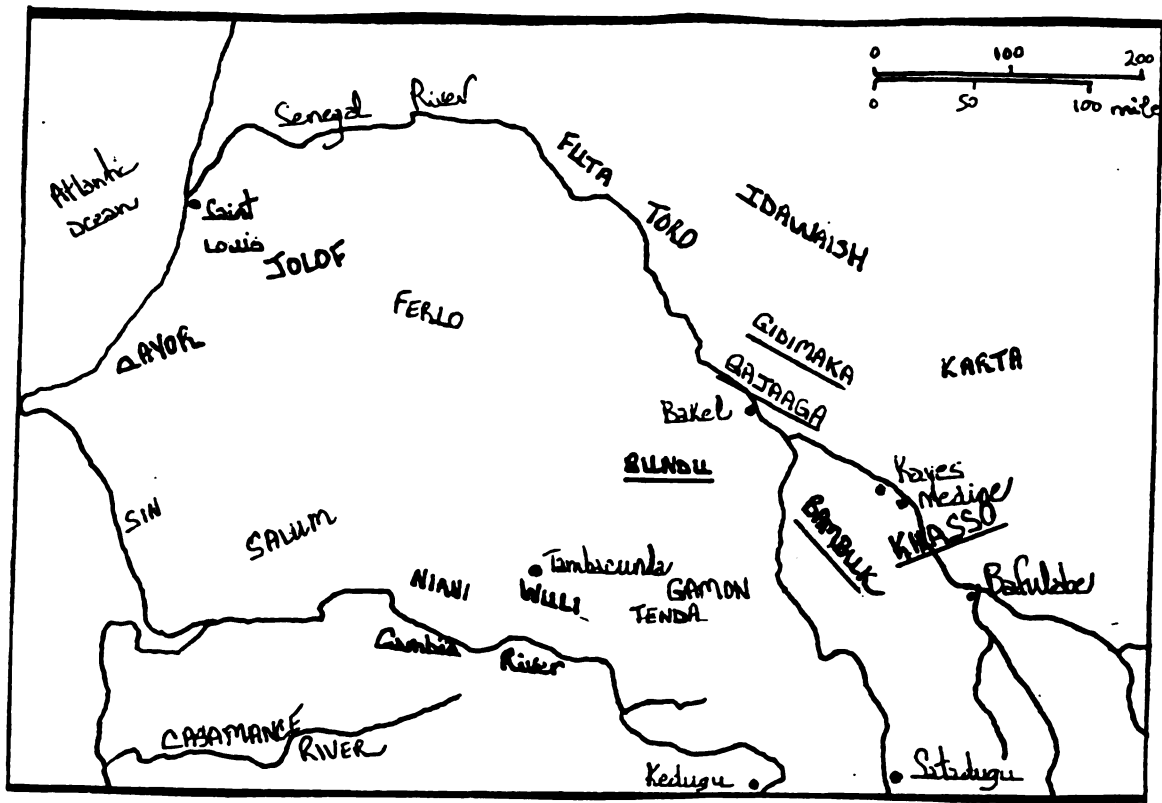


Figure 12
The Upper Senegal Valley in the Early Twentieth Century

Stability and Prosperity, 1890 to the early 1900s

A stable political situation, guaranteed to a large extent by an increased French presence, prevailed in Bundu, Khasso and Gajaaga, which were directly incorporated into the colonial structure by the early years of the twentieth century. Previously, the French relied on interpreters and collaborators to furnish information and on traditional leaders to rule and maintain order. By 1890, however, the administration was generally in control of the three centralized polities in the region. The French appointed leaders who had no conflicting loyalties, and who were directly responsible to the administration. Traditional chiefs and rulers were tolerated, but they had little genuine power beyond the local level.

With Usman Gassi's death in 1891, the French appointed Malik Ture Sy, a nephew of Bokar Saada, as almany of Bundu. Despite having little legitimate claim and disliked by the Bundunke for his heavy taxation policies, Malik Ture faced no challenges to his leadership because opponents, aware of their inability to defeat the French-supported ruler, moved into the interior of Bundu or left the region. The almany's sporadic raids into the upper Gambia and Bambuk caused some consternation among administrators in Bakel, but no action was taken against him. There was a tacit recognition by the French of areas where Malik was permitted to raid, and only when he attacked other locations were protests filed against him.¹

By the turn of the century, the almany was little more than a figurehead in a peripheral part of the French colonial empire in

Africa. When Malik Ture died in 1905, the French formally abolished the ~~almamate~~ of Bundu and split it into two parts: Bundu septentrional, centered on northern Bundu near the river valley, and Bundu méridional, to the south and focused on the Thies-Kayes railway. The partition, in addition to corresponding to the shift in French interest from the river to the railroad, also reflected the diminishing distinction between heartland and hinterland in the upper Senegal.

Descendants of Juka Sambala Diallo ruled over parts of Khasso, which had lost its strategic importance with the end of Umarian control in Karta and Segou. The once pivotal state was treated as a mere appendage to the colonial capital at Kayes, which was administered as a separate unit. Additionally, a series of small states, including Logo and Natiaga, had achieved autonomy from the Medine-based Diallo lineage. The Bathilyls, under French supervision, ruled Goy and Kamera which were divided between the colonies of Senegal and Soudan français respectively. The two provinces were annexed formally in 1904.²

Bambuk and Gidimaka were more slowly assimilated into the colonial apparatus. After a failed mining effort at Kenieba in 1890, the French turned to protecting the lucrative trade routes from Futa Jalon that passed through the area's remote southern sections. In 1895, a post was constructed at Satadugu on the upper Faleme River in southern Bambuk to monitor the movement of caravans, oversee customs and tax collection, and maintain a presence in the district.³ The French faced a more formidable task in Gidimaka, where various Moorish groups resisted attempts at pacification and subjugation. In 1894, a fortification was built at Selibaby in southwestern Gidimaka which closely observed the

movements of hostile Moorish groups, attempted to halt raiding and collected caravan duties.⁴

The rural areas of the upper Senegal shared in the economic prosperity that characterized the commercialized central valley in the early 1890s. Several years of adequate rainfall without insect invasions, and greater cattle imports from the east revitalized the agricultural and pastoral sectors which had suffered during Mamadu Lamine's revolt. The end of the population exodus to the Umarian polities in the east and migration back to the region additionally contributed to the region's general economic recovery. Most people returned to their original homelands in the rural areas of the upper Senegal, especially to the two Bundus. Colonial officials, anxious to see the rural areas repopulated, permitted owners to reclaim refugee slaves in French posts or settlements in Bambuk and the upper Gambia. In the 1890s, the French used the issue of the abolition of slavery and the slave trade as an instrument of policy, enforcing it against hostile groups but ignoring violations by friendly rulers.⁵

The administration realized slavery and the slave trade were integral components of regional production and exchange in the rural areas. In addition to receiving many captives from southern areas, the upper Senegal valley was an important transit center for the distribution of slaves to other parts of Senegal, French Soudan and Mauritania. Most of the slaves who remained in the region lived in villages with their owners; captives belonging to the ruling Sy, Diallo and Bathily lineages generally resided in servile settlements which were scattered throughout the rural areas. The French estimated that

between one-half and two-thirds of the region's population was of servile origin, and the majority were women.⁶

According to oral informants, female slaves were highly valued because they created domestic units which helped integrate and retain male slaves, they performed a variety of tasks, and they physically reproduced slaves. Freeborn men, allowed by Islamic practice to have four legitimate wives and as many slave concubines as was financially possible, used female slaves to increase the number of dependents and hence their social, economic and political importance. Men preferred concubines to wives since a slave, having no genuine kinship ties, required no brideprice and her children had no conflicting obligations. Children of concubines theoretically inherited their father's free status, and slave women bearing their masters' children were sometimes manumitted. The frequency of these occurrences, however, is impossible to determine from oral or written sources.⁷

Similarities in the practice of slavery existed among the Fulbe, Soninke and Mandinka who distinguished between captives or trade slaves, and second or later generation slaves. Captives, acquired through raids, kidnapping, purchase, debt payment or punishment for crimes, were considered kinless outsiders who lacked a social identity. Besides their labor in the most arduous tasks, trade slaves functioned as investment and currency in the upper valley. Other means of exchange, including iron, guinees, cloth and cowrie shells, proved difficult to carry, whereas slaves transported themselves and could also serve as porters. Second or later generation slaves, having achieved a degree of ethnic and cultural affinity with their owners,

customarily were sold only in times of great hardship. Slaves were considered "perpetual minors," usually taking their masters' family names, and carrying out tasks similar to those of junior or female members of the kin group.⁸

Depending on the season and their masters' primary occupation, servile persons in the hinterland of the upper valley worked in agriculture, pastoralism, commerce, craft production and domestic service. During the rainy season, agricultural slaves reportedly labored in their owners' fields five days a week, from sunrise until two in the afternoon but, at harvest time, servile workers spent from dawn to sunset in owners' fields. Slaves used any remaining time to cultivate their own small plots, given to them by their masters, while slaves with families were granted more time to till their own land. Dry season activities centered on craft manufacture, including textile production, which contributed substantially to household income in the rural areas. The use of women in spinning and dyeing was an additional factor in maintaining the continued demand for and high price of female slaves. Servile workers belonging to Fulbe and Moor herders cared for livestock, whereas those owned by Jakhanke merchant-clerics performed a variety of craft and commercial duties.⁹

For some social formations in the upper Senegal, notably the Fulbe, Soninke and Jakhanke, Islam functioned as a means of rationalizing domination and measuring assimilation. Owners could not only justify enslavement by claiming that newly acquired persons were non-Muslims, they could also restrict access to religious education and thereby control the process of assimilation through Islam. In addition,

Islamic law and Muslim customary practice defined the legal position of slaves and masters' responsibilities toward their dependents. Slaves could not inherit property, and masters were obliged to supply slaves with food, clothing, shelter, tools and seeds. Healthy, physically comfortable slaves were also more likely to be productive and less inclined to flee.¹⁰

According to oral informants and contemporary written accounts, slaves had recourse to standard procedures to change masters in cases of neglect or mistreatment. By destroying certain posts covered with amulets located in a chief's compound, a slave could express dissatisfaction with his master and become attached to the chief's household. A slave could also cut the hand or ear of the person to whom he wished to be transferred, or he could mutilate the ear of an animal belonging to the preferred master. Because a master bore responsibility for his slave's actions, the offending slave was turned over as recompensation for the injury, and the new master was obliged to accept. Although often mentioned in the sources, the frequency of the practice in the upper Senegal valley is unclear.¹¹

Manumission, possible through purchase or clemency, apparently did not occur very often. Slaves could buy their freedom with a payment equivalent to the value of two male captives, but the lack of inheritance rights severely restricted slaves' ability to purchase their own and their families' freedom. Instead, they bought cattle, or other slaves who could fulfill labor obligations. Masters sometimes stipulated that, when they died, their slaves would be freed, or owners liberated servile workers who converted to Islam. How often these

manumissions actually took place is unknown. Because the slaves' possessions reverted to their masters upon liberation, manumitted persons who stayed in the area were usually dependent on their former masters for shelter, tools, and loans. Those who migrated encountered great difficulties in establishing a new household and finding work, and women slaves faced particular problems if they fled or were freed. While some liberated persons from the rural areas entered the freedom villages or returned to their homelands, the majority of slaves and ex-slaves remained in their masters' villages.¹²

The rural areas experienced no slave exodus or disruption of production during the 1890s and early 1900s. Fearing massive social upheaval, the French took no direct action against slavery in the hinterland of the upper Senegal valley. The villages de liberté were designed primarily to alleviate the labor shortage problem of the colonial administration in the central river valley and other parts of the colonial empire. After 1900, the French did issue numerous decrees directed at ending the slave trade and slavery throughout their colonies. These selectively enforced regulations, which apparently satisfied the weak metropolitan anti-slavery sentiment, did not transform the social and economic subordination of servile people and their descendants in the upper Senegal rural areas which were treated as "friendly" territories.¹³

Servile labor contributed substantially to the rural economy which was dominated by agriculture, pastoralism and craft production, in addition to local and regional trade. Although no new techniques or implements were introduced, agricultural production expanded with

favorable climatic conditions and repopulation. Besides grain, the administration successfully encouraged cotton cultivation, particularly in Khasso and Kamera, whereas schemes to grow sesame and sisal in Khasso were less profitable. In western parts of Bundu, along the proposed route of the Thies-Kayes railway, groundnut cultivation rose annually, but no groundnuts were exported from other parts of the upper Senegal. Villagers along the Faleme River and Tambura ridge in Bambuk still mined small amounts of gold, and increased quantities of wild rubber were collected in southern Bambuk and exported through Kayes.¹⁴

The expansion of regional and long-distance trade in the central valley paralleled a growth in exchange in the peripheral rural areas. Local and regional markets, including the newly created centers at Satadugu and Selibaby, benefitted from the increased quantity and diversity of goods imported into the major centers. Textiles, grain, slaves and kola nuts were transported by overland caravans which made frequent stops in villages along major routes. The stable political climate encouraged overland trade and, although some raiding occurred in parts of Bambuk, Gidimaka and Bundu, merchants were not deterred by brigands. The number of annual travel permits issued to traders and the amount of duties collected on caravans and local markets rose yearly between 1895 and 1904.

The following chart lists approximate receipts from the issuance of required, annual "patentes et droits de circulation" and market taxes for the cercles of Kayes, Bafulabe and Satadugu between 1895, when totals were first reported, until 1904. No figures by category are available from the cercles of Bakel and Selibaby.¹⁵ The table

demonstrates the increased caravan circulation in the region between 1895 and 1904, in addition to the development of Bafulabe and, in particular, Satadugu as important caravan centers. The growth of Satadugu as a commercial center further reflects the shift away from the central valley to other parts of the region.

Table 10. Receipts from "Droits de Circulation" and Market Taxes for the Cercles of Kayes, Bafulabe and Satadugu, 1895-1904

	<u>KAYES</u>		<u>BAFULABE</u>		<u>SATADUGU</u>	
	<u>Licences</u>	<u>Markets</u>	<u>Licences</u>	<u>Markets</u>	<u>Licences</u>	<u>Markets</u>
1895	12,000	4,000	no figures		no figures	
1896	16,000	5,200	no figures		no figures	
1897	17,500	8,000	3,000	1,000	4,500	500
1898	19,000	10,000	3,500	1,800	6,000	1,000
1899	19,200	11,600	no figures		no figures	
1900	20,000	11,800	4,500	2,000	no figures	
1901	21,500	12,000	5,800	2,200	7,000	1,000
1902	22,000	12,500	6,500	2,500	7,500	1,200
1903	26,500	12,500	7,000	2,500	8,500	2,000
1904	27,500	13,500	7,000	2,800	9,500	2,000

Prices in francs.

SOURCE: ANS 2G, "Rapports politiques et rapports d'ensemble,"
Part One: 1895-1904, Haut-Senegal-Niger:
Cercles of Kayes, Bafulabe and Satadugu

The sharp drop in gum prices after 1894 that had marked and immediate repercussions in Bakel, and eventually contributed to the demise of Medine and Kayes, had much less impact on the rural areas of the upper Senegal. The diversification and relative prosperity of the hinterland's economy permitted it to withstand the dramatic fall in gum prices. Town-dwelling artisans, porters, guards, and colonial personnel were dependent on gum exchange, whereas villagers had only indirect connections to the trade. Instead of gum arabic, the Idawaish Moors of Gidimaka transported more salt, herds and animal products to exchange in the upper river posts.

The rural areas were likewise less affected by the deteriorating environmental conditions that plagued the central river valley at the turn of the century. In times of food shortages, rural inhabitants had more alternatives, including access to wild plants or moving to different settlements or areas. Many rural inhabitants had family members in seasonal agricultural and pastoral camps that, because of their location near water sources and more fertile land, fared better than the permanent settlements. Fields belonging to town inhabitants tended to be concentrated in one place, whereas farmers in the hinterland had dispersed plots as a hedge against erratic and localized droughts and insect plagues. The severe cattle disease epidemic that destroyed most of Bakel's pastoral sector had limited impact on rural areas removed from the river valley. The low river levels that disrupted regional and long-distance exchange in the central valley did not halt overland caravans which circulated throughout most of the year, while the floods in 1906 that destroyed storage warehouses and

transit goods were limited to the Kayes vicinity. Epidemics of smallpox, yellow fever and cholera, which severely affected trade and production in the densely populated river centers, were considerably less economically devastating in small, scattered villages that had less contact with other centers and were not quarantined by the colonial administration.¹⁶

Between 1890 and the early 1900s, the hinterland of the upper Senegal valley experienced a period of general stability and prosperity. However, several factors combined to herald an increasingly difficult time for villagers in the region after the rainy season of 1904. The following table charts colonial officials' evaluations of harvests in the rural areas of the upper Senegal between 1895, when reports were first collected, until 1920. The two Bundus usually received similar ratings, and there were no systematic evaluations from Gidimaka. Rankings range from famine (1) to exceptionally good harvests (7), and incidents of drought and insect invasions, usually locusts, are also noted. While attempts were made to corroborate the archival record with oral sources, informants were generally able to discuss only the great famine of 1913-14 and the gradual recovery during the war years.

<u>YEAR</u>	<u>GOY</u>	<u>KAMERA</u>	<u>BUNDU</u>	<u>KHASO</u>	<u>BAMBUK</u>	<u>DROUGHT</u>	<u>INSECTS</u>
1895	3	3	5	3	4		
1896	5	6	6	7	7		
1897	5	5	5	5	6		
1898	6	6	5	6	6		
1899	3	3	3	2	6	yes	yes
1900	5	6	5	7	6		yes
1901	5	5	6	5	5		
1902	5	6	5	6	6		
1903	6	6	6	5	6		
1904	6	6	5	5	5		
1905	1	2	1	2	2	yes	yes
1906	2	2	2	2	3	yes	yes
1907	3	3	3	4	5		
1908	3	3	4	5	5		
1909	3	3	3	3	3		yes
1910	2	3	2	2	2	yes	yes
1911	2	2	3	3	4		yes
1912	2	3	2	2	2	yes	yes
1913	1	1	1	1	1	yes	
1914	1	1	1	1	1	yes	
1915	3	3	3	3	3		
1916	4	4	3	4	4		
1917	3	3	2	4	4		
1918	3	3	2	3	3	yes	
1919	2	2	1	2	3		
1920	4	3	3	4	5		

KEY: 1-Famine
 2-Food shortages
 3-Mediocre
 4-Satisfactory
 5-Good
 6-Very good
 7-Exceptional

Source: AMS 2G, "Rapports politiques et rapports d'ensemble,"
 Part One: 1910; Part Two: 1911-1920, Colonies of Senegal and Soudan
français.

**Figure 13. Archival Evaluation of Harvests in the Upper Senegal Valley,
 1895-1920¹⁷**

Because of the predominance of agriculture in the rural areas, the size of the annual harvest is a good indicator of the general economic situation. Some of the discrepancies in evaluating harvests may arise from individual administrators using different criteria to measure the size of crops, but the overall pattern remains clear and generally uniform. Between 1895 and 1905, there were few instances of food shortages or mediocre crops, whereas after the mid-1900s, there was a steady decline in agricultural output, owing to drought, insect invasions and the worsening environmental situation. After 1904, there are no references to "very good" or "exceptional" harvests, and only four harvests from the entire hinterland rate "very good." Other sectors of the rural economy were adversely affected by the decreasing harvests and worsening environment.

Decline and Famine, c. 1905-1914

The rural areas, relatively prosperous longer than the commercialized central river valley, were eventually affected by economic stagnation and decline. Between the mid-1900s and 1914, the economy of the upper Senegal's hinterland was characterized by deterioration and depression, as the prolonged stagnation of the heartland had ramifications in the outlying sections. Many of the same factors operative in the towns, including the transfer of colonial

operations to other locations, the decrease in river traffic, and a series of environmental problems culminated in the great famine of 1913-14 which devastated the rural areas.

Between the mid-1900s and 1914, the politics of the region were increasingly incorporated into the colonial empire. The French clearly dominated the area and reserved the right to appoint or dismiss local chiefs. In Bundu, where the Sy lineage retained some of its political prestige, villages removed from the traditional capitals of Senudebu, Kussan and Bulebane had their own ruling families who tended to inherit chieftancies. Besides a traditionally selected chief, some large Bundunke villages had a "chef de service," appointed by and responsible to the French. The two chiefs presided simultaneously, with a clear division of rights and responsibilities. The appointed "chef de service," who was paid by the administration, collected taxes, filled colonial labor requirements, conducted censuses and oversaw any administrative projects involving the village. The traditional chief, who received a tribute from each family in the village, settled disputes within the community and performed most ceremonial duties. In multi-ethnic settlements, the traditional chief usually belonged to the original or dominant family or group, whereas the "chef de service" was sometimes from another community or area.

The Diallos in Khasso and the Bathilys in Gajaaga controlled certain clusters of villages, but the French named the village leaders and oversaw important matters. Like settlements in Bundu, sizable villages in Khasso and Gajaaga usually had an appointed "chef de service" in addition to the traditionally selected village head. The

remote sections of Gidimaka and Bambuk maintained varying degrees of autonomy, usually depending on their distance from a European outpost, although political power ultimately rested with the colonial administration.¹⁸

Contrary to the situation in towns, the rural population apparently increased, even with seasonal and permanent migration to more prosperous regions.¹⁹ Many people who had moved to the central river valley during the economic expansion of the 1880s and 1890s returned to villages with the decline of the commercialized centers in the mid-1900s. Craft specialists, no longer able to work year-round in the towns, became part-time or itinerant artisans, moving between towns and villages or based exclusively in the rural areas. Others farmed in the rainy season. With the reduction in long-distance river trade, merchants shifted their base of operations from the larger riverine commercial centers to villages and local markets. Finally, men forced to work on the railroad and other construction projects sometimes fled the towns for the rural areas.

Between the mid-1900s and 1914, several new settlements were established in the rural areas. Inhabitants of seasonal agricultural, pastoral and mining villages in Bundu and Bambuk benefitted from reduced raiding in remote sections, and remained permanently near water sources and more fertile land. They also escaped the notice of colonial authorities and, consequently, tax and labor requirements. Some villagers along the rail route moved into the interior to evade corvée and provisioning the workforce, while others, especially Muslim Fulbe and Jakhanke groups in Bundu, migrated to avoid contact with the

"pagan" French. A few of these settlements became important religious centers, and oral informants from these villages stress the migration away from the rail line to preserve their Muslim identity.²⁰

There was no significant drop in the rural population during the slave exodus of 1905-07, which was confined primarily to male slaves of the Soninke in Bakel and nearby Gidimaka in the central river valley. Official reports make no mention of a major slave movement or a disruption of production, and no oral sources from the hinterland mention the exodus. Some slaves, either fleeing poor conditions or released by masters, moved to the villages de liberté in the towns or migrated to other regions. However, the overwhelming majority of servile workers, even among the Soninke in other parts of the upper Senegal, remained with their owners. The French, concerned with maintaining order and preventing depopulation, treated the entire upper Senegal as a "friendly" region and permitted runaways to be reclaimed by their masters.²¹

Although the rural areas managed to avoid the worst effects of the slave exodus, migration, droughts and food shortages before the mid-1900s, the dismal rainy season and insect problems of 1905 markedly reduced crops throughout the region. Millet, maize and groundnut production were very low, and administrators in many parts of the upper valley reported widespread food shortages during the dry season of 1906. Despite a slightly improved rainy season later that year, a cycle of poor rains and insect plagues contributed to declining agricultural and pastoral production, and signalled an end to the period of economic prosperity in the rural areas.²²

After 1908, harvests were barely adequate to meet subsistence needs, but the colonial administration took no action to alleviate the situation. Taxes and duties on caravans and markets were levied at normal levels and corvee continued, with most men working on the Thies-Kayes railroad. Less rain in the marginal zones of Gidimaka forced Idawaish herders to migrate further south, causing numerous conflicts with farmers over shared water sources. Idawaish raids on savanna food stocks and livestock also escalated, especially during the dry season when Moorish supplies ran out. In addition, the less resistant savanna herds contracted diseases from the desert varieties, decimating the livestock of the upper Senegal, particularly in southwestern Gidimaka and Gajaaga. The administration noted the strained relations between nomadic and sedentary inhabitants, but no steps were taken to address the problem.²³

From the archival record and written sources, the colonial bureaucracy apparently became increasingly focused on political and religious matters in the early twentieth century. The relatively new regime appeared determined to monitor and control the Islamic situation in the region. Officials reported that the political fragmentation, ethnic complexity and diverse Muslim brotherhood affiliation prevented mass organization or mobilization of the upper Senegal's rural population. The French in the area were primarily concerned with the Moors of Gidimaka and, between 1911 and 1913, undertook an extensive survey of local marabouts. The questionnaires reveal more about European attitudes toward Islam than Muslim practices in the area,

although there is some information on the education, influence and attitudes of Moorish religious leaders in Gidimaka.²⁴

The other rural sections of the upper Senegal valley contained significant Muslim populations, mostly Tijani, although exact figures and proportions are unclear. Bambuk was the least Islamicized polity in the region, and administrators noted favorably that the Mandinka continued to resist conversion. In other areas, large settlements usually had a mosque and a Koranic school attended by children from nearby villages who worked in the marabout's fields in return for subsistence and education. Advanced talibés were sent to the towns for further study. No religious leader emerged in the upper Senegal hinterland to threaten French hegemony, and, by mid-1913, the administration was preoccupied with a famine that threatened to be the worst in the area since the Umarian period.

No part of the upper Senegal escaped the crisis of 1913-14. Previous food shortages and famines were localized, and people often moved to less affected areas. As late as the end of 1911, the commander at Satadugu reported a "satisfactory" harvest for southern Bambuk, which contrasted sharply with officials citing scarcity in neighboring locations. By the end of the harvest in 1912, however, officials from all cercles noted food shortages and predicted a worsening situation, and the early months of 1913 brought famine throughout the colonies of Senegal, Soudan français and the entire Sahelio-Sudanic region of West Africa.

Despite being aware of the pending crisis, the administration exacerbated the situation by continuing to levy taxes and duties at

their usual levels. Officials complained about the slow pace of collection, claiming people still owned cattle and other possessions that they could sell to raise money to fulfill their obligations. Because most taxes were collected by chiefs, they were blamed for the delay and the drop in total revenues. The decline in exchange and caravans caused by the crisis meant decreased customs and market payments, and officials contemplated raising duties. Even at the height of the famine in the dry season of 1913-14, the administration did not reduce or delay required payments by villagers and caravans.²⁵

During the 1913-14 famine, rural inhabitants fared no better than town dwellers. Granaries and seed supplies were quickly exhausted, and the surrounding bush had already been searched for small game, wild plants and roots. Villagers foraged for edible plants, grasses, leaves and termites to ward off starvation, while others chewed bark, leather and certain types of soil which reportedly quelled hunger. One informant described people scavenging "like sheep and goats, eating anything in their path." The price of kola nuts, another appetite suppressant, rose dramatically in 1913, and stocks in the upper Senegal were rapidly depleted. Fulbe and Moorish herders killed many livestock for meat, and Muslims were sometimes forced to ignore the interdiction against eating already dead animals. People also ate wildlife that previously they had avoided.²⁶

Oral informants from different parts of the hinterland noted that people sold slaves and pawned children they could not feed in exchange for food or money to buy supplies and pay taxes. Most were sold or pawned to traders from other regions who easily evaded the colonial

authorities in the upper valley. The slaves and children were rapidly taken away, but informants, depending on their location, give varying accounts of their destination. In Gajaaga and Bundu, the Moors reportedly purchased most slaves and children, and transported them into the Sahara Desert to work in salt mines, to tend herds and to collect gum arabic. Informants in Bambuk and Khasso claimed Futanke and Wolof merchants were the most heavily involved and, after purchase, took the captives south into the forest zone which escaped the worst effects of the famine. Not surprisingly, there is no mention of illegal pawning or selling of captives during the famine in official written sources.

It is impossible to estimate from archival and oral sources the number of deaths in the region owing to the famine, or how many people were sold, pawned or migrated. There are a few specific, scattered references in the archives concerning deaths from famine and the resultant outbreaks of disease. In June, 1914, the Bakel administrator noted at least thirty deaths in Bundu meridional. The following month, twenty-eight casualties were reported in Goy, while in August there were sixteen deaths in the villages of Diawara and Moudéri, both in Goy. Otherwise, written sources only confirm that there were numerous deaths throughout the hinterland, especially during a smallpox outbreak in early 1914.²⁷

Oral informants insist casualties were high, especially among the elderly and the young, and that many children were pawned or sold into slavery. Bundu méridional was especially hard hit by migration, with several settlements completely deserted by villagers apparently moving

permanently into Niani-Wuli and the upper Gambia. Administrators at Satadugu and Kedugu in southern Senegal reported a significant increase in the number of young men who left the area permanently to work in the Gambia and the peanut basin of Senegal.²⁸ The crisis clearly caused major economic and social upheaval in the rural areas, and prepared the way for war recruitment and mobilization.

The War Effort and Its Impact on the Hinterland, 1914-1920

In 1914, recruitment for colonial projects was not new to the rural populations of the upper Senegal. Many men had been recruited or forced to work on the Kayes-Niger and Thies-Kayes sections of the railroad, while others had been involved in building projects at the major posts. Villagers had been called upon to serve in the infantry, act as porters and guides for military columns, and fulfill other labor obligations for the colonial administration. To escape *corvée*, many inhabitants had moved into the rural areas or migrated from the region. What was unprecedented in 1914 was the scale, the length and the urgency of recruitment as well as the number of people involved in fleeing or migrating. The war effort had a far greater impact than previous colonial efforts in the rural areas of the upper Senegal.

Archival figures reflect the numbers recruited in the cercles of Bakel and Kayes, with no breakdown by area or indication of the recruits' geographical origins. Considerably more men were enlisted

from the rural areas near Kayes than other sections of the region. This may be attributed in part to generally more healthy recruits from a larger pool of candidates, since other rural sections had already experienced extensive migrations, particularly of young men. There may also have been a more aggressive mobilization campaign in the Kayes vicinity and an increased French presence during the war years. Also, the population of the rural area near Kayes was considerably larger than that in the remainder of the upper Senegal valley.

Oral informants claim that local leaders, called upon to fill quotas, preferred to send slaves and their descendants to the posts. One chief of a large village in Bundu asked rhetorically who would condemn their sons and relatives to fight and die when slaves could be sent in their places. The informant also said his father enlisted only slaves for the war effort, but he could not estimate the number of men who actually went to the post. He insisted that slaves rejected for military service returned to the settlement, and were periodically sent again when new quotas had to be filled.²⁹

Slaves accepted into the military were sometimes freed when they gave their masters the enlistment bonus. Others were allowed to keep the money, but were expected to return to their masters' households after service. In addition, some slaves, even those sent to Europe, occasionally remitted part of their military salaries to masters, in order to purchase freedom in installments or to recompense owners for labor while they were absent. Recruits left behind families which assured fulfillment of the obligations stipulated by masters. While the colonial administration may have prided itself on providing "ex-slaves"

the opportunity to cut all ties with former masters and start new lives as freed men, slave owners did not simply liberate servile workers, but manipulated the system for financial gain.

The strategies devised by chiefs and slave owners to fill enlistment quotas and the difficult economic situation contributed to the lack of outright resistance to the mobilization effort in the hinterland of the upper Senegal. Young men had the opportunity to move further into the interior or to migrate to the Gambia to escape colonial notice. Several rainy season camps (villages d'hivernage), isolated from large settlements and major routes, became quite sizable, permanent villages. Finally, the dramatic price hikes of imported goods, which could have caused resentment and revolt, had much less of an impact on the hinterland than on the towns. Villagers were less dependent on manufactured items and substituted local materials and products for imported ones.

Officials cited a marked increase in indigenous craft production during the war years. Owing to high transport costs and the need for uniforms and other garments, imports of European cloth and thread virtually ceased between 1914 and 1918. Increased cotton production provided female slaves left in the hinterland with a steady supply of fiber for carding and spinning. While some ex-slaves wove full-time in the towns, most weaving in the rural areas was done by slaves. Because of the demand, some owners had a number of their servile dependents work in textile manufacture year-round. Smiths also benefitted from the high price of imports, and used more local iron in tool production.³⁰

Initially, agricultural and pastoral activity in the hinterland was unaffected by the war effort. Between 1914 and 1916, harvests generally improved in the upper Senegal with adequate rains and no insect invasions. Output was usually sufficient for local needs, varying between "mediocre" and "satisfactory" for most areas. After 1916, however, agriculture declined, with both parts of Bundu reporting food shortages in 1917 and 1918, and several districts reporting inadequate supplies in 1919. Cattle exports to meat factories in Senegal, especially at Lindiane near Kaolack in the peanut basin, surpassed their pre-war levels in 1914 and 1915, partially owing to the great famine which caused inhabitants to sell large numbers of livestock. But in 1916 and 1917 the pastoral sector experienced the combined effects of the famine and the war effort, and livestock exports to neighboring colonies, primarily Senegal, declined. The following chart lists the number of animal exports from Haut-Sénégal-Niger from 1911 to 1917, the only years for which statistics are available.

Table 11. Animal Exports from Haut-Sénégal-Niger, 1911-17

<u>YEAR</u>	<u>CATTLE</u>	<u>SHEEP/GOATS</u>	<u>HORSES</u>	<u>DONKEYS</u>	<u>CAMELS</u>
1911	54,245	111,737	1,500	3,682	no figures
1912	61,552	73,764	1,025	3,237	no figures
1913	76,875	71,958	1,542	2,545	548
1914	88,842	83,226	1,206	2,009	767
1915	83,177	65,749	1,373	2,182	963
1916	71,625	58,554	992	1,245	872
1917	49,498	51,839	578	959	618

SOURCE: ANN 10, "Rapport sur la situation économique du colonie du Haut-Sénégal-Niger, 1917," p. 21.

The war effort also caused some disruption of exchange in the upper Senegal valley. Owing to manpower shortages, the lack of construction materials and the high cost of transport, all colonial projects, including the Thies-Kayes railroad, were halted between 1914 and 1918. There were also fewer scheduled trains on the existing tracks. The railway was only completed in 1924, when the Thies-Kayes section was linked with the Kayes-Bamako line. Overland commerce diminished during mobilization, with fewer caravans circulating in the hinterland. Officials in Bafulabe, Satadugu and Kedugu reported a decline in market revenues and the issuance of trading licences, especially after 1916.³¹

Even after the war, overland commerce in the hinterland continued to contract markedly. There were fewer merchants travelling in the area, and smaller and less frequent markets were held in villages. During the war, traders had developed new routes and networks in the Gambia and the peanut basin, often at the expense of the upper Senegal valley. While exchange in western and southern parts of Bundu, particularly in the vicinity of Tambacunda, benefitted from the shift, the exchange sector in the remainder of the region never recovered its pre-war vitality.

Another reason for the decline in commerce, and the overall demise of the upper Senegal region, was migration, which escalated during the war and continued at a high level after 1918. The primary movement was westward, with inhabitants of Bundu septentrional moving to Bundu meridional, and Bundunke in western areas migrating to Miani-Wuli and the Gambia. In 1919, the administrator in Bakel, concerned about

abandoned villages in the area, encouraged residents of Goy and northern Bundu to remain, but the exodus continued unabated. Many settlements contained only elderly chiefs who had no authority. Inhabitants of the cercles of Satadugu and Kedugu also migrated seasonally and permanently to the Gambia and the Tambacunda area, usually working in peanut cultivation or seeking employment. Officials in Bakel and Kayes noted salaries were much higher in the Gambia than in eastern Senegal and the Soudan.³²

According to oral informants, migrant laborers sometimes sent remittances back to the upper Senegal region. The money was used to buy grain or cattle, and to supplement family income. Workers of slave descent periodically forwarded payments to their masters to fulfill obligations or to purchase freedom. Other migrants sent money to secure a bride on their eventual return to the area and to establish new households. There is no mention of remittances in the archives, and there are no figures available on the amounts involved or the frequency of the practice during the period.³³

Besides migrant workers who eventually returned to the region after earning money elsewhere, many veterans also resettled in the upper Senegal, either in their original homes or in new locations. Some obtained salaried positions with the colonial bureaucracy and lived in larger settlements, including Bakel and Kayes as well as the newer administrative centers of Tambacunda, Guidiri and Kedugu. Those who returned to the rural areas frequently invested in cattle, married additional wives, and constructed new compounds.³⁴

By 1920, the combined effects of the deteriorating environment, the famine of 1913-14, war recruitment and mass migration permanently undermined production and exchange in the rural areas of the upper Senegal. Local, regional and long-distance trade were especially affected and dwindled dramatically. The railroad, although initially benefitting Kayes and central valley posts, eventually contributed to the region's demise with the development of Dakar, Thies and Bamako at its terminus. Colonial attention was directed to the peanut basin in western Senegal, and many inhabitants left the upper Senegal to participate in the expanding enterprise. The region became a labor reserve for the groundnut basin in Senegal and the Gambia.

ENDNOTES

1. On relations between Malik Ture and the French, see ANS 13G 242, 243 and 251. See also Gomez, "Malik Sy, Bokar Saada, and the Almanate of Bundu." For an account of Bundu in the late 1880s, see Roux, "Notice historique sur le Boundou," which appears in ANS 1G 78 and in book form (Saint Louis, 1893). For a good description of Bundu in the early 1890s, see ANS 1G 135: "Tournée du Capitaine Roux dans le cercle de Bakel, 1891-92" and Rançon, "Le Boundou." Examples of officials complaining about Malik Ture's raids can be found in ANS 13 G 243 and also in ANS 15G 93, piece 6: Ct. Kayes to Gov., 12 December 1893, also piece 21: Ct. Kayes to Gov., 19 July 1894, and piece 24: Lt. Lambert to Ct. Kayes, 15 June 1894.

2. Archival sources dealing with Khasso before 1904 include ANS 1G 310: "Renseignements historiques, géographiques, et économiques sur le cercle de Kayes," 1903-04, and ANS 1G 315: "Monographie du cercle de Médine," 1904. Later reports from Kayes and Medine can be found in ANS 2G: Parts One and Two. See also Monteil, Les Khassonké, for a list of Juka Sambala's descendants and the rulers of Khasso.

3. On the construction of the fort at Satadugu, see ANM 2D 99: "Correspondance affaires administratifs, Cercle de Satadugu, 1895-1911," especially 2D 99, piece 20: LeBrun to Ct. Kayes, 17 September 1895, and piece 21: "Rapport sur le sujet de la creation du cercle de Satadugu," 19 October 1895. For an account of the raids that led to the creation of the post, see ANS 15G 93: "Generalitiés, 1893-94," especially piece 23: Ct. Kayes to Gov., 19 July 1894. An account of a military column in Bambuk in 1894 can be found in ANS 1D 162: "Colonne Mazillier dans le Bambouck," 1894. Political reports from the cercle de Satadugu are contained in ANM 1E 68 (1895-1910), and 1E 69 (1911-1920), while commercial notices can be found in ANM 1Q 28 (1899-1904). For a good description of Bambuk in 1894, see ANS 15G 121: "Reconnaissance du Bambouck, 1894." For an analysis of the reasons for the failure of the 1890 Kenieba scheme, see ANS Q 25, piece 64: 1893, and Maurice Barraut, "Les mines d'or du bassin du Sénégal," Bulletin de la société des études coloniales et maritimes (October 1896).

4. On the creation of the post at Selibaby, see ANS 9G 15: "Poste de Sélibaby, 1894-95," especially piece 1: Ct. Selibaby to Gov. of the French Soudan, 25 February 1894, and piece 2: "Rapport politique militaire," 3 May 1894. An account of military operations in Guidimaka is contained in ANS 1D 158: "Colonne du Guidimaka," 1894. For a description of Selibaby at the time of occupation, see ANS 1D 158, piece 15: "Rapport sur le village et poste de Sélibaby," 3 April 1894. An overview of the French pacification of Mauritania can be found in G. Désiré-Vuillemin, Introduction à la Mauritanie (1979).

5. Samples of correspondence concerned with repopulation of the region can be found in ANS 13G 243, especially piece 78: Malik Ture to Ct. Kayes, 16 January 1893, also piece 492: Ct. Bakel to Min., 28 September 1897, and piece 1057: Min. to Ct. Bakel, 20 November 1897. See also ANS 1G 135, piece 1: Rapport sur la tournée de Ct. Roux, April 1892," pp. 9-10.

6. Relevant archives are contained in ANS: Série K (Esclavage et travail), esp. K 13, 16, 17-19. On female slaves in the upper Senegal valley, see ANS K 13: "Capitivité au Sénégal, 1893-94," (cercle de Bakel), also ANS K 14: "Etudes sur la captivité dans les cercles du Soudan, 1894," especially reports from the cercles of Medine, Kayes and Bafulabe. Secondary works include Jean-Louis Boutilier, "Les captifs en A.O.F. (1903-1905)," Bulletin de l'I.F.A.N. 30B (1968), C. Robertson and M. Klein (eds.), Women and Slavery in Africa (Madison, 1983), especially the introduction and M. Klein, "Female Slavery in the Western Sudan," M. Klein, "The Demography of Slavery in Western Soudan: The Late Nineteenth Century," in D. Cordell and J. Gregory (eds.), African Population and Capitalism (Boulder, 1987), and C. Meillassoux, Anthropologie de l'Esclavage.

7. See, for example, interviews with Bubakar Issa Kante at Kanioube Mayo (Bundu), 20 September 1987, Fodé Bakari Gassama Djaby at Goumbayel (Bundu), 26 September 1987, Amadu Moussa Sylla at Bani-Israyel, 16 October 1987, Lamine Cissoko at Diambaloye (Bambuk), 19 November 1987, El Hadji Mustapha Bathily at Yafera (Gajaaga), 10 February 1988, El Hadji Kandioura at Goundiourou (Khasso), 4 April 1988, and Ibrahima Diakhité at Bakel, 26 April 1988. An interesting article on discussing slavery with oral informants is Martin Klein, "Studying the History of those who would rather forget: Oral History and the Experience of Slavery," History in Africa 16 (1989).

8. In the archival literature, captives are called "esclaves," "captifs de traite" or "captifs d'échange," whereas second or later generation slaves are referred to as "captifs de case." After 1904, all slaves are referred to simply as "captifs." Archival reports on the upper Senegal valley can be found in ANS K 13 for Bakel and ANS K 14 for Medine, Kayes and Bafulabe. See the oral sources cited in the previous note. Secondary sources dealing at length with the "desocialization" of slaves include C. Meillassoux (ed.), L'esclavage en Afrique précoloniale (Paris, 1975), S. Miers and I. Kopytoff (eds.), Slavery in Africa, P. Lovejoy (ed.), The Ideology of Slavery in Africa (London, 1981), Lovejoy, Transformations in Slavery, C. Robertson and M. Klein (eds.), Women and Slavery in Africa, Meillassoux, Anthropologie de l'esclavage: le ventre de fer et d'argent, and S. Miers and R. Roberts (eds.), The End of Slavery in Africa.

9. A good description of slavery within the cercle de Bakel can be found in ANS 13G 195, piece 130: "Rapport sur la captivité," Ct. Bakel to Gov., 20 May 1894. On other cercles in the upper Senegal, see ANS K

14: "Etudes sur la captivité dans les cercles du Soudan, 1894." On slavery among the Jakhanke, see the interviews with Fodé Bakari Gassama Djaby at Goumbayel (Bundu), 26 September 1987, Ibrhima Fofana at Didé (Bundu), 8 October 1987, and Kebé Samoura at Bani-Israyel (Bundu), 18 October 1987. See also Lamin Sanneh, "Slavery, Islam and the Jakhanke People of West Africa," Africa (1976), also Sanneh, The Jahanke. Slavery among the Soninke is discussed most extensively in oral interviews with El Hadji Mustapha Bathily at Yafera (Gajaaga), 10 February 1988, El Hadji Kandoura at Goundiourou (Khasso), 4 April 1988, and Modi Djaby at Hamdalli Tessan (Bundu), 14 August 1987. See also E. Pollet and G. Winter, La société Soninké. On slavery among the Khassonkes, relevant interviews include El Hadji Kandoura at Goundiourou (Khasso), 4 April 1988, and Kougné Kanouté at Medine (Khasso), 2 April 1988. In addition, see C. Monteil, Les Khassonké.

10. See the oral interviews cited in previous notes. Archival sources on this subject include AMS K 13 and 14. Secondary works on Islam and slavery in Africa include A. Fisher and H. Fisher, Slavery and Muslim Society in Africa (London, 1970), John R. Willis (ed.), Slaves and Slavery in Muslim Africa, Volume One: Islam and the Ideology of Enslavement, and Volume Two: The Servile Estate (London, 1985). The role of Islam in enslavement and slavery is discussed in some of the articles in P. Lovejoy (ed.), The Ideology of Slavery in Africa, esp. Frederick Cooper, "Islam and Cultural Hegemony: The Ideology of Slaveowners on the East African Coast." See also the works by Sanneh, Pollet and Winter, and Monteil cited in the previous note.

11. Oral interviews that deal with this subject include Bubakar Issa Kante at Kanioube Mayo (Bundu), 20 September 1987, Mamadou Boye Sow at Bidiancoto (Bundu), 26 August 1987, Fodé Bakari Gassama Djaby at Goumbayel (Bundu), 26 September 1987, and El Hadji Mustapha Bathily at Yafera (Gajaaga), 10 February 1988. In the archives, the issue is considered in AMS K 13 and 14. Other references to the practices can be found in Mollien, Voyage dans l'intérieur de l'Afrique, pp. 138-9, R. Rousseau, "Le Sénégal d'autrefois: étude sur le Oualo, cahiers de Yoro Dyao," Bulletin de comité des études historiques et scientifiques de l'Afrique occidentale française 12 (1929), pp. 195-6. See also Mamadou Baldé, "L'esclavage et la guerre sainte au Futa-Djallon," in Meillassoux (eds.), L'esclavage en Afrique précoloniale, p. 200, M. Klein, "Servitude among the Wolof and Serer," p. 347. Among the Tuareg, the animal involved was a camel. See S. Baier and P. Lovejoy, "The Tuareg of the Central Sudan." p. 404.

12. Some of the problems faced by freed slaves are detailed in AMS 13G 195, piece 130: "Rapport sur la captivité," 1894. See also AMS K 14 and, for a later period, AMS K 19: "Rapports sur l'esclavage: Sénégalie-Niger, 1904," especially reports from the cercles of Kayes, Medine and Bafulabe. On the question of a slave's goods reverting to his master, see AMS 2D 83, piece 117: Ct. Kayes to Gov. Gen., 13 December 1901, p. 3. This was also confirmed by several oral informants in Bundu, Khasso and Bambuk. See, in particular, Bubakar Issa Kante (Bundu), El Hadji Mustapha Bathily (Khasso), and Lamine Cissoko (Bambuk).

13. The abolition regulations included a decree in 1900 that ordered the seizure of slave caravans and the placing of slaves in villages de liberté; a 1901 decree that prohibited the "right of pursuit;" and a 1903 law that legally abolished slavery and prevented masters from reclaiming slaves in court. It was only in 1905 that the slave trade was officially abolished in all French colonies. In the ANS K series, reports concerned specifically with abolition are contained in K 15: "Captivité et esclavage: circulaires sur la repression de l'esclavage en A.O.F., 1900-03," K 24: "Captivité et répression de la traite en A.O.F., 1904-06," K 25: "L'Esclavage en A.O.F.: étude historique, critique et politique, 1906," also called the "Rapport Deherme," and K 26: "A.O.F.: captivité et esclavage: répression de la traite, 1907-15." Instructions for administrators dealing with the suppression of the slave trade and slavery are contained in Instructions à l'usage des commandants de régions et de cercles (Paris, 1897), issued by the Ministry of Colonies. The issue of villages de liberté and freeing slaves is discussed on pp. 18-21 of the manual. See also Bouche, Les villages de liberté, F. Renault, L'Abolition de l'esclavage au Sénégal, and Roberts, "The End of Slavery in the French Soudan, 1905-1914."

14. On agriculture in the 1890s and early 1900s, see ANM 1R 28: "Rapports agricoles et commerciaux: Soudan," 1894-96, and 1R 29: "Rapports: Soudan," 1897-1917. For Senegal and Soudan in 1900, see Exposition universelle: Sénégal-Soudan. For a report on how to improve agriculture in the French Soudan, see ANM 1R 28: "Notice générale sur l'agriculture au Soudan," 10 May 1896. The report contains numerous suggestions for growing certain garden crops and trees; however, the report does not discuss implementation of the recommendations. On cotton, see ANM 1R 29: "Rapport sur l'exportation du coton, 1899." General agricultural reports for cercles in the French Soudan are contained in ANM 1R 29-30. On the pastoral sector, see C. Pierre and C. Monteil, L'élevage au Soudan.

15. ANM 1Q, "Affaires économiques," especially reports from the cercles of Kayes, Bafulabe and Satadugu. See also ANS 2G: Part One, 1895-1910. Figures for traders' licences and market duties are listed under each cercle.

16. The relevant archival dossiers on epidemics in the upper Senegal are contained in ANS H: "Santé" for areas in the colony of Senegal and ANM 1H: "Santé" for areas in the colony of Soudan français and its variously named successors.

17. The rankings used in this table are my reformulation of the adjectives used in archival reports, as opposed to the officials' own rating system. The adjectives cited in the reports are fairly similar and uniform. In addition, officials commented on the growing season and the expected harvest throughout the year. I have based the yearly ranking on the actual harvest report filed by each administrator at the end of the agricultural season.

18. The political situation in Bundu and Goy after 1895 is discussed in various reports contained in ANS 2G: Sénégal, cercle of Bakel. For Kamara and Khasso, see ANS 2G: Haut-Sénégal-Niger, cercles of Kayes, Bafulabe and Medine. For Bambuk, see ANS 2G: cercle of Satadugu.

19. The reports contained in ANS 2G frequently cite population estimates for different areas, and mention the increase in villages and the growth of the rural population during the period.

20. See the reports in ANS 2G from the relevant cercles. In addition, see the oral interviews with Mamadou Boye Sow at Bidiancoto (Bundu), 27 August 1987, Chierno Ahmadou Sow (Bundu), 8 August 1987, Chierno Djibril Sow at Niaoulé M'Baeygou (Bundu), 9 August 1987, and Chierno Bokar Sow at Gudinseyni (Bundu), 28 September 1987.

21. The relevant archives include ANS K 24: 1904-06 and the other files in ANS K cited in note 13.

22. Reports on the 1905-1906 growing seasons can be found in ANS 2G: Cercles of Bakel, Kayes, Medine, Bafulabe, and Satadugu, for the years 1905 and 1906.

23. For examples of reports concerned with tensions between Moorish pastoralists and sedentary farmers, see ANM 1E 45 and ANS 2G 12: 12, 1912, and 2G 12: 56, 1912.

24. Relevant archives include ANM 4E: "Politique musulmane," especially 4E 12: Kayes, 1895-1913, 4E 16: Medine, 1890-1905, 4E 32: "Rapports sur l'Islam en Haut-Sénégal-Niger, 1908-09." See also 4E 35: "Rapports sur l'Islam et les confréries musulmanes (Bafulabe, 1894-1914)," 4E 54: Kayes, 1894-1912, 4E 60: Medine, 1905, and 4E 67: Satadugu, 1911-13. See also ANS 19G: "Affaires musulmanes," especially 19G 1: "Situation de l'Islam en A.O.F., 1906-16." See also Alphonse Gouilly, L'Islam dans l'Afrique occidentale française (Paris, 1952).

25. See the relevant dossiers in ANS 2G 12: 1912, 2G 13: 1913, and 2G 14: 1914.

26. For descriptive accounts of the famine, see ANS 2G 14: 8, Haut-Sénégal-Niger; 44, Bakel; 45, Kedugu; and 47, Niani-Ouli. For oral interviews that deal specifically with the famine period, see Sadia Hamady Camara at Sadiola (Bambuk), 10 November 1987, Sirare Ba at Bidiancoto (Bundu), 15 August 1987, Ousmane Ban at Lailakon (Bundu), 10 October 1987, Diko Diallo at Samé Sory Diko (Bundu), 4 October 1987, Yiya Bathily at Kidira (Gajaaga), 26 April 1988, Yero Cissé at Selibaby (Gidimaka), 26 March 1988, and Samba Gadjia Diallo at Medine (Khasso), 12 April 1988.

27. For archival reports from the individual cercles on the number of deaths during disease outbreaks and the famine, see ANS 2G 14: 1914.

28. ANS 2G 14: 8, Haut-Sénégal-Niger, 1914. See also 2G 14: 45, Cercle of Kedugu, 1914.

29. Oral sources on slave recruitment from Bundu include Maudou Sirare Ba at Bidiancoto, 10 May 1988, Diko Diallo at Samé Sory Diko, 4 October 1987, Fodé Bakari Gassama Djaby at Goumbayel, 27 September 1987, and Bubakar Issa Kante at Kanioube Mayo, 22 September 1987.

30. See ANM 1Q 40: "Rapport sur la situation économique de la colonie du Haut-Sénégal-Niger, 1915." See also oral interviews with Baila Kante at Bidiancoto (Bundu), 20 August 1987, Alpha Samba Suaré at Tambacounda, 29 January 1988, Ousmane Moussa Coulibaly at bakel, 1 March 1988, and Abdurahmane Kante at Medine (Khasso), 15 April 1988.

31. ANS 2G 15: 1915, 2G 16: 1916, 2G 17: 1917, and 2G 18: 1918 for the relevant cercles.

32. See the files under the relevant cercles in ANS 2G 18, 19, and 20.

33. On remittances, see the interviews with Amadou Barro at Tambacounda, 6 February 1988, Abdoulaye Moussa Diallo at Kayes, 18 April 1988, Baila Kasse at Bidiancoto (Bundu), 5 August 1987, and Musa Hawa Diallo at Bagadadji (Bundu), 23 September 1987.

34. See the oral interviews cited in the previous note. In addition, see interview with Maudou Sirare Ba at Bidiancoto (Bundu), 10 May 1988.

CHAPTER EIGHT

Conclusion

The Regional Framework

The majority of historical studies concerned with eastern Senegambia and western Mali have focused on military and political events, ignoring important regional, environmental, economic and social issues. The one notable exception is Philip Curtin's Economic Change in Precolonial Africa (1975). He initially undertook a study of the economic history of the precolonial upper Senegal, but expanded the work to include all of Senegambia prior to 1840. Despite its limitations, Curtin's treatment of production and exchange, combined with the regional models constructed by Boubacar Barry for Senegambia, Stephen Baier for the Central Sudan and Richard Roberts for the Niger valley, can serve, with modifications, for this study of economy and society in the upper Senegal valley. A regional framework, transcending narrow and shifting political borders, permits a greater understanding

of the environment and its impact on socio-economic history. It also allows for more careful consideration of the economic and social structures and processes operative in the area between approximately 1850 and the end of the First World War.

The periodization of this study corresponds to the initial French military and commercial expansion in the region until its complete marginalization within the French colonial empire. Between approximately 1850 and 1890, the upper Senegal valley was transformed from the frontier of European conquest in Africa's interior to an administrative center of a growing political and commercial empire. It was also during this expansionary phase that the region was divided into a core, centered on the commercialized central valley, and a hinterland, which remained primarily rural. After 1890, French interests shifted elsewhere, the dichotomy between core and periphery became less pronounced, and the entire region was eventually relegated to a marginal position as a labor reserve for other areas of West Africa, particularly the peanut basin of Senegambia. By 1920, the peripheralization of both central valley and rural hinterland within the colonies of Senegal and Soudan français was complete.

The reconfiguration of the upper Senegal into an integrated economic and cultural region, rather than a group of isolated political and social formations, requires a new approach to and utilization of the available sources. The available evidence reflects both the temporal and spatial shifts in colonial interest and the division between core and periphery. Written materials, notably the extensive colonial archives and numerous published accounts, remain an important

component of any study concerned with the region. Archival materials and travellers' accounts are particularly abundant for the posts in the central valley. The few relevant written Arabic documents should also be consulted. However, the written evidence, which has been the principal and often only source for previous historians, has severe limitations for a socio-economic study, in particular for the rural areas removed from the central valley. Oral data are an indispensable category of evidence that need to be carefully collected, selected and used in conjunction with the written record. The rich oral materials from the region, including formal and informal traditions and individual remembrances, contain critical evidence and insight unavailable elsewhere. Obviously, all these categories of evidence must be constantly compared and scrutinized with the same attention and skepticism.

In the mid-nineteenth century, the upper Senegal valley, consisting of the centralized states of Bundu, Khasso and Gajaaga, and the dispersed societies of Bambuk and Gidimaka, constituted a unified and distinct ecological, economic and cultural region located in the transitional savanna zone between the Sahara Desert and the Guinea rainforest. Several social formations, notably the Fulbe and Mande-speaking groups, dominated the region politically and economically. These groups included the Bundunke, Soninke, Mandinka, Khassonke and Jakhanke. The diverse groups shared numerous common foundations and characteristics. Similar political, social and ideological patterns and structures reinforced existing geographical and historical links, while constant interaction over centuries and the multi-ethnic composition of

all polities further contributed to the region's relative cultural homogeneity. A socio-economic history of the upper Senegal valley must focus on the region as an integrated cultural and economic zone.

The regional economy in the second half of the nineteenth century consisted of several different types of productive and exchange activities. The domestic economy, based on the household and heavily dependent on slave labor, was dominated by agriculture. Pastoralism, craft production and an important mining component in Bambuk complemented the domestic economy throughout the region. The upper Senegal's exchange sector, integrated with production, was comprised of concentric, local, regional and long-distance trade networks. The region's location in the transitional savanna zone between desert and forest and the occupational specialization of the inhabitants shaped the operation of the exchange sector. The Jakhanke, a Muslim clerical-merchant trading diaspora whose ties extended throughout the Western Sudan, were engaged in all types of exchange in the upper Senegal valley. Shifts in emphasis, rather than dramatic change, and rapid expansion occurred in both production and exchange during the period. Social stratification continued to determine the organization of production, and available sources do not indicate major changes in the social relations of production, including slavery. While some new products and techniques were adopted, appropriate technologies, which produced low-cost, durable goods persisted, and pre-existing trade routes and networks continued to operate throughout the region. The regional economy experienced a period of continuity, diversification and expansion.

The Senegal River valley, operating as the constant economic focus, separated the region into shifting gradients of core and periphery. The core central valley or heartland, increasingly commercialized after 1850 with the arrival of the French, depended primarily on regional and long-distance exchange, principally the lucrative gum arabic trade with the desert-side Idawaish Moors. The trading towns of Bakel, Kayes and Medine, located directly on the Senegal River, served as centers for the colonial military and administration, and as bases for French expansion into the interior. The towns and central valley grew rapidly with the increased French presence and interest in the region. The periphery or hinterland, consisting of small, dispersed rural settlements removed from the river valley, relied on farming, herding, specialized craft production and local exchange, and generally remained beyond direct colonial rule during the second half of the nineteenth century.

After a brief period of prosperity in the early 1890s, the region declined economically, strategically and politically. Colonial attention was focused on areas to the west and southeast. First Bakel, then Medine and finally Kayes lost their commercial exchange importance and, consequently, there was less of a distinction between heartland and hinterland. Being less tied to long-distance trade than the central valley, the hinterland experienced fewer of the vagaries of the heartland's economy, particularly in the early twentieth century. However, deteriorating environmental conditions, the famine of 1913-14, war recruitment and mass migration soon sealed the marginal position of the entire upper Senegal valley.

Heartland and Hinterland, 1850-90

Prior to 1850, European merchants, primarily involved in the gum arabic trade, had established a string of trading posts in the upper valley, but had not attempted to control the area militarily or economically. In the mid-nineteenth century, the French, under Louis Faidherbe, established a strong presence at Bakel, which initially served as the main military, administrative and economic colonial installation in the interior of the Western Sudan. The construction of the fort at Medine in Khasso in 1855 consolidated the French military and political position in the central valley. However, except for a few direct attacks on Umarian strongholds, colonial intervention outside the core area remained minimal before 1860.

The late 1840s and especially the 1850s were a period of upheaval and destruction throughout the upper Senegal. Indigenous civil wars wrecked the regional economy and weakened traditional ruling elites in Bundu and Gajaaga. In the early and mid-1850s, Al-Hajj Umar took advantage of existing political divisions and economic crises to exert his hegemony over most of the region. Besides conflicts and recruitment, a series of population movements, sizable migrations and unfavorable climatic conditions contributed to the destruction of all sectors of the regional economy in the 1850s. Agriculture, pastoralism, mining, craft production and commerce were virtually abandoned in the rural areas during the Umarian period. The chaos prevalent in the rural areas severely affected the central river valley. Although al-Hajj Umar

never captured Bakel or Medine, he was able to halt the flow of gum arabic from the Moors and disrupt most French commercial activity.

The defeat of the Umarian forces at Medine and other strategic locations between 1857 and 1860 marked a turning point in the jihad; Umar focused his recruitment efforts on his homeland of Futa Toro and directed his military campaigns against states further east. The French gradually but effectively demonstrated their military and political superiority in the upper Senegal by signing alliances with Bokar Saada Sy of Bundu and Juka Sambala Diallo of Khasso, setting up a colonial bureaucracy, annexing Bakel and establishing protectorates over Goy and Khasso. The Umarians, who had replaced Kartan hegemony in much of the region in the early 1850s, were defeated by the French and their Fulbe and Khassonke allies who were firmly in control by 1860.

The end of hostilities and recruitment efforts after 1860 started an era of general political stability and steady economic recovery in both the heartland and hinterland of the upper Senegal. The resumption of trade, particularly in gum arabic, immediately after the restoration of peace, resulted in the accelerated recovery of the central valley; the rural areas improved more gradually. A network of alliances between the French and African leaders insured a stable political climate throughout the region. Wealth and power was concentrated in the hands of a few rulers, directly supported by the administration, who relied on well-organized raids for slaves and other booty. The expeditions also caused the centralization of political formations in the region by incorporating communities previously beyond the borders of structured states.

While many captives belonged to rulers like Bokar Saada Sy and Juka Sambala Diallo and lived and worked in separate slave settlements, a large number lived in households with their masters and participated in the domestic economy. Slaves worked in household chores as well as agriculture, pastoralism, mining and craft production. Merchants, and in particular the Jakhanke, used servile workers in the various types of exchange. Constant raiding and conflicts in southern regions produced a steady supply of slaves throughout the second half of the nineteenth century to both the heartland and hinterland of the upper Senegal. Although there were some variations in the practice of slavery, servile persons, mostly women, were usually assimilated to some degree within the dominant social group.

During the 1860s and 1870s, the dichotomy between the core and the periphery became more pronounced. It was a period of retrenchment and consolidation for the colonialists who turned their military attention to regions in the east and south, focusing primarily on the extensive Niger valley system. In the upper Senegal heartland, the French encouraged long-distance commerce, principally in gum arabic, and grain cultivation to supply the growing forces and the string of forts in the area. As long as their protégés maintained order and raided only neighbors considered hostile, the administration generally permitted indigenous leaders to pursue their own strategies and agendas in the hinterland.

By the late 1870s, the hegemony of the French-supported rulers was imperiled by mounting discontent and instability. Heavy taxation and corvée requirements made traditional elites unpopular. Numerous losses

to the predatory armies of Bokar Saada and Juka Sambala, both of whom were both aging and ailing, weakened morale among their armies. The French attack on Logo in 1878 and the creation of the Haut-Fleuve administration and the appointment of a Commandant Supérieur to Kayes in 1880 marked a new phase in colonial expansion. The increased colonial presence additionally fueled dissatisfaction with the status quo. The frustrations and resentment of much of the region's population coalesced in the figure of al-Hajj Mamadu Lamine Drame, a Soninke reformer from Khasso who patterned himself after al-Hajj Umar.

The revolt of Mamadu Lamine, confined primarily to the upper Senegal and upper Gambia areas, lasted from mid-1885 until his death in December 1887. The rapidity, relative ease and widespread success of the uprising underscores the level of discontent and the ineffectiveness of French control in the rural areas of the upper Senegal valley in the mid-1880s. What may have constituted effective colonial power during the period of retrenchment and consolidation in the 1860s and 1870s was inadequate for responding to the direct threat of Lamine and his partisans. Commandants Supérieurs Henri Frey and then Joseph Gallieni pursued Lamine throughout the area, demonstrating French military superiority and determination but also causing considerable damage to parts of Bundu and the upper Gambia.

The overall economic and social effects of the revolt were considerably less devastating than the mass destruction and transformation caused by the Umarian jihad. The earlier movement occurred when the regional economy had already been undermined by civil wars and climatic conditions, whereas the period preceding Lamine's

revolt was a time of relative prosperity and stability in the upper Senegal. As in the case of the jihad, recovery was markedly more gradual in outlying areas than in the towns and the central river valley, which remained beyond the rebellion's main theater of events. Regional and long-distance exchange in the core areas were reactivated immediately after the cessation of hostilities, whereas agricultural, pastoral and craft production resumed more slowly.

Whereas the religious, ethnic and socio-economic impacts of the revolt were short-lived, its effects on the local political and colonial structures were more significant. The revolt was a major factor contributing to a fundamental shift in French policy toward the region, with the administration immediately implementing plans to prevent future unrest and to incorporate the upper Senegal more fully into the colonial empire. The bureaucracy at Kayes was expanded, diversified and increasingly Africanized, and construction on the Kayes-Niger railroad was accelerated. In addition, the French no longer relied on independent rulers, such as the Sissibe in Bundu or the Diallos in Khasso, but administered the hinterland either directly from the towns in the central valley or indirectly through weak but loyal protégés. Finally, in order to monitor the situation in the upper Senegal valley more closely, the region was divided between the colonies of Senegal and Soudan français in 1890. Gidimaka was annexed to the colony of Mauritania in 1904.

The Upper Senegal Valley, 1890-1920

The years between 1890 and the early 1900s mark a critical turning point in the history of the central river valley. In 1890, Bakel, Medine and Kayes were among the most important administrative and commercial centers in the interior of the colonies of Senegal and Soudan français. Exchange, which was the dominant sector in the central valley's economy, recorded an impressive growth in all three towns. Productive activities also prospered and expanded. This brief period of prosperity ended abruptly after 1894, first in Bakel with a precipitous drop in gum prices, and later in Medine with the demise of the trans-Saharan and Senegal River trades. Kayes maintained some of its prominence as bureaucratic headquarters, grain exporter and transit center at the head of the Kayes-Niger section of the railroad. However, the French administrative and economic shift into the interior, a deteriorating environment and series of epidemics, and the overall decline in the exchange sector of the central valley finalized the peripheral status of Kayes and other towns in the region. Dakar, on the coastal Cap Vert peninsula and at the terminus of the Dakar-Niger railway, and Bamako on the Niger River developed into the major administrative and commercial centers of the two colonies. Finally, migration from the region, particularly the towns and core central valley, to the new colonial centers and the groundnut basin in western Senegambia, increased markedly.

The hinterland experienced a longer period of growth in the 1890s and early 1900s, and a less dramatic decline. A stable political

climate, the end of the population exodus to Umarian polities in the east and even some returning emigres, and generally good environmental conditions insured a favorable economic situation in the early 1890s. In addition, the rural areas benefitted from the expansion of production and exchange in the heartland. After the mid-1890s, the diversification and relative prosperity of the hinterland's economy lessened the impact of the gum price collapse, while the rural areas were likewise less affected by the environmental problems that plagued the central river valley at the turn of the century.

By the mid-1900s, however, both the commercialized central valley and the rural areas were experiencing an irreversible decline in all economic sectors. Long-distance and regional exchange, already depressed, continued on its downward trend. Droughts and insect plagues ruined harvests, caused frequent food shortages and reduced pasture and water sources for livestock. Migration to the peanut basin of western Senegal and the Gambia continued at a high rate with some freed slaves and runaways also moving to the peanut-producing regions.

The administration enforced some measures against slave trading, but took little action against slavery. Villages de liberte set up in the major towns after 1890 attracted some runaways, mostly from the immediate area, although slaves belonging to groups considered friendly to the French were usually reclaimed or returned to their masters. More importantly, few alternatives existed for slaves, most of whom were women, in the region. The slave exodus that occurred in many parts of West Africa, notably in the Banamba region, between 1905 and 1907 had minimal impact in the upper Senegal beyond the Bakel area. Most slaves

and many freed persons remained with their owners and renegotiated the master-dependent relationship. The depressed economy of the upper Senegal in the early part of the twentieth century undoubtedly deterred many slaves from seeking freedom.

The deteriorating environmental and economic situations culminated in the great famine of 1913-14 which seriously disrupted life in the upper Senegal and throughout the Sahelian and Sudanic belts of West Africa. Every aspect of the economy in both the heartland and hinterland was affected, and migration from all areas of the upper Senegal increased dramatically. The 1913-14 crisis, which resulted from a host of factors, was the final blow to the region's economy and its significance within the French colonial empire in Africa.

The upper Senegal valley had hardly begun to recover from the effects of the great famine when the war effort commenced throughout the region. The depressed economic situation caused many men to join the military with virtually no resistance, although there may have been some migration to avoid service. After 1916, owing to a lack of ships, transport costs increased dramatically, resulting in price hikes for imported goods. Consequently, indigenous manufacturing, notably weaving and smithing, expanded. There is also some evidence to suggest that the negative effects of the famine and the war effort were more pronounced after 1916.

The main impact of the war effort in the upper Senegal valley was on slavery. Military conscription, rather than abolition decrees or the freedom villages, provided slaves and ex-slaves with an opportunity to escape servility, leave the region and earn an income. Additionally,

most drafted men were slaves sent by chiefs to fill quotas. Veterans, the majority of whom were slaves or ex-slaves, were guaranteed certain posts within the colonial administration.

By 1920, the combined effects of the deteriorating environment, the great famine of 1913-14, war recruitment, the end of slavery, and mass migration permanently undermined production and exchange in the upper Senegal valley. Local, regional and long-distance trade were especially affected and dwindled markedly. The railroad, although initially benefitting Kayes and central valley posts, eventually contributed to the region's demise with the development of Dakar, Thies, and Bamako at its terminus. Colonial attention was directed to the peanut-producing areas of Senegal, and many inhabitants left the upper Senegal to participate in the expanding enterprise. The region, once an important center of production and exchange, became one of the principal labor reserves for the groundnut basin in Senegal and the Gambia.

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 Lamine Cissoko at Diambaloye on 18-19 November 1987.
 Abdul Djaby at Laminea on 7 November 1987.
 Mamadou Samba Djaby at Laminea on 7 November 1987.
 Alpha Guissé at Bankuba on 5 October 1987.
 Issa Kanté at Diambaloye on 19 November 1987.
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 Saiku Signaté at Koba on 18 November 1987.

B 2. Bundu

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 Chierno Mamadou Ba at Komoti on 29 September 1987.
 Ibrahima Ba at Kanioubé Mayo on 19 September 1987.
 Maudou Sirare Ba at Bidiancoto on 14 August 1987 and 10 May 1988.
 Sidi Demba Ba at Hamdalli on 30 November 1987.
 Sirare Ba at Bidiancoto on 15 August 1987 and 8 May 1988.

Suleymane Ba at Hamdalli on 20 October and 30 November 1987.
 Ousmane Ban at Lailakon on 10 October 1987.
 Diouldé Camara at Sansandé on 6 October 1987.
 Lamine Camara at Bidiancoto on 30-31 August 1987.
 Chierno Amadou Cissoko at Kanioubé on 16 September 1987.
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 Dorla Diallo at Bala Fulbé on 27 September 1987.
 Moctar Diallo at Lountyi on 19 October 1987.
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 Kalidou Bathily at Bakel on 23 April 1988.
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 Yiya Bathily at Kidira on 26 April 1988.
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 Ibrahima Diakhité at Bakel on 26 April 1988.
 Ahmadou Demba Diallo at Golmi on 16 February 1988.
 Penda Diallo at Bakel on 27 February 1988.
 Abdoulaye Diarrissou at Bakel on 21 April 1988.
 Mamadou Diop at Bakel on 26 February 1988.
 Saidou Gueye at Bakel on 25 April 1988.
 Harouna Aliou Konté at Bakel on 21 April 1988.
 Demba Kadidia Sow at Aroundou on 13 February 1988.
 Allassane Sylla at Tuabo on 10-11 March 1988.
 Aly Sylla at Kidira on 27-29 April 1988.

Saraldé Hamady Sylla at Golmi on 15 February 1988.
Yero Sylla at Tuabo on 11 March 1988.

B. 4 Gidimaka

Yero Cissé at Selibaby on 26 March 1988.
Omar Diarriou at Selibaby on 28 March 1988.
Demba Sy at Selibaby on 23 March 1988.
Kébé Sylla at Selibaby on 25 March 1988.

B. 5 Khasso

Hawa Assaita Ba at Kayes on 20-21 April 1988.
Samba Gadjia Diallo at Medine on 12 April 1988.
Suleymane Diarriou at Kayes on 16 April 1988.
Demba Fofana at Kayes on 21 April 1988.
Demba Issa Gueye at Kayes on 13 April 1988.
El Hadji Kandiora at Goundiourou on 4 April 1988.
Kougné Kanouté at Medine on 2 April 1988.
Samba Soumaré at Kayes on 11 April 1988.
Chierno Diouldé Sow at Kayes on 19 April 1988.
Demba Aly Sow at Medine on 15 April 1988.
Alpha Omar Sylla at Kayes on 17 April 1988.
El Hadji Moussa Sylla at Goundiourou on 5 April 1988.
Ousmane Demba Touré at Medine on 14 April 1988.

B. 6 Other locations in Senegal and Mali.

a. Senegal

Amadou Barro at Tambacounda on 6 February 1988.
Moussa Saliou Cissoko at Dakar on 15 March 1987.
Mamadou Demba Fall at Dakar on 5 May 1987.
El Hadji Moussa Gueye at Tambacounda on 15-16 February 1988.
Amadou Samba Kan at Goree on 26 April 1987.
Abdoulaye Keita at Tambacounda on 13 February 1988.
Demba Djibril Ly at Tambacounda on 10 February 1988.
Yousouphu MBodj at Dakar on 24 January 1987.
Ousmane Samoura at Tambacounda on 6 February 1988.
Alasaane Wade at Dakar on 7-8 March 1987.

b. Mali

Abdourahmane Alpha Berri at Bamako on 20 June 1987.
Ibrahima Bocoum at Bamako on 15 July 1987.
Ousmane Djibril Daow at Bamako on 23 June 1987.
Mamadou Tambadou at Bamako on 5 July 1987.
Seydou Ly at Bamako on 7-8 July 1987.

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Fonds Shaykh Mousa Kamara

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