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ISLAM, POLITICS AND COLONIALISM

A Political History of Islam
In the Casamance Region of Senegal
(1850 - 1914)

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SUBMITTED TO THE GRADUATE SCHOOL
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Three main sources have been used in this study: archival information, oral evidence, and printed works, whether primary sources or secondary sources. The latter are listed in the bibliography at the end of this paper and require little explanation. It should be remembered, however, that most of the printed primary sources have been written by two kinds of authors: first, explorers or travellers, and, second, colonial administrators. The explorers or travellers often had little understanding of foreign societies, but compensated for this by having a sympathetic interest for the foreign society. They generally made efforts to understand the foreign cultures they encountered, and to find descriptive European counterparts in order to render them comprehensible. This process, useful though it may have been, often resulted in distortion of the examined culture. Often, too, it has meant perpetuation of an original error by subsequent authors who did not dispute the original evaluation, or reinterpret it, thus allowing errors or misunderstandings to become accepted as truth and often repeated verbatim.

The second kind of author was generally an ex-colonial administrator. Again, his evidence was based on first-hand experience, although it was frequently biased by lack of understanding and perspective. In general, however, these authors have given us an invaluable picture of
pre-colonial and colonial times among the various groups of people. The geographical and anthropological works published by these authors have recorded what is in many cases a virtually extinct past.

The archival data have been collected in Bathurst, Dakar and Paris — in the latter case at the National Archives, the Archives of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, the Archives of the Ministry of French Overseas Territories, the National Library, and the French Colonial Institute. In Dakar, the library and manuscript collections of the research institute, Institut Fundamental d’Afrique Noire, were used. The British records kept in Bathurst, capital of the Gambia, are sketchy at best, and, unfortunately, ill-catalogued. Some anthropological information may be obtained from the collection of the Gambia Public Records Office, and some details on the Soninke-marabout wars.

The main source of material, however, was the Senegal National Archives, wherein are kept and filed the records of the old French West African Federation. These archives are classified by numerous categories, among which the most important for this study were the political reports submitted regularly by local administrators. These reports also contain "extra-curricular" studies which administrators or military leaders often undertook during their tour of duty. Of great importance also were the records of specific military or diplomatic missions, and Muslim materials. The content of the Senegal archives varies in value, and no exact chronological reproduction of events can be extracted from them, as papers or letters are frequently missing from the collections.

Information in these archives is subject to several caveats. One must remember that the colonial officials rarely spoke the local
languages, and the quality of their interpreters is always subject to doubt. Only when an official actually saw an event himself can one be certain of his chronology. His interpretation, nevertheless, remains open to question, since he may have easily misunderstood the action taking place, or the outcome of the events. His personal situation and mood, as well as his predilections for his work, also should be considered as having affected his correspondence. At times, he may have tried to put himself in a good light by neglecting to mention certain things, or by overemphasizing others; at other times, he may have deliberately omitted events; at still other times, it is entirely possible that he was completely unaware of certain things. Personal grudges and preferences can often be detected, to the detriment of objective strategic or political analyses.

The essential difficulty in placing faith in the administrative reports, however, remains the fact that the writer was an outsider with nothing except goodwill and intuition to temper his judgements and evaluation of events or institutions. In some cases, my oral evidence has shown information of which there is no comparable record in the French colonial archives—details of battles or of wars between groups, names of states, family histories.

That the French often recorded misinformation is explicable. Unfortunately, some evidences of misinformation have been perpetuated by subsequent commentators on the subject at hand. In one outstanding instance, a French administrator, de la Roncière, collected the oral history of Fouladou from the old men around Kolda. He did this just
after the king, Moussa Molo, one of the protagonists of this study, had emigrated into the Gambia. His purpose was to choose the correct people to rule Fouladou as successors of Moussa Molo. Since the oral tradition which Moussa's grandson related to me, a text in Peul written in Arabic script, differed radically on some points from this written French history, on which all subsequent reports had been unquestioningly based, I queried the informant. He had heard of the French project, and, chuckling, assured me that de la Roncière had come at a time when everyone was very pleased to be rid of Moussa. They still, however, feared his authority and the possibility of his return to Fouladou. Thus no one dared tell the truth about Moussa's past, his family, his reign, or point to the legal heirs to his rule. Telling me that the Peuls always delighted in duping their white rulers, he announced that the elders had fabricated a history to satisfy de la Roncière, but that it had little to do with reality and glossed over the important controversial points of the Moles' reigns.

Hopefully, the oral evidence used in this paper does not suffer from the same defects. The kinds of oral evidence used were the following: hearsay evidence, formal tradition, and information tradition. The categories of traditions collected may be listed as follows: family histories (informal or formal); regional histories; and, personal testimonies. The informants were basically descendants of participants or of protagonists in the period of this study; others were chiefs or heads of villages; others still were griots (praise-singers; story-tellers) with goura (Mandingue gourd harp-guitar).
By hearsay evidence is meant information which has been passed down within the village, or which has come to the informant generally through his father or grandfather, about an event which occurred in the past in that same region or about a person who came to the region. It differs from the informal traditions in that there are absolutely no fixed guidelines, occasion of recitation, or requirements for being the story teller. In the case of this hearsay evidence, unless the informant giving the testimony were specially qualified by virtue of age or of religious position in the community, he usually refused to give any information on any event or person outside his defined region. A person in Combo, for instance, when asked about Fode Kaba almost invariably responded: Fode Kaba was never here (in village X); he was defeated there (at village Y); I cannot tell you any more. Family and regional histories for the most part fall into this category of hearsay evidence, and were usually recounted by the village chief, imam or elder, or by a descendant of a participant in the events concerned.

Griots did not fall into this category, as there is a fixed framework within which they may speak. On this they may embellish, but they know only traditional songs with fixed tunes and fixed outlines concerning specific people, places or events. There are also restrictions on the kind of audience necessary to produce a certain version of their stories. Griots thus may be understood as falling into the category of informal tradition-tellers, since their accounts vary in text, although not in tune. Their primary function is to sing personal praises of the families to which they are connected. Some of the griots recorded were
descendants of people intimately connected with or directly bound to protagonists of this study.

Abdoulaye Cissokho is the grandson of the griot of Fode Kaba Doumbouya, the Mandingue marabout central to much of this study. The Cissokho family remain the griots for the Doumbouya family today. Through his wife, he is also the uncle of Babou and Omar Diabate, two other griots in the Mandingue region. Abdoulaye sang a summary version of the Fode Kaba epic, without the current elder of the family being present. This version is basically identical with that of any other griot's version. Abdoulaye's main function is to accompany the eldest Doumbouya today, Maye, Fode Kaba's son, in the telling of the family history. In this recounting, as recorded at Inor, Abdoulaye encouraged and reminded with his playing and singing, but did not himself recount, except to sing a few words of praise about the speaker himself.

The story which Maye Doumbouya recounted has an unreal quality about it and great detail about the mystical events of Fode Kaba's early life and the lives of his ancestors. He claims this account to be a fixed tradition — one unchanging in its wording from recitation to recitation. Present at the recording session were the griot with core, Abdoulaye Cissokho, the widow of Fode Kaba's third son, Ibrahima, and the griots fina. The purpose of these griots fina is to correct the old man's memory, or to expand his story, as well as to give a Muslim commentary where appropriate (although because of Maye's reputation for piety and the wisdom of his age, they commented only when invited specifically to do so.)

This account stops before arriving at Fode Kaba's major exploits in the Casamance. Neither Maye nor any other member of the family
could be persuaded to give further information; as Maye is considered
the repository of the family history, only he was willing, or considered
able, to give this much information. Another elder of the family, Sylla,
gave more complete, although variant information. I was not present at
this session, which was presided over by one of Fodé Kaba's grandsons
on my behalf, as he had suggested that my presence might limit the free­
dom of the story teller.

There are at least two possible reasons for the reticence of
the family to talk of Fodé Kaba's career in any detail. The events with
which this study is concerned are too close to the present to be spoken
of freely, since it is feared that speaking of them may reopen old hos­
tilities and enmities which are better left dormant or ignored. Many
people were affected harshly, on one or the other side, and the Fodé Kaba
story leaves few unemotional on the subject. Also, the Douribouyas are
now living in positions of leadership and respect in regions once devas­
tated by their common ancestor. It is in their own self-interest to
minimize or gloss over Fodé Kaba's exactions, and to glorify his mystical
aspects. Thus, just as Fodé Kaba's religious position in his own time
was largely based on intuitive respect for his piety, so today the mys­
tique is perpetuated to the benefit of the family and of its ancestors by
emphasizing his spiritual links and miracles, and by refusing to speak
of his political-military accomplishments.

Another formal tradition collected was the history of Alfa and
Moussa Molo, the leaders of Poulaouou. Moussa's grandson, Mamadou Falla
Balde, possesses the Peul manuscripts written in Arabic script, which
document the family history. He recited these, in Peul, from memory,
in the presence of the village chief, the imam, and several elders of the village. This history is a fixed and formal family tradition, of which he is presently the guardian. It is a detailed political account in a formal Muslim tradition. There is little mysticism. Generally, even the religious aspects are straightforward and verifiable. In its main lines, it coincided with and complemented all the evidence collected among the Peuls, whether they were descendants of one branch of the Molo family or of other participants in the events in question.

The availability and fidelity of oral evidence varies in the Casamance between ethnic groups. In general, the Peuls of Fouladou could, and did give, as with Mamadou Fallaye Balde, straightforward political histories. They could and did recite the names of provincial leaders, details of military encounters, biographies of marabouts or of other important figures. The Mandingues, however, were much more reticent. On matters of village foundation, the spiritual accomplishments of certain marabouts, or successful wars against the Peuls, they spoke freely. Their ignorance of the political system of their ancestors was too total to be feigned, and indicated that there was no political system other than the purely village level organisation which is still visible and functioning today. Their main oral contributions lie in the descriptions of religious figures which become almost lyrical descriptions of their many achievements for Islam, and of their purity in Muslim matters of faith and behaviour. The emphasis on the spiritual side tends to lead one to think that their stories reflect a lack of confidence in their ancestors' behaviour or religious orthodox, so heavily one-sided are these stories, and so adamant is their refusal to enter into the
concrete details, or into refutation of written documentary evidence on the subjects in question. Such things as intra-Muslim wars are ignored, since the descendants have greater Koranic instruction, and are aware of the deviant behaviour such wars represent, as well as of their ancestors' participation in these wars. Sensitive to their past role as militant exponents of renewed Islamic vigor, and like the Dour-bouya family, living among the products of that vigor, the Mandingues generally try to divert attention from unpleasant memories.

The Diolas have retained few oral traditions, whether formal and fixed or informal and hearsay. Village chiefs can provide village histories in an attenuated form for several generations. The name of the first Muslim in the village and of their convertors are remembered, and summary details of the conversion of the village are known. Usually only the vaguest and most laudatory stories can be extracted, and these center almost invariably on the figure of Cherif Mahfoud and his family. Some stories were obtained about Fode Sylla or Fode Kaba, but the most remembered historical figures seem, interestingly, to be the French. Much correct chronological information and many details can be given on the French arrival and penetration into the Lower Casamance. Here the traditional political fragmentation combines with the recent event of conversion to Islam to produce a vagueness about the past, in general, and a proud reluctance to speak of pre-Islamic, fetish days among the community.

Where oral information has provided insight into the archival documentation, I have used it in this study. Where it has supplied verifiable information not otherwise available, it has also been used.
The main value of the oral evidence collected has been its indication of the African viewpoint on events -- to show which events the participants considered important enough to remember and pass on, to discover their evaluation of the personalities concerned, and their reaction to their leading figures and to the main events of the past.

Unfortunately, the oral evidence cannot be used to demonstrate changes through time in the pre- and post-Islamic societies, even where Islamization might be considered a recent enough phenomenon that this kind of information would be available. Oral information on these changes seems simply not to be extant, and no sense of change through time can be extracted from the materials recorded.

The oral evidence collected serves primarily, at this point, as illustrative and complementary material. It is to be hoped that another researcher with more adequate language and cultural affinities and skills will continue to deepen the present study through further research on the area, as much remains to be learned on this and other related subjects in the Casamance.
NOTE ON SPELLING

French orthography has been used for the names of ethnic groups, places, and people. Arabic transliterations have generally been given the standard English equivalent, except in the case of proper names. El Hadji Oumar, then, is written with the normal French spelling, but Koran with the standard English spelling. The names of brotherhoods — Qadiriyya and Tijaniyya — have been rendered in standard English spelling. Generally where there has been a standard English form, this has been used, except in cases where the French forms are more standardized. "Marabout," for instance, has become virtually universally accepted without change from the French, although some American scholars are tending towards phonetic purity, and shortening the word to "marabu." The Fouta Djallon and Fouta Toro have been called by those names, and not Futa Jalon or Futa Toro. Also, names such as H'Diaye and Cisse or place names such as Sedhiou have not been given in the form the British documents have used: N'Jie, Cessay, and Saydou.
REGIONS OR STATES OF SENEGAL AND NEIGHBORING AREAS

Mauritania

Gambia

Portuguese Guinea

Guinea

Sierra Leone

Galactic Ocean

Bamako

Dakar

Freetown

Dakar

Bamako

Dakar

Freetown

Dakar

Bamako

Dakar

Freetown

Dakar

Bamako

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Freetown

Dakar

Bamako

Dakar

Freetown
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To drive from Dakar to Ziguinchor is to learn how separate and different is the Casamance region from northern Senegal. The dry flat semi-arid peanut fields relieved only by baobab trees gradually yield to thick green rolling wooded lands well-watered by the many branches of the Casamance and Gambia rivers. After passing through the four border posts involved in leaving Senegal, crossing the Gambia and returning into Senegal in a space of about twenty-five kilometers, the style of architecture changes to large clay houses with many rooms, portalled entrances, high vaulted straw roofs. Tall green trees surround vast green rice fields. Mango and orange trees, palm trees, line the many streams and inlets. The forest zone begins here. So well-watered is this region that a trip from Dakar to Ziguinchor through Bathurst, the Gambian capital, entails taking four ferries, at least one of which is regularly pulled across a large stream by sheer manpower. The two-lane, paved trans-Gambia highway involves only two ferries, neither of which is capable of handling more than four large trucks and eight cars, plus assorted passengers and herds of sheep or cows.

Today the Casamance region is one of seven administrative regions within the Republic of Senegal. It lies between two other states, the Gambia on the north and Portuguese Guinea on the south. Colonial divisions have enforced particularly arbitrary boundaries, considering neither natural nor ethnic divisions. Traditionally, the region may be
considered as having been defined by the Atlantic Ocean on the west, the Gambia River to the north, the Rio Cacheo to the south, the valleys of Fouta Djallon to the south-east, and Bambouck or Bondou to the north-east. Populations have generally in the past moved from east to west and south to north. These movements have not been altered by the political boundaries. Since 1960 alone, some 61,000 people have emigrated from Portuguese Guinea into the Casamance. Much of this movement results from the guerrilla war going on in the Portuguese colony. Part of it, however, is traditional seasonal migration or other migratory activity. That the large number of emigrants and refugees have been absorbed with only a minimum of difficulty is due to the historical, ethnic, linguistic and cultural unity enjoyed by the groups which overlap on a vertical scale within the region, across political boundaries. (see map, p. 14.)

The low population density per square mile in the Casamance and minimal utilization of cultivable land have also favored absorption of these new groups. 1

Despite its physical separateness and differences from North Senegal, the Casamance is not a homogeneous unity within itself. The present official administrative division of the Casamance includes six departments: Kolda, Velingara, Sedhiou, Ziguinchor, Oussouye and Bignona. Traditionally, the Casamance is referred to in terms of three large areas: the Lower-Casamance (Fogny and Cassa, department of Bignona and department of Oussouye); Middle-Casamance (department of Sedhiou; and Upper-Casamance (departments of Kolda and Velingara). Two geographical and climate zones and three large ethnic groups make up the Casamance. Between...
the Atlantic Ocean, the Gambia River, the Songrougou River, and the Rio Cachao is the "guinean" zone or rain forest, with mangroves and palm groves, deltas, inlets, streams, plateaux and valleys. One large group with many sub-groups, the Diolas, inhabit this region, with pockets of Manjacques, Bayottes, Papels and other small groups from the Portuguese colony. The year is divided into two seasons: the dry and the wet. Rainfall is high in this zone, generally extending from 15 June to 5 November. Hydrographic and soil conditions combine to make this region ideal for rice cultivation, although lack of irrigation systems and the absence for half the year of ground transportation have militated against large-scale commercial rice production. Present problems caused by the difficulty of communication have parallels in the past where communication was simply absent. The many waterways which cut up the Lower Casamance have made for isolation as much from close neighbors as from external elements.

The second zone includes the Middle and Upper Casamance. This zone represents the Sudanese climate region. It is a terraced area of open plains, valleys, and dry forest enclaves inhabited by two predominant ethnic groups: the Mandingues in the Middle Casamance and the Peuls in the Upper Casamance, with some pockets of Falantes or Diolas. Population patterns tend to follow hydrographic patterns, with villages and fields located on or around streams, or irrigable lands, and much land left unoccupied or uncultivated. Millet-growing and cattle-tending are and have been the basic occupations of the inhabitants. Tse-tse flies and disease-infected waters help explain the feeble population density of this zone, without
the natural barriers which traditionally inhibited interaction among the inhabitants of the Lower Casamance or between them and other regions.

The Casamance River itself has its source in the foothills of the Fouta Djallon. Ocean-going vessels can navigate up the river through the channels around Carabane, an island at the mouth of the river, as far as Ziguinchor, a deep-water port approximately thirty miles inland, on the south bank of the river. Smaller flat-bottomed boats can navigate along the Songrougou River and as far up the Casamance River as Sedhiou. Beyond Sedhiou, the river narrows until it resembles a small stream at Kolda. No water connection has ever been found linking the Casamance River with the Gambia River or the Rio Cacheo, although explorers often sought one, for such a link would have facilitated both commercial and population movements.

The tsetse fly lives in most parts of the Casamance, as does the anopholes mosquito, hazards to men and their beasts. Time has witnessed the evolution of a tsetse resistant strain of small, hump-backed cows, the n'dama, although traditionally horses have been vulnerable to tsetse flies in the guinean zone of the Lower Casamance. Wildlife consists primarily of monkeys, birds, snakes and, in the past, crocodiles. Chicken, fish, rice and millet provide the dietary staples, except in the non-Islamized areas near Gussouye and Ziguinchor where pork is found.

In the past, and at various times, each group emigrated into and accustomed itself to life in a relatively well-defined region, the Diolas representing the earliest group formed on a large-scale in the Casamance. Interaction was minimal, both because each group was functionally self-sufficient, and because natural, ecological divisions prevented contact. In the 19th century, however, movements of populations and ideas produced
a chain reaction of events and interactions which has resulted in an
ideological, if not a political homogeneity. In the 20th century,
migration is a continual factor affecting the Casamance, since migrations
by members of each group continue to occur on a north-south plane, rein-
forcing the earlier groups. A focal point of this study is the increasing
contact, which led to the interaction and eventual integration of the
three major ethnic groups, first within themselves and gradually between
the three groups.

The central concern of this study is nevertheless a political
one, with an Islamic perspective. Islam stands out as a primary, unifying
theme in the history of West Africa in the 19th century. Except for a
small elite group of people, Islam was less a doctrinal issue in 19th
century West Africa than a political one. From the 18th century through
the early 20th century when European penetration and pacification were
completed, Islamic states grew up and flourished in most parts of the
Western Sudan. In the late 18th century and throughout the 19th century,
several elite groups focussed attention on the theological aspects of Is-
lam and the political system implied therein, but these issues did not
involve the participation of the majority of the people.

Two West Africa-wide ethnic groups spearheaded this Islamic
political revolution: the Peuls and the Mandingues. The Mandingues had
a heritage of political greatness from the medieval Sudanese empires,
particularly the Empire of Mali. Their reputation for piety and long-
term contact with the Muslim world bestowed a special aura on them.
Their importance to the Western Sudan as a whole was perpetuated through
the network of Mande-speaking traders, notably the dioulas. That this
term, originally probably the Mandingue word for trader, became identi-
fied with and interchangeable with Muslim, indicates the universal recog-
ition given to the equation of the various Mandé-speaking groups with the Muslim religion.

The Mandé-speaking groups had a long tradition, then, of long-distance trade, contact with far-flung regions, political organization, and religious learning. From the beginning of the 18th century, Peuls throughout West Africa united into several major Islamic theocratic states, thus becoming the heirs to the Mandingue political tradition and to their role as disseminators of the political aspects of Islam. They also contributed something the Mandé-speaking groups generally had not: a concern for the Koranic bases and functioning of their states.

In 1726, the Peuls of the Fouta Djallon began a purist Muslim jihad (holy war) against the unorthodox or syncretic Diallonke dynasty. The state which resulted after a half century of wars was a curious one, whose major features are still unclear and remain open to clarification and discussion. The Imamate of the Fouta Djallon was a theocratic state ruled by Muslim legal systems. The king or almaru of the confederation of provinces composing the Fouta Djallon was a religious and politico-military figure. Leadership alternated between the two leading families of the jihad period at two year intervals. With time, after the initial jihad had ended, the various provinces of the Imamate extended their rule outwards. Military conquests widened the sphere of immediate authority exercised by the almaru or the provincial leaders. The Fouta Djallon represented a large, functioning, orthodox Muslim theocratic state in the Western Sudan. This alone gave it great significance as a religious center. It also became a center for religious education and training, a pivot point for the diffusion of Islam into surrounding areas, and a direct link, through trans-Saharan trade routes, with Arab and North African Islam.
The Fouta Djallon region became simultaneously an important commercial crossroads, and an influential religious center. Many caravans passed through the Fouta Djallon, a region where they could expect peace, justice and freedom of movement. The Fouta Djallon was also well-situated to become the axis of long-distance trade to and from the coast or hinterland because it straddled the major geographical - and often ethnic, religious and linguistic - divisions between the forest and the savannah. Its religious importance was vital to the spread of Islam throughout the neighboring regions: the trade network in which the Fouta Djallon participated facilitated this spread and thus contributed to a wide resurgence of Muslim interest.

Equally significant in the history of West African Islam, but of less immediate importance for the Casamance region, were the two other outstanding examples of Peul theocratic states active in the 19th century -- the Fouta Toro along the Senegal River, and Sokoto in Northern Nigeria. In 1776, a Peul revolution began in the Fouta Toro. Here, as in the Fouta Djallon, a jihad was declared against the conciliatory spirit which quasi-Muslim leaders showed toward paganism. The orthodox party prevailed, and established a provincial federation loosely similar to that of the Fouta Djallon, but a state wherein the individual province leaders had more power than did the central government. The third, and theologically most significant, Peul state launched in the Western Sudan during this same period resulted from the jihad Uthman dan Fodio proclaimed against the rulers of the Hausa state of Gobir. Of the three states, the Fouta Djallon and Fouta Toro are most directly significant to the politico-religious history of the Casamance, while Mauritania and North Africa are probably the two crucial areas for Casamance Islamic theology.
Islam in West Africa is strongly Sufi, a form of Islam based on mysticism. This orientation most often manifests itself concretely on the organizational and theological planes in the form of brotherhoods (tariqas). In Senegal, the two most important brotherhoods are the Qadiriyya and the Tijaniyya (with the Muridiyya, a 20th century Senegalese-based brotherhood, very important among the Wolofs of Senegal, in particular). The Qadiriyya was begun in North Africa in the 12th century, and has a long solid history of activity in Senegal. Ahmad al-Tijani launched the Tijaniyya brotherhood in Fez in 1781-2. This brotherhood became associated with wahhabite tendencies — ritual purification and doctrinal rigidity. In Senegal, the Tijaniyya was also virtually synonymous with militant Islam in the 19th century. The major Islamic revivifiers (mujaddidin) and warriors for the faith (mujaddidin) were almost unanimously Tijaniyya. Both brotherhoods were present in the Casamance in the 19th century. The Qadiriyya adherents were to a large extent members of the Fadelia sub-section of the Qadiriyya brotherhood — a Qadiriyya offshoot begun in Morocco. Its principal theological innovation was in its permission for members to be initiated into either or both the Qadiriyya and Tijaniyya.

Until at least the mid-19th century, the Casamance remained isolated from these political and theological developments in West Africa. This isolation is the more surprising given the fact that two of the three major ethnic groups in the Casamance belong to the ethno-linguistic communities which were in the forefront of change. Why and how the Peuls and Mandingues of the Casamance remained virtually untouched by these events is part of the focus of this study. More specifically, however, the main concern of the study is to examine the persistence of localized
political systems in the Casamance, whether in systems opposed to Islamization or in Islamized zones. Why did three internally quite homogeneous groups who had cohabitated for several centuries without culture contact and change undergo changes in their inter-group relations during the 19th century, and what were the results of these changes? What are the reasons that, despite the geographic contiguity of the groups, no single group dominated the others in the economic, political or military and religious spheres? Why did the spread of Islam not result in the formation of a large centralized political community or in the establishment of a theocratic imperial system? When the politico-religious changes occurring elsewhere in West Africa finally affected the Casamance region, why did their reaction not resemble the changes witnessed in other regions as a result of the same factors? Can any of the religious warriors in this study be classified, on even a small scale, as being Islamic reformers or builders of Muslim states?

In the politico-religious sphere, what were the factors inhibiting the traditionally Muslim group in the Casamance, the Mandingues, from dominating politically or converting the pagan communities surrounding them?

The first section of this study serves as a backdrop for the rest of the work. The changes which did or did not occur in the 19th century history of the Casamance cannot be understood in a vacuum. The first section provides a summary of the main ethnographic features of the several groups, large and small, who live in the Casamance. The purpose of this summary is to examine the societies in order to isolate factors which may have been conducive or resistant to religious or political change. These groups are: the Diolas, and their sub-groups (the Balantes, Bayottes, and Bainounks), the Mandingues, the Peuls, and the Toucouleurs. With the exception of the Bainounks, and possibly the Diolas, each of
these groups represents an invading element, not an indigenous one. With the exception of the Mandingues only, none of the groups was Islamized in 1500. Each of the other groups had its own religious system of rituals and beliefs, systems generally integrally related to the political and social structure. By the 1900's, each of these groups had been influenced by Islam, and most to some extent had been incorporated into the Muslim community.

The second section surveys the major political events of the 19th century which took place in the Casamance or which substantially affected the Casamance. The chaos of multiple small events gains significance when seen against the larger background of the Soninke-menasch (pagan-Muslim) wars in the Gambia, the politico-religious revolution in the Fouta-Djallon, and the arrival of European commerce and colonialism. The 19th century brought many outsiders into the Casamance — emigrant groups fleeing disrupted homelands, military invaders, mercenaries, traders, Muslim teachers, European administrators and their African personnel.

The second section also surveys the results of these events and movements of peoples. One such result was the resurgence of Islam as represented by Mandingus militants. This Mandingue militancy forms the subject of the third section. Fode Kaba Dounkouya rose to prominence among the Mandingues of the Middle Casamance after considerable association with the Tijaniyya revolutionary leader in Saloum on the north bank of the Gambie River, Naba Makhou. Fode Kaba's militancy took the form of long-term and often ruthless jihADS against the Diolas of Fogny and Combo, two Diola regions lying between the Casamance and Gambie Rivers. Fode Kaba does not represent the dominant Islamic spirit of the 19th century.
as it was seen in West Africa, for this aimed primarily at purifying the practice, rituals and personnel of Islam, while Fodé Kaba's main concern remained always the conversion of pagans and not the effacement of pagan elements in supposedly Muslim communities. His politics often pitted him against orthodox beliefs and practices of other Muslim groups in the Casamance. He was involved in wars with other Casamancan Muslims, and never gained political or religious leadership of the Muslim Mandingue communities in the Middle Casamance. In one sense, Fodé Kaba's long-term *jihad* served to provoke a Muslim resurgence among the Mandingues. His activities brought the Casamance into contact with external Islamic leaders and developments. His wars of conversion, although often carried to excess, also helped reawaken a sense of the religious obligations of conversion incumbent on Muslims living either in pagan-ruled areas or in contact with such areas.

Fodé Kaba seems never to have established a state, theocratic or otherwise. As will be seen in the fourth section, the Peuls in the Upper Casamance did found a state in which Islam was used as a unifying force. Although Alfa Molo rallied the Peuls to revolt against the traditional Mandingue overlords with whom they had shared the Upper Casamance for three centuries, he was less successful in enforcing Islam on the Peuls. During the revolt, he became connected with the Toucouleur marabout and Tijaniyya Muslim leader from the Fouta Toro, El Hadji Omar Tall, and then with the imamate of the Fouta Djallon. Alfa and his son and successor Moussa Molo attempted to make a synthesis of the two crucial external elements which seemed able to provide strength and unity to their cause and state -- European colonialism and Islam.
The fifth section examines the fact that this synthesis only proved truly productive in the Casamance after the disappearance of militant Muslims such as Fodé Kaba or of pseudo-Muslim state builders such as Alfa and Koussa Nolo. With pacification came both official and accidental encouragement of Islam. Pacification brought with it the pre-conditions of Muslim dispersal: only in times of peace could the peaceful representatives of Islam -- traders and teachers (dionomes and marabouts) -- successfully proselytize.

The French intrusion which originally impeded the spread of Islam created the conditions for Islamization of pagan groups by enforcing peace in traditionally disrupted areas and in areas where its own arrival had caused further disruption. The changes incumbent upon colonized societies also favored the eventual introduction of Islam as a replacement for old systems or as a readjustment to new ones: in some cases, Islam was a manifestation of social discontent with traditional structures; in others, it was adopted as an expression of disappointment in the failure of traditional religious or political systems; in others still, conversion to Islam represented a desire for "modernization."

Christian missionary activities remained always on a small scale in the Casamance. Generally French colonial policy discouraged Christian missionary activity in this part of the French empire, preferring either direct protection of pagan elements or indirect change through Islam. Where Christian missions were established in the Casamance they were only among the Diolas, particularly on Carabane and Ziguinchor, in areas then far-removed from the Muslim-pagan tensions and even today areas gradually being won over to Islam. A short-lived missionary endeavour at Sadiou produced no long-term results and was not repeated. The Christianized
element within the Diolas, the only group where Christianity ever
appeared on any noticeable scale, is diminishing today in favor of Islam.

Islam offered a system of integrative values which the period
of colonial penetration and the ramifications of post-colonization socio-
economic changes had shaken, and in some cases annihilated in the tradi-
tional sphere. Several important figures laid the foundations for the
wide spread of Islam which occurred in the Casamance during the first
two decades of the 20th century. This spread might have occurred earlier,
had it not been for the intrusion of the Europeans and the emergence of
local leaders who seemed to subjugate religious to military interests.
But the fact remains that it had not occurred before these events, and
did follow shortly on their introduction.

Although forces which had been at work in other parts of West
Africa arrived only belatedly in the Casamance, they did finally work a
revolution in inter-group contacts as well as in intra-group relations.
Despite the fact that the Casamance produced no politico-religious
developments comparable to those in the Fouta Djallon or the Fouta Toro,
or to those pioneered by Samory Toure and Uthman San Fodio, the Casamance
eventually merged into the mainstream of historical events which swept
West Africa in the 19th century: Islamization and colonization.
FOOTNOTES

1. See chart, p. 12.


3. Savory Toure tried to revive the MANDINGUE Islamic state in the later 19th century, but his movement was interrupted by the French before it came to fruition. Forthcoming works by Yves Person will add much to this subject.
## LAND UTILIZATION IN THE CASAMANCE **

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<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Lower Casamance</strong></td>
<td>750,000</td>
<td>175,000</td>
<td>152,000</td>
<td>110,000</td>
<td>140,000</td>
<td>17,300</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Middle Casamance</strong></td>
<td>700,000</td>
<td>50,000</td>
<td>81,000</td>
<td>79,000</td>
<td>145,000</td>
<td>345,000</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Upper Casamance</strong></td>
<td>1,450,000</td>
<td>(none)</td>
<td>235,000</td>
<td>80,000</td>
<td>148,000</td>
<td>937,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td>2,900,000</td>
<td>225,000</td>
<td>518,000</td>
<td>269,000</td>
<td>433,000</td>
<td>1,455,000</td>
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* 7 %  
* 18 %  
* 9 %  
* 15 %  
* 50 %


** Hectare: 100 hectares equals 2.741 acres; a hectare equals 10,000 square meters.
ETHNIC GROUPS IN CASAMANCE AND RELATED REGIONS
PEOPLES OF THE LOWER CASAMANCE

(Diolas and sub-groups)

The Casamance River waters a region inhabited by three major ethnic groups: the Diolas, the Mandingues and the Peuls. Each of these three groups migrated into the Casamance from outside regions. Of these three, the Diolas probably represent the oldest group in the region, although the date of their arrival is unknown. Consequently, the Diolas occupy the westernmost position, in a rectangle bounded by the Gambia River to the north, Rio Cachao to the south, the Songrougou River to the northeast and the Atlantic Ocean to the northwest. The Mandingues possess the largest territorial spread in the middle of the Casamance region, from the Songrougou to a line descending from Adsane to Farim, along both sides of the Gambia River and east to Kolda. The Peuls, who live in the east, are the latest arrivals, stretching north towards the Gambia River and south to the Fouta Djallon. (See map, p. 11.)

Each group possesses internal linguistic unity, although only the Mandingues have demonstrated constant religious homogeneity, and historically only the Peuls have established political unity. Each group, however, occupied a fairly visible and stable region after the mid-19th century. Geographical location helps to indicate the relative time of arrival since subsequent migrations tended to push the earlier groups westward or to reduce the size of their holdings.
Several smaller groups also inhabit the Casamance region -- an enclave of Toucouleurs in the Kian-Kabada region between Vintang Creek, the Songrougou and the Gambia; the Balantes on the south bank of the river, opposite Sédhiou; the Bayottes, Papels, Mandingos, etc., which are small groups living on the Portuguese Guinea border, with little historical or numerical importance. The Bainounks, once the rulers of the Casamance, have become virtually extinct, since they have been absorbed into or conquered by other groups. The Bainounks were probably the original inhabitants of the Casamance, settled mainly in the Lower Casamance and along both sides of the Songrougou River.

The history of the Casamance is to a large extent that of the interaction between these groups -- of their competition for lands, of their cohabitation, and of their partial borrowing of lifeways, one from the others. In a certain sense, there is no autonomous Casamance history, for all of the groups concerned spread generally vertically across colonial borders, finding their natural limits at the Rivers Gambia and Cacheo and south into the Fouta Djallon. (See map, p. 14.)

The history of Islamization in the Casamance is largely one of attempts to move from autonomous villages and regional anarchy to a structured community, of the breakdown of unified pagan societies and the substitution of a widespread centralized community based on Islamic beliefs and practices. Islam served as both a cause for increased contact between the various ethnic groups in the Casamance during the 19th century and for interaction between the various dis-
The Bainounks (Pagouns):

The Bainounks probably constitute the autochthonous population in the Casamance. Over the centuries, pressures from other groups, wars and intermarriages have reduced their political and numerical importance, until today they constitute a minimal group difficult to distinguish from their neighbors, although notes written as late as 1911 indicate their visibility as a separate ethnic group. Generally it would seem that the powerful Bainounks of the past who ruled over the entire region are responsible for naming the Casamance River. Whether this was because they had a king (manse, in Mandingue) of a strong Bainound
sub-group, the Casans, or whether the Bainouk king's name was Cassanjuuc and was given to the river is uncertain. The use of the Mandingue title "mango" does, however, indicate a Mandingue origin for the Bainouks or contacts with either the Gambian Mandingues or directly with hinterland Manding. The Casamance and Gambian regions probably formed part of the outlying provinces of the Empire of Mali until its demise in the 16th century. The first Europeans to visit the Casamance region noted that there was a king on the river who was subject to an inland king of Mali. Mandingue traders had probably established themselves along the rivers for purposes of commercial control. The inhabitants at this time were not Mandingues, but earlier groups such as the Serej along the Gambia or the Bainouks in the Casamanc. The Mandingues probably occupied at least quasi-political positions by virtue of their literacy or of their network of contacts.

When and how the Bainouks arrived in the Casamance is uncertain. Well before the 19th century, the Bainouks ruled the Casamance through an imperial system, perhaps as part of or as inspired by the Mali Empire. As early as 1695, one explorer stated that the idolatrous Bainouks he encountered on the river St. Domingo had a king who lived twelve to thirteen leagues inland from the sea. This seemed to be a centralized and powerful role, inherited from father to son. Other explorers noted that inheritance was through the female branches of the family. One Frenchman wrote that "nobility and the right to power are transmitted from one family to another by women." The system may have been matrilineal in that the absence of a male heir obliged electors to choose a successor from the wife's family.
Invasions by successive waves of people weakened the powers and extent of Bainounk kingship. By 1355 both the Mandingues and the Diolas had put serious limitations on Bainounk rule; Hyacinthe Hecquard, a French explorer, wrote that "their government is a monarchy tempered by assemblies which impose their will and without whose consent the king cannot declare war." A few years later, in 1862, Lieutenant Vallon, an official French explorer, wrote that the legend of past Bainounk imperial power was widespread. He added that each Bainounk village habitually obeyed only one chief and that each village was virtually independent of its neighbors. Each of the large Bainounk villages had one chief, who had to be a descendant of the village founder.

In Vallon's view, Bainounk women played a large role in society: he claimed that the opinion exercised by women in village assemblies was frequently decisive. Another official explorer, Berenger-Fersaud, gave great importance to the role of women in political decision-making, for they sat on those assemblies which resolved disputes concerning declarations of war or disputes over land jurisdiction. Few caste differences existed, and there appears to have been no griot caste.

In general, the Bainounks inhabited the lands between the Gambia River and Rio Cacheo, including both banks of the Songrougou River, Pakao, Kian, Yacine and Balantacounda. (See map, p. 14.) The capital of the Bainounk kingdom was located at Diagnou on the Casamance River, and it was there that kings were crowned near sacred stones, and where they kept their symbol of royal authority: a gold scepter. The king of Cassas, a powerful Bainounk sub-group, reportedly had his resident capital at Brikama on the left bank of the Casamance. Gerseg on the Gambian River is mentioned as another capital of a pre-19th century
"Bainounk kingdom" of Kian. Whether this location of the seat of power indicates early descent from and/or contact with the Gambian Mandingues, or whether it represents a northwestward movement resulting from Mandingue, Diola and Balante pressures, is unclear. Both hypotheses are equally possible and plausible since Gereges was an important village for trans-Gambian trade and since the reference would fit in chronologically with pressures on the Bainounks.

Throughout the 13th century, the Bainounks were in contact with the Portuguese enclaves in the Casamance which had been first established in 1645. In the late 19th century, Bainounks claiming to be Christian could still be found in Ziguinchor. The 19th century, however, witnessed a widespread Bainounk demise as a separate, distinct group. Small groups of former Bainounk vassals such as the Bayottes and Balantes pushing up from around Rio Cacheo forced the Bainounks northward, while from 1830 onwards, Fouta Djallon and Mandingue expansion pushed them westward, where they met up with Diola expansion eastward.

Having lost their political domination and, having adopted the rice- or peanut-growing habits of their newly-acquired Mandingue or Diola neighbors, the Bainounks infrequently managed to retain their language and religion, since these were closely allied to the political structure. This religion involved worship of two deities: one who did only good and the other only evil. Offerings were made only to the former and only he was invoked for help. Proof by poison was practiced to discover those who were accused of dealing with witches, but gris-gris (Muslim protective amulets made of a leather case with scraps of Koranic writing inside) were also purchased at high prices from
travelling *marabouts*. The king often had religious power and commanded the fetishers, but in his dual religious-political role, he was responsible for prosperity and his power depended on maintaining and preserving prosperity. When he failed to protect society from misfortunes, he was deposed. Few leaders were likely to have been long-lived under this system.

At Ziguinchor and in Bouchie and Yacine, however, the Bainounks became assimilated to the habits, religion and language of their conquerors, Portuguese at Ziguinchor or Mandingues in Bouchie and Yacine. Everywhere they eventually merged with the conquering groups, losing the principal components of their ethnic identity: their language, their religion, and their political structure.

The Diolas:

The second-oldest group in the Casamance region are the Diolas. Because of uncertainty surrounding their origins and the date of their installation in the region, they cannot definitively be classified as either an autochthonous or an invading group. Because their history is so shrouded in mystery, Paul Pelissier, a French geographer, says that one cannot even be sure the Diolas constitute a group: possibly long cohabitation of different groups in the forests caused the evolution of a similar language, society, religion, and techniques which today give reason to think of the Diolas as one group. Certainly the pressures of the 19th century helped to weld the group together and to force upon it a sense of ethnic identification and mutual interest. The impact of the external elements such as French colonization and the spread of Islam helped create an ethnic group where one had perhaps not existed before.
The Diolas consist of many small sub-groups with general linguistic unity and basically similar social structures, economic practices, and religious beliefs. The name means "all those visible living beings" and is the generic name for the group. L.V. Thomas, the noted French anthropologist who has done much research among the Diolas gives a detailed classification of the sub-groups based on geographical location and dialectical variations. (See map, p. 14.) Thomas groups the Diolas of the left bank of the Casamance River under six headings: the Floups near Oussouye and Suzannah in Portuguese Guinea, the Diamat of Youlou and Erfou, and of Basseur and Varella in Portuguese Guinea, the Diola Dywar of Elinkine and Dianbereng, the Diolas of Pointe St. Georges (Kagnout and K'Loap), and the Diolas of Brin-Iseley.16

On the right bank of the Casamance River, Thomas indicates eight groups: the Karone near Itou; the Bliss, near Boka; the Djougout who cover the area from Bignona to Diouloulou (the "Biluff" region); the Kalounay in the Songrougou valley; the Kadissoutay, north from Billa and Bignona to the Gambia; the Diola Kombo and Diola Fogny; and the Djiragone.17 Most of these right bank sub-groups have been Islamized, the Diola Kombo, Diola Fogny and Kalounay by direct contact with Mandingue neighbors. Other groups on the north bank have been converted by itinerant traders or marabouts but have retained their traditional systems, adapting Islam to their ways, without imitating the Mandingues.

These subdivisions have more applicability as linguistic or geographical units than as ethnographic or historical entities. Documentary historical sources shed little light on the issue of Diola ethnicity. Traditionally, explorers and administrators noted only the
Floups of the Oussouyé region and the Diolas of the Fogny-Combe region, with occasional references to Gambian Floups. There has been a fundamental similarity of behavior and characteristics among all the Diola sub-divisions. The major disparity has been the existence of strong centralized fetish kingdoms among the Diola-Floup of the Oussouyé region, and the consequent resistance of these sub-groups to Islam. The history of the generic group, the Diolas, has caused variations in the nature and extent of change, depending on the region of settlement and the amount of contact between the Diolas and either the Europeans or other Senegalese groups. In general, nevertheless, the primary outlines of Diola culture and society have remained intact and similar. Despite the internal variations, one can trace the boundaries of a Diola culture and society across time.

Evidence suggests that the Diolas came from the southeast, probably from Gabou, into the Casamance. Originally, they probably formed one large group with the Serers at the Saloun River and Rio Cacheo. The Diolas generally admit a common ancestry, and retain a "joking relationship" with the Serers. They have at least one superstition in common, although their historical developments have been quite different. The Floup king, as the Brak of Yalo, one of the Wolof-Serer states, was forbidden to look on the sea. Also, a Diola proverb forbids the murder of a Serer. While the Diolas seem to put more faith in this common origin than do the Serers, most writers of the 19th and 20th centuries similarly have referred to the Serers and Diolas as having a common origin.
Many legends of Diola migrations have been collected, but these are largely contradictory and uninformative. One widespread story which has many variations maintains that two sisters left their homeland in a canoe which capsized; each daughter swam to safety, where one established the Serers, the other the Diolas.\textsuperscript{21} Another legend collected by Dr. Maclaud in 1907 has the Diola-Serer group leaving the Gabou region in Portuguese Guinea under the direction of a queen.\textsuperscript{22} Again, in still another, the point of departure for the migrations is Gabou. In this version, the Diolas were led by a military leader, Dieo Sane; this warlike group left its homeland, attacked the Bainounks, and took over their country.\textsuperscript{23}

The emphasis on a female founder does not reflect a matriarchal society according to the oldest written or verifiable oral evidence,\textsuperscript{24} although only one legend of origin refers to the founding father as a man.

Women have an economic role in society as rice-growers, and have their own priestess-queens, but descent is normally through the male offspring of the father. If there are no male sons, nephews and not daughters are the heirs. Property is divided equally among the sons, although the house and herds of the father are inherited by the oldest son in the name of the family, and he becomes responsible for this communal family property. The herds are kept in the service of the fetish gods, or to demonstrate the family's wealth during ceremonies, especially funerals and circumcisions. In cases where the father dies leaving young children, his older brother or the village chief becomes their tutor.
The family or kinship system in Diola society stands out as the main element of cohesion and stability. Property is held both collectively and individually.

There are essentially three principal and visible kinds of family groups in Diola society: the clan, the ancestral group, and the nuclear family. The first, the clan, is a large and possibly geographically dispersed group, coming from one ancestor with the same family name and totem. The clan, however, lacks spatial or material unity. The ancestral group brings together into a compound or one house the head of a family, his sons and their wives and children. This entity represents the most vigorous social and economic unit. Within it, usually, is the nuclear family, the household.25 The family is the smallest and most stable socio-economic unit of Diola society.

In addition to the family, two other elements structure Diola social life: age classes, and fetish chiefs and secret societies. The former are both utilitarian and sportive. Agricultural work groups are organized at the level of the village quarter or of the entire village for the general interest of the whole group's welfare. The men organize themselves into wrestling groups and the women into dance groups. Age classes unite people born within a five to ten year span and who have been simultaneously initiated by a fetish-priest circumcisor for the men and, for the women, by introduction into the female secrets within the female sacred forests. Female circumcision does not include clitoral excision, and among males, even circumcision is rare except in Islamized areas.
Many secret societies have existed among the Diolas, each presided over by a priest-chief whose position depends on heredity or power, and varies from village to village. Fetish chiefships are often hereditary, although there is no chiefly class, and chiefship has traditionally represented only a social and functional category. The Diola traditional religion, which is animistic, combines monotheism with polytheism: one great god created the first man and woman, the land and the sea, the sun and the moon. The Diolas do not seem to communicate directly with or to have recourse to him. A number of lesser spirits are thought to reside in shrines honoring them, and to be greater than men, but lesser than gods. These lesser spirits function as intermediaries between men and a busy god. Fetish shrines abound in Diola territory. Each village has one for men, and one for women. There are also territorial shrines housing one or more important spirits and worthy of visits from many nearby villages to make sacrifices or pour libations. Fetishes are frequently invoked for utilitarian purposes: to obtain cures, a good harvest, or to chase out evil spirits. The fetish is also used for purposes of social control or social arbitration. Decisions made in the general interest become sanctified by the fetish spirit through the medium of the fetish priest.

Although the Diolas believe in an after-life -- heaven for the good and reincarnation into animals such as hyenas or snakes for the wrong-doers -- their funeral ceremonies are a denial of death. After a death, the deceased is placed sitting up in his best dress and given many gifts, while the relatives come to him asking what they can do to make him forgive them, be happy, and return to the community. At the end of two or
three days, all the opulence with which the dead man has been surrounded is removed; he is buried, and a great feast held to honor his wealth and spirit.

Just as the Diola religious structure mingles the sacred and the profane, so political life is enmeshed with the social and religious. No formal administrative structure exists apart from the religious hierarchy of fetish priests and secret societies. The village chief may be paralleled by or identical with the fetish-chief, who usually wields the greater power. The absence of a social hierarchy is matched in the political sphere by the absence of an administrative hierarchy having clearly defined functions or powers. In the Oussouye region, traditionally and even today (just as in Kian around 1850), the fetish chief is simultaneously a political king. He was surrounded with an aura of mystery and respect, since he was credited with being the embodiment of many invisible spirits. In Kian, this function was hereditary. It brought the office-holder much in the way of material recompense, as his subjects brought him offerings and sacrifices. The office carried little effective authority with it, however, and the king exercised no decision-making powers. In the Oussouye region, the fetish chief-king was appointed by the majority of the voters, who were the chiefs of families throughout the province. This kingship was often an hereditary office circulating cyclically among royal families, but it was also an elective one within the group of possible heirs. The king was considered a sacred person who assured the continuation of dogma and the permanence of the rite. He was a lucrative position: in his double role he received free labour for his fields and collected
sacrifices and libations to propitiate the gods. 27

The Diolas are considered to be a classless egalitarian society. There are no castes, no slaves (when these were captured in war, they were sold or traded, or were incorporated into the family), no griots; even blacksmiths and woodworkers are considered strictly functional groups, not social castes. Age, wealth and achievement represent the criteria of success, respect and authority. Age deserves respect because it indicates a concomitant long-term intimacy with the gods. Wealth depends on the amount of land, the stores of rice and the number of herds possessed. The land-holding patterns of the Diolas militate against the existence of a "land-holding" class, while the absence of slaves restricts the size of crops to those of only small-scale cultivation. Meritorious achievement among the Diolas includes demonstrations of skill in wrestling or of courage in battle, or of agility in stealing. None of these criteria has permitted or encouraged the evolution of a ruling class. Diola society has remained one of juxtaposed and interacting peasant family groups.

Within the villages one institution has developed as a result of a social need to weld people together. This council (the etendoukaye) exerts social control through the fetish spirits and the dictates of community-general interest. Each family has one representative on this morality enforcement agency, whose duties include the enforcement of collective discipline and of traditional obligations. In matters of daily societal functioning, this institution exerts great control. Even within this system, however, the importance of compounds within the village often lessens its influence. Because all villages are independent of each other, no greater controlling institution exists to which recourse is had.
Types of village political organization have traditionally varied from village to village. Villages seem always to have been the largest political unit among the Diolas, consisting of compounds or quarters, each of these latter being made up of members of one family. Each village is independent of all others and geographical separations seem to have inhibited the development of any sense of ethnic loyalty, although crises could provoke such a loyalty and solidarity within a small region. During the 19th century, villages threatened by Mandingues usually were large and fortified, with houses quite close together. In other cases, in safer areas, the quarters were quite closely-knit, but villages spread freely over available lands.

Generally, the pattern is to have a village chief assisted by an advisory council. In some villages, the chieftainship is an hereditary position; in others a chief is elected by all male adults or by the village council composed of heads of families. In still others, the chieftainship was usurped by the strongest, most powerful man. In all cases, however, government seems to have been a democratic or at least oligarchic process. Even in those few areas where several villages may have federated under a single leader to confront a specific situation, neither authority nor respect was ever sufficient to enable a monarch to continue to function effectively or independently, or to pass his authority on to his heirs, after the passage of the crisis.

Judicial matters are the province of the chief and his council who impose fines and pass judgments. Generally, both political and judicial decisions carry with them only influence and not authority. More important than the village is the compound. Family decisions are more binding than village ones and are more likely to be obeyed. Family
obligations and interests have greater priorities than village ones. Historically, temporary unity was frequently manifested to launch an attack or mount a defense. Then the most feared or respected warrior was elected to head the village. But this unity and his authority invariably passed with the crisis.

Geographical factors in the Lower Casamance permitted and even encouraged this situation of apparent anarchy overlaying basic patterns of village- and family-level social organization: the density of the forest and innumerable creeks, streams and inlets separated groups even when their settlements were quite close. Geographical factors have also contributed to the economic organization of Diola society: traditionally rice-growers and fishermen, the Diolas also tap palm-wine, herd cattle and keep chickens and pigs, but they neither breed nor eat these animals except for festivities. Tse-tse flies and swampy land have generally prevented the introduction of horses or other beasts of burden. The Diolas have during the centuries of their occupation of the Casamance developed methods for clearing the forest, creating rice fields from mangrove swamps. Although a stateless society, a Diola political system has evolved through time so that cohesion works to keep a group together, at least on a village level. Villages have not degenerated into smaller units, and within villages, some order has always remained, permitting society to function with recognized political units — the villages, with functioning socio-economic units — the family; and with coordinating beliefs and practices — the fetish religion and secret societies. This tight integration of Diola society at the village level, however, combined with the over-all political fragmentation of the Diolas, made the task of Islamization doubly difficult, just as it greatly complicated the European attempts at penetration and colonization.
The Bayottes, Banjars and Balantes:

On the south bank of the Casamance lived several small ethnic groups who probably belong to the Diola complex—the Balantes, Banjars and Bayottes. (See map p.14.) Each has played only a peripheral role in the history of the Casamance. The Balantes are the most historically significant group, for they have served both as a buffer zone between the Mandingues and the Diolas, and as a force pushing the Bainounks and Diolas north or westward.

The social structures and religious practices of those three groups bear great resemblances to those of the Diolas. The main characteristics of all the four groups, that is, including the Diolas, is the absence of authority systems, and the importance of the fetish societies. Anarchy and chaos seem, however, to have been much more pronounced among those three groups than among the larger group of the Diolas.

The Bayottes and the Banjars, were small groups, probably Diola sub-groups living on the south bank of the Casamance, and extending as far south as Rio Cacheo. The Bayottes, whose religion is fetish worship, had two chiefs, one civil and one military, but little contact with their neighbors. Diola and Wolof traders installed among them managed their trade in rubber, wax and rice. The Banjars lived in approximately the same region, and were governed by a fetish priest-chief with many privileges. One of his main rights and a great source of income was the administration of poison in the proof rites. Although both of those groups had a single king over them, neither had the defined administrative systems of taxation and adjudication that the Bainounks had developed within their earlier empire. The powers of
the king were centered in his religious functions, and did not extend into civil matters.

The Balantes, a larger and more cohesive group than the Bayottes or Banjars but also an invading, conquering one, had imposed themselves on Bainounk lands. Coming from Rio Gaba across the Rio Casamance, the Balantes installed themselves in Bainounk territory on the left bank of the Casamance, chasing the Bainounk from part of their traditional territories. When they had occupied only the Rio San Domingo, the Balantes had paid tribute to the powerful king of the Bainounk, Cassanjuoc. With expansion came a change in the relationship of the two groups, and the Bainounks gradually lost their influence over the expanding Balante group.

Contradictory versions of Balante legends of origin exist, pointing to descent from the Peuls or Diolas. The name Balante probably comes from Mandingue words meaning "those who refuse" (i-balante). One account maintains that the Balantes are a dissident group of Peul Djallon Peul slaves who came to cultivate in the Casamance. Finding this new land more attractive than their homeland, they refused to return to captivity. The Balantes retain a "joking relationship" with their Peul neighbors, and, like the Peuls, are cattle raisers and cultivators of millet, not of rice. Their Balante counterparts in Portuguese Guinea do have male cultivation of rice, as distinct from the Casamance Balantes, where the women take care of rice-growing. Their kingless casteless social structure and retention of primitive fetish customs and worship strongly resemble Diola society, however, and tend to indicate descent from the Diolas.
Another story linking the Balantes with the Peuls reports that the death of the patriarch Diallo prompted the children of one of his two wives to emigrate from the Fouta Djallon to the Casamance, and that during the migrations, this group lost even its linguistic links with its ancestors. A third myth claims that the Balantes formed part of the army of Térinkou which Soundjiata sent against the Four Sins. A fourth version, the most likely according to a Senegalese researcher, Mapato Diagne, claims that the Balantes descend from a mutinous group of Koly Tenguella’s warriors who, tired of war, settled in the Portuguese Guinean village of Bissam. There the first Balante king, Yalla Dianka, became a bloody tyrant who was finally buried alive by his rebellious subjects. Since then, the Balantes have refused to have a king. This legend justifies the kingless-stateless Balante social and political structures.

As with the Diolas, so too the Balantes have been described as an uncentralized, anarchic people. The basic unit of social organization among the Balantes was the limited family, and of political life, the village. Family affairs were directed by the family elder. Village, religious, political and military affairs were controlled or directed by chiefs assisted by councils, and despite each village’s autonomy, there did exist a feeling of ethnic solidarity which could produce unity in times of war. Each village had a chief called the alama who claimed descent from the village founder, a case often difficult to sustain since most Balante villages were built on prior Balante establishments. The alama (a term not too different from alma’m or almony) took care of legal disputes within the village and provided sacrificial
libations. Generally he was assisted by a council of elders, but frequently the council of elders was paralleled by a council of youthful warriors who exerted decision-making influence. Women too had a decisive voice in important matters. The chief's greatest power was exerted in times of war, but because there were neither castes nor slaves among the Balantes, in peace times, the chief was a *primus inter pares* by virtue of descent and age.

Whether his claim to power was based on seniority or descent, the chief had to submit to several tests before assuming his functions. The first test was the ordeal of proof by poison (*tali*) which had to be performed three times. The second was a manifestation of his prowess as a sorcerer. Success at these two was followed by designation as the king-chief. Then, he was enclosed in a specially-built hut for three days while every means was used to frighten him into showing emotion. Any visible signs of fear were punished by immediate death. But if he survived all the tests, he was released, laid on his stomach in the center of the village, where all the notables summoned the villagers, surrounded him, laid their spears on him and swore loyalty. If he were a descendant of his predecessor he then proceeded to occupy the family home and to possess all his ancestor's goods and wives. Otherwise, he had to create his own court. As king, he would possess the rights of life and death over his subjects, in accord with the council, as well as overlordship in matters of marriage. Marriage customs, however, were uncodified. Any number of wives was permitted, divorce a question of rejection, and parental consent unnecessary for marriage and divorce.

Strong fetish beliefs permeated Balante society. Secret societies existed and formed one of the invisible focal centers of Balante life.
Proof by poison was administered by an outside chief from another ethnic group who supervised the proofs to prevent fraud, and who was paid in goods or money by each proven person. These ordeals were a regular ritual, and the solution to all disputes or problems. Everyone had the obligation and right to denounce a suspected murderer, who could try to prove himself innocent with the poison. As the Balantes believed in soul-eaters and not in natural death, each death called for a poison test. Everyone was also obliged to submit to proofs after a catastrophe—a war or an epidemic—to purify the nation of the evil spirits which had provoked the catastrophe.

Balante society, then, was both individualistic and collectivistic, a state of controlled anarchy similar to that of the Diolas. Their resistance to Islam and to the French was also as vigorous as among the Diolas. Both, despite the apparent chaos of their societies, demonstrated sufficient cohesion and dynamism to withstand outside pressures over long periods of time.
Unlike the Diolas and their sub-groups, the Mandingue and Peul inhabitants of the Middle and Upper Casamance belong to wider West African groups. The Mandingues form part of the large Mande-speaking group which spreads throughout West Africa, on the coast as in the forest or the savannah zones. One part of this Mande group, the dioula, have traditionally served as intermediaries between the various Mande groups or between them and the non-Mande groups. Over time, the name dioula has become synonymous with both trader and Muslim. As traders, the dioulas have settled in most parts of West Africa, among the various groups, thus diffusing their Islamic religion and forming nuclei for subsequent trading or maraboutic communities. In many regions, dioula contact with other areas and peoples, as well as their skills of literacy have earned them positions of respect and power, which frequently resulted in conversions and often in political takeover.

The Peuls also belong to a West Africa-wide group known variously as Poulaahs, Fulani, Fulbe, etc., all of whom speak a language known as fulfulde. As with the Mandingues, the generic name for the group derives from linguistic characteristics, and from traditions of origin also tracing them back to a single founder. Like the Mandingues also, the Peuls throughout West Africa have manifested in various degrees the same patterns of social structure, family organization and pastoral nomadic ways of life. The pastoral Peuls have generally resisted conversion.
to Islam, but once having settled, the Feuls have tended to embrace that faith. Indeed they have become great revivifiers and protectors of the purity of the faith, as exemplified by the Feuls of the Fouta Djallon and the dan Fodio Fulani family in Nigeria.

In the Casamance, the Mandingues and Feuls lived side by side, at least from the 16th century onward. Their relations were less symbiotic than pragmatic. The Mandingues as prior occupants of the land had allowed the Feuls to settle and cultivate in the area. They exacted taxes or contributions from the Feuls both systematically and randomly, but they did not attempt to disrupt the inner workings of Peul society. The two groups lived together in a self-regulating balance of power and of interests until events combined to alter this situation.

The religious and political wars in the Fouta Djallon and Gambian regions affected the Casamance, and materially altered the political and religious complexion in the Casamance. Evidence on the pre-Islamic or pre-19th century nature of Mandingue or Peul groups in the Casamance is virtually impossible to obtain, either in oral or written literature. As with the Diolas, some description of these societies without reference to time indicates what segments of beliefs and behaviour have tended to militate against the introduction of Islam, and which factors have helped its introduction and spread.

The Mandingues:

The Mandingues are a group inhabiting parts of the Casamance, the Gambia and Portuguese Guinea. The first Mandingues to settle in the Casamance area probably came from near Sogou on the Niger River sometime
shortly after the fall of Mali in the 16th century. They settled primarily on the banks of the Gambia River, while some groups penetrated into Dakar in the Middle Casamance. The Bainounks, who dominated the Dakar region at this time, were presumably conquered and absorbed by the Mandingues. The Diolas probably inhabited only the western side of the Songrougou, but may have been chased westward across it by the invading Mandingues, or may have suffered incorporation. Large-scale and continuous Diola-Mandingue contacts do not seem to have taken place before the 19th century. This was partially due to Diola isolation in the forests and swamps of the Lower Casamance, partially to the barrier which the Songrougou River formed between the two groups, and partially to the absence of institutionalized or customary trade or other contact. Along the Gambia River southern bank, the Diolas living on the outermost fringes ofCombo did come into contact with the Mandingues installed there, but most Diolas only came into infrequent contact with itinerant Mandé-speaking traders. This contact resulted from geographical contiguity along the Combo fringes, and formed part of the general north-south orientation of trade and other forms of interaction which manifested themselves in the Casamance in the first half of the 19th century.

The Mandingues who inhabit the Casamance and Gambia regions today began migrating there in the 16th century, coming primarily from the south-east, from Fouta Djallon in Guinea or Gabou in Portuguese Guinea. The rivers and traditional trade routes enabled these groups to maintain contact with their original homelands, with their language, culture, and religion. Gradually, however, with the introduction of European commercial elements, the focus shifted to a more coastal one, with major movements of trade and peoples being from east to west, or from the inland to the coast, instead of the reverse pattern of coast to hinterland.
The original Mandingue migrants were reinforced over the centuries by constant influxes of Mandingues, from Manding, Gabou or the Fouta Djallon. Mandingue expansion within the Casamance itself seems to have been from three sources: Gabou, the Fouta Djallon and Pakao. The four original villages of Pakao are DiamaBa, N'Diaka, Karentaba and Dassilame, all these names indicating an Islamic origin. These four villages maintain central importance even today, based on religious, political and economic importance, and their inhabitants tend to look on themselves as an aristocracy.

Expanding toward the Songrougou, Mandingue groups peopled the Casamance from these four villages, settling in the regions where again they conquered or assimilated previous Bainounk inhabitants of Bouchie and Yacine. Other Mandingue migrations came from Fouta Djallon and Gabou into the southern bank of the Casamance River to people Souna-Balmadou and Brassou. These migrations followed the religious wars and political revolution in the Fouta Djallon which began in the 18th century. They also followed the shift in political relations between Gabou and Fouta Djallon, where the Mandingues had long been established since their original migrations out of the Mali Empire, or to its western fringes. Divisions existed within the Mandingue groups who settled in the Casamance. Despite their common religion and language and customs, each successive invading group of migrants retained certain loyalties to its extra-Casamance origins, whether these were in Mali, Gambia or Guinea.

Islam, however, bound the Mandingues together as a community. This unity never coalesced into material political integration except for temporary ends. It did, however, provide a commonality of life styles and systems. This similarity never transcended the purely emotional
level. On the political level, the Mandingues remained decentralized. Their system of government and the size of their villages indicate that the Mandingues functioned in a city-state system. In the Casamance, unlike their counterparts in Portuguese Guinea or along the Gambia, the Mandingues lived in regions with amorphous geographical limits, but without any political or administrative framework or organization. Gabou and Voyi in Portuguese Guinea had a visible administrative and military hierarchy; the Mandingue states along the Gambia had rulers, provincial governors, tax-collectors, and the other signs of political organization. In the Casamance, however, the Mandingues lived in several regions which had no visible boundaries or superstructures. These regions were:

- Pakao, Brudhie and Yacine on the north bank of the River;
- Souma-Balmadou and Brassou on the south bank of the Casamance. Until the mid-19th century, the Mandingues also possessed rights of territorial sovereignty over the upper Casamance region, inhabited by Peuls and known by the Mandingue title "Fouladou," or land of the Peuls. The names of these regions probably date back to the empires of Mali or Songhai. Some were retained as administrative units of the Fouta Djallon Imamate, which seems from time to time to have had at least a nominal control over these Casamance regions. Some regions derived their existence from geographical features; others entered the realm of tradition, having no known historical geographic raison d'être.

Regional councils do seem to have existed among the Casamance Mandingues, but without effective hierarchical authority or leadership. The provincial organization which did exist functioned effectively only in times of war. Even then, dissident villages could not be obliged to
participate once they had voted against it. Decisions were binding effectively only within the village framework.

Although Mandingue religious and economic vocations (that is, proselytization and trade) demanded and encouraged larger-scale political organization, Mandingue villages were basically independent of one another. An early explorer in 1337 called their system of government "republican feudalism". This judgement was prompted by what he saw as a system of government with hereditary chiefs governing one or several villages, but subject to more powerful chiefs, who themselves recognized at least a nominal superior. In this system, the chiefs could not act without the consent of their councils of elders and notables. Within these oligarchic republics, each village had two leaders: the alcati and the almami. The alcati attended to civil affairs, led the village in war, and supervised commercial and agricultural operations. The almami was the village spiritual leader, concerned with prayers, education, and observation of religious affairs. In cases of dispute between the two chiefs, the almami usually had his way. He was responsible for both religious wisdom and traditional wisdom, and in this role, thus charged with maintaining cohesion and harmony within the village. Over the centuries, an amalgamation of Islam with fetish practices and beliefs had occurred, producing the maraboutic phenomenon whereby the almami was thought to have great personal piety and sanctity, and to be capable of performing semi-miraculous deeds. As an almami he had his sacred and profane tasks of maintaining the society in dynamic militariism combined with stability, and as a marabout, he gained respect as an occult power, capable of dealing directly with god.
The almaid and alcadi functioned as the elected and respected chiefs of the village. They, and particularly the alcadi, were nevertheless responsible to the population through the council of elders and notables. Through this council, matters of dispute were litigated whether concerning marriage and divorce, land cases, theft or murder. Because this council consisted of men of experience and heads of families, its decisions, taken after long discussion and debate, were considered binding after announcement by the chief and approval by the imam. Because it was also a strongly hierarchical caste society, displaying the classical Islamic scorn for women, "public opinion" was fundamentally the privilege of those who sat on the council, the free elders, and thus, a priori, easily enforced.

The dualism of the Mandingue political system reflects and explains the nature of Mandingue penetration into and expansion within the Casamance. The localization of the system to the village level helps explain why the Mandingues never attained effective political domination of the entire Casamance region, or ever effected unified control over their own regions. The dictates of their religion gave the Mandingues a motive for territorial expansion and conquest, but the efficiency of their administration permitted consolidation and implantation only on a small, local scale.

Mandingue castes included the four standard groups, each being functionally subdivided. The four castes were those of freemen, slaves, griots, and artisans. Among the freemen were the aristocracy and the common people; from the aristocracy were chosen village chiefs, military leaders and almans, while the commoners were cultivators or traders.
Two categories of slaves existed: those born in the region, and those taken in war. The slaves born in the region were house slaves or farmers, becoming part of the army when necessary. Those slaves had the right to cultivate their own fields and to work for themselves during a part of every week. They could also marry free women, and hold public office. They could not be sold, and if captured in war, had to be ransomed.
The griots were usually either singers, guitarists or doctors who performed circumcisions. Griots were most visible at times of general religious or family feast days. Chiefs surrounded themselves with several griots to sing their praises: among the griots, one had charge of the war drum (tabala). The tabala alerted the village to the chief’s call to action, guided the warriors in military expeditions, and represented the greatest trophy an enemy could capture. A chief who lost his war drum also lost his prestige. Artisans, although not scorned as in other groups, formed a separate group as wood, leather or metal workers, shoemakers or potters.

People of caste could not marry outside their castes, although children born of a slave mother and a freeman were born free and could never be sold. Marriages were contracted before the marabout and the village chief, both of whom received gifts of merchandise or seeds in payment. Women rarely married non-Muslim men, although the men, who were permitted four wives by the Koranic rules on polygyny, frequently took Balante, Diola or Poul wives. Divorce was rarely accorded to women, whose primary role was to assure domestic well-being. The highest roles of the men included war, trade and proselytism but not agricultural pursuits. Fields of cotton, millet and peanuts were cultivated by the slaves or by migrant Sarakolle or Poul groups.
The chief generally owned large amounts of land which at regular intervals were cultivated for him by the villagers. The village community delegated land to different families for cultivation, and the village chief had the prerogative of delegating any vacant land. This again limited the chief's powers, since it meant that his authority was personal and not territorial. He was not the landowner or even the overlord for the land. The village itself was usually an enclosed one, surrounded by thick wood or mud walls and divided into quarters by families, and into compounds within the quarters.

There are no indications of age groups or age classes, although circumcision did create fraternities and brotherly ties. Circumcision of both sexes was performed by griots or griottes (f.) on children near puberty, from about ten to sixteen years of age. During these ceremonies the young men were initiated into the secrets of traditional life and to those of Islam. After the ceremonies, society welcomed back the circumcised children with great feasts. Circumcision was the occasion of one of the major holidays, but the Prophet's birthday, Ramadan, Korite and Tabaski were observed with equal fervor.

Islam manifested itself continually as the principal organizing factor in Mandingue society throughout the 19th century, although the Mandingues were not solidly Muslim at the time. The conversions made by the Mandingues in the Casamance were primarily local, first among the pagan Mende group of Soninkes, and then among the Diolas, Bainourks and Peuls. The resistance of these groups to Mandingue proselytisation seems to have absorbed much of their time and energies, and called forth new interactions with extra-Casamance groups from both the Fouta Djallon and the Gambian regions. As members of the orthodox Qadiriyya sect,
Mandingue links with the Islamic world have generally been through Mauritania and North Africa, or through the Fouta Djallon. Despite their militant fervor, however, the Casamance did not join the current of West African Islamic expansion in the late 19th century. This was a period of intra-Mandingue consolidation within the Casamance with a view to converting and conquering the pagans, and to resisting the French.

The Pauls:

The Pauls, like the Mandingues, constitute an invading group in the Casamance, and one belonging to a wider West African group. Paul emigrants began to settle in the Casamance only in the late 18th century. Earlier groups had probably left their homelands in the mid-16th century, but followed a nomadic life in the Foulco desert and as far as Gabon. Coming from Meina in present-day Mali, they passed through Bilyou on the Senegal River to settle in Patia in the Upper Casamance, and in Gabou in present-day Portuguese Guinea. In the late 18th century, Pauls fleeing the Islam revolution in the Fouta Djallon left that homeland, and with their Gabouke relatives, established themselves in the Upper Casamance. Because Mandingue domination of the area had preceded their arrival, the Pauls settled under the suzerainty of the Mandingues. Because Paul nomads pasturing there since the 16th century had gradually become sedentarized, the Mandingues traditionally call the area Poula-
dou, meaning "land of the Pauls" in Mandingue. Although politically they were effectively subjugated by the Mandingues and in a servile relationship to them, the Pauls maintained their own language, customs and social structure. Basically there were
two castes in Peul society, the foulbe rimi and the foulbe diabo, meaning
the noble Peuls and the slave Peuls. The former included the freemen,
the aristocracy, and the nobility. Among the noble families were the
M'Ballo, the Banne, the Bonaro, the Diallo and the Diao. The foulbe
diabo were slaves, often descendants of prisoners of the original Peul
migrants, and often belonging to a Bambara group. Slaves could become
wealthy within this society because, once married, they were allowed to
work two out of seven days a week on their own account. The free Peuls
were exempted from all forced labor and could have their choice of
women. Also, if threatened by great poverty, a free Peul's slaves or
those of his family helped him to improve his condition.

In addition to these castes there were four major groups of Peuls
living in Fouladou distinguished by their time of arrival and their tra-
ditional homeland.47 The first were the Pure Peuls (Poulo Fonna) who claimed
descent from Kaeina in present-day Kali, which they had left in the 16th
century, coming to Fouladou where they lived in a good relationship with
their Mandingue masters for three centuries. The next group consisted of
the slaves of these Pure Peuls. The third group represented the recent
and smaller immigrant groups from the Fouta Djallon, Poula Fouta, and the
fourth, the most recent Gabounko emigrants. The later 19th century witnessed
the arrival of new refugee Peul groups from the wars in Fouta Toro and the
small-scale Gabounko Peul migrations continue to the present. The distinc-
tions between these four kinds of Peuls were unimportant. The constant
intermarriage with Mandingues and interaction among the four Peul groups
served to promote an increasing sense of localized ethnic unity, but on the
common level of the Casamance, and to create a new loyalty, a Casamance-Peul
particularism. These feelings manifested themselves particularly after the
successful revolt Alfa Molo led against the Mandingues. The major dis­
tinction remained, however, between free and slave Peuls.

Peul nobility was structured around the compound (galle) which
represented a socio-economic unity. The galle did not include mem­
bers of an extended family or lineage group exclusively. Although the or­
genizing principle was a familial one, generally a galle united only a
nuclear family or perhaps several brothers and their families, in either
case having a headman or elder as the chief. Persons without familial
ties could place themselves in a galle with its chief's permission.
Before the 19th century, the galle almost certainly included all the
masculine members of a lineage, their families and slaves into a community
of residence and production under the leadership of the family patriarch.
Ethnic intermixing and political upheavals in the 19th century caused a
dimunition in the size of the unit, but the galle remained the funda­
mental framework of collective and individual life among the Peuls.
Within the galle labour was communal, permitting allied or associated
households to work together for the common good. In this system, each
household within the galle worked in cooperation and conjunction with
the others. Whether the relationship was based on family ties or
mutual agreement, labour and responsibilities were shared and alternated
among the families. Each galle had its own protective fetish to which
sacrifices were made in the thickest brush.

The Peul village was the sum of the galles within it. On the vil­
lage level, as in the galle, societal organization was communal and
voluntary. Two kinds of work groups existed which demonstrate the soli­
darity of the village: in the first, neighbors exchanged one half day's
services on each other's fields, the men working in the peanut field and women in the rice fields; in the second, the members united to offer a whole day of service to the noble landowners as a token of recognition of their social superiority.

As with the Kandingues and the Diolas, and despite their position as vassals of the Kandingues, so too the Peuls lived in autonomous villages under the leadership of a chief, who was the eldest of the family group and descended from the village founder. He had an assistant beside him and a council of notables who were the elders or heads of the compounds. Their primary collective role was to preserve social order. Their powers were of mediation rather than of command, and the limits of their actions were severely restrained by Kandingue domination. The Peuls nevertheless enjoyed autonomous self-government within their own villages despite Mandingue overlordship, although their villages were either an extension of Kandingue villages or were subject to one such village, in those border areas of Kandingue-Peul cohabitation. In their capacity as semi-vassals, the Peuls were obliged to give presents of produce or livestock to the Kandingues, to work their fields, and to submit to Kandingue raids on their persons or properties. Significantly, the Kandingues did not interfere with the internal self-government of the Peuls, as long as this did not conflict or interfere with Kandingue rights and needs in Fouladou.

Religion as well as status was a factor separating the Peuls from the Kandingues. The 19th century witnessed the gradual breakdown of these distinctions and the integration of two previously distinct life styles into a fundamentally similar one. In order to cultivate the vast uninhabited spaces of the Upper Casamance, the Peuls had put themselves under Kandingue protection and had become their vassals. With the adoption of sedentary life, they had also adopted Mandingue agricultural techniques and tools, and
their way of life, at least on a superficial plane. Many Peul slaves became converts to Islam, but the aristocracy resolutely retained its fetish worship, respect for sacred cows, fear of a mystical snake hidden in the forests, and belief in a supreme being and in an after-life. The Fouta Foulahs had left their lands to avoid conversion, and in the Casamance they were determined to preserve their ancient fetishism, and not to adopt the religion of their slaves, their overlords, or their ex-countrymen. The religious question thus took on social ramifications, the aristocracy refusing conversion to a religion which in its eyes was both foreign and servile. No religious structure united the Peul villages, then, for the religious dichotomy among themselves prohibited one. The situation among the Peuls and between them and the Mandingues in the last half of the 19th century bears a striking resemblance to the polarization which the Soninke-marabout wars provoked in the Lower Casamance: identification with one of the two competing religious factions implied identification with one political system, language, culture and faith. Polarization by the Peuls in the Upper Casamance similarly reached the point during the 19th century where any concession equated complete submission and compromise was ruled out.

The religious and political revolution affected by Alfa and Moussa Molo superimposed a state-like structure on Fouladou by establishing provincial chiefs and judges. The introduction of Islam brought new elements into Peul society, but the fundamental elements persisted in the form of the galle and the work groups. Like the Mandingues and the Diolas, the 19th century was one of accommodation and incorporation for the Peuls. New emigrant groups arrived and old relationships were altered. New beliefs and practices shifted the traditional balances.
The Toucouleurs:

One other Peul group inhabited the Casamance, the Toucouleurs. These were located in the region of Kabada, south of the Gambia between the Songrougou and Vintang Creek, separated from Fouladou. Calling themselves Toucouleurs, this group consisted of one original migrant family, the Kane, who left the Fouta Toro probably sometime in the 16th century, and resettled in the Sine-Saloum only to be driven out of Saloum by famine. They then settled in Kabada at an uncertain date, and probably with Mandingue permission. Whether the land was uninhabited then or whether there were Mandingues there living under Bainounk rule is unclear. At the time of El Hadji Oumar's wars (c. 1846-1864), reinforcements sent from the Fouta Djallon to aid the Toucouleur marabout established themselves in Kabada. While preserving the original social order of the Fouta Toro and the Muslim faith they brought with them, the Toucouleurs have had much religious influence on but little contact with the Casamance Mandingues or Fouladou Peuls. Conversely, their ties with the Fouta Djallon and Mauritania have remained and are presently strong.

Village structure was basically that of the Fouladou Peuls, and centered on the galle. Each village had an elected chief and a provincial leader chosen by the assembly of notables. There was no one leader for the whole Kabada region, but maintenance of harmony and interdependence between villages have always been essential to the preservation of this enclave in the face of Mandingue pressures. They retain basically the same hierarchical caste structure and social organization as the Peuls or Toucouleurs of Fouta Toro. The castes are the following: the nobles, freemen, artisans and slaves. The slaves were divided into the two categories of house slaves and field
slaves. Artisans who were blacksmiths, jewellers or leather-workers were considered freemen, but weavers were not. Society was strongly hierarchical, each caste having functional specificity. Life was highly structured by the division of labour provided for by the castes, and the communalism of tasks allotted within the gallees. Age groups, consisting of boys circumcised together, gave a further framework to this well-organized and clearly-defined community. The principal figure among the Toucouleurs was the marabout. His centrality and importance have been maintained because of Kabada's isolation from modernization. The marabout possesses great spiritual and secular authority, wielding his influence primarily through the Koranic schools, and uniting the community through Muslim beliefs and practices.
CONCLUSIONS

In the Casamance region are found several major ethnic groups each inhabiting a well-defined piece of territory and each with some kind of internal cohesion. Sentiments of ethnic identity seem to have linked each group together on a functional plane, but no political entity has ever arisen with the one brief exception of the Peul state of Fouladou in the Upper Casamance. No formal state structure has arisen among the groups, although consensus has enabled them to cohabitate and to communicate within their ethnic and linguistic communities. For the Diolas and Mandingues, common religious beliefs and socio-economic practices have permitted this system of controlled anarchy to persist on a regional level. For the Peuls, respect for the time-honored caste system supported its maintenance. Between the three major ethnic groups, life has been compatible or reduplicative, with each group basically self-sufficient within itself and all performing the same basic functions. Geography had also been a factor favoring their independence from each other, and served to keep them separated until the late 19th century. Until then, they coexisted without significant or eventful contact, even among themselves.

In the latter half of the 19th century, two external factors strained these relationships and caused conflicts. One persistently disruptive factor was the pressure of new migrations on the established communities with the consequent dislocations these entailed. Frequently migrations set off a chain reaction of contact and displacement. In other cases, pressures by outside leaders inflated one or another of
the groups to action against its neighbors. Basically, nevertheless, between the Diolas and Mandingues there had been little contact and little conflict before the mid-19th century. The Balantes provided a buffer zone between them on the south bank of the Casamance, and the Songrougou separated them on the north bank, except for occasional merchants. Also, until the mid-19th century, neither group had fully and permanently occupied its territories, so that the eventual contacts were delayed. Only when those two groups had reached the natural limits of their territorial expansion did contact become a necessity. Until then, each group had been internally self-sufficient and had been stable enough to ignore or disregard the other, with the sole exception of those Peuls living under Mandingue domination in the Upper Casamance.

Between the Mandingues and the Peuls existed a long-established enmity, but also a clearly-defined and accepted vassalage in which the Mandingues were masters of the Peuls, their vassals. Although no natural boundaries separated them in the Upper Casamance, feeble population density and territorial vastness combined to enable the two groups to live together peacefully. New and simultaneous migrations and politico-religious changes in their homelands upset these balances in the mid-19th century, creating new tensions and demands in the Casamance itself.

The absence of a structured political organization larger than the village capable of absorbing these shocks and of accommodating to the new situations ended the period of autonomous coexistence. This was complicated by the injection of the European element into the African setting. The period of self-adjusting group independence was over by the mid-19th century, giving way to a period of intensive conflict, contact and confusion. Indeed, the absence of political frameworks may have
been a product of the relative internal order and stability which existed over the whole region prior to the 19th century. Within the three groups, leaders had always arisen when a situation had demanded it. The societies had been able to accommodate themselves to centralized leadership. The disappearance of a specific crisis, however, had always entailed the voluntary or forced disappearance of this leader or of his authority. Society regulated itself within a spatially limited area. Cooperation had been a function of necessity and not of interdependence. The changed situation after the mid-19th century forced contact, and with contact came conflict and change.

The changes caused by the increased interaction which both colonialism and Islam provoked during the later 19th and 20th centuries had unexpected results. Today the peoples of the Casamance form an integrated community, but one based on their shared separateness within the Republic of Senegal. Interaction between the three major groups does occur without much greater regularity and profundity than in any part of the 19th century. One level at which this interaction has become integration is the religious level: the widespread common adherence to Islam unites the Casamance superficially as a community. The brotherhood rivalries and conflicts of the past, however, persist and provide a framework wherein the historical ethnic, linguistic, political and cultural distinctions continue to have importance.

2. The Empire of Mali was founded by Mandé-speaking peoples who had begun converting to Islam in the 11th century. It was a successor state to the Empire of Ghana, and much more powerful and widespread than its predecessor. In the mid-15th century, the rise of Songhai began the movement which ended in the eclipse of Mali's prestige and power. See, for example, Charles Monteil, "Les empires du Mali," BERNWARD, 12 (1929), 91-147.

3. Valentim Fernandes, Description de la côte occidentale d'Afrique (Sénégal au Cap de Monte, Archipels), Valentim Fernandes, 1606-10, eds. Th. Monod, A. Texieria da Notsa and R. Kaury (Paris, 1951); also, see D. O. Dapper, Description de l'Afrique (Amsterdam, 1696).


9. Ibid.


11. Griots are a caste group who are both court jesters and official historians. The caste is a permanent one, and marriage endogamous, taking place only between persons of the griot caste. Griots often occupied an influential position in politics, being the confidants of the leaders on the one hand, and social critics on the other. The griots are generally praise-singers, with or without a gourd guitar, the cora, although they frequently have performed a medical role as cir-
excisors at initiation rites. See Dr. Lasnet, Aug., Chevalier, A., Cligny, Pierre Ranbaud, Une mission au Sénégal: ethnographie, botanique, zoologie, géologie (Paris, 1900), 177.


14 Moniteur du Sénégal, no. 934 (1874). Marabout is a French term which has come to mean a Muslim cleric or spiritual leader who has great personal piety and who is thought to be capable of performing semi-miraculous deeds and of enjoying direct communication with Allah. The term comes from the Arabic "al-murabitun," meaning one who lives a contemplative and disciplined existence within a monastery, "ribat." Marabouts in West Africa are the best examples of manifestations of Sufi Islam, that is, mystical Islam. See, Alphonse Gouilly, L'Islam dans l'Afrique Occidentale Française (Paris, 1952); or, J. Spencer Tringham, Islam in West Africa (Oxford, 1959).


16 L.-V. Thomas, Le Diola: Essai d'analyse fonctionnelle sur une population de Basse-Casamance, I (Dakar, 1959), 12.

17 Ibid., 13.

18 A "joking relationship" may exist between specified clans, castes or families, or ethnic groups. The people involved can say anything to the others without offense being taken, even where the language would normally be considered abusive. See, e.g., Dr. MacIaud, "La Basse-Casamance et ses habitants," Bulletin de la Société de Géographie commerciale de Paris, 3 (1907), 79.


20 L.-V. Thomas, Le Diola: Essai d'analyse fonctionnelle sur une population de Basse-Casamance, II (Dakar, 1959), 491.

21 Ibid., 490-491.


L.-V. Thomas has described a wider spectrum of Diola groupings: the great clan, the nominal clan, the extended lineage, the restricted lineage, divided into a large family under a patriarch, and the conjugal family. See, L.-V. Thomas, "Le Diola en Basse-Casamance," Afrique Documents, 51 (1960), 76-77.

"Rapport de M. Bertrand Bocar de, résident à Carabane, sur un voyage au pays de Kion," 10 April 1850, 2-3, ANS, 1623.

Information for the section on the Balante, Banjars, and Bainounk has been taken from various documents in the ANS. For published works on those groups, see, for example: L.-J.E. Béranger-Feraud, Les Pouplades de la Sénégal (Paris, 1879), 295 et passim; Dr. Aug. Lassnet, Aug. Chevalier, A. Cligny, Pierre Rannard, Une mission au Sénégal: ethnographie, botanique, zoologie, géologie (Paris, 1900), 7, 173, et passim; Dr. Maciaulx, "La Basse-Casamance et ses habitants," Bulletin de la Société de Géographie commerciale de Paris, 3 (1907), 176 et passim.


Koli Tongoula founded the pagan Peul Denianké dynasty in 1515, in the area of the Fouta Toro which had formerly been controlled by the Empire of Tekrur.

Soundiata ruled over the Empire of Mali roughly between 1230 and 1255. During his reign, Mali expanded to include the Gambian region. Teriakou was one of his lieutenants charged with conquering the Wolof state of Sine. For myth, see Diagne, "Contribution à l'étude des coutumes des Balantes de Sedhiou," Outre-Mer, Revue générale de colonisation (Mars 1933), 18-19.

The Diolas were generally described in the "ethnographic present" tense. Since contact with the Mandingues and conversion to Islam, some Diola habits have been altered, or Mandingued, but the basic outlines of Diola society remain stable. The main changes have been outward ones: peanut-growing, style of dress and architecture. Thus, it has seemed advisable to use the present tense for both historical, descriptive and present analyses. The Salantes, however, virtually do not exist any longer as a group, separate and identifiable. Use of the past tense has seemed advisable in describing them.

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Dietrich Westermann and M. A. Bryan, Handbook of African Languages, Languages of West Africa, II (London, 1952); for general studies of the West African Fulfulde-speaking groups, see, for example, Derrick J. Stemming, Savannah Nomads: A Study of the Wodaabe Pastoral Fulani of Western Bornu Province, Northern Region, Nigeria (London, 1959), and Louis Tauxier, Moeurs et histoire des Peuls (Paris, 1937).

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Dianna Ba and N'Diama derive from the Arabic "Jamma," or community of the faithful; Karantaba comes from the Arabic word for book; Dassilame comes from the Arabic "dar es-Salaam," meaning abode of peace.

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Almami derives from the Arabic "al-imam," meaning religious leader of prayers. Alcati has both Portuguese and Arabic derivations, coming both from the Arabic "qadi" (judge), and from the Portuguese "alcáide" meaning chief, as in mayor of a town.

42

The Prophet's birthday, or Ma'lud in Senegal, is one of the most important Muslim holy days in West Africa. Ramadan is the holy month
of daily fasting which celebrates the period when Allah gave the Koran to Mohammed, the Prophet. Ramadan is terminated by the feast of Korité which celebrates the end of the month, a date (as with all the others) which is determined by lunar observation. Tabaski is the feast of the lambs, traditionally a harvest feast of thanksgiving.

West African Islam is generally part of the Sufi sect of Islam (mystical Islam). Brotherhoods have played an important part in the political, social and doctrinal history of West African Islam. With the brotherhoods have come the cult of saints wherein the individual al-mamy, marabout, or brotherhood leader is credited with enormous sanctity (baraka) and generally exerts political influence as a result of this reputation for piety.

In the 12th century, the first organized Sufi order, or brotherhood, the Qadiriyya, was introduced into Mauritania. Its founder, Abdul Qader al-Gilami, was a North African who died ca. 1166. One major difference between the Qadiriyya and Tijaniyya brotherhoods is in the length of their chains of initiation, taking them back to the founder. Among the Qadiriyya, a lengthier chain is better and holier, whereas among the Tijaniyya, the most direct and shortest link to the founder is far preferable. The Tijaniyya order was founded in the late 18th century by Ahmad al-Tijani, who was born ca. 1737-8. He began the order after a divine revelation in about 1781-2, and died in Fez, where he had launched the brotherhood in 1715. See, Jamil M. Abun-Nasr, The Tijaniyya: A Sufi Order in the Modern World (London, 1965).

For works on the Peuls, see those cited above, by Paul Marty and André Arcin. See, also: G. Vieillard, Notes sur les coutumes des Peuls du Fouta Djallon (Paris, 1939).

Paul Pelissier has collected a tradition which claims that the Peuls of Fouladou arrived 334 years before Alfa Kolo's revolt. Paul Pelissier, Les Paysans du Sénégal: les civilisation arrières du Cayor à la Casamance (St. Yrieix, 1956), 515.

In Mandingue, Fouladou means "land of the Peuls."


The problem of distinguishing between the Peuls and the Toucouleurs is an old one which has been much debated and discussed. The Toucouleurs seem, generally, to have resulted from a sedentarization and to have ruled the Empire of Tekrur. Basically, their social structure and language are those of the Peuls. For different viewpoints on the prob-
sehen, see, inter alia, Maurice Dals fosse, Haut-Sénégal-Niger (Paris, 1912), and Raymond Hamy, Tableau géographique de l'Ouest Africain au Moyen Age d'après les sources écrites, la tradition et l'archéologie (Dakar, 1961).

Personal interview, El Hadji Koussa Hana, Senoba, department of Sedhiou; Toucouleur marabout and Koranic school leader.
THE BACKGROUND TO CONFLICT AND CONVERSION
(Interactions between European Colonialism and African Commerce)

Throughout most of West Africa, the 19th century was a time of two major events: the revival of Islam, and the arrival of European colonialism. The history of the Casamance in the 19th century is, on the one hand, that of the interaction between these two great events. The religious movements which took place in nearby areas of Guinea, Senegal, Mali and the Gambia set in motion a series of changes, wars, and migrations which directly affected the people of the Casamance. The introduction of European commercial and administrative elements throughout the region provoked changes in traditional ways of life, in trade as in politics. 19th century Casamance history is, on the other hand, one of strictly internal events -- taking place within and between different ethnic groups. Islam and European colonialism were the catalysts of great upheaval in the Casamance. At the same time, their representatives were the agents of change. Both forces came into the Casamance as external elements. The internalization of the changes they provoked necessitated adaptation to new forms of life, or resistance to them.

In the 19th century, the renewed Islamic vigor of the Muslims in Saloum, Fouta Toro, and Fouta Djallon manifested itself in a militant form in the Casamance. The traditional struggles for power between the Muslims and pagans in the Gambian riverine states resulted in a similarly militant form of Islam throughout the course of the 19th century. Contact with these regions and emigrations of groups from there spread conflict within
the Casamance. Events in these regions launched movements of peoples that set off a chain reaction of internal migrations, searches for land, and encounters of different ways of life. These struggles, peripheral to the Casamance, nevertheless formed an integral part of the history of the Casamance.

The impact of these various forces forms the basis for understanding the subsequent interactions between the many peoples and events in Casamance history. The developments which took place at several levels are essential to such an understanding, notably the interaction between the Africans and the Europeans, between the various groups in the Casamance themselves, and between the several Casamance groups and other groups neighboring the Casamance region.

This section sets forth the major events which resulted from the impact of external factors: French military, administrative, and commercial penetration, and Muslim revival movements in regions contiguous to and ethnically related to the Casamance. The first half of the section deals with the European presence and its impact on the societies concerned. The second half attempts to view events from the African optic -- Muslim resurgences, wars of opposition to the Europeans, and the misdeeds of North Senegalese administrative elements. The interaction between the many peoples, places and events in this section presents a complex tableau of interdependent forces, without any central figure or movement. These forces coalesced to help provide the major politico-religious leaders of the century -- Fodé Kaba and Mousse Nolo, and contributed to eventual integration of the external elements which had been introduced into the Casamance societies.
European interest in the Casamance remained limited for several centuries after the Europeans first discovered the river in 1446. The same statement applies equally well to the French who launched a movement of colonization, only to abandon the area largely to its own resources until early in the 20th century.

Since 1645, the Portuguese had had a settlement at Ziguinchor upstream about thirty miles from the mouth of the Casamance River, but its influence on the inhabitants of the south bank of the river was minimal and on the north bank Diolas, virtually non-existent. The Portuguese set up several minor customs houses in the Casamance in an attempt to control the wax and rubber trades. They never had enough personnel or interest in the Casamance region to be able to establish themselves firmly. Ziguinchor, the Portuguese headquarters in the Casamance, was located among the particularly fragmented, decentralized groups of Balantes and Bayottes who engaged in little commercial activity. Portuguese slave raids in the early years of their settlement had caused great fear among the neighboring groups, who consequently avoided the Portuguese. Portugal's main interest in the general region became centered on the more southern areas: Rio Cacheo and on the area which subsequently became Portuguese Guinea. Portuguese influence remained southward-oriented, although the Portuguese did not cede Ziguinchor in the Casamance to the French until 1856. In the two centuries of their occupation, the Portuguese were never able to succeed in diverting trade from well-established routes along the Gambia river, or after 1857, from the French post of Sédhiou further up the river.
The Diolas of both banks of the Casamance River were the first Casamance group to come into prolonged contact with the Europeans. For the Diolas of the north bank, their geographical location had long kept them isolated from other groups. Their economic self-sufficiency had traditionally militated against the need for contact with other groups. Except in those Diola-inhabited areas near the Gambia river or in the few large villages where Muslim diolas had settled, each Diola group generally remained as separated from the other Diola groups as from non-Diola groups. The arrival of the Europeans changed this situation.

Events of the 19th century worked a revolution in Diola habits and practices. During the 19th century, the Diolas were subjected to four external stimuli: immigrants from the south bank of the river; European traders or colonial administrators; north Senegalese colonial personnel; and militant Mandingue jihad leaders. The politico-religious revolution which began in Fouta Djallon in the 18th century had as one by-product the emigration of many families or villages away from the Fouta and into Gabou or Voyi, two Mandingue states lying between Fouta Djallon and Fouladou in the upper Casamance, in what is now Portuguese Guinea. This set off a series of chain reactions of movement and wars; some groups left Gabou for Fouladou or Souma-Balmaou; others, particularly from Voyi, moved northwards into the Cassa (Qassouye) region, often forcing the Flows of this region to move north across the Casamance River. This series of incursions impinged on the Diolas of the north bank.

Bounded as they were on the west by the Atlantic Ocean, the Diolas of the north bank were forced to undertake expansion eastward, towards and later across the Songrougou River into Eincunk- or Mandingus-controlled territories. In later years, other Diola groups living along the
Songrougou crossed back over the Casamance River to settle in villages of Balantacunda, the Balante territory east of Ziguinchor and running along the river, thus relocating themselves outside their traditional areas.

(see map, p.14.)

These emigrations from the south east coincided with Mandingue expansion westward into Yacine and along the Songrougou River between the 1840’s and the 1860’s. The Bainounk and Soninké inhabitants of these territories were for the most part either absorbed by the conquering Diolas or invading Mandingues, or were lost in battle. The result of this dual simultaneous invasion was a chronic state of warfare in the Songrougou valley involving slave-raiding and disputes over fields, and finally culminating in religious warfare.

The third factor causing fundamental change among the Diolas was the European presence. The arrival of the European colonials caused several basic changes in the historical processes at work in the region. The Casamance societies affected had virtually run out of possibilities for expansion. Concrete spatial limitations were imposed on these societies by virtue of natural boundaries or uninhabitable lands. Unable to flee, many Diolas submitted to contact.

With European colonialism came a money economy of exchange, new religious concepts, and, most importantly, new rulers. The money economy broke up the traditional village economic unit, while the new religious concepts challenged indigenous religions. Certainly initial French interest in the Casamance was largely commercial and French motives economic rather than territorial. Nevertheless, by their presence and policies, the French substantially affected the course of history in the Casamance. The French had a settlement at St. Louis dating from 1626, but it was not until
1627 that a French company signed a treaty with any inhabitants of the Casamance. Since the 17th century when the French obtained control of the island of Boular in the Bissagos, France had had trade links between St. Louis and the Casamance and Bissao, which formed points of contact.

France, however, was not the only country interested in control of the Casamance River trade. From 1645 the Portuguese possessed trade centers at Ziguinchor on the Casamance, and at Farin on Rio Cacheo. French interest, however, remained limited even after Le Brasseur, the Governor of Gorée, had landed at Carabane, an island at the mouth of the Casamance River and had written in 1773 of its excellent possibilities for trade in wax, ivory, slaves and rice. Le Brasseur recommended establishment of a factory at the mouth of either the Casamance or of the Saloum rivers. Blanchot, the Governor of Gorée in 1800, repeated this recommendation, opting for the Casamance. Finally in 1626, Baron Roger, Governor of the colony from 1622 to 1627, visited the region, following up both the earlier recommendations and a request made in 1620 by Gorée traders. He reported back that the Portuguese opposed French establishments, but also pointed out that the country around Carabane seemed to be rich in rice, wax, skins, ivory and even some gold. He suggested that France make an experimental establishment and send one mulatto, two Africans, and one canoe, and that she pay for the rental of a hut for one year.

Subsequent to Le Brasseur's suggestions, Jean-Clement-Victor Dangles was named resident of Carabane in 1627, and was sent off to visit the region and to negotiate with both the Portuguese at Ziguinchor and with the Africans at Diembereng and Itou, two important neighboring villages off the mainland of Carabane. Dangles died in 1623 on his second trip to
the Casamance. But, by the treaties he had signed with the chiefs of Diembereng and Itou, he had launched French occupation of the Casamance. While several minor decisions were made affecting personnel and money to the Casamance, relations were not seriously resumed until 1836.

From 1836 France demonstrated a more serious commercial interest in the Casamance. In 1836 the société privilégiée of Galam was reorganized. Originally founded in 1824 for trade on the upper Senegal river, its charter had expired in 1832. The Ministry of the Marine granted permission to this company, whose members were the principal traders of Gorée and St. Louis, for a renewal of its charter. As this permission was conditional on the establishment in the Casamance river of a commercial outpost floating the French flag and protected by a military post, the Ministry of the Marine withheld authorizing the Governor of Senegal to act until accord was made with the Foreign Affairs Ministry about the possible consequences to Franco-English and Franco-Portuguese relations. When research turned up a memoir dating from the reign of Louis XIV and giving France all coastal rights from Cap Blanc to the Sierra Leone River, France gave the governor permission to proceed.

In March 1837, then France paid 1000 francs to Bodhian Danfa, the Mandingue king of Boudhie and to the notables of Sedhiou for a piece of land 250 meters long and 100 meters deep. A year later, in April 1838, the French signed a treaty with the king and inhabitants of Boudhie, specifying the annual customs payments the king and other local leaders would receive. Interestingly, this treaty was signed only after the French representative, Dagorne, had ascertained for himself that the country abounded in wax, rice, millet and cotton, and that the villages were in continual contact with caravans passing into the Gambia.
Commercial and economic interests remained the largest considerations in this venture.

Although maintaining its official policy of strict commercialism, the French government of Senegal was gradually drawn deeper into the Casamance and into more widespread contact with the local inhabitants.

By the treaties signed in 1827 and 1837 with the local leaders at Carabane and Sodhiou, France had committed herself to serious exploitation of the Casamance region. England and Portugal slowly and reluctantly conceded to France control over riverine traffic, but only after several disputes had taken place between British and French boats on the river. With Portugal, incidents of confrontation were more frequent, if less menacing to France's control, until 1886 when Portugal abandoned her Casamance trade and installations to the French.

The African populations bore less willingly to French control than did the British or Portuguese. The Diolas waged virtually continuous small-scale wars against the French until the early 20th century.

The decentralized nature of Diola politics meant that every village had to be pacified individually and that no region submitted in its entirety to French treaties. No one person was sufficiently authoritative or responsible to commit any group larger than a village to contractual obligations. Frequently treaties signed one year were revoked the next by the Diolas, who did not consider themselves bound by the acquiescence of their chief. Such geographical factors in the Lower Casamance as the thick forests and many swamps discouraged both French colonial and Kandingu religious penetration. Constant pressures were nevertheless exerted on the Diolas by one or another external element from the Gambia in the north, the
Songrougou in the east, and from the south by the French on the Casamance River and its tributaries.

Once France had built a post at Sedhiou, it became progressively more clear that commerce could not be separated from politics. Officially, the administrative posture remained one of non-involvement except when French commercial interests were threatened directly. In practice, however, this principle was loosely applied. As the French viewed it, commerce was a broad concept, extended to cover regions and events only peripherally associated with French commercial interests. The French did not establish an administrative post in the Diola regions of the north bank of the Casamance River until 1894 when the military post of Bignona was set up, and not until 1901 on the southern bank with the creation of an administrative post at Oussouye. They did nevertheless expend considerable energy, manpower and money in attempts to gain suzerainty over at least the riverine Diola villages and important inland trading centers.

In the lower Casamance, among the Biolas, France began the process of colonial conquest peacefully, although later conquests necessitated the use of force. The early treaties were signed in 1827 and 1828 without prior military intervention. Before the 1860's France acquired possession of the several points in the lower Casamance from which subsequent penetration took place. After the original treaty with the Floups at Carabane in 1826, French activity there had ceased. The acquisition of Sedhiou necessitated control of the lands along the river and of Carabane in the mouth of the Casamance. On January 22, 1836, the island of Carabane became a French possession; in 1837, the French acquired the point north of Dienbereng, following this up in 1839 with the acquisition of the southern point of Djogue island. Activities were re-
suceed in 1351 and 1352 when France acquired first the Dioguo islands and then the coastal lands between the Casamance River and Cap Roxo in the south. In the 1350's the French also obtained suzerainty rights over several large villages: in 1351, Cagnut and Sentaile; Cap Roxo in 1352 and Thionk in 1353. (see map, p. xiii). The years 1360 and 1361 were years of armed intervention by which France obtained treaties giving her rights of suzerainty over many key villages in the Lower Casamance. Under the energetic direction of Pinet-Laprade, later governor of Senegal from 1965 to 1369, a French column of some eight hundred men attacked the two large Diola villages of Caronne and Thionk. 18 With this incident serving as an example of their strength and determination, France won treaties from many smaller villages. By the end of 1361, France could claim suzerainty over all the villages on both sides of the river between Carabane and Sedhiou. 19

The Diolas repeatedly violated their treaty agreements, probably refusing to admit contractual responsibilities undertaken by others on their behalf. The French launched numerous punitive expeditions against the Diolas, in some cases because of Diola pillages of stranded French ships (Kochikuane in 1355; Diembereang in 1377), in others because of Diola refusals to pay taxes (Diakene and Cagnout in 1369), and in others, because of the assassination of a European official (Lieutenant Truce in 1336, and the customs officer in 1317 at Selmik). 20

Only when diplomatic accord were reached settling the status of the Casamance did the French concern themselves seriously with the Casamance. Until then, contact was intermittent and policies uncoordinated. But Portugal's cession of Ziguinchor and her renunciation of other claims on the river marked the completion of treaties giving France recognized
international control over the river. Although the treaty for this was signed in 1886, France did not effectively occupy Ziguinchor until 1888, and Ziguinchor only became an administrative post in 1912.

From the 17th century until the last decades of the 19th century when the "scramble" for territorial partition took place, it was not actually the French government but private government-chartered trading companies who explored and developed the Senegalese coast and rivers. The northern Diola border with the English in Gambia was agreed upon in 1898-99, after prior agreements of 1857 and 1889. Until 1857 the French had maintained a factory at Albreda in the Gambia River, a valuable outlet for goods coming from the interior and one to which the French had rights by their treaty of 1783 with England. But the cession to England of French rights over Albreda terminated this control in 1857, and forced France to turn her official attention further south, away from the Gambia river, to the Casamance River. The southern Diola border with the Portuguese in Guinea was laid out in 1986, after previous accords had been made in 1886 and 1888. The settlement of these borders was the final international recognition of French technical control of the region.

French administration of the entire Casamance was a product of ad hoc decisions throughout the 19th century. The government at St. Louis and Gorée displayed little interest in Casamance affairs, which evidently occupied a low position on the hierarchy of official concern. Military penetration was never consistently or vigorously pursued. Administrative personnel were neither high quality nor long-term, as secondments to the Casamance were frequently punitive or corrective. Administrative and political pressures in the north forced French concentration of efforts
there, to the detriment of the Casamance. Development of the Casamance was left to private or state-chartered trading companies, while official activity remained in a supervisory and protective capacity. Not all parts of the Casamance had the same experience with the Europeans.

French Administrative Policies:

The French pursued a different colonial policy in the Middle Casamance than the one they had adopted for the Lower Casamance. They did not attempt to make treaties with individual villages, and confined their activities to purely commercial areas from their headquarters at Sedhiou. Sedhiou remained for a long time the only focal point of French interest in and commitment to the Middle Casamance. Sedhiou was uniquely a trading post and French commercial interests were predominant. Until the 1870's, the only military undertakings in which the French involved themselves were directed at riverine villages where insurrections or opposition could harm French trade. Colonization of the Middle and Upper Casamance differed from that of the Lower Casamance where the French had attempted systematically to make contact with the various villages and to sign individual treaties with each one. The Upper Casamance was ceded intact to France in 1933. After gaining independence from the Mandingues towards 1807, the Feuls of the Upper Casamance entered directly into relations with the French, thus bringing the whole area under French control in one movement. There existed among the Mandingue population of the Middle Casamance regional entities and regional councils with which the French could deal. The Mandingues did not enter voluntarily into colonial agreements, and the effective power of the regions was so limited as to be inefficacious.
Nevertheless, French policy here too was unlike that towards the Diolas and the experiences of contact quite dissimilar.

These differences of colonial penetration patterns resulted from several factors. First, the Diolas of the Lower Casamance belonged to such a decentralized acephalous civilization that only piece-meal pacification could be effective. Piece-meal pacification required constant surveillance and renewal of contacts, as the Diolas rarely honored a treaty for any length of time. Among the Kandingues there existed at least a quasi-effective regional organization which provided agents with whom the French could deal as representatives of fairly widespread groups.

Diplomatic affairs were simple only in the Peul region of Fouladou. There the political organization of Fouladou meant that the whole territory could ally itself with the French in its entirety. Before the creation of this independent Peul state, the French had no contact with Fouladou. Even central authority in Fouladou, however, was not as effective as it seemed and Fouladou was not a unified homogeneous bloc at the time of its first treaty with France (1883). The revolts against or opposition to central authority which dissident factions led against Alfa or Moussa Molo demonstrated the fragile unity of Fouladou. The territorial claims which Fouta Djallon leaders made on several Fouladou provinces also indicated that the component parts of Fouladou were not effectively subject to a central political authority. Alliance with the French was particularly useful from the viewpoint of the leaders in Fouladou who used the French power to consolidate their state.

Geography was both a factor contributing to traditional social and political organization and an element determining the ease of contact for the French. In the Lower Casamance, most important villages were accessible
by water traffic. They were also usually small villages. In the Middle and Upper Casamance, however, villages were neither easily accessible by water nor as small. The trade routes were, however, visible since large villages lined the routes, usually at an important terminus based on access by water. Trade networks also provided a visible hierarchy of authority or power with which the French could deal.

In the Lower Casamance, however, unable to find indigenous chiefs whom the Diolas would obey and follow, the French resorted to appointing official chiefs to serve in each village alongside the traditional chief, and to creating regional entities under the direction of French-appointed civil servants who acted as chief over the artificial regions (cantons: chefs de canton). Again, the same policy was not applied to the Mandingue and Peul regions. In Fouladou, there was an intact provincial structure with governors appointed by the king. Among the Mandingues, there were several villages or families or persons on whom tradition had bestowed leadership. Normally these were Muslim religious figures combining the religious and secular in the execution of their responsibilities. Their accord with the French was crucial to French installation.

At their administrative and commercial headquarters, however, the French adopted a different policy. Sesshou was a town which had grown up because of the French installation there. After the cession of territory to France in 1337, the French built a fort which became a place of refuge and protection for many non-indigenous elements.

In 1343, almost immediately after the French arrival, the Soninke Mandingues from whom the French had acquired the land at Sesshou, were driven out by the Muslim Mandingues and the pagan Balantes. In Foulahie, the region in which Sesshou lay, was rapidly depopulated by Muslim Mandingues.
from Souma and Yacine, who were jealous of the prosperity Bouchie seemed to enjoy as a result of the initial sale of land at Sedhiou and the subsequent annual customs payments. For the next two decades, the French followed a policy of trying systematically to repopulate Bouchie, at first with the defeated Soninkes and after 1950 with the Sarrakoles. The Soninkes refused to return, fearing the Mandingues, even after the French had attempted to guarantee their safety by entering into a new treaty on 4 February 1950. One administrator who had witnessed the shift of ethnic domination wrote:

The marabouts of the region together with those of Fouta Djallon have taken over the country and today the Soninkes have no power. A large number were exterminated, and the few survivors have recognized the marabouts' control. . . . In brief, it has been a complete revolution in favor of the marabouts.

In an attempt to restore order and to create a hierarchy of leadership in the region, the French appointed a Mandingue marabout as chief of Sedhiou in 1849. This chief, Doura, had originally come to Sedhiou to preach and to convert the Soninkes to Islam. After the French arrival, he managed to make himself seem indispensable to their commerce and administration by serving as intermediary between the Africans and the French. In a treaty signed 13 March 1849, in recognition of his usefulness and loyalty to the French, Doura was officially appointed chief of Sedhiou. During his rule, which ended with his death from cholera in 1864, Doura gained increasing personal power.

One of Doura's first misuses of power took place between 1849 and 1850. While the French were actively trying to recruit Sarrakole groups to repopulate the village of Bouchie which had been 'villaged' by the Falantes or destroyed by the French, Doura engaged in imposing arbitrary
taxes on the Sarakoles who wanted to settle in this province. The re-
settlement of foreigners was part of a conscious French policy to create
a population ruled by French laws and amenable to French orders, and to
guarantee their loyalty in case of attack.\textsuperscript{32} Boura also exploited his
official role as chief by selling land to French traders in Sedhiou and by
taxing the village of Dagorne, an African village near Sedhiou, which was
founded in 1840 under the protection of the French fort to accommodate freed
black soldiers. There were other non-indigenous villages, for Tomas,
Mandingos, and Sarakoles, and inhabited by peoples coming from coastal
regions between Sierra Leone and the Senegal River.\textsuperscript{33} As a result of
Doura's taxation, the inhabitants deserted Dagorne in favor of establishing
themselves in the interior villages, where the chiefs gave them land and
required help only in defending the villages.\textsuperscript{34}

Despite his actions inimicable to French interest, other factors
forced the French to keep Doura as chief. The continued opposition of the
surrounding Mandingue population obliged the French at Sedhiou to maintain
Doura in his role of mediator. In 1859, the Commandant of Sedhiou was
belatedly instructed to tell Doura that he had no legal rights to sell
land or to collect any taxes from anyone and, further, that France had only
agreed to protect him and to give him cultivating rights in Boudhie.\textsuperscript{35}
This same letter admitted that Doura's influence was particularly annoying
because it had been illegally acquired. The writer of the letter expressed
confidence that Doura's influence could be limited to serve French purposes.\textsuperscript{36}
In 1862, however, Doura's importance to the French was reemphasized when
they recommended he be made sole chief for the region of Boudhie.\textsuperscript{37} Doura's
death in 1864 was followed by a period of long and active conflicts between
the French and the Mandingues, conflicts largely engendered and directed by
Doura's son, Sounkary, who profited from latent opposition to the French. Among the inhabitants of the Middle Casamance — the Mandingues and Balantes — there existed much hostility to the French. The French had begun their occupation on a sour note when the commandant of Sedhiou had opened war on the pagan Soninke's who had opposed the French settlement. This war destroyed their villages and forced them out of Boudhie. The commandant replaced these pagan Soninkes with Muslim Mandingues, especially Doura and his entourage. Although the governor of Senegal repudiated this action and recalled the commandant, the Soninkes would not return to Boudhie even after a treaty of 4 February 1850 had officially declared the Soninkes to be under French protection. The French were not, however, in a position to offer security even to their own traders. In 1850 a French trading post at Kendina in Pakao was pillaged. In 1855, several Mandingue villages united to attack the boats of French traders and declared that the river above Sedhiou belonged to them and that they had the right to collect taxes on its users. At the same time, the Balantes were pillaging Mandingues, Peuls and French representatives on the southern side of the river. The French had neither sufficient men nor material to repress the Balantes. Their time and energies were completely occupied on the north bank with efforts at protecting their fort, traders, and position from Mandingue attacks.

Although much of the French policy in the Middle Casamance was predicated on commercial profits at Sedhiou, the rewards were meager. The Company of Salee had chosen Sedhiou in 1837 because of the apparent wealth of wax, rice, millet and cotton in the area, and because Pakao and Sedhiou
lay on the axis of caravan trade routes to Gambia and Farim. Until the 1970's, commerce at Sedhiou did not fulfill its promise or French expectations. One reason for this was that the French at Sedhiou paid lower prices, and charged higher ones than the competitive markets at Farim and Bathurst. At Sedhiou, there was only one commercial enterprise, and traders found it more profitable to travel longer distances and deal in a competitive market, than to use a closer market but have less profit.

A second reason for the slow development of Sedhiou's importance was the general political insecurity and economic instability reigning in the region around Sedhiou and along the Casamance River. Neither factor can be singled out as the first cause. The political insecurity and economic instability probably interacted on each other. Unfortunately, this situation continued until the first decade of the 20th century, when the death of the marabout Fode Kaba in 1901 and the emigration of Fouladou's king, Moussa Kolo to the Gambia in 1903 allowed the Casamance people to resume a more normal way of life. Until then, trade routes and agricultural harvests were threatened almost annually by holy wars, pillaging, raiding, and disputes over land. Neither French commerce nor French administrators could claim to have been very successful at this point in their endeavours. Conditions prior to the French arrival on the Casamance commercial scene militated against easy victory for the French.

French Commercial Policies:

To a certain extent, the many dislocations which beset the Casamance throughout the 19th century stemmed from changes in the patterns of trade routes and products. Before the arrival of the Europeans, Casamian
across the Casamance River from Sedhiou had been on the axis of trade routes connecting the Senegal River with Farim and the Fouta Djallon with the Gambia. The changes provoked in all of these areas by the European intrusion as well as by internal political events resulted in the stagnation or dwindling of trade across Sedhiou. Increasingly, long-distance trade routes were interrupted. Competition for control of trade began to replace cooperation in the smooth trans-territorial process. After 1815, the decline in the previously lucrative and monopolistic slave trade seriously altered trade conditions in the region, causing a falling-off of trade, which was worsened by the European colonial arrival and local wars.

The diminution of trade represented both a cause and a result of social change in the Casamance. Traditionally trade had followed both a north-south and an east-west direction, in the former case between the three major rivers — the Gambia, the Casamance, and the Cacheo, and in the latter across the various regions lying between the hinterland point of origin. Events in the last decades of the 19th century forced a shift in these routes. This shift resulted from the end of the slave trade and from the instability produced by constant warfare in the Middle and Upper Casamance regions, as well as along both banks of the Gambia. The French market at Sedhiou did not offer serious competition to the British or Portuguese. Despite French efforts to siphon off a part of the market, the caravans generally bypassed Sedhiou and the Upper Casamance in favor of more stable, peaceful regions, and of a greater return on their goods.

The social, economic and political upheavals which characterize the history of the Casamance in the 19th century are intimately connected in a cause-and-effect chain. The French chose Sedhiou because of its commercial importance. Their installation there, however, tended to turn
caravans onto new and different routes which avoided Sedhiou. The revolution in the Fouta Djallon set off a chain of migrations which affected both the political and economic organization of the region. It is not possible to decide whether the economic triggered the political changes or vice-versa. What is certain is that the volume of trade declined after the French arrival. What is equally certain is that great numbers of new inhabitants came into the Casamance at this time and sought to obtain land, whether peacefully or militarily, and that this competition for lands upset the political balance of the country, while the disruption of normal activities caused a decline in production, and, consequently, of commerce.

The French had deliberately chosen Sedhiou as the point for their establishment in conjunction with the state-chartered Société privilégiée of Galam since it was the site through which all Gambian-bound caravans passed. The French were interested in two kinds of commerce in the Casamance—agricultural produce and slaves. The produce included wax, rice, millet, cotton, ivory and ostrich feathers. The slaves were bought by the French at Sedhiou and Carabane with official approval at least until 1846 when pressures from the British in Gambia forced a halt. Slaves were sent to Gorée or North Senegal where the French incorporated them into their military force, or apprenticed them to tradesmen. Although its volume was reduced, the slave trade continued to be a profitable business for the Africans in the Gambian and Casamance regions, despite European attempts to outlaw slave boats on the seas. Until 1902 Carabane served as a market center for slave-trading. Until 1897 Diembereng on the south bank was another center of slave-trading for the Diolas of Fogny on the north bank, who received cloth, rice or cattle in exchange. Most slaves were sent into the interior for sale there after the British abolition act of
Slave-trading was an omnipresent phenomenon throughout the 19th century, whether under the guise of holy wars or with a frank admission of profit. The French at Sedhiou and Carabane earned the enmity of the Diola or Mandingue populations by providing shelter to runaway slaves. This policy too was one reason that caravans began avoiding Sedhiou. Slave-trading also upset the balance of power in the Casamance. As slaves were a form of negotiable currency, the demand for them became greater and greater with the increased availability of goods at the British, Portuguese and French trading posts. The quest for slaves became concomitantly greater and more widespread, contributing further to the political chaos of the region.

Before the 19th century, trade patterns in the Casamance seem to have been well-defined and smoothly functioning. Although there were dioula scattered throughout the region, along major trade routes and in offshoots of these, inter-ethnic contact between Casamance groups seems to have been minimal. These dioula probably served as brokers, thus making inter-ethnic contact unnecessary. Particularly between the dioula and Mandingues there was a reduplication of marketable items, both groups having generally the same products for sale. The dioula among them fulfilled the function of middlemen which the Gambian Mandingues had earlier performed, particularly during the era of the slave trade. Internal Casamance trade routes followed vertical lines, between the Mandingues along the Gambia River and the Portuguese on the Rio Cacheo. The main impact of trade, then was on the border villages or on villages situated along
streams connected with the two main waterways.

The long distance trade routes from the southeast, coming from Fouta Djallon and Gabou, cut across regional or ethnic boundaries to transport their goods — skins, wax, gold, cotton, etc. The dicumal established along this route acted as middlemen between the local population and the caravans for any transactions that were made between the two termini of the caravan route.

French policy aimed at diverting the trade from these established routes leading to the Gambia or Farim and to concentrating trade at Sedhiou. This they failed to do. Part of the reason for this failure lies in the different prices of commercial houses at Bathurst, Sedhiou and Farim. Another factor played an important role: the British laissez-faire attitude towards commerce. Only in rare instances or late in the 19th century did the British sign commercial treaties with the riverine peoples, leaving the British traders to arrange for themselves relationships between them and the various chiefs. By attempting to control and dominate the commercial process, the French earned the opposition and enmity of local populations who wanted no middleman or competitor in their businesses. Although the French attempts to relocate trade routes failed, they did effect trade by the introduction of a new marketable crop.

When the French introduced this new crop, peanuts, into the situation, they further altered the traditional trading patterns. Towards 1850 they launched and encouraged the cultivation of peanuts in the Casamance, thus beginning there, as in North Senegal, the monoculture on which the Senegalese economy has since been based. Peanut cultivation prompted a major revolution in the Casamance, changing cultivation patterns from subsistence cultivation of rice and millet to the very saleable crop, peanuts.
Cultivation of this crop in turn brought into the Casamance hinterland groups who came to work during the harvest period. Many of these groups, particularly the Sarakolle, settled permanently near European establishments contributing to both the ethnic variety of the Casamance and to the dispersion of Muslims. Concentration of agricultural strength on this saleable product often meant that the African farmer was more dependent on traders to buy or exchange the basic foodstuffs whose cultivation had been abandoned in favor of the marketable peanut.

The French followed a vacillating policy toward internal trade in the Casamance, opposing on the one hand the inter-African wars which impeded their commercial development, and, on the other hand, offering trade facilities to the warring parties so as to prevent the British or Portuguese traders from profiting. Only on 10 April 1886 did the French government of Senegal forbid the sale of war materials throughout the colony. This interdict was not forcefully applied, for the French fully realized that ammunition and weapons could easily be obtained from the Portuguese and British traders, preventing the French from receiving the benefits and leaving them uniquely with the trouble.

Wars between the African states contributed to the decline in trade since caravan leaders directed their groups away from areas of potential pillaging or non-payment. One of the early examples of this took place in 1860 when a war between Gobou and populations of the interior drove the caravans away from the French factories which they normally frequented and into the Portuguese factories at Rio Nuhez and Rio Fongo. Gambian commerce also declined in proportion to the degree of political stability prevailing in the riverine states. Poké Kabè's wars interrupted trade, but Moussa N'Diaye's wars affected trade even more adversely since they
attacked the trade almost at the hinterland source of the caravans, and since Fouladou was the crossroads for many caravans.

The king of the Peul state of Fouladou contributed much than to the setback in Casamance trade with external regions. Moussa Molo's activities in the Senegambian region, particularly disrupted trade, and harmed the French commerce in two ways. The chaos which characterized parts of his reign and the many wars he waged for control and consolidation of his territories forced many caravans from Mali and Bondou to circle around the eastern fringes of his lands and trade at Farim instead of crossing Moussa's territories to trade at Sedhiou.\(^56\) The states of Fouladou tended, moreover, not to trade with the French but to profit from the easily accessible river trade down the Gambia. The dioulass established in Fouladou bought the produce and sold it in the Gambia; most of the ivory from Fouladou was sold at Farim, not Sedhiou.\(^57\) Although the French had hoped for much trade with Fouladou when they originally made it a protectorate, even after Moussa's abdication of power in Fouladou, the French did little trading in the region. The northern Fouladou provinces traded in the Gambia and the southern groups with Portuguese Guinea, in both cases at the same prices as (or better than) those paid at Sedhiou, and with equal if not superior purchasing power.\(^58\)

The completion of a road between Marsassoum and Bignona aroused great French expectations for the expansion of trade in the Casamance. Prior to its completion, one administrator wrote in 1900:

[This road] marks our effective control of the region. And the results will be excellent for trade! Already large caravans are forsaking the Kansala and Bathurst routes in order to patronize our factories at Bignona, Bayla, Manpalago and Selekine.\(^59\)

Nevertheless, trade and revenue from the Casamance remained well below
expectations.

The opening decades of the 20th century brought forth two French policies which specifically worsened the situation in the Casamance. The first policy concerned inductions into the French army during World War I. Many Casamance villagers deserted the region and emigrated to the Gambia to escape recruitment into the Senegalese government's wartime levy, particularly in the last year of the war. The Gambian census went from 147,000 in 1912 to 153,933 in 1915, and in 1918 made a huge jump to 186,633.

The Governor General of the French West African Federation commented in his report on this situation that the increased Gambian population stemmed directly from increased migrations out of French-controlled Senegal and Soudan (present-day Mali), migrations due to the levies of new recruits launched in Senegal, French Guinea and the Soudan. He noted that neither commercial nor agricultural developments had prompted these emigrations.

The second French policy which actively hindered Casamance commercial development was their construction of an elaborate series of customs posts and fees. The Casamance which had traditionally encountered difficulties in trying to compete with British and Portuguese prices, could no longer compete with the neighboring British or Portuguese colonies. This policy also worked to prevent traders and goods from entering the region since the high customs duties diminished profits. There was also another part to this customs system: only specified French trading firms had the right to monopolise the purchase and sale of certain products and merchandise.

The geographical location of the Casamance limited the effectiveness of this customs policy. Those areas such as Kabada and Pata were closer to the Gambia where they could load their goods onto boats for transport to markets. To reach the French posts, long portages were required.
portation to French posts, at Sedhiou or Ziguinchor particularly was not only longer, and more difficult, but also more costly, since several ferry-crossings were involved, and since the French traders offered less remuneration than the British in Gambia.

If the French had little success in seducing trade away from its traditional routes and markets, they had an equally dispiriting experience in attempting to administer the Casamance peoples who were being subjected to much Islamic propaganda and proselytization, or who were participating in a Muslim revival.
In the early years of its settlement, the Portuguese had a flourishing colony at Ziguinchor, but by the 19th century, its colony there was virtually non-existent. See, Capitaine Brasseur-Faidherbe, Casamance et Mellacorla: Pénétration au Soudan (Paris, n.d.), 67 ff.

For the earliest statement of this uniquely commercial bias, see, "Letter from Commandant of Gorée to the new Commandant of Sédhiou, Dagorne, 6 Sept. 1839, ANS, 126360, a": "The goal of our establishment in the Casamance is entirely commercial and the official who commands there must, above all else, believe that everything he does for the advancement of our commerce will be approved as forming part of his mission."

Dangles to Governor, St. Louis, 12 June 1823, AMSSM, III-3; AEFP, Sénégal et Dépendances, t. 34 (for treaty).

See, Brasseur, commissaire et administrateur général des possessions françaises à la côte occidentale d'Afrique, au mois de juin 1778, à Rambouillet, "Détails historiques et politiques sur la religion et les mesures et les mœurs et le commerce des peuples qui habitent la côte occidentale d'Afrique depuis l'Empire de Maroc jusqu'aux rivières de Casamance et de Gambie," à M. le Duc de Penthievre, EEP, Fonds Français, 12020, mss.

Dangles to Governor, St. Louis, 12 June 1823, AMSSM, III-3; Eugène Saulnier, "Les Français en Casamance et dans l'archipel des Bissagos (Mission Dangles, 1823)," RCF (1914), 41-77.

ibid.

ibid.; for treaties, see, AEFP, Mémoires et Documents, t. 34.


For a copy of this treaty (and all others), see, AEFP, Mémoires et Documents, Sénégal et Dépendances, t. 34.

ibid.

ibid.


Britain disputed France over the freedom of trade on the river in 1839, 1840-1, and 1844-5. See, AEFP: Afrique -- Mémoires et Documents, Sénégal et Dépendances, t. 7 and t. 41, no. 5.
Throughout the 19th century, small incidents occurred between Portuguese traders settled in villages along the Casamance and French boats or traders. See, for example, Letter no. 12, to the Commandant of Sedhiou, giving instructions for the expedition in the Upper Casamance, from Gorée, 23 Jan. 1859, ANS, 1235: "Explain to the local chiefs, that our true intentions are to extend as far as possible the dominion of French trade but that we hold it essential that our traders suffer no interference or exactions, and that we will be always on our guard to render justice to those Indigènes whom our traders may have treated unjustly."


See, "Note sommaire sur les droits que nous avons acquis en Casamance par nos différents traités avec les peuplades qui habitent cette rivière," Gorée, 15 Aug. 1863, ANS, 2-D.

See, for example, A. Sabatié, Le Sénégal: sa conquête et son organisation (1864-1925) (St. Louis, n.d.), and L. -.V. Thomas, "Faut-il sauver Karabane?" Notes Africaines, 102 (1964), 33-45.


"Note sommaire sur les droits que nous avons acquis en Casamance par nos différents traités avec les peuplades qui habitent cette rivière," Gorée, 15 Aug. 1863, ANS, 2-D.

For details, see, A. Sabatié, Le Sénégal: sa conquête et son organisation (1864-1925) (St. Louis, n.d.).


Personal communication, William Cohen, Bloomington, Indiana. (author of a work on French administrative personnel in AOF).
See, for example, "Expédition de la Basse-Casamance, par Pinet-Laorade, 1360." ANS 13 18; for details, see, A. Sabatier, Le Sénégal: sa conquête et son organisation (1364-1325) (St. Louis, n.d.).

See below, 163 ff.

See below, 163 ff.

See below, 163 ff.

Letter from Sedhiou, 9 April 1343, 1-2, ANS, 2-D.


Letter from Sedhiou, 9 April 1353, 1-2, ANS, 2-D.

See, "Casamance: Notice historique, par M. Adam, 1354; ANS 14 183.


Letter no. 49 to Commandant du poste de Sedhiou, Gorée, 20 Aug. 1359, ANS, 4-B, 35.

ibid.

ibid.


See below, 101 ff.


"Notes relatives au poste de Sedhiou, concernant le personnel, le matériel, la situation commerciale, et nos relations avec les peuplades du fleuve, Sedhiou, 13 Feb. 1357, par le Commandant des établissements français dans la Casamance," ANS, 136 369-14, 2.
"Rapport sur la Casamance, 10 May 1353, Pinet-Laprade."

"Mission Dagorne en Casamance, cession à la France des terrains de Sedhiou, 1333."

"Mission Dagorne en Casamance, cession à la France des terrains de Sedhiou, 1333."

"Sénégal et Dépendances, Mission du Firdou, Rapport Du Capitaine Baurès, 1336."

"Sénégal et Dépendances, Mission du Firdou, Rapport Du Capitaine Baurès, 1336."

"Rapport spécial sur les opérations militaires exécutées en Casamance, année 1905-06, fait à Sedhiou par le Capitaine Commandant la 4e compagnie, 1 Sept. 1906."

"Mission Dagorne en Casamance, cession à la France des terrains de Sedhiou, 1333."

"Rapport spécial sur les opérations militaires exécutées en Casamance, année 1905-06, fait à Sedhiou par le Capitaine Commandant la 4e compagnie, 1 Sept. 1906."

In May 1794, France had first legally abolished slavery in her colonies but this had had little effect.

Moussa Molo and Fode Haba actually wrote several times to the British and French governments, complaining that the one had been stealing the other's slaves, which had been sent as currency to purchase horses.

No. 27, "Instructions pour le Capitaine Aestats, appelé à prendre le commandement du cercle de la Haute Casamance à Sedhiou."

Commandant de Sedhiou to Commandant de Gorée et Dépendances, no. 66, 10 Oct. 1360, 3, ANS 16.43.

"Sénégal et Dépendances, Mission du Firdou, Rapport Du Capitaine Baurès, 1336."

"Carabane et Sedhiou suite, 2-3: "Until this year the peanut was cultivated in the Casamance only at Sedhiou. This crop has grown enormously in very little time."

Letter no. 13, to Monsieur le Commandant de l'arrondissement de Gorée, from St. Louis, 4 Dec. 1362, ANS 35.2.

See, arrêté du 10 avril 1836: interdit sur tout le territoire de la Colonie la vente des munitions de guerre.
55 Commandant de Sadiou to Commandant de Gorée et Dépendances, 10 Oct. 1900, AHE, 10-16/43, no. 66.

56 Sadiou, 8 March 1900, "Le Capitaine Séguin, Commandant la 4e compagnie du Régiment de Tirailleurs Sénégalais; Administrateur Supérieur de la Casamance à Monsieur l'Inspecteur Général des Colonies; Gouverneur Général de l'AF, St. Louis, Rapport des mois de janvier et février pour l'ensemble du district," 2, AHE, 13G 376-64.


58 "Renseignements pour faire suite à l'historique du Fouladou, no. 303 de 1903, no. 16 Hardallah, 2 Mars 1904, H. de la Roncière," 35, AHE, 10 295-2.

59 "Le Capitaine Séguin, Commandant la 4e compagnie du Régiment de Tirailleurs Sénégalais; Administrateur Supérieur de la Casamance à Monsieur l'Inspecteur Général des Colonies; Gouverneur Général de l'AF, St. Louis, Rapport des mois de janvier et février pour l'ensemble du district," Sadiou, 8 March 1900, 2, AHE, 13G 376-64.

60 Governor General AF to Ministry of Colonies, Dakar, 23 Aug. 1913, AHE, 1F 13.

61 From 1895 to 1953, the ensemble of the French territories in West Africa were ruled as the French West African Federation (AF), with headquarters in Dakar. The government of the Colony of Senegal remained at St.-Louis. See, Colin Newbury, "The Formation of the Government General of French West Africa," JAH, 1 (1960), 111-123.

62 Governor General AF to Ministry of Colonies, Dakar, 23 Aug. 1912, AHE 1F 13.


64 ibid., 1.
Resurgence of Islam in the Casamance:

During the 19th century, the Mandingue population of the Casamance underwent an internal revolution which had widespread consequences for all the Casamance groups. The changes within the Mandingue group itself took place as a result of several factors: the Soninkes' wars in the Gambia, the involvement of the Fouta Djallon in Casamance affairs, and later its interference with the Peuls of Fouladou, and the presence of the European colonial administration.

Prior to the 19th century, the Mandingues of the Casamance were a disparate group, enjoying neither religious nor political homogeneity. Even their occupation of the Middle Casamance was incomplete, Yacine not then having been colonized by the Mandingues. In the 1840's, the final wave of Mandingue immigrants came to the Casamance from the banks of the Gambia and from Fouta Djallon, carrying with them their war against the pagans: Soninkes, Bahnounks, Diolas, and Peuls. The Soninkes, who had previously been pushed back from the Gambian states, were a Khale group, either lapsed in their practice of paganism. Having been pushed back from the Gambia, they had established themselves in several areas of the Casamance, particularly on the edges of Conko and Fagny, and in Foulkia. Until the 1840's, the Mandingues had lived in these Soninka-ruled areas in a tribute paying relationship to them, in exactly the same manner as
the Fouloufs of Foulolou coexisted with the Mandingues. The Rainouka at
this time still also ruled in the western parts of the Middle Casamance,
in parts of Pakao and Yacine. Through their years of infiltration, the
Mandingues had established large and increasingly powerful villages, with-
out neglecting contact with their homelands.

Towards 1843, Mandingue emigrants in the Casamance originally from
the Gambia and from Fouta Djallon revolted against their Soninke and Bainouk
overlords. Help to these Mandingues settled in Pakao and Yacine was forth-
coming from both outside areas. Ibrahima Sylla of Cidoucar and Bassilama-
Pakao led the Mandingue revolt. He was himself aolianke whose family
had emigrated to Pakao when it was ruled by a pagan Bainouk king,
Niadoumassara, living at Mandoucar.² According to Sylla's grandson,
Thierno Sylla, this king "took [the Muslims] for his slaves. They worked
for him."³ Ibrahima Sylla appealed to the alnay at Timbo in the Fouta
Djallon, asking for troops to reinforce his own in their struggle against
the pagans. The alnay complied, and in 1843, the Mandingues threw off
both Soninke and Bainouk domination. Those Soninkes or Bainouks who did
not die in battle either withdrew to the west, across the Songoucou, or
were assimilated by the victorious Mandingues.⁴

This marked a victory for Islam among the Mandingues in the Middle
Casamance. It formed part of the Gambian Soninke-marabout wars to the
extent that the Muslims revolted against both their subordinate position
vis-a-vis the Soninkes or Bainouks, and against the paganism of these
groups. The war also belonged to the history of the Fouta Djallon. The
alnays of the Fouta Djallon apparently regarded the Casamance and Cabou
Mandingue status as forming part of their state, since these areas had
been peopled by the Fouta Djallon Mandingues and Peuls and since the Fouta Djallon often provided them with military assistance against other groups.

As early as 1828 and as late as 1853, French records attest the presence of invading Fouta Djallon armies in the Casamance. After the revolt of 1843, several of the Fouta Djallon military leaders had settled in the Casamance, where they established their own principalities, continuing to pillage and to prosecute their holy war. One of the most notable of these was Bakary Koye whom the almary Brubakar had left in Bussou, charging him with the responsibility of keeping up the holy war against the Balantes of that region. Annually, the almary or one of his lieutenants made tax-collecting expeditions into the Casamance and Gabou, expeditions which amounted to large-scale pillaging and which gradually eroded Mandingue loyalties to the Fouta Djallon. That the Mandingues managed to preserve their independence from the Fouta Djallon is more a function of the buffer state role played by Gabou, than of Mandingue military prowess.

Gabou was a large Mandingue state lying principally in the eastern half of present-day Portuguese Guinea. Little specific information exists on this state, except for constant references to it in the French archives. In 1849, Bertrand Bocande, a French official, visited the region and listed ten component provinces of Gabou, of which Guitara was then the reigning province. Most of the other provinces he listed were later claimed by Moussa Kolo of Fouladou, or by the almary of the Fouta Djallon, notably Kansala, Toumard, Pakessi, and Kantor. In Gabou, the Peuls were subjects of the Mandingue rulers. In the 1840's, at least, the ruling Mandingue population does not seem to have been Muslim, since "there was a
separate caste, a privileged heritage which was transmitted by women" and "the women can reign and enjoy great power." On the other hand, in 1862 a large army from Gabou was assembled to invade Pakao in order to support Ibrahim Sylla against the pagans. This latter event indicates that the Muslims in Gabou had probably gained the upper hand by the 1860's, as had the Muslims in the Middle Casamance.

The constant wars waged between Gabou and Fouta Djallon had two effects on the Casamance. Many Peuls fled Gabou rather than be conscripted into the Gabounke army, or have their villages pillaged and destroyed. Seeking tranquillity, they emigrated to Fouladou where much land remained to be settled and cultivated, or into Pakao to live under the Mandingues. The wars and migrations also caused serious disruption of trade and agriculture, thereby increasing French interest in ending the quarrel and drawing France deeper into hinterland political activities. By 1868, the Fouta Djallon had the upper hand in the war and it seems that "almost all the provinces which make up this large country [Gabou] recognize the authority of Sonry, the Peul who is the leader of the war."

The Fouta Djallon was never an oligarchy far removed from Casamance events. Temporarily, however, the focus of action shifted away from Gabou and the Fouta Djallon. Even during the period of constant Fouta Djallon threats on and incursions into the Casamance, other events demanded attention.

Events in North Senegal often had repercussions in the Casamance. El Hadji Cesar, the great Toucouleur Tijaniya marabout of the Senegalosse river, began his Islamic revolution in the Fouta Toro in the late 1840's. This revolution had repercussions as far south as the Casamance.
In 1857, rumors of a potential attack by El Hadji Omar's warriors convinced the French of the necessity for building two new blockhouses at Sodhiou. And in 1859, the administrator commented on the fact that the number of foreigners in the Casamance had increased considerably that year as a result of El Hadji Omar's wars. There is no evidence to indicate that any people from the Casamance left to join El Hadji Omar's bands, a situation partially accounted for by the minimal number of Muslim Poults in Fouladou or Tijaniyya Muslims in the Casamance at that point. There is, however, evidence to show that many Poul families from the Senegal River emigrated south, to Kabada in particular, fleeing the wars. These Poults settled among Toucouleur families who had rare contact with the French, Mandingues or Poults of the Casamance before the 1870's. Until Fouladou's revolt against the Mandingues, Kabada exerted little religious influence. But its inhabitants preserved their Tijaniyya affiliations and contacts with their homeland and served as a center for Tijaniyya learning and activity.

Events in the Gambian area provided much impetus to the diffusion of Islam in the Casamance. The same ethnic groups inhabited the Casamance and the Gambia. Muslim Mandingues had been settled along the Gambia since the empire of Mali, and had settled in the important network of trading states which lined both sides of the Gambian River. Islam was neither the official nor the majority religion in the area, however, until long after the original Mandingue migrations. J. M. Gray, the official historian of the Gambia, says that:

Island made its first appeal to the trading community, who had come in contact with the Maoriesians from the interior. It was passed on by them to the peasant class and the humbler grades of Mandingo
society, but a long time lapsed before it made much impression with the chiefs and their immediate entourages. Before Islam succeeded in becoming the universal religion among the Gambian Mandingues, a long series of wars was fought for Muslim control of government and for conversion of the pagans. These wars which effected both the Gambia and the Casamance regions are called the Soninke-marabout (pagan-Muslim) wars. These "wars" were actually continuous, small-scale encounters between the two factions. Their outbreak and continuance owe something to the political and religious revolutions taking place in other parts of West Africa, particularly in the Foutas Djallon and Toro, but are more important as an internalization of religious principles and the localization of hostilities to the Gambian and Casamance regions. In these wars, society was divided into two factions, which quarrelled constantly, each becoming increasingly entrenched in its convictions with the passage of time and the spread of hostilities. Gray found the first reference to these wars in the book of a missionary who had lived in the Gambia from 1831 to 1833. The wars raged until 1901 when Fodé Kaba's death removed the last great militant Muslim from the scene and hostilities moved out of the military stage of warfare. The battle between Muslims and pagans then entered the realm of peaceful proselytization by example and instruction.

The separation between the Muslim and pagan communities became a physical fact towards the 1840's when the Muslims found themselves sufficiently numerous and confident to found their own villages. Martin Klein in his dissertation on the Saloum region writes, however, that most Gambian Mandingues were nominally Muslims, although lax in their practice, and that from the 17th century, the orthodox minority lived in separate villages.

The Europeans attempted to remain aloof from these wars; when trade was threatened, when a European settlement was involved, or when anarchy
threatened to become total, the colonials were forced to act. The first major confrontation between the marabouts and the Soninkes in which the British intervened took place in 1555 in Como villages neighboring the British center of Bathurst. In the Como, the ruling families were Soninke. The Muslims had formed several towns, centers of Islamic learning which received frequent visits from North African, Mauritanian or North Senegalese leaders of Islam. El Hadji Cumar may have spent some time at one of these villages, Conjour, around 1240. Two Moors, El Hadji Ismail and Cumar, propagated the jihad cause from another marabout town, Sabajee. Cumar had been a partisan of Abd-el-Kader's in a recent uprising. This latter had led in Algeria in 1847, a connection which gave both the British and the French cause for concern. Therefore, undertook to mount a joint campaign to stop the war before they reached Bathurst and before the conflict spread even deeper throughout the countryside. The battlefield death of the Soninke king of the Como on 24 June 1555 triggered a larger participation in the war. The British, aided by the French, intervened and forced the signing of a convention between the two factions. On 17 April 1555, the chiefs of the Soninke and marabout parties signed this convention in which they promised to do their best to keep the peace and to prevail upon their supporters to observe the convention.

Both the French and the British, in the 19th century, conducted similar campaigns such as this one in the Como. Gradually, the marabout faction was cut, either by driving the pagan populations out of the area into the hinterland or by converting the pagans to Islam. The marabout group possessed an ideological unity and goals which enabled them to form organizations with a common purpose and effective hierarchical organization. They enjoyed outside support—whether moral or physical—from other Muslim groups. Their control of
trade enabled them to obtain the necessary munitions of war despite Brit-
ish and French attempts to limit or outlaw the sale of arms in their res-
pective colonies.23

The insignia of leadership in these pagan-Muslim confrontations
were taken up on a large scale by two principal Muslim figures, one in
Saloum on the north bank of the Gambia, and the other in the Casamance:
Maba Diakhou and Fode Kaba Dountouya. From 1861-1900 one or the other
of these two represented or led the Muslims in their wars of conversion
and conquest. Their campaigns destroyed traditional polities without re-
building them; they caused great disruption of trade and agriculture; the
slave trade and arms smuggling benefited and grew to large proportions
during these campaigns. These wars, however, provide the background to
all else that took place in the Casamance during the second half of the
19th century.

Maba Diakhou, a Toucouleur, came from a demianke family originally
from the Fouta Toro.24 After the turabi had deposed the demianke dynasty,
Maba’s grandfather had converted to Islam. Maba’s father was a marabout
in Rip (Badibu), on the north bank of the Gambia, and Maba himself, after
Koranic studies in the Wolof state of Cayor, taught for a while in another
Wolof state, Djoloff (see map, p. xii). His brother, Xamour M’Dari, received
his Koranic education in Mauritania. Sometime after 1840, Maba and his
brother settled in Rip where they served as Koranic teachers until about
1860. In 1861, Maba began his revolution against pagans and lapse Muslims.
Martin Klein makes the following assessment of the importance of Maba:

Maba was something new in Senegambia. The area had long known
revolts and rebellions. It had not known revolution and total war.
... His successes were undoubtedly based to some degree on his
own charisma, but also on the belief of a large Muslim population that the existing socio-political order was an affront to God. The "total war" which Maba launched spread rapidly throughout both banks of the Gambia. His followers and lieutenants spread north into the Wolof states of Cayor and Djaloff under the leadership of two Wolof Islamic leaders, Lat Dior Diop and Alhoury N'Diaye respectively, and south through the Casamance and as far as Gabou.

Maba himself did pose a real if fleeting threat in the Casamance. His lasting influence was enormous. Certainly French difficulties in repressing his revolt laid bare their weaknesses and probably encouraged other local leaders to action. In 1862, the leader of Gabou, Fannara Kane, went to join Maba bringing 400 men and 100 cavalry with him. At this early date, a French administrator observed that "almost all the villages of Pakao with the exception of Hondoulhar furnished a contingent [for Maba]."

As early as 1863, Maba had sent emissaries to the Casamance to solicit help. After his failure to capture the French military post at Kaolack, on the Sine river, he withdrew to the southern bank of the Gambia and there carried out raids with the help of several Pakao chiefs. French fears of his attacking their post at Sedhiou proved unfounded, but his presence inspired the Mandingues with confidence and religious fervor. In 1864, Komo N'dia led the Mandingues in a holy war against the Bainounks of Yacine, who had recently been forced out of Fogny by the Diolas. This holy war lasted until mid-1865, and formed part of a generally disrupted epoch with the Mandingue states of Souna and Brassen helping Gabou against the Fouta Djallon, and the Peuls of Fouladou revolting against Mandingue domination.
Many young men left the Casamance to join Maba’s troops, whether for religious motives or in quest of booty. Others were in correspondence with Maba, even from as far as Niokhene near Casewye where Musulins and Mahomeds lived as traders, while receiving Masulis marabouts who had little noteworthy success in converting the fetish population. Pakae and Yacine had many resident agents of Maba’s, and Scunkary, son of Douara and one of the most influential chiefs, kept Bouchio in contact with Maba. Maba had been prevented from invading Fouguy in mid-1866 by an appeal to his co-religionist and disciple, Lat Dior, who sent an appeal for help against the French in north Senegal—an appeal which he dared not refuse. Maba kept up his attempts to add Bouchio to his list of controlled areas, which included particularly Yacine and Pakae in the Casamance. To this end, he sent Scunkary, the most influential Musuline chief at that time, gifts of gris-gris; at one point in 1867 he sent emissaries into the Musuline quarters of Sedhiou to present Scunkary with a gris-gris for his own use and another to be placed near the fort. Maba’s death in August 1867 stopped the emigrations from the Casamance to his cause. His effects on the Casamance Musulins were not, however, so easily arrested.

**Mandingue Challenge to French Authority:**

The years between the death of Maba in 1867 and the rise to prominence of Fodo Kaba Dounbouya in 1875 witnessed the consolidation of the Casamance Mandingues into a militant group of proselytising Musulins. This group was led by Scunkary, the son of Douara, the first civil servant chief of Sedhiou and Bouchio. This period of Mandingue consolidation had begun with Ibrahina Sylla of Bassilane taking over the leadership of the Musulins.
Mandingues to conquer or convert the pagan Soninko towards 1843. It con­tinued under his direction at least through 1862 when the Mandingue leader­ship of Gabou led an invasion into the Casamance. Between 1860 and 1865, the Muslim Mandingues in the Casamance fought a long-term, intermittent war against the pagan Soninkés, Bainouks, and Diolas of Yacine.

Sounkary began his politico-religious career towards 1867. His relations with Maba Diakhoy had won him much respect from the Mandingue Muslims. His father, Doub's influence with the French entitled him to a certain kind of respect or obedience from the Mandingues. His opposition to the French started specifically from 1864 when they did not appoint him to succeed his father as chief of Boudhio. After Maba's death in 1867, Sounkary temporarily adopted the mantle of leadership of militant Islam in the Casamance. Under his instigation, the Mandingues entered into wars with Fouladou, refused to pay taxes to the French, disrupted French commerce, and undertook holy wars against the pagan Balantos and Bainouks. He was the first, and only, person to unite the Mandingues for political and religious purposes since Ibrahima Sylla of Oudouear had led the Mandingues against the pagan Bainouks and Soninkés in the 1850's and through the 1860's. In the long run, his accomplishments were intermittent and fragile. While possibly due to his own inabilities, more likely he too was subject to multiple forces and events in the Casamance which was in a confused and chaotic situation then.

Before Sounkary's arrival on the scene, the peoples of the Middle and Upper Casamance were in a state of almost continual movement and conflict. He was able to take advantage of this confusion, and to emerge temporarily as self-appointed leader of the Mandingues. He
adopted the two principal causes embraced by I-Haba—religious purification and conversion. He added a third element to this combination: opposition to the French.

Sounkary's main accomplishment took place in 1872 when he formed a Kandingue coalition against the French at Sedhiou. Prior to this, he had at several times publicly demonstrated his scorn for the French by refusing to pay taxes to them. One of his rallying cries lay precisely in the absence of French action, for he could plausibly maintain that the French were incapable of retaliation or self-defense. The French defeat in the Franco-Prussian war of 1870-71 further weakened French interest in and commitment to development of the Casamance, permitting events to become more chaotic than before.

Overt opposition to the French first manifested itself in attacks on French-controlled villages, particularly ones with Peul inhabitants. Leadership was taken up by Sounkary as the main Kandingue leader in Boughkie, Fode Hadda in Yacine, and Fode Fassar of Sandiniery. In October Sedhiou itself was attacked by the united Kandingue coalition which included all of Boughkie, troops from Souna, and most villages of Fakac. The Balantos remained neutral, despite Sounkary's overtures. The Peuls of Fouladou, recently united and under the new leadership of Alfa Molo, offered the French their help to discipline the Kandingues. After having repulsed the Kandingue attack on Sedhiou, the French bombed Sandiniery unilaterally. The threat of a Peul invasion from Fouladou frightened the Kandingues into signing an accord with Alfa Molo in 1872, and into submitting to a French-imposed fine in January 1873.
Sounkary's second attempt at creating a Mandingue coalition in 1880 proved less successful. Fodé Kaba had begun attracting Mandingue attention to his cause. The Mandingues generally were unwilling to risk further French reprisals, preferring to avoid confrontation with the French or with the Peuls. In 1880, Sounkary did obtain support from Fodo Lenda, the chief of Yacine, in launching a holy war against the Balantes of Balantacounda. The Balantes fled their lands, some taking refuge in Sedhiou. The French intervened at this juncture, unwilling either to allow Sounkary further to dislocate French trade on the southern bank of the river, or to allow him to flaunt French authority a second time. Sounkary evacuated Balantacounda at French orders. His alliance with the Mandingues of Yacine evaporated. Finding himself without support, Sounkary withdrew temporarily to a northern village in Pakac.

In 1882, Sounkary, again leader of a united Mandingue coalition, led the Mandingues into direct confrontation with the French at Sedhiou. His rallying cry in this uprising was opposition to the French policy of giving refuge in Sedhiou to slaves from the region. Traditionally the Mandingues had both household slaves and field hands, born into that status or captured in wars or raids. The Koran permitted enslavement of non-believers and further justified the institution among the Mandingues. The Mandingues opposed the French policy of giving refuge to their slaves. It was a direct affront to their rights and traditions, and portended a social revolution and the overturn of Mandingue social structures.

After the second Mandingue attack on Sedhiou, France sent an expeditionary force into the Casamance to destroy Sounkary's power. To their surprise, the French found that Sounkary's movement was not an isolated
incident of opposition to the French, but a microcosm of widespread and firmly held anti-French sentiments. In March 1882, the French were obliged to fight several days of long hard battles against the Mandingues. After the Mandingues were beaten, Sounkary was officially banished from the region. Most of the villages of Pakao, Yacine and Bouchie submitted to French treaties in 1882, following the example of the chief of Yacine, Fode Lande, and of another leading Mandingue chief at N'Dicma, Fode Ndia. Fodé Kaba's activities in Kian and Kabada encouraged several villages of Pakao to abstain from signing peace treaties with the French, but all of Souma came to accept the French terms. France abandoned the policy of giving refuge in Sedhiou, in order to establish peace in the region.

In 1884, Samba Aissata, the French-appointed chief of Sedhiou, and Fode Fassar, almoner of Sandinixry, requested permission from the French administrator for Sounkary to be allowed to return. It was agreed that Sounkary should be permitted to return, on condition that he present himself to the administrator and accept the fields offered to him for peaceful cultivation. The next year this decision was reversed by the Governor of Senegal, Ballot, who wrote the administrator of Sedhiou that Sounkary should be told that if he set foot in Bouchie he would be arrested and imprisoned. In 1885 there were rumors that Sounkary had allied himself with Birahima N'Diaye in the Lower Casamance, and that he was preparing to launch a new holy war. Little more was heard of him. Attention shifted to Fodé Kaba Dounbouya.

Sounkary's career affected that of Fodé Kaba in two ways. On the one hand, his constant resistance to French rules and regulations demonstrated to the French and to the Mandingues how illusory French control
actually was. Sounkary profited from French weakness to carry on his affairs without fear of retaliation or retribution until he attacked the French directly. Fodé Kaba too was not impeded by the French for the first two decades of his career in Fogny. On the other hand, by the time Fodé Kaba made his appearance among the Casamance Mandingues, they were tired of fighting the pagans, the Fula and the French, and refused to rally to his cause. On the French side, suspicions of and animosity toward any pretensions to power made by Senegalese in the Casamance had been heightened by Sounkary's career of opposition to the French and by the chronological overlapping of his activities with those of Birahin N'Diaye in the Lower Casamance. Sounkary's fall from power concentrated more attention on Fodé Kaba than might have been expected had Birahin N'Diaye and Sounkary not preceded him as leaders of the Africans against both the French and other African groups.

Failure of Muslims among the Diolas:

One accidental by-product of official neglect was the spread of Muslims among the Diolas living between the north bank of the Casamance and the south bank of the Gambia. Some Islamisation resulted partially from a process of accretion wherein increasing numbers of Diolas came into contact with itinerant marabouts or traders, or with Muslims settled in the region as traders. Contact often resulted in conversion, or at least in imitation of the Muslim habits of dress and prayer.

The absence of French control also enabled several Muslim warrior chiefs to carve out their own territories and to carry out their raids and pillages without fear of interference. Fodé Kaba Boumbouya, the
marabout king of Fogny, Corbo and Kian, was for a long time the best example of this, and will be discussed below. Although a powerful figure, he was not a unique threat to Diola security and tranquillity. Three other non-Diola Muslim figures contributed heavily to the chaos and insecurity of the region in the last decades of the 19th century. One of these, Fodé Sylla, acted as an independent agent under the guise of a holy war. The second, Birahim N'Diaye, was the representative of a French trading firm who also claimed a holy war of conversion as his motive. The third figure, Mangone Seye, was a French-appointed civil servant, chosen by the French to act as the chief of Fogny. The first two leaders pushed into Diola lands: Fode Sylla from the northern Gambia border, and Birahim N'Diaye from the eastern Songrougou frontier. Because of his official administrative capacity, Mangone Seye had a central hinterland base at Maccoua from which his activities revolved.

The upheavals caused by those four men—Fodé Sylla, Mangone Seye, Birahim N'Diaye, and Fode Kaba Dowdouya—contributed further dislocations to those already caused by the French. European military interventions in traditional trade patterns and political systems, and the movement caused by continuing immigrations from the southern banks of the river had produced a situation of disintegration and tension. Fodé Sylla acted primarily in the Gambia colony within the context of the Soninké—marabout wars which lasted throughout the 19th century. Fode Sylla came from a Muslim maraboutic family originally from the Fouta Toro on the Senegal River. He was raised in the headquarters of the Soninké—marabout wars, at Gunjour and Brikama just above Bathurst. The first official reference to him is found in the Gambia Public Records Office in a treaty signed by the
Soninke King of the Combo, Tumane Bojang and the marabouts of Gourjou, who were represented by Fodé Sylla, calling himself "War General." Between 1877 and 1894, Fodé Sylla's campaigns caused great concern to the French and the British, and great upheavals for the Diolas of the Combo. He seems to have been recognised by at least the colonial forces as King of the Combo. His military strength enabled him to persevere despite occasional setbacks, as when in 1880 the Diolas united to defeat him at the large village of Kartiak.  

Fodé Sylla considered himself first and foremost a Muslim warrior. In one of the few letters which have been preserved and in which he wrote to the British Governor at Bathurst in 1889, Fodé Sylla referred to himself as the "Ameer [Reign] of the Faithful of the Combo." He considered himself equally entitled to be King of the Combo and protested actively when the British and French border delimitation commissions partitioned his lands between them in 1890. In March 1889, Fodé Sylla wrote to the Governor of Senegal, offering to put his lands under French protectorate. In December 1890, however, Fodé Sylla managed to halt border delimitations. He announced that he would not accept partition of his lands, claiming that his preference was for the British and refusing to let any of his lands be placed under French authority. His lands were divided by the border decision formally established in 1899. By 1892, however, the lands Fodé Sylla controlled had lost much of their former agricultural importance. His raids had devastated many regions and entire villages had emigrated away from his authority, taking with them whatever cattle or livestock they had saved from Fodé Sylla's attacks. By 1892, Fodé Sylla's ruthless politics of devastating those regions where people refused to convert lost
him many of his supporters. One British officer after an interview with Fodé Sylla in May 1892 wrote that he doubted Fodé Sylla would make any progress towards the south since he now had very few warriors of any sort as his strongest towns seceded from him.52

Earlier in his career, Fodé Sylla had gained many supporters and warriors from refugees who had left the north bank Gambian states of Badibou or Saloum during the succession struggle there between Hamour N’Uari and Biram Cisse after Maba Diakhou’s death.53 It is probable that as his strength waned many of Fodé Sylla’s adherents deserted him in favor of Fodé Kaba Dombouya, whose theater of action was farther removed from European surveillance and whose endeavors promised greater booty than Fodé Sylla’s. Fodé Kaba Dombouya never allied himself with Fodé Sylla. Although rumors spread in 1892 asserting that the two Muslim leaders had joined forces, these rumors were rapidly shown to be false.54

Fodé Sylla did ally himself with two other enemies of the Diola; Birahim N’Diaye, and later Xangone Seye. The first alliance with Birahim N’Diaye may have ended with Fodé Sylla defeating and killing Birahim in 1893.55 His alliance with Xangone Seye was more effective and through it, between 1893 and 1894, Fodé Sylla regained much of his diminished power and prestige. In February 1894, the British finally declared war on Fodé Sylla. The war apparently surprised him and he claimed that the British had no cause for war since he had always paid his taxes regularly, and he was the recipient of fifty pounds per annum from the British.56 Once he understood the seriousness of his situation, however, he formed an army of seven to eight thousand men recruited from the Congo.57 Fodé Sylla did request help from Fodé Kaba, but Fodé Kaba was unwilling to
risk French retaliation in case of Fode Sylla's defeat and consequently refused to help.  

The British destroyed his capital at Gunjour in British Casamance, so Fode Sylla took 200 of his warriors and two hundred women and children, and surrendered unconditionally to the French.  

Some of his party were resettled in the French Casamance, after agreeing to live peacefully in these new lands. The administrator of the Casamance took Fode Sylla and some two dozen loyal supporters into exile at St. Louis. Eventually they were settled on new farm lands in Cayor and a financial settlement was made with the old warrior, who thus died in exile.

Fode Sylla had made several important contributions to the history of the Casamance. On the one hand, he had furthered the spread of Islam by building mosques in the Casamance and by outlawing palm wine tapping by the pagan Diolas under his control. Many Muslims had come to join him in battle, from Saloum and Badibou, and after his defeat, they settled in the region. Fode Sylla gave renewed confidence and vigor to the marabout cause in the Casamance. His career, also, however, increased Diola awareness of their need for solidarity, particularly in the border villages of Cayor and Fony which were easily susceptible to attack.

Birahim M'Diaye's brief career had a similar effect on the Diolas, increasing their opposition to foreigners, especially Muslim ones, and heightening their sense of collective action. Birahim was a French subject and a trader from St. Louis who had worked for a French trading house in the Casamance. Responsible and intelligent as a trader, Birahim had obtained much money and many goods on credit. Finding himself hopelessly in debt, towards the beginning of 1833, he resorted to illegal commerce.
The first in a series of actions putting him in opposition to the French was his slave-raiding in the upper Fogny, where he burnt villages and took captives from these regions with which France had signed treaties of alliance in April 1861. He directed his group toward the Gambia and attempted to pillage villages along the Songrougou and in Pakao. Then, in 1885, from his headquarters in Marsassoum on the Songrougou, he headed a large slave-trading operation, selling his slaves to the Portuguese at Ziguinchor and Sindone. His source of slaves remained the Diolas of Fogny, and his incursions there put a halt to the peanut and rubber trades of the region. One of his lieutenants, N'Darawa, launched his own independent career, with three to four hundred warriors. N'Darawa's attempts to attack the Balante lands near Sedhiou ended in a massacre and his flight.

Another of his lieutenants, Darssa Badian, pursued slave-raiding on the upper Songrougou and up to the Gambia. In 1885, Governor Ballot at Gorée gave the commandant of Carabane permission to embargo any goods belonging to or headed for Birahim N'Diaye. At this time, the French forces were committed to the Ripp Campaign against Saer N'Gu, so could provide no military aid in the Casamance. Although in 1886 the French government of Senegal outlawed the sale of war materials throughout the territory, the Casamance was fortunately placed to skirt this interdiction by trading with Gambian and Portuguese merchants. In the Gambia, however, importation of guns for sale was forbidden from 1892, but both sides managed to perpetuate their supplies.

In 1890, Birahim gave the formal title of jihad (holy war) to his incursions on the Diola. His troops were reinforced by many Mandingues and Wolofs, mercenaries for the most part. He continued his raids until
1892, using the deceptive tactic of professing alliance in order to gain entry to villages, but then slaughtered and pillaged them.67

In addition to stopping commerce for almost a decade, Birahim's wars forced many Diola villages to emigrate from their homes to hiding places on the south bank of the Casamance or into the Gambia, depopulating Fogny even further, and leaving the land to ruin.

The activities of Fodé Sylla and Birahim N'Diaye gave all the Diolas of the Combo and Fogny regions many reasons to be suspicious or wary of any foreigners. Experience taught them that even peaceful Muslim traders could be the advance reconnaissance party for troops of raiders. Thus the French made a grave mistake in choosing to appoint a non-Diola chief over the Combo villages. But, having had endless problems with tax-collection and pacification in Combo, the French adopted this new policy there in the last decade of the 19th century.

In 1892, Laplane, the administrator of Carabane appointed a Wolof, Mangone Seye as chief over the Combo villages, most of which had been recently depopulated by Fodé Sylla's and Birahim N'Diaye's wars.68 The local population, primarily Diola but with some Mandingues (dioulas), was obliged to construct a fort for Seye and instructed by the Carabane administrator to submit to Seye as their chief.69 Seye promptly set out to create his own state and to build his own fortune. Unable to make himself obeyed by the Diola, Seye sided with Fodé Sylla in October 1893.70 By this act, he forced the French to recognize his misdeeds, particularly his hiring of Fodé Sylla's warriors to pillage and destroy Combo villages. He promised to rid himself of these troops.71 In 1894, however, he was removed from his duties after local populations had often protested against his exactions upon them. The French evaluated this experiment with optimism,
saying that despite the administrative failure, the Diolas had been obliged to approach the French and to seek their intervention, and hence would perhaps be less recalcitrant in dealing with the French. But as a result of Fodé Sylla, Birahim N'Diaye and Mangone Seye, the Combo region had lost all its crops and livestock, and much of its population.

Fara Boulel was the next outsider named to be the official administrative chief of the canton of Combo, with the same results: annoyance and mistreatment of the population to his own profit. He was replaced by another foreigner, Mamadou Ly in 1900, whose rule stirred up discontent and animosity among the Diolas. By this time, however, the repeated raids to which these villages had been subjected since 1955 had prompted many to move to the Gambia. The lack of confidence in French ability to protect inhabitants of French Combo was displayed by a Muslim chief of one of the Diola villages. After presenting Mamadou Ly to the Diola chief and assuring him that a new era of peace had arrived, the chief responded that if Ly proved acceptable and if the administrator were correct about peace and tranquillity, his people would consider bringing their families back into French Combo.

By the end of the 19th century, then, the Diolas had been exposed to many Muslims, some of whom were peaceful traders or marabouts, but most of whom were identified with war, raids and pillaging. Many of the traders and marabouts were Mandingues from the Pakao region. The Mandingues of the Middle Casamance eventually contributed much to Islamization of the Diolas. It was not, however, militant Islam as represented by Birahim N'Diaye or Fodé Sylla which finally affected conversions among the Diolas. Contact with these Muslims and with Mandingues in the Casamance led in the
long run to imitation and conversion, but peaceful contact with peaceful Muslims. To a certain extent, however, these precursors of Islam, and the more important figure, Fodé Kaba Doudouya, helped pave the way for eventual Islamization by contributing to the disintegration of traditional society and eroding faith in traditional religion. Nevertheless, it was not their militancy which produced conversions. Their militancy did, however, remind the Casamance Mandingues of their duty to spread the religion, and to evaluate their own role as Muslims, in terms of their doctrinal beliefs and ritual practices, and in terms of the religious duty of holy war and conversion.
There are two distinct meanings to the word "soninke". On the one hand, there is the ethnic group, the Soninke, who are a Mande-speaking group living in the Upper Senegal river area. They are often referred to in French documents as Sarakolle. In older British documents, one finds them called Serravallies. In the Casamance and Gambian regions, however, the word has come to mean pagan, or lapsed Muslim, as in the "Soninke-marabout," Muslim-pagan wars.

1. Personal interview, Sylla, Dakar; also, letter from Sedhiou to the commandant of Gorée, 26 Nov. 1843, ANS, 2-D.
2. Personal interview, Sylla, Dakar.
3. Pinet-Laprade, to Governor, "Renseignements sur le Bouchié," n.d., AEFP, Sénégal et Dépendances, t. 94; Pinet-Laprade, to Governor of Sénégal and Dépendances, Report from Gorée, 9 Nov. 1859, ANCM, 5 IV-51; Commandant of Sedhiou to Commandant, Sedhiou, 9 April 1843, 1-2, ANS, 2-D.
5. Hecquard, ms. in ENS-FF, 10.
7. See below, 132.
9. Thierno Sylla, Personal communication, Dassilam-Feka, department of Sedhiou.
10. Thierno Sylla, Personal communication, Dassilam-Feka, department of Sedhiou.


15. El Hadji Moussa Yane, Senega, personal communication. See also: Commandant de Sédhiou to M. le Commandant de Gorée et Dépendances, Sédhiou, 6 Sept. 1859, 1-2, ANS, 133 364-23.


19. ibid., 330, fn. 1, from Kister, Memorials of Missionary Labours in Western Africa, 176.


21. Fodé Kaba is referred to as the leader of Conjour in the 1355 war, but it seems highly improbable that this was Fodé Kaba Dombouya of Medina and Kian, since he would have been only about twenty-four years old at this time, and since official family histories make no references to his having been in that area.


24. The deranké were a pagan group ruling in the Fouta Toro until the revolution of the torofché or Muslims in 1726.

25. Martin Klein, 102 (microfilm of thesis).


29 ibid., 19.
32 ibid., 63.
33 ibid., 67.
34 Commandant du Cercle de Sedhiou to Commandant Supérieur de Gorée, 1 Sept. 1872, ANS, 13G 369-370, Q-e-111.
37 "Instructions pour M. le Capitaine Arstutz, appelé à prendre le commandement du cercle de la Haute Casamance à Sedhiou, 17 Avril 1882," 57-3, ANS, 1G 73, no. 27.
38 ibid.
39 See, A. Sabatié, Le Sénégal: sa conquête et son organisation (Paris, St. Louis, n.d.); also, ANSOM, S IV, 106a-1, 1832.
40 Commandant of Sedhiou to Governor, Sedhiou, 5 April 1882, ANSOM, S IV 106a.
41 Commandant of 2e arrondissement (?) to Governor of Senegal and Dépendances, Dakar, 24 Aug. 1882; ANS 13G 371, Q-e-124, 32.
42 Bayol to Governor of Senegal, 6 March 1884, AEP, Sénégal and Dépendances, t. 84.
43 Governor at Gorée to Commandant at Sedhiou, July 1855, 136, 43 73, 6.
"September 29, 1375. Articles of Agreement drawn up this 29th day of September 1375 for the purpose of concluding a peace between the King of the Sokunks (Tumane Bojang) of Conko and the Marabouts of Conjour, represented by Fodey Sillah, war general," GPRC, 54/9, 3, no. 27.


Amzer (or Emir) is both a political and religious title, normally reserved for descendants of the Prophet's daughter, but also used to denote a Muslim political leader. See also, Administrator to Secretary of State, Confidential Dispatch Book, 1339-90, GPRC.

Capitaine Pineau, Administrator Aubrey Leconte, to Governor of Senegal and Dependencies, Bathurst, 24 Dec. 1900, ANS 1F 16-12; and Letter from Governor of Senegal to Undersecretary of State, 16 Jan. 1901; ANS, 1F 16-13.

See, AEP, Possessions Anglaises, t. 123, 5 July 1909.

Capitaine Pineau, Administrator Aubrey Leconte, to Governor of Senegal and Dependencies, Bathurst, 24 Dec. 1900, ANS 1F 16-12; and Letter from Governor of Senegal to Undersecretary of State, 16 Jan. 1901; ANS, 1F 16-13.

See above, 69.

Enclosure no. 3 in no. 132, Llewelyn to Governor of Senegal, 3 May 1392, GPRC, 54/3.

See above, 92-9.


Information on this subject is vague, and contradictory — whether or not Fodé Sylla actually defeated and killed Birahim cannot be said, nor can the date be fixed for Birahim's death.


This figure seems obviously grossly inflated, for Fodé Keba certainly never had that many troops, and Fodé Sylla's forces were fewer.

See, announcement, ANS, ID 56-29; and "St. Louis, le 9 avril 1895, Gouverneur au Ministre, no. 327, au sujet de la reddition (?) de Fode Silla, chef du Comité Anglais," ANS, 1F 8, 45.


Governor of Senegal and Dependencies to Chief of Bataillon, commanding the expeditionary column in the Casamance, St. Louis, 22 May 1896, ANS, ID 50-7.

AMS, 4B 73, 133, no. 66.

Saer Haty was the son of Maba Diakhou who battled N'Dari and Biram Cisse for succession to the rule of Saloum after Maba's death.

Enclosure in no. 66, letter of 22 March 1891, from Cap Bambini, Capt. Kenney to Acting Administrator Naseley, GPRG, 54/9, 1.

"Administrateur Laplène, chargé du cercle de Carabane à M. le Gouverneur du Sénégal et Dépendances, St. Louis, Carabane, 17 avril 1892," ID B/2, Fonds St. Louis-ANS.


ibid.

ibid.

Administrator Farque to Director of Political Affairs, St. Louis, Sedhiou, 26 Feb. 1894, 15, ANS, 13G 372-95.

AMS, 13G 374-71, 1900, 4.

AMS, 13G 374-71, 1900, 4.

AMS, 13G 374-71, 1900, 4.
MILITANT MUSLIMS V. PAGANS AND MARABOUTS

(Fodé Kaba and the Diolas, 1875-1901)

The last quarter of the 19th century marked a watershed in the political and religious history of the Casamance. It was in this period that the many small and seemingly unrelated events of the earlier parts of the century coalesced and took on meaning. It was also in this period that the movements which had crossed the Casamance—until this time became internalized and resulted in events indigenous to the Casamance. The Casamance then became an initiator of action, and was no longer merely a reactor to events.

One figure is largely responsible for this transformation and internalization—Fodé Kaba Dombokya. He was an exciting though often repulsive figure, part Muslim saint and part bloodthirsty warlord. He combined in his career and beliefs the many important figures and events which had influenced the Casamance throughout earlier parts of the 19th century—Sounkary, Kaba Diakhoun, anti-French revolts, wars of religious purification or of conversion, population pressures and economic changes.

Today, mention of his name evokes great hatred or great praise. Few are willing to enter into the details of his life and career—partially because discussion of these events reopens old quarrels which are better left dormant, but also because so much of Fodé Kaba's prestige and respect depended then, as now, on the aura of mysticism and transcendentalism with which he surrounded himself and which his family perpetuates today.
Fodé Kaba Dountouya, not actually a Casamance Mandinka but a Diawara from Fendou by descent, emerged from among the Mandingues of the Casamance to become the apostle of Tijaniyya Islam in the Casamance and there to take up the leadership of militant Islam as launched by El Hadji Omar on the Senegal River and Kaba Diakhou on the Gambia River. Although he never actually gained political leadership of the Casamance Mandingues, they were most numerous among his supporters. If there is a folk hero of the Casamance, it is probably Fodé Kaba. He served the major function of internalizing Islam within the Casamance, although he was himself a foreigner in the region and many of his supporters were also not natives of the Casamance. The last quarter of the 19th century still reflected events in the Fouta Djallon and along the Gambia, but these became increasingly Casamance-oriented. By the end of the century, due largely to the leadership of Fodé Kaba and Koussa Molo, the Casamance had liberated itself from uniquely responsive action vis-à-vis the Gambia or the Fouta Djallon.

Because the French did not have the kind of formal and continual contact with Fodé Kaba that they did with Koussa, much less information on Fodé Kaba exists in the French archives than on Koussa Molo. French penetration into the regions of Kian and Fogny, where Fodé Kaba established himself, was far less effective, and their administrative installations far removed from Fodé Kaba's bases of action. Sedhiou and Carabane remained the only French administrative centers until 1883, when, after cession by the Portuguese in 1886, the French set up a post at Ziguinchor. French establishment in Kian and Fogny was slower in coming about. Not until 1894 did the French establish a military post at Bigonna in Fogny, and it was only in September 1909 that the French created the administrative province of Kian with a residence at Incor. The fact that Fodé
Kaba was not principally a territorial ruler complicated French understanding of his movement and contact with him. Their intermittent relationship with him was determined entirely by commercial interests, and their assessment of his worth and importance a fiction of peaceful trading conditions.

Fode Kaba and his family are remembered and sometimes revered in the Casamance for their political and religious prestige. Even Fode Kaba’s enemies, those who suffered most from his wars — the Diolas — concede his religious greatness, while tempering this admission with insistence upon his destructive slave-raiding activities. The French analyses of and comments upon Fode Kaba vary depending on their current state of relations with him. At some points they saw him as a simple marabout, at others, as a slave raider, and at still others, as a powerful territorial prince.

During his lifetime, Fode Kaba Doumbouya surrounded himself with a mystical aura of piety and sanctity. His descendants have continued this tradition of mysticism, shrouding from view many of the truths of his life and career. His success owes much to this mysticism, as does the perpetuation of his renown. Fode Kaba’s claims to power were based as much on achievement as on ascription. He undeniably came from a respected and relatively learned Muslim family. He also gained a reputation for himself as a marabout and as a warrior chief by virtue of his own accomplishments. His several residences among the Mandingues of the Gambian Mandingue and Gabouké states spread his fame, and his contact and friendship with Kaba Diakhou, the Muslim warrior chief in Saloum and with Kaba’s claimant successor, Mamour N’Dari, added to his prestige and
gave him a supra-ethnic appeal. Fode Kaba possessed, however, no traditional claims to territorial or personal sovereignty. Only gradually did he emerge in the Casamance as a leader having a specific following within a limited area. His power and influence remained throughout his career much greater than the actual territories circumscribed by his immediate rule.

The official family history, as provided by Fode Kaba's son, Maye Doumbouya, and other family elders, such as Sylla, indicates how intertwined have become the mythical and factual aspects of Fode Kaba's life. According to Maye Doumbouya, the Doumbouya family claim descent from "Bani-sira-ile," or Israel. This family genealogy says that Fode Kaba's father, Fode Bakary Doumbouya, was the son of Diarafin Kaba, who was the son of Ibrahim, who was the son of one of seven saints living in Israel, all of whom foresaw the greatness and sanctity of Fode Kaba Doumbouya. Ibrahim left Israel and began the voyage toward the sunset (westward) which God had revealed to him as necessary. He arrived at Cairo, but died there. Diarafin Kaba took up the responsibility, instructing his son Fode Bakary in Koranic wisdom. To Bakary was given in revelation the name of the appointed mother of Fode Kaba, Fina Tourama, then living in the village of Goumbel in Boudou on the Senegal River. Fode Bakary followed the predestined plans, crossed Africa, found Fina Tourama, and married her. She gave birth to Fode Kaba Doumbouya at Goumbel toward the year 1835, according to the French sources.

At Goumbel, Fode Bakary taught his son all that had been revealed to him and told his son of the predictions which he had been born to accomplish. Searching for the final revelation of Fode Kaba's divinely-
predicted destiny, Fode Bakary and Fode Kaba left Goumbel in Bondou to settle among the pagan Soninkés of the Gambian kingdom of Nulli. There, under the close observation of three pagan Peul princes, Fode Kaba underwent his first test. Antagonized by the pagan Peuls, Fode Kaba was anxious to retaliate, but his father counselled patience, reminding him that his hour had not yet come. Eventually, the Doumbouyas gathered their supporters and moved to Niani, further west along the Gambia River. From there, Fode Bakary sent Fode Kaba to the king of Saloum, another state still further west on the Gambian River, as God had revealed this action to him. He gave Fode Kaba orders to remain until the king of Saloum himself allowed Fode Kaba to depart. Once there, the wise Muslim elders of the kingdom watched Fode Kaba with awe and respect. While there, however, his father was killed by the pagan Peuls in Nulli. Fode Kaba vowed revenge for this act, and took leave of the king of Saloum who gave him men, horses, arms, and his blessings. God provided Fode Kaba with canoes to cross the Gambia River before entering the Casamance to avenge himself.

At this point, in this version of the story, Fode Kaba entered Fakao in search of the three pillars of the Muslim faith whom his father had indicated: Fode Diombo, Fode Landing and Ibrahima Sylla. At this point, he also enters into history as recorded by the French. Another member of the family, Sylla, recounts Fode Kaba's early life in equally praiseworthy but more sanguine terms. The main outlines of the story of Fode Kaba's early years remain similar to Maye Doumbouya's account as given above. According to Sylla, when Fode Bakary settled in Nulli, at the village of Kerewary, it was with the local King's permission for Fode Bakary to collect, for his own benefit, trade
duties from the traders and sailors coming upriver from Bathurst. Fode Bakary accordingly built a fort and a warehouse and collected taxes in the form of guns and powder, in order to fill one warehouse with powder and the other with guns. Fode Kaba was at this time travelling as a marabout. In this capacity, he advised the king of the Gambian river state of Niani on ways to protect his kingdom against stronger kings. The king's nephew warned his uncle against Fode Kaba, seeing in him more than a simple marabout: "that man is not a marabout but a king, for I see much gunpowder in his hand." The Doumbouyas were gaining much fame in the region. Fode Kaba with his mystical powers and Fode Bakary with his store of funds and ammunition aroused fears and suspicions. Fode Kaba ended this episode in Niani by challenging the regional prince, after converting or killing several lesser leaders. He undertook expeditions into the pagan regions of Niani and Gambia, then into Wuli. Weakened by so many battles, Fode Kaba confided his family to the care of Alfa Holo at Kerewany on the south bank of the Gambia River, and went to spend the two remaining years of Kaba Diakhou's life (1365-67) with him in Saloum. Molo, convinced by one of Fode Kaba's enemies that Fode Kaba would kill him on his return from Saloum, was persuaded to massacre Fode Kaba's brothers, friends and soldiers who had been entrusted to him. When Fode Kaba received the news of this massacre, he left Mamour N'Dari's court which had been established after Kaba's death, and with several of his warriors, crossed the river below Farafenni, again with heaven-sent canoes. He then entered the Casamance to avenge himself on Alfa Molo.

Both of these accounts stress the miraculous elements in Fode Kaba's early life -- the revelations of his future greatness, the connections
with the Middle East, the divine help bestowed on Fodé Kaba which enabled him to carry out his plans. There is also a repeated theme of enmity to the Peuls, pagan or Muslim. Two explanations can be given for this latter emphasis. The Doumbouyas were newcomers to the region, and this enmity toward the Peuls helped insert them into the traditional indigenous context of Xandingue-Peul rivalries. The emphasis clearly indicates too Fodé Kaba's opposition to paganism, or to incomplete conversion, although this latter interest in purifying Islam was never manifested in his later career. The problem of Alfa and Moussa Molo's commitment to Islam will be discussed below, but it is intimately involved with the first clash between Fodé Kaba and the Holos, since war between Muslims is forbidden by the Koran except if the so-called Muslims are not orthodox in their beliefs.

The clash between the Holos and Fodé Kaba seems to have been developing for some time before the battle of Kerewany. Before 1375, Fodé Kaba had led the Xandingues in incursions into Fouladou provinces from Gabou to the Gambia. Eventually, he built a strong Xandingue fort at Kerewany on the borders of these Fouladou provinces lying along the Gambia River. While he was in Saloum with Mamour N'Dari, presumably seeking reinforcements, the Peuls under Molo attacked and destroyed his fortifications, killing many of his relatives and lieutenants, soldiers and friends and permanently clearing Fouladou of Fodé Kaba's attacks.

Oral testimony on this event is extremely confusing and contradictory. According to some Xandingue historians, the battle never took place and, in others, Molo was defeated. Some Peul evidence also
denies the battle, or claims victory in it. The French evidence supports the contention that Alfa Molo attacked and destroyed Kerewan in 1375, in Fode Kaba's absence from the region. Obviously, neither side wishes to admit defeat. Equally obvious is the fact that subsequent generations have become more learned in Koranic matters and wish to minimize or eradicate the fact of intra-Muslim war. A possible explanation of this difficulty, however, lies again in the question of Alfa Molo's conversion, as well as in the existence of pagan Mandingue and Peul groups throughout the Casamance. The solution lies probably in an admission that the religious question was not considered, and the battle purely a strategic military encounter.

Molo's destruction of Fode Kaba's fort at Kerewan around 1375, however, marks the division of the Casamance into two armed and hostile camps: the Mandingues on one side, and the Peuls on the other. Fode Kaba as the leader of the Mandingues and Alfa or Moussa Molo as leaders of the Peuls had rare encounters after this event. A legacy of bitterness and competition remained, along with mutual respect for the other's powers. The Molo's attention turned eastward shortly after this battle to internal consolidation and pacification within Fouladou, and eventually to collaboration with the French. Fode Kaba's energies were henceforth directed westward toward the Diolas and toward conquest or conversion in the regions of Fagny and Condo, west of the Sengougon to the Atlantic, between the Casamance and Gambian Rivers, and far removed from Fouladou in the Upper Casamance.

Fagny and Condo had already become the scene of Islamic wars. The Gambian river states had long suffered from Muslim-pagan rivalry. The
population there consisted of pagan Soninkes, Diolas and Serers on the one hand, and of Muslim Mandingues on the other. In addition, there were large numbers of Sarakolles and Peuls who migrated to the Gambia as seasonal laborers. The Mandingues had settled there during the 14th and 15th centuries as outlying traders for the Mali Empire. Trade routes existed from the hinterland to the coast and saw much activity over the centuries while deepening these Mandingues in contact with their religion and homeland. The Mandingues gradually established a complex system of small states bordering both banks of the river, based on trade, and complementing each other to create an orderly chain of economic interdependence.

As with the Mandingue regions of the Casamance, each state was independent and ruled by two leaders, one religious (alhaji) and one civil (alcati). The Muslims were often the ruling class, directing affairs of state and commerce, but generally ruling over pagan subjects. Everywhere the Mandingues were rigidly orthodox Muslims who put great emphasis on Koranic literacy. The Muslims in some states were not, however, the rulers but the ruled. In these pagan states, the Muslims lived separately from the main and pagan village, and often served as the pagan king's administrative assistants, carrying on his correspondence, representing him in commercial dealings, and advising him on the smooth functioning of state affairs. In the 19th century, this delicately achieved balance in the religious situation erupted into large-scale and prolonged warfare between the Muslims and the pagans. Events in the Casamance form part of this long period of Soninke-marahou (pagan-Muslim) wars. Fodé Kaba and Moussa Holo were as much products and participants in these wars in the Casamance as were Maba Diakhou and Hamour N'Dari in
the Saloum. In all cases, the wars were struggles not only for religious
conversion but also for political control, although two of the greatest
leaders -- Fodé Kaba and Naba Diakhou -- disdained interest in political
administration, devoting themselves virtually exclusively to spiritual
concerns and activities. These activities had, however, obvious political
manifestations, particularly in the form of the jihad. Neither, however,
created a theocratic state functioning during their lifetimes or institu-
tionalized systems which could replace their personal charisma and concerns.

The catalytic role Gambian politics played in affecting the
Casamance had been a long time in evolving. It resulted finally from
outside pressures: internal migrations, changes in trade routes, European
commercial and colonial intervention, and Muslim revivals in neighboring
regions. The principal Gambian states on the north bank were: Niumi,
Jokadu, Badibu (Rip), Sandially, Barsali (Saloum), Mani and Wuli. On the
south bank the major states were: Combo, Fogny, Kian, Jarra, Nyamina, Bro-
pina, Guimara, Tonan, and Kantora (see Map, p. xii.) Although these states
probably once formed part of the Mali Empire, by the 19th century both of
these riverine areas seem to have developed into autonomous regional states.
Niumi and Kantora remained governed by Muslim Mandingues and in these two states
Islam retained its purity and orthodoxy. In the others, Peuls, Diolás, Wolofs,
or Soninkes gradually assumed control as the Mali Empire disintegrated.

The Muslim influence seems to have been strong in all of these
kingdoms at one point. Labat, an early writer, described the kingdom
of Barra (Niumi) in 1723 as being a Mandingue-ruled state wherein the
Muslims were orthodox and educated, following the strict Koranic rules
and practices. Another writer, Durand, described Barra in similar terms
in 1786. He further noted that Barra was a monarchy tempered by a
council of elders whose decisions were binding. Freemen had their own
assembly, and an alcati (alcati) who governed the towns by heredity. Justice was primarily traditional, with some recourse to the Sharia (Islamic law). Durand estimated that one quarter of the inhabitants of this most powerful Gambian state, Barra, were freemen, and the rest traditional slaves who could not be sold or killed without public trial and judgment. 

Muslims were not in such controlling, ruling positions in other Gambian states. Walli, as described by the great explorer Mungo Park, was governed by the pagans through a king and his administrative officers and provincial governors. The Muslims were in a minority and served only in advisory capacities to the Soninke rulers. The system was hierarchical and hereditary. The king or nense was the sole executive, and his heir presumptive, the farbanna, was second in command. Next came the provincial governors, also hereditary positions, as well as alcatis or freemen (kemos). Beneath them were the great masses of the population, divided into freemen (foro) and slaves (dinu). The alcatis and free elders made up the king's council. The alcatis' functions were to preserve order, collect taxes, and to preside over the administration of justice, in conjunction with the free elders. Each region had the alsmu-alcati distinction found in the Casamance wherein the former exercised religious rule and the latter, civil and military rule.

The changes wrought by events from the late 18th century onwards set in motion a large number of conflicts and almost constant warfare in this Gambian region. Fodé Kaba, Fodé Syla, Birahim N'Diaye took advantage of this fluid situation to attempt to create their own states, to trade in slaves, or to convert the pagans. Thus it was that Fodé Kaba, after the battle of Kecany, in about 1875, turned his attention
first westward toward Pakao and, failing there, further westward, toward Conboo and Føgny, two states closely involved with the Muslim-pagan competition, which dominated Gambian politics during the 19th century.

Fodé Kaba encountered much opposition from the Mandingues of the Middle Casamance. Although the oral evidence is inconclusive, the French verdict is even less conclusive since it seems to have been almost entirely collected from a Paul informant. But it seems reasonably certain that it was toward 1975, after the battle of Kerewany, that Fodé Kaba entered Pakao and first attempted to rally the Mandingues there to his cause. The Mandingue region at this time was led by several important Muslim figures — Soukary, Fodé Landing, Fodé Dicibo, Alcaly Thrahima, and Fodé Kadialy. Soukary was at Sediou in Boudia, Fodé Landing at N'Dianna in Yacine, Fodé Dicibo also in Yacine, Alcaly Thrahima at Manono, and Fodé Kadialy at Bakaadji, both again, in Yacine. Fodé Kaba's relations were not cordial with any of these men, except Soukary. Their interests lay in the maintenance of peace and in the preservation of their limited powers in their small worlds. Recognising the French presence and strength on the one hand, and the strength and unity of Moussa Koko on the other, these chiefs tried to prevent Fodé Kaba from involving them in war, as well as from carrying out his own raids.

Fodé Kaba did not have a warm reception among the Mandingues at this time. His father had predicted that Fodé would have difficulties with these leaders of Islam in Pakao. After the defeat of Kerewany, Fodé entered into Pakao to seek help against the Pauls of Fouladou. The Mandingues had only recently lost control of this region and their confidence and fragile unity were shaken and strained by this setback. They
were unready and unwilling to undertake a new war against their ex-

vassals. Particularly decisive was the role of the Fouta Djallon in
supporting Fouladou and the Holos -- a combined enemy too formidable
for the Mandingues.21

Apparently before attacking Kolo at Korewany, around 1375, and
even before going to honour N'Dari in Saloum for aid, Fode Kaba had
attempted to avenge an insult long before received by his father in
Guinara, a semi-independent state within Fouladou, south of the Gambia
River.22 After conquering this region, Fode seems to have turned north-
west to Nyassar on the Gambia and there to have established his fort at
Kerewany. The oral evidence previously presented must therefore mean
that Fode Kaba at this time (ca. 1373-4) had an entente cordiale with
Alfa Kolo in order to build a fort virtually within the borders of
Fouladou. It could also indicate that Alfa Kolo's conquests and pacifi-
cations had not by then reached their ultimate limits. The latter explan-
ation seems the more plausible of the two, and would mean that the battle
of Kerewany had ramifications as important for the Holos' control over
Fouladou as it did for Fode Kaba's relations with the Peuls of Fouladou.

A history gathered by a French administrator from the Peuls after
the self-imposed exile of Moussa Kolo (and therefore suspect in much of
its content) contends that the almsny of Fouta Djallon, to avenge Fode
Kaba's victory over Guinara, forced Alfa Kolo to attack and destroy Kerox-
any.23 Apparently Kolo subsequently attempted to avoid battle with Fode
Kaba, but the latter insisted. In this version, Kolo was defeated and
then regrouped his forces, to defeat Fode Kaba during a second encounter
near N'Doro. Fode reputedly then turned back to Kolo for aid from the
Mandingues.24
Fode Kaba's arrival in the Fakao region was in any circumstances an unwelcome event for the leaders, but he rapidly won popular support and gathered many supporters for his cause. Supported by Soukary, leader of the unsuccessful Mandingue uprisings of 1992-93, Fode Kaba and his troops proclaimed holy wars against the Balantes. During 1967-77, with the help of both Soukary and a mulatto named Pat, the son of a trader at Sackhou, Fode Kaba's attention shifted from the Foulis who had defeated him to the disorganized Balante villages in Balanta Counda, south of Sandimery on the left bank of the Casamance.

After attacking two large Balante villages of Mangroucou and Couina, Fode Kaba's campaign shifted to two other Balante villages, Yatacounda and Kienfour. Seeing their trade interests threatened and fearing renewed chaos in the region, the French intervened. The French also feared a renewal of external Islamic influences on the Mandingues such as had been Maba Diakhou's in the late 1960's. The French at this time consistently referred to Fode Kaba as a lieutenant and marabout of Hamour N' Dari, brother and partial successor to Maba Diakhou.

The difficulties encountered persuaded Fode Kaba to stop this holy war. In 1976, therefore, Fode Kaba submitted to the French cease-fire order, proclaiming that Soukary had erroneously led him to believe that the French would not oppose their holy war in Balanta Counda. He settled temporarily at Sandimery, directly across the river from Sackhou, preparing his departure from Fakao in answer to calls for help from the Toucouleurs of Fakao, who at this time were as divided as Fakao between the supporters of Fode Kaba and the supporters of the Malos.

The Mandingues of Fakao made a compromise beneficial both to themselves and to Fode Kaba. They promised to give Fode Kaba a contingent of
warriors if he would not wage war in their region. Fodé accepted this, and after leaving Sandiniery, stopped at Mancono Ba on his way to Kabada. The leaders of Boudhie had refused to allow him passage, fearing the disruption and pillaging he and Sounkary would certainly effect by such a move. At Mancono Ba he awaited reinforcements from Mamour N'Dari, whose son had been killed with Fodé Kaba at the unsuccessful siege of the Peuls near N'Dorna just after the battle of Kerewany. Mamour N'Dari was too involved in his own wars against Biram Cisse and Saer Maty to be able to release any men. Fodé Kaba thus followed an advance party of his followers and set up tata (fort) in Kabada. Soon after, bothered by Moussa's troops, he moved his tata westward to Nema in Kian. From there he began his attacks on the Diolas of Fogny.

Before beginning his crusade against the Diolas, Fodé consolidated his forces. After burning the villages of Bona, Bassada and Inor on the Songrougou, Fodé Kaba founded a new tata in Mambina in 1878. Sounkary and other Mandingues from Pakao responded to his appeal for warriors of the faith, and came to his aid in battles against the Diolas. Fode seems to have had great military strength at this time. He was reputed to have at least 400 horses and had recently purchased at least 120 guns and powder. His previous raids into Fogny for slaves had enabled him to purchase these war materials from traders in the Gambia, Casamance or Portuguese Guinea. His material strength and the support he was receiving from the Mandingues as well as from foreign mercenaries gave him great advantages over the disorganized Diola villages. Many Diolas fled before his attacks, settling in Mandingue villages in Boudhie, Yacine or in Jalissoon on the south bank of the river. Increasingly his successes rallied greater numbers to his side. His raids
and Diola emigration resulted in a complete disruption of trade and cessation of agricultural activities in the Songrougou valley and throughout the Fogny-Comfo regions.

The beginning of Fode Kaba's jihad against the pagan Diolas coincided with a period of general chaos in the Diola lands. By 1331, when Sounkary and the Mandingues attacked the French establishment at Sadiou, all the regions between the Casamance and Gambia rivers were disturbed by one crisis or another. Fode Kaba was giving new life to the Soninko-Marabout war in the Comfo. Fode Kaba was carrying out his raids and slave trading in Fogny, Kian, Kaba and along the Songrougou. The Mandingues were divided and excited by Sounkary. Mousa Nolo in Fouladou had his own particular problems consolidating his rule, and these proved equally difficult to resolve or control.

From 1331-33, Fode Kaba's fortunes were linked to those of the Mandingues revolts against the French. Sounkary's lack of success as leader of these uprisings had two important results for Fode Kaba's career. On the one hand, he benefited from Sounkary's failures by providing a haven and new center of action for many warriors, and thus augmented his own forces and supporters. Sounkary's defeat by the French, and the subsequent French signing of treaties with all of the Mandingue states meant, on the other hand, that Fode Kaba was a more visible opponent for the French. Proliferation of the surrounding lands focused attention on the upheavals created by Fode Kaba in Fogny, Comfo and Kian. Mousa Nolo's cooperation with the French in the Upper Casamance, and a coordination of Franco-British interests in the Gambia and Casamance continued to direct attention and concern to the isolated regions under Fode Kaba.
"The temperature reached 70°F, and the sky became overcast. However, the sun eventually broke through, casting a warm glow over the previously cloudy landscape."

In January 1980, the latex was extracted from the rubber tree and transported to the processing plant. The latex was then subjected to several steps of refinement, including sulfurization, to prepare it for further processing.

Despite the recent drought, the soil was still rich in nutrients, and the crops were thriving. The farmers were optimistic about the upcoming harvest season.
The British government of the Gambia encountered Fode Kaba more directly and more frequently than the French. Within the framework of the Soninke-morabout wars, Fode Kaba appeared several times there as one of the major Muslim leaders. In 1864 the British established peace between one “Fodey Cabba, the High Priest of Goonjour [one of the largest and most central morabout towns]” and the Soninke king of Combo along with several Soninke headmen, a peace subject to arbitration of future disputes by the Governor of the Gambia. In 1891 the French and British attempted their first concerted effort to combat Fode Kaba, but the combination of political concerns in the metropole and difficulties in situ militated against fruition of this project.

Although his forces seem always to have been relatively small, Fode Kaba succeeded in attracting many warlike elements (mercenaries) from other parts of the colony, and from as far away as Gabou, who swelled the ranks of his army and gave it a professional character. Some of these came merely because they were professional warriors, interested in plunder and booty and had been deprived of fields of action elsewhere by the French pacification. Others came out of purely religious motives. Many ended by settling in the Casamance, thus contributing greatly to the spread of Muslims and the diffusion of Islam throughout this region.

Fode Kaba’s strength at all times was due to his cavalry. This cavalry could, with only a few troops, perform large-scale and rapid raids into Diola villages. This use of cavalry has several implications for the history of the Casamance. The absence of Mandingue-Diola contact or conquest is often explained as being a result of the fact that horses could not survive in the Lower Casamance region or that they were unable
to perform effectively in the rain forest area. Fode Kaba's incursions deep into Fogny contradict this argument and clearly prove the tactical effectiveness of using horses for attack and control, even though the mortality rate of horses may have been high due to the omnipresent tse-tse fly. The successes he gained by using mounted cavalry to subjugate many Diola villages also tend to support the hypothesis that the Songrougou was a buffer zone or no-man's-land between the Diolas and the Mandingues at least until the early 19th century when population pressures forced some groups into settling there.

The use of Fode Kaba's cavalry helped eradicate this buffer zone, on the one hand, and enabled him to conquer and govern the region on the other. The British estimated in July 1839 that Fode Kaba could probably muster about 500 men and 100 horses. On 3 November 1890, another British officer projected that Fode Kaba's forces consisted of 600 infantry and 200 cavalry, although a marginal note on this document contends that he probably had only 100 horsemen and 200 infantry.

In general, Fode Kaba seems to have dispersed his troops throughout the Diola villages, his military commanders thus serving as semi-political officials. In this dual capacity, they managed to inhibit opposition from the Diolas, and yet were able to get together with neighboring lieutenants to carry out further raids. They were also, however, far removed from Fode Kaba's direct control.

Fode Kaba kept himself well supplied in arms and ammunitions, using slaves as money. Although slave dealings on the high seas had been outlawed by the British since 1807 and the French since 1794, slave raiding and trading in the interior of Africa persisted. In Muslim areas, slavery was sanctioned by the Koran, and enslavement of non-
believers the right of all believers. Fode Kaba's slave raiding activities seem to have been prodigious and on a wide scale. Much of his trading in slaves was done locally, but the bulk of his captives seem to have been sent into hinterland Manding. This route was threatened by Moussa Nolo, whose kingdom included parts of the upper Gambia. Many slaves who might have been sent inland were conscripted into Fode Kaba's troops, rather than risking capture by Moussa. When given a choice, many Diolas converted to Islam to avoid enslavement and sale, but these conversions were purely nominal and pragmatic. When Islam finally began to make real progress among the Diolas, it was through peaceful methods of example and instruction, not by force and threats.

Fode Kaba was actually a deterrent to anything but nominal conversion of the Diolas, since his jihad (holy wars) became identified with Islam. He regarded himself as a Muslim ruler, but more specifically as a religious leader of warriors fighting for their faith. In his Arabic correspondence with the British government at Bathurst, and with the French at Sedhiou or Carabane, Fode Kaba consistently referred to himself as "commander of the faithful." This correspondence gives no evidence that he justified his behaviour to either colonial power on the basis that he was fighting jihad against pagans and thus within the legal context of Muslim law. Although the French and British both compared him to El Hadji Cumar and Baba Dickhau, both great Islamic leaders, it was more because of his similarly provocative behaviour towards them than because of their understanding of the religious motives involved.

Despite the French or British judgments, oral traditions emphasize his spiritual accomplishments over his military or political ones. Each of the four major versions collected which recount Fode Kaba's life
starts with praises to him as a grand marabout and apostle of Islam among the pagans. Only secondarily do they mention his political wisdom or military feats. 47

Certainly Fodé Kaba's major concern seems to have been with conversion of the pagans, but he saw his successes only in terms of quantity, paying little attention to the quality of Islam professed by his converts, or the orthodoxy of Islam manifested in his state or in his own life.

Fodé Kaba belonged to that group of Islamic revivifiers found throughout West Africa in this period, although it could not be said that he was an Islamic reformer. 48 His immediate concern seems to have been the conversion of pagans to Islam, not purification of existing rites or clarification of doctrines. Popularization of the faith and conversion in quantity were his goals — or physical elimination of pagans. He seems never to have even attempted to erect an Islamic state structure ruled by the Shari'a (Muslim law), and governed according to its precepts. He has left no correspondence which would indicate that he had any concern for the reinstatement of lapsed Muslims within the Muslim framework. His was essentially a war aimed at conversion or destruction. No traces are found in either the movement he directed nor his own personality and deeds of reforming zeal. To the extent that this is true, Fodé Kaba was obviously only a partial heir of the Islamic reformer Kaba Diakhou whose primary interest was doctrinal — the necessity incumbent on Muslims to proselytize, not to cohabitate with pagans, and to observe their religious duties with rigidity and sanctity. In fairness to his own beliefs, however, he must be given credit for his attempts to spread
the faith, although his methods may have been often crude, and usually ineffectual. His most important contribution to Islamic history in the Casamance lies not in the conversion of Diolas but in his making Islam a rallying point and his reminding Muslims of their obligations to attempt conversion of the non-believers.

His relations were never excellent with the Muslim Mandingue leaders in the Casamance. Fodé Kaba had several confrontations with other Mandingue Muslim leaders, notably with Kemo Hadia at N'Diama and Fodaly Sylla of Dassilamo-Pakao. These confrontations were less imbued with the spirit of conflict between the Qadiriyya and Tijaniyya brotherhoods (which they did represent), than with the spirit of quest for personal power. They had no basis in spiritual affairs, and were simply manifestations of power plays. Fodé Kaba once took Kemo Hadia's son, Mahamadou Sadibou, as a hostage after Hadia had refused to force the immigrants from Fodé Kaba's wars in Fogny to leave Yacine and return home. Sylla Ba was dispatched as an emissary to ask Fodé Kaba to release Mahamadou Sadibou. Fodé Kaba suggested that Sylla Ba and he should be friends and unite their forces. Sylla Ba replied in a manner that chastised and reprimanded Fodé Kaba for his loose adherence to the Muslim laws:

The path you have chosen is different from mine. I cannot follow the path you are tracing — massacring Muslims, killing them for your own pleasure or enslaving them and selling them as slaves to gain some wealth. That is not my way. 69.

Fodé Kaba seems to have made enemies of many Muslims, especially those who had been recently converted along the Songroucou. A descendant of one of the refugees from Fodé Kaba's wars in Fogny, Ibrahima Sene, imam of a village in Balantacounda, says that "before the outbreak of [Fodé
Kaba's wars, there were many people [in Fogy] who had been converted to Islam, and who came to live in Balantaounda. These refugees [from Fode Kaba's wars] were mainly important people.50 This statement indicates that contact with the Mandingues along the Songroucou had already produced an Islamized element among the Diolas, an element which might have spread naturally into the interior of the Diola lands had Fode Kaba's militant campaigns of conversion not arrested its expansion and given Islam an unfortunate reputation. One other informant, an admirer of Fode Kaba, El Hadji Manadou Doucoure, praises Fode Kaba's Islamic learning and faith. He also, however, recounts an anecdote which indicates that Fode Kaba may have been basically more interested in slave raiding than in proselytization, or at least that his conception of the jihad had a pragmatic aspect. According to this story, the Mandingues of N'Diama had been repeatedly attacked, pillaged and defeated by the Diolas of Fogy. In desperation they called on Fode Kaba for help. He agreed, saying "you are urging me to go war on the Diolas. If I attack them, I will then have to attack you. Why? Because I will tell you to give me the prisoners from this war and you will refuse."51 This willingness to violate Koranic rules about making war on Muslims conflicts with the stories told by Fode's own son, Maye Doumbouya and another elder of the family, Sylla. In both of these histories, Fode, having left N'Goboua's court to cross the Gambia and avenge himself on Alfa Molo at Kerewany, specifically told the Muslims that he sought pagans, and would not attack Muslims. In Maye Doumbouya's version, Fode Kaba said:

Give me free passage, 0 you Muslims. If you cannot help me, do not be hostile toward me. I want neither your money nor anything else from you. I seek pagans .... .... I am not sent by God to fight Muslims but pagans.52
In Sylla's story, Fode made a virtually identical pronouncement:

Let those Muslims who want to help me help. Only, those who do not want to help me should abstain and not be accomplices of the pagans.  

Fode Kaba apparently had few compunctions about killing Muslims who did not agree with him. In military affairs, strategy and victory took precedence over faith and morals.

Strategy, nevertheless, did not succeed in winning him praise from or adherence to his movement by other Casamance Muslims. Strategy was to be no more effective in saving him from his own downfall when pitted against the French and British than it was in converting the pagans. He made what proved to be a strategic mistake in not trying to use the French to his own advantage in the way that Moussa Molo did in Fouladou. Fode Kaba did attempt a subterfuge with the French which would bring him money at the same time as it would decrease French surveillance of his activities. In 1891 Fode Kaba made peace with the French. By a convention dated 29 February 1891 and based on previous agreements of 19 August 1890 and 29 January 1891, Fode Kaba placed all his territory under French suzerainty and promised to abide by all the agreements France had signed with the different chiefs in the region at various times. In addition to promising obedience to French governmental orders and to renouncing raids on neighboring territories, Fode Kaba agreed to abolish the slave trade. Although both he and Moussa agreed to abolition of the domestic, internal slave trade, several recorded instances exist wherein one or the other wrote to the colonial government to protest the raiding of each other's slaves. Lacking means of enforcement, neither the British nor the French could put a stop to the interior slave trading which persisted, although in diminished form.
Once having obtained his signature on their convention of 1891, the French attitude toward Fodé Kaba changed radically, if only temporarily. Etienne, the undersecretary of state for colonial affairs in Paris, received a letter at this time saying that the Diola country had been such a disorganized place with so many pillages of traders that “all the efforts of Fodé Kaba had always resulted in protection of trade and of foreigners [i.e. traders] in Fogny.”Ironically this did prove to be one of the major results of Fodé Kaba’s campaigns: to force the Diolas to work out some forms of collective defense and to oblige the French into greater surveillance of their economic interests in the Kian and Fogny regions. The letter continued to say that since 1334-35, Fodé Kaba had only attacked Diola villages which were openly hostile to him and that “those who accepted his authority were absolutely calm and paid only two packets of millet (or one franc) as an annual tribute head tax.” Claiming that Fodé Kaba was really a sworn enemy of the Gambian British, the letter contained the provocative statement that Fodé Kaba had not been a problem to the French for many years and that the rumors against him had probably been started by a vindictive administrator. Such a frank admission of potential bias clearly indicates how dependent French policy was on the personality or assessments of their extremely fallible and often ill-informed personnel in the Casamance.

Problems caused by or related to Fodé Kaba did, however, continue to plague the two colonies for another decade after the signature of the 1891 convention. During the years between the signing of an Anglo-French convention delimiting the Gambian frontiers and the eventual formalization of these frontiers (27 March 1897-20 August 1899) Fodé Kaba or his lieutenants provoked the French and British into making several punitive
expeditions against them.

The first major expedition was undertaken by the British against one of Fodé Kaba's main towns early in March 1892. Fodé controlled the towns along the Vintang Creek, which gave him easy and crucial access to trading in the Gold Coast. In an attempt to cut off this important source of arms supplies which was used against them, the British issued a proclamation on 27 January 1892 forbidding the "sale, consignment, conveyance, parting with possession of, or disposal of all ammunition of war." 56

Frontier conflicts caused by some of Fodé Kaba's lieutenants and the overall threat posed by Fodé Kaba's military strength and prestige within their newly outlined territory induced the British to mount a naval and military attack against Fodé Kaba. They burnt several of his towns and succeeded in killing two of his lieutenants at the battle of Foniatama. 56a Fodé himself does not seem to have participated; probably he was neither aware of nor responsible for such a conflict so far away from his headquarters, since his lieutenants were only nominally under his loose control. After this expedition, Fodé complained to the French about British harassment of his lands and his people on both sides of the frontier. 56b

Several factors combined to complicate Fodé Kaba's problems with the British. The frontier delimitation had imposed stresses on societies which had previously functioned without territorial limitations. The French were unwilling to come to his aid for any purpose for fear of provoking a diplomatic incident with the British. The same time period, the 1890's, witnessed several natural disasters: 1892 brought with it great losses of cattle from an epidemic; 1893 worsened the disaster by bringing
locusts and floods. Famine set in throughout Fode Kaba's states. Famine was the major reason for the troubles between Fode Kaba's supporters and the British in 1892, as they were driven into villages for subsistence and without consideration of imposed frontiers.

In 1893, the French reaffirmed their convention of 1891 with Fode Kaba. On 7 May of that year in the village of Bona on the Songrougou, Governor de Lamotte and Fode Kaba signed a five-part agreement: 1) Fode Kaba ceded administration of Fogny to the Governor to guarantee tranquillity; 2) the French agreed to pay Fode Kaba 5000 francs a year; 3) this payment was conditional on Fode's abandoning invasion of the Dolas; 4) the French government undertook to protect Fode Kaba from any aggression on the part of the Dolas, unless the aggression were proven to stem from actions taken by Fode Kaba or his subjects; 5) the frontier between Fogny and Fode Kaba's territories was left to future settlement. A temporary and relative peace settled on Fogny, and the French sang the praises of Fode Kaba - a great and cooperative king deserving of respect.

Fode Kaba's military reputation had been tarnished just before this agreement when, during a campaign in which the French provided forces to help him subdue several rebel villages, he was defeated. A combined force of 150 of Fode Kaba's men and 30 French soldiers had attacked the Dolas at Sinadian on 13-14 April 1893. The Dolas had united to withstand the offensive, and repelled the attack. Neither the French nor Fode Kaba believed that the Dolas could muster the strength and leadership necessary to defeat their combined forces. The defeat resulted in a setback for both the French and Fode Kaba's prestige and influence in the area, and indicated to all that the Dolas were capable of organizing to mount effective...
resistance for the protection of their lands against European military prowess and technology just as against other Africans.

This incident marked a down-turn in Fodé Kaba’s fortunes. Subsequent to this defeat, small incidents continued to occur in the Casamance, but many Diolas began to leave the Gambia, returning to settle in their homelands from which Fodé Kaba had chased them and where he was still active, although increasingly less victorious. Agricultural production did not improve immediately, however, as many Diolas continued to refuse to grow crops, even to pay French taxes, fearing as they did that Fodé Kaba would pillage their harvests and their children.

Fodé Kaba played an increasingly less ambitious and more restrained role in the years after this defeat in 1893. He carefully weighed the advantages of raiding and pillaging against the possibilities of retaliation from the French or resistance from the Diolas. Thus, Fodé Kaba refused even to give help to Fodé Sylla in his activities in the Combo during the last decade of the 19th century, since Fodé Kaba was unwilling to accept the consequences of Fodé Sylla’s possible defeat. He was also saved from having to provide aid against Moussa Molo or the French when Moussa’s half-brother Dikory was killed at Feta, after having requested Fodé Kaba’s help. Fodé Kaba thus kept his part of the treaty. French involvements were unnecessary and international disputes avoided. A few incidents of slave-raiding were noted on both sides of the frontier, traceable to Fodé Kaba, but deemed unworthy of becoming casus belli.

The turn of the century brought an upset of the balance which had been achieved. In January of 1900 the French had an unfortunate direct encounter with Fodé Kaba, and in July the assassination of two British travelling commissioners unleashed a chain of events which ended in Fodé
In January 1902, following the death of a European trader, Jacques, at Boma, one of Fodé Kaba's military strongholds, the French administrator of the Seneglian region went to Boma to settle the will. He decided to fine the villagers for refusing to help bury the corpse, but Fodé Kaba refused to let them pay the fine.

This first hand French encounter with Fodé Kaba marked the beginning of his political end. While at Boma, the administrator Seguin uncovered a situation disturbing to him (and indicative of how little French administrators often actually knew of events within their jurisdiction). Fodé Kaba as leader of Kian had forced the two hundred villagers of a large village called Nyandanki in Yacine to emigrate to Kerswa in Kian, thus leaving their own rice fields and crops unworked. This meant that a large area well known in the Casamance for cotton dying was depopulated. This in turn meant that the French revenue from the Casamance was cut, since the inhabitants of French Kian paid taxes to Fodé Kaba and not to the French. The administrator further discovered that Fodé Kaba possessed many slaves, which yielded him much profit from their employ as mercenaries or cultivators, or from their sale. Fodé Kaba was also found to be giving shelter and support to many North Senegalese marabouts, to whom he gave gifts of slaves which they then traded for cattle in the Fouta Djallon. This last discovery indicates that Fodé Kaba belonged to and was accepted by the Senegalese Muslims as a Muslim leader of far-flung repute. His role as a link between the Senegalese Muslims and the Fouta Djallon Muslims gives support to an evaluation of Fodé Kaba as a sincere Muslim leader, who was closely in communication with the wider Muslim world and recognized by them as being of equal stature.
The administrator, Seguin, undertook to visit Fode Kaba. On 24 January, Fode Kaba's son, Ibrahima, guided Seguin to Medina, Fode Kaba's principal capital and stronghold just north of Bona. Seguin's description of Medina indicates that, although an old man much reduced in power and prestige, Fodé Kaba still had great potentialities as a military leader:

Fodé Kaba possesses a veritable fortress, with thick walls and crenelated towers and considerable resources in arms and ammunition. .... Around him as his personal bodyguard the Chief of Kian has in his fort a large contingent of sofas (warriors committed to obeying his every order). He never goes out without being escorted by a veritable army.

Having been kept waiting for the interview, the administrator Seguin made ready to depart, but Fodé Kaba appeared. Seguin informed Fodé Kaba of his displeasure and of the insult his behaviour implied toward the French government. Fodé logically and regally replied that the French might be masters at St. Louis, but that he was master at Medina. The only lesson Seguin learned by this encounter was that "the establishment of a fortress with a well-armed garrison is a threat to the surrounding areas and a challenge to our authority." 66 Earlier Fodé Kaba had certainly represented a greater threat to the Diolas and challenge to the French before this direct encounter and first-hand observation, but the French seem not to have been aware of this until Seguin forced them to recognize and admit Fodé Kaba's power, reduced though it then was. This unpleasant meeting and Seguin's impressions and reports indubitably contributed to the European determination to put an end to Fode Kaba's independent rule.

Other reports for the year 1900 were equally derogatory about Fode Kaba. In one, he is scornfully referred to as an "influential marabout who by military force carved out a small kingdom in Kian." 67 This report goes on to accuse him of every misdeed — openly resisting French
authority, refusing access to his territory, preventing European commercial installations on the Songrougou, supporting a colony of bandits and terrorists, and stealing the wares of the dioulae. According to this report, Fode Kaba was never seen without being surrounded by his talibes (Koranic students, disciples), wearing a huge turban and carrying massive Muslim rosary beads, but, nevertheless, the French called him only a "common slave raider." The report concludes that "it has become indispensable to do away with this miserable person who plays an outdated role now that Sanory and the others have gone." In 1900 the French became increasingly predisposed to an expedition against Fode Kaba.

Fode Kaba's relations with the British also took a turn for the worse in 1900. The British, then, soon had their own important reasons to support the French in their determination to demonstrate their power and to eradicate all real or potential threats to their direct and total control of the Casamance region. In June 1900, a traditional quarrel over ownership of rice fields erupted between the pagans of the British town of Diataba and the Muslims of the town of Sankandi. Both villages, despite having been delimited as being in British territory since 1899, recognized only Fode Kaba's authority, even though he himself was headquartered in French Kiao. A British travelling commissioner, Mr. Sitwell, had previously awarded the disputed field to Diataba in 1899, but the Sankandi villagers refused to abide by this. Sitwell and another travelling commissioner, Mr. Silva, went out again in 1900 to investigate the quarrel. They summoned the leaders of Sankandi to a palaver at Pikemberg. After having been rebuffed, the two British administrators
went on to Sankandi where they were both murdered. Anticipating retribution, the inhabitants on Sankandi took refuge across the border with Fodé Kaba, who refused colonial appeals to surrender the guilty parties either to the British or to the French.  

At this time, the British were deeply involved with the South African Boer War and with the campaigns in Ashanti in Ghana. They therefore made no reprisals. French movements were hampered by the rains, and by a yellow fever epidemic in north Senegal. They did not undertake reprisals either. Seeing Fodé Kaba as the victor because of the absence of punitive expeditions by the Europeans, many villages turned to Fodé Kaba, revolting against the French or the British, and placing themselves under his sovereignty at Nema, Dator or Medina, his three largest and most well-armed fortresses. The French were thus threatened with a general revolt throughout Pakao and Fogoy, perhaps even with repercussion on the north bank of the Gambia in Ripp (Badibou). The British-controlled Gambian regions were similarly unruly. Many previously submissive villages followed their more daring neighbors in joining the disaffection. Throughout this, Fodé Kaba kept himself well supplied and well armed by buying guns, munitions and foods in Portuguese Guinea. He also consistently sent spies into Sedhiou, to guarantee against a surprise French attack from that direction. 

On 7 February 1901, the French Governor-General of AOF at St. Louis received permission from Paris to concert French action against Fodé Kaba with the British government of Gambia. A three-pronged attack was launched against Fodé Kaba wherein the French attacked Medina directly in two columns, one marching directly from Bignona and the other from Sedhiou to Bignona.
then on to Medina on 21 March. The British took and successively destroyed several villages under their jurisdiction, beginning on 11 January 1901 with the destruction of Sankandi, the village which had originally caused the dispute. The British then sent troops into all the Gambia districts, with the exception of British Fouladou, in an attempt to determine the amount of opposition they might expect.

Moussa Molo and his troops, loyal to their agreements with the French and British, and eager to help, were stationed in Jarra, to prevent Fode Kaba's escape in this eastern direction. Moussa's troops probably consisted of 2000 men, the majority of whom were mounted and armed with Winchester or other up-to-date firearms. On 23 and 24 March, the double French column attacked and destroyed the tata of Medina, which was a strongly fortified town surrounded by several external walls. The British guarded the international frontier to Medina's north and Moussa Molo advanced from the east. The French column included some 450 men, of whom two were killed and one wounded. The losses inside Medina amounted to at least 150 men. Fode Kaba himself died in battle, although his death and burial place remain a well-kept secret. Before the siege had begun, Fode Kaba had announced that he had no regrets: "he wished the world to know that he died protecting Muslims, rather than living with all the honors of the earth, and risking a sin or going against God's words."

It is most probable that Fode Kaba did actually die in the siege of Medina, although his body may have been replaced with another corpse so that the French could not take it. According to one version, he was hit in the head by a bullet, gave his gris-gris to his son and died. He was then buried before any European arrived in Medina. Another version portrays the death of Fode Kaba differently: in this, he was wounded by a bullet,
but only died when the bombardments caused the fort to collapse on him inside. In this version, the head of an old shoemaker who had died in the siege was cut off and shown to the French as being Fodé Kaba's. The French accepted this head as truly Fodé Kaba's since they had never seen him.

Occasionally, stories tell of Fodé Kaba's miraculous escape to the Gambia and of his normal death thereafter. In 1903 a fetisher named Fodé Kaba led a revolt against the French on the Casamance-Portuguese Guinea border below Oussouye, and there were some who believed that this person was actually Fodé Kaba Boumbouya. Yet, if his life was not terminated by the defeat of Medina, his power and historical impact certainly were. His family was broken up, some sent to North Senegal, some confided to Moussa Molo. Mandingue militancy in Islamic and military affairs was ended. But French pacification opened new roads to the Mandingues for proselytization and conversion of peoples whom they had been unable to conquer militarily. Ironically, Fodé Kaba's career served to prepare the way for peaceful conversion among the Diolas. His career also spurred the Mandingues to greater awareness of their religious obligation to convert pagans, while warning them of the failure of military force as a tool of conversion.

Fodé Kaba's career ended in the way he had lived -- resisting the French and following the dictates of his own conscience, defending his supporters and upholding Muslim solidarity. His career consisted of many inhumane actions and unorthodox Muslim practices. The sincerity of his beliefs in the righteousness of his cause can neither be doubted nor proven. His importance for Islam in the Casamance is, in any case, not doctrinal but rather political. He succeeded in rallying many Muslims to
his cause, Muslims from the Casamance as from outside regions. In this
sense, he contributed much to the history of Islam in the Casamance, for
many of these outsiders settled there, thus contributing to the spread of
Muslim elements in the region. These outsiders also helped to bring the
Casamance into contact with external developments in Islam -- with the
jihad of El Hadji Oumar, the fighting state of Samory Touré, and the
constitutional developments in the Peul Islamic state of the Fouta Djallon.
Fodé Kaba's wars also attracted attention from many non-Casanance Muslims,
who began to recognize the Casamance Muslims on an equal religious footing.

Fodé Kaba's wars did not further the spread of Islam in the Lower
Casamance, and in many ways helped retard or arrest its spread there. His
wars did, however, contribute to a reawakening of Islam among the Man-
dingues who, after his death, resumed their efforts at proselytization
which seemed to have been in abeyance since the demise of the Mali empire
several centuries before. His death opened the way to French pacification
and administration of a region which had been previously closed to them.
This pacification and administration brought additional Muslim groups
into the pagan-inhabited regions which Fodé Kaba had attempted to convert.
Mandingues from the Casamance, Wolofs and Toucouleurs from North Senegal,
and Mauritanians from northern Africa worked and settled in the Fognay and
Combo regions, converting by peaceful example and instruction. Fodé
Kaba's immediate aims were thus realized by others shortly after his death.
He had provided neither the psychological climate nor the political infra-
structure for this conversion, and had actually contributed to impeding
the development of either pre-condition.

Whether the Lower Casamance would have turned to Islam earlier and
more peacefully had Fodé Kaba not appeared on the scene, one cannot say. He emerged from two local processes which long predated his career -- the Seninke-wargabout wars in the Gambia, and the reawakening of Islam among the Mandingues of the Middle Casamance. Fodé Kaba was the last representative of the Muslim-pagan military confrontation. He was, in a sense, the first of the Mandingues to reflect the religious renaissance which they underwent; his example, however, helped indicate to them the fruitlessness of attempting conversion by the sword.

Depending on which sources one consults, Fodé Kaba was either a hero and a saint, or a villain and a slaver. He seems to have been both -- a hero using the methods of a villain, a slave dealer with the beliefs of a saint. Basically Fodé Kaba lived in an era of great economic change and political polarization. He arose from and took advantage of this situation in a pragmatic opportunistic fashion -- a fashion which caused the French and British to vilify him, but the local populations to sanctify him. Islam was not a cloak used to cover his real interest of slave dealing, and slave trading formed an integral part of his world and a necessary part of his faith.
FOOTNOTES

1. The Diahanke are a Mandingo-speaking group, of which one branch lives in Bondou on the Senegal River.

2. This statement results from the oral information I collected from Diolas in the Casamance, such as Foulé Sama at Bona, and from the important Mauritanian maraboutic family in the Casamance as represented now by Cherif Chamsedine Aidara at Daroul-Khairi.

3. In 1831, two documents refer to Fode Kaba as a simple local leader. The first reference is in a Letter to the Commandant of the 2e arrondissement, from Charles Hour (?) at Sédhiou, 5 Feb. 1831, 2-3; the second is found in Instructions to Captain Caspe, appointed to take the leadership of the Circle of the Upper-Casamance at Sédhiou, from Dakar, 11 June 1831, 1, ANS 132 371, 3-a-120, 1, and 132 371, 3-e-121, 29. Another document refers to him in 1839 as the "Muslim chief of Feguy," Gouverneur à Sous-sécrétaire d’État, 5 June 1839, ANS 1F 16-39. At the same time, the British records refer to Fode Kaba as a "wandering robber, who has no hereditary rights of any sort," Administrator Blakeney to Lord Knutsford, confidential, August 19, 1851, SPR, 54/9-1, no. 121, 17744, etc.

4. Personal interview with Maya Dounouya, Inor, department of Sédhiou, and recording of Sylla, Dakar.

5. The following account, unless otherwise noted, is taken from the translation of the Mandingue account given by Maya Dounouya at Inor.

6. Personal interview, Maya Dounouya, Inor.

7. There are mentions of Fode Kaba participating in the revolt of the Conjour marabouts against the British in 1855. It seems highly improbable that this was Fode Kaba Dounouya, since he would have been only about twenty years old at that time and since no reference is made in the family histories to his having been active in the region around Bathurst.

8. Recorded interview, Sylla, Dakar.

9. Personal interview, Maya Dounouya, Inor.

10. see above, 126.

11. see, for example, translation of personal interview with Maissou Sylla, Coudouer, department of Sédhiou, for one Mandingue version, and El Hadji Mamadou Dounouye, Pata-Kerewa, department of Kolda for another.
See, for example, translations of personal interviews with Kéita Wandjaga, Kandalaye, department of Kolda, and Koundyel Damba Sou, Korro, department of Kolda.

See above, 40.


Jean-Baptiste-Léonard Durand, *ibid.*

Mungo Park, *Travels in the Interior Districts of Africa: performed under the patronage of the African Association, in the years 1795, 1796 and 1797* (London, 1799), 35.

See above, 121 ff., 137-113.


For a discussion of the relations between the Fouta Djallon and Fouladou, see below, 170 passim.

H. de la Roncière, "Travail d'hivernage, Historique du Fouladou, ancien territoire de Moussa Molo," 1904, ANS, 16-295; and H. de la Roncière, "Renseignements pour faire suite à l'historique du Fouladou, no. 203, de 1903," no. 16, Kandallahi, 2 March 1904, ANS, 16-295-2. See also, recorded interview with Sylla, Dakar.

ibid.

ibid.

ibid.

ibid.

See above, 101 ff.


Naba Diakhou's death in 1657 caused a succession struggle between his brother, Hamour N'Dari, his son Saer N'Diaye, and one of his lieutenants, Biram Cisse, which resulted in the division of the Saloum state.
This struggle began in 1877. Each side sought outside support. Honour
M'Bari allied himself with Fodé Kaba, and Biram Cisse with Moussa Kolo.
See, Martin Klein, Islam and Imperialism in Senegal: Sine-Saloum, 1847-
1914 (Stanford, 1985), 94-113, et passim.

Commandant of Sédhiou, 7 Sept. 1879, 2, ANS, 139 370-36;
Commandant of Sédhiou to Commandant of 2e Arrondissement at Dakar, 9
Oct. 1879, ANS, 139 355-7, 2.

See above, 105 ff.

31 For information on Sounkary, see above, 101 ff.; for details
on Moussa Kolo, see below, 163 ff.

32 Charles Bour (?) to Commandant Supérieur of 2e arrondissement,

33 "Casamance: Notice Historique par X. Adar," 1894, 24,
ANS, 13 193.

34 See above, 101.

35 Charles Bour (?) to Commandant Supérieur of 2e arrondissement,
6 Feb. 1831, 3, ANS, 139 371, 2-o-120-1.

371, 377, et passim.

37 A Franco-English convention of 7 March 1857 had defined the
borders between the two possessions, thus splitting Fongny into a British
and a French section. These accords were, however, implemented in a
definite fashion until the delimitation commissions of 1895 actually
plotted the boundaries.

38 This peace treaty was signed between Great Britain and
"... Fodey Cabba, the High Priest of Goonjour ..., in conjunction with
the Sonninkee King of Combo, and the Headmen of the Sonninkee Towns of
Nundum, Beecanah, and Nandwar ...." Establishment of Peace amongst
them /Goonjour, Combo, and various towns/ subject to arbitration of
future disputes by Governor of the Gambie, 7th Feb. 1763, GPRO, 54/9,
3, no. 21, part 3, no. 411: "Collection of Treaties with Native
Chiefs, Part I, Gambie, ca. 1735-1891. As mentioned above, in the
case of the 1355 revolt, whether or not this is Fode Kaba Dombokoua
is unclear. In this instance of 1854, it is more plausible, but the
absence of any mention of this event in Fode Kaba's life leaves room
for doubt.

39 In 1891, Fode Kaba managed to stop the work of the border
delimitation commission, but then agreed to submit to the orders of the
French government, to end the slave trade and give up his incursions
into neighboring territories. See, for example, Captain Pineau and
Administrator Aubry Leconte to Administrator of Upper Casamance at
Sédhiou, 6 April 1891, ANS, 17 15-30.

For development of this theory, see, for example, A. Sack, *La Moyenne Casamance* (Paris, 1943), and L.-Y. Thomas, *Le Djola: Essai d'analyse fonctionnelle sur une population de Basse-Casamance, III* (Dakar, 1959).

See above, l-11, introduction.

G.T. Carter to Colonial Office, 15 July, 1839, GPRO, 547/1, 2, 1405446.

Expedition vs. Fodé Kaba, GPRO, 3.

Although the French legally abolished the slave trade in French colonies, it was only in 1855 that France agreed to forbid the subjects of the restored monarchy to trade in slaves. Many exceptions to this rule were, however, noted.

See, for example, a letter of 19 August 1891, GPRO, 547/9, 1; and the enclosure in letter no. 122, from Fodé Kaba to the Governor of Bathurst, 24 August 1891, GPRO, 547/9, 1.

See, my recordings of four Kandingue griots: Abdoulaye Cissokho, Bong, department of Sedhiou; Babou Diabaté, Sedhiou; Oumar Diabaté, Sedhiou; and, Abdoulaye Cissokho with Maye Dounoubouya, Inor, department of Sedhiou.

For further information on this distinction, see, for example, J. Spencer Trimmings, *The Influence of Islam upon Africa* (New York, 1963).

Personal interview, Thierno Sylla, Dassilama-Pakao, department of Sedhiou.

Personal interview, Ibrahima Sane, Mangacounda, department of Sedhiou.

Personal interview, El Hadji Xanadou Doucoure, Pata-Kerewane, department of Kolda.

Personal interview, Maye Dounoubouya, Inor, department of Sedhiou.

Recorded interview, Sylla, Dakar.

Governor to Commissioner of Delimitation, 4 April 1891, ANS, IF 56 - 27.
See, for example, Letter from British government to French Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 12 June 1896, saying that the Gambian Governor had just received two letters from Moussa Kalo, King of Firdou, who was complaining that the slaves he had sent across the river to be exchanged for horses had been stopped and freed in the British colony. AEP, Angleterre en Afrique Occidentale, Gambie 15-I. At Carabane at the mouth of the Casamance River, there were reports of slave trading as late as 1902, despite the presence there of French officials.

Personal letter to Etienne, undersecretary of state for colonial affairs, 1891, 3, ANSM, S IV 103/b.

Expedition vs. Fodé Kaba, II, SPRO, Proclamation of 21-1-92.

Laplène to Governor, 23 February 1892, Carabane, ANSM, S 108-b/z.

For a copy of the treaty, see, AEP, 12-19, Mémoires et Documents, Afrique: Sénégal et Dépendances, 1892-94.

Lieutenant Miribel, Commandant of the post of Bignona to Captain commanding the post of Sedhiou, Bignona, 10 Sept. 1894, "Rapport: Pogny," 10.

See, for example, Instructions to Lieutenant Staup, sent in mission to the Casamance, 1892, ANSM, S IV 103/b/X.

The British developed the policy of using administrative officers called travelling commissioners to rule the Protectorate, that is the land outside of the Bathurst cape which included the Colony. These administrators resemble the French "résidents?"

Captain Séguin, Administrateur Supérieur de la Casamance to Inspecteur Général des Colonies pour le Gouvernement Général de l'ACP, Sedhiou, 3 March 1900, "Compte-rendu de la tournée dans le Kian en janvier," ANSM S VI-32 bis (A).

ibid., 2.

71 Captain Séguin, Administrateur Supérieur de la Casamance, to Inspecteur Général des Colonies pour le Gouvernement Général de l'AOF, Sédhiou, 8 March 1900, "Compte-rendu de la tournée dans le Kian en janvier," ANSCM S VI-32 bis (1).

72 ibid., ANSCM, S VI-32 bis (3).

73 Memorandum for Major Madden from R.B. Llewelyn, 29-2-92, SO, confidential, GPR 54/8, no. 126/10011, So.

74 Recorded interview with Sylla, Dakar.

75 Personal interview, El Hadji Hazadou Doucoure, Pata-Karawane, department of Kolda.
POLITICAL MAP OF THE UPPER CASAMANCE
AND MIDDLE CASAMANCE

A political revolution occurred in the Upper Casamance during the second half of the 19th century. After several centuries of peaceful co-existence, the Pauls of Fouladou responded to the declaration of war which Alfa Kalo Eggue put forth in 1867. By this war of liberation, the Pauls reversed the situation they had so long tolerated in the Upper Casamance. Once the ruled, they became the rulers. The Mandingue either deserted Fouladou, or decided to stay there, although constrained to occupy inferior positions and being dominated by their ex-vassals.

This political revolution which resulted in the creation of an independent Paul state in the Upper Casamance was actually also a religious and social revolution. Traditionally, Paul society was divided into two castes, the nobles and the slaves. The revolution reversed the relationship between these two, much as it did with the Mandingue-Paul relations. The slave caste became the superior element, the rulers instead of the ruled. This division on the social level was reflected in the religious sphere as well, for it was generally the slaves who converted to Islam and the nobles who opposed or resisted Islamization.

During the revolution, Alfa Kalo certainly used Islam to attract outside help, from the Peuls of Djallon and from the Toucouleurs in the region of Kabodig in the Middle Casamance. He may also have used the concept of a holy war to unite the Pauls behind him, thus achieving centralization both in the purpose of the movement and in execution of this movement. He
certainly used Islam to legitimize his claims to leadership and power. Once the revolution had been won Alfa Molo's interest in Islam declined, except insofar as Islam could be used to govern the provinces and to create a widespread Peul "nationalism" within Fouladou.

Under Alfa Molo's son and eventual successor, Moussa Molo, much lip service was paid to Islam, and much concern was shown for observation of the externals of Islam. Moussa, however, despite his attempts to manipulate Islam for his own purposes within Fouladou, manifested opposition to Islam outside Fouladou. His contributions to French victories over two warriors of the faith, Mamadou Lamine and Fode Kaba, tend to discredit his rather perfunctory professions of Islam. Moussa did attempt to use Islam as a state-building force, and his reign saw a great spread of Islam throughout Fouladou. Moussa's concern for Islam is as confusing and contradictory as his father's had been.

Alfa Molo, founder of Fouladou and his son and successor, Moussa both undoubtedly had colorful personalities and even today many contradictory but lively rumors and speculations circulate about them. If Fode Kaba is considered by many to be the folk hero of the Casamance, Moussa Molo must be relegated to the position of folk demon. His long career of political assassinations, retributive justice, punitive rule and offensive wars have earned him a reputation of being bloodthirsty.

Fouladou existed as a Peul state only between approximately 1867 when Alfa Molo led the Peuls in a revolt against their traditional masters, the Mandingues, and 1902 when Moussa Molo emigrated out of his Casamance lands and into British protection in the Gambian parts of his kingdom. In this brief time span, the Molos created, consolidated and ruled a large
state independent of the Fouta Djallon or of European control. Working agreements were negotiated with all of these foreign powers. The rulers of Fouladou even played one off against another — the Fouta Djallon against the French and the French against the British.

Two main themes emerge from and dominate the brief but active history of Fouladou. The first concerns the status of Fouladou in terms of the Fouta Djallon. Was Fouladou a vassal state of the Fouta Djallon imamate and, if so, prior to the revolt of Alfa Molo, or after the success of this revolt? A secondary theme in connection with Fouladou's status vis-à-vis the Fouta Djallon concerns the role of Islam and how, if such were the case, Islam was used as a factor for integrating and consolidating the Peul state. The second major theme involves the interaction between local leadership and the Europeans, and the conflicts which Fouladou worked out with the Fouta Djallon, with the Middle Casamance, and with the Europeans.

Before the revolt of 1867, the Peuls living in Fouladou in the 19th century were not Muslims. Although many of them had lived sedentary lives in Fouladou since the 16th century, they had never been converted by either the Mandingues who ruled Fouladou or their Peul ethnic counterparts in the Fouta Djallon. Several reasons explain this persistence of paganism despite sedentary lives and contact with settled Muslims or with travelling Muslim traders, the dioulas who passed through the region with caravans coming from the Fouta Djallon or Bondou, and destined primarily for factories along the Gambia, Casamance or Cacheo rivers.

Neither settled Muslims nor travelling dioulas seem to have attempted proselytization among the pagans here. This was perhaps due to their own religious laxity. It may have had more to do with their mobility, in the
case of the diouls, and with their separateness from the Pauls in the case of those settled Muslims. In both instances, they nevertheless represented a Muslim avant-garde, paving the way for eventual future imitation and conversion.

In the Upper Casamance, the Pauls and Mandingues had cohabited for several centuries. The Pauls generally lived in villages just outside the Mandingue ones, and throughout Fouladou accepted the domination of these Fouladou Mandingues. Since the Pauls lived in a state of semi-vassalship under the Mandingues, the Fouladou Muslim Mandingues may have used perpetuation of the religious differentiation as a source of authority for maintaining their control. Another explanation lies, however, in the probability that the Mandingues with whom the Fouladou Pauls had most direct contact, that is, those Mandingues living in and ruling over Fouladou, were either lapsed Muslims themselves or pagan Soninkes, and thus incapable of proselytising. A third explanation comes from the fact that many of the Fouladou Pauls were of only very recent arrival, being Pauls who had fled the Fouta Djallon in the 18th century when the Muslims there had acquired power, or who were still moving away from the Fouta Djallon's network of control. These were a group which had consciously refused Islamisation, and had left their homeland in order to preserve their fetish religion.

The relationship between Fouladou and the Fouta Djallon is a confused and often unclear one, which obscures the history of Fouladou as often as it clarifies understanding of it. The problem of Fouladou-Fouta Djallon relations is involved in the question of ascertaining Alfa Kolo's conversion to Islam, the nature of his revolt and of his power, and the extent and nature of Nense Kolo's eventual domination in the Upper Casamance.
Fouladou had existed as a region of Peul habitation at least from the 16th century. Traditionally the Peuls of Fouladou lived in a subordinate position to their Mandingue overlords. Although the lines of domination were clearly drawn, in actuality the Peuls adopted many external Mandingue habits after several centuries of contact and cohabitation. The most obvious borrowings of the Peuls from the Mandingues were purely external ones, mainly concerning style of dress, kinds of houses, and agricultural tools and practices. The Peuls nevertheless retained their ethnic identity, manifested through their adherence to traditional Peul family and village organization, caste structure, religion and language. In the mid-19th century, the Peuls revolted against their subordinate position and reversed the superior-inferior relationship existing between Mandingues and Peuls, subjecting the Mandingues who remained in Fouladou to Peul domination, and forcing the major part of the Mandingues out of Fouladou.

Alfa Ilo Ewinge is universally acclaimed as the standard-bearer and moving spirit of this revolt. This reputation is no doubt deserved. A fortuitous combination of events external to Fouladou but having such bearing on it enabled Ilo Ewinge to initiate this revolt and to emerge victorious. The political-religious revolution which began in the Peula Djallon in 1726 had resulted in the creation there of a Muslim, Peul state. This had two immediate consequences for Fouladou. On the one hand, the emergence of this Muslim-ruled Peul state entailed the migration of many non-Muslim Peuls and pagan Mandingues away from the Peula Djallon. Many of these settled in Gebu and the Guerekor, causing both further population movement in these areas, on the dadrin principle, and thus adding to the existing Muslim-pagan tensions. On the other hand,
creation of this Muslim Foul state involved the leaders of the Fouta Djallon in expansionist wars of conquest and conversion. Fouladou in the Upper Casamance, the Mandingue states in the Middle Casamance, Gabou and Voy in present Portuguese Guinea, the Gambian states on both banks of the river, and even Bondou and Bambouck near the Senegal River were touched by these wars. Much of the Casamance and the lands lying between the Casamance River states and Fouta Djallon proper, e.g., Gabou, were brought into the outlying provincial organization of the Fouta Djallon imamate. Gabou seems not to have been permanently conquered by the Fouta Djallon, and maintained its existence as an independent state, despite constant Fouta Djallon attacks, and, later, Fouladou's attempts to conquer Gabou in a piecemeal fashion.

Prior to this military contact, there had been other kinds of direct contact between the Casamance region and the Fouta Djallon. Trade and immigration links had always united these two regions along well-established routes. After the politico-religious revolution of the 18th century, military contacts were added to these traditional commercial and population interchanges. The Fouta Djallon always, attempting both to support the Muslim Mandingues against the pagans and to obtain revenue from these far-flung dependencies, launched almost annual expeditions into the Casamance. Those attempts at subjugation seem never to have been fully successful. Distance played a large role in helping the Casamance and Gabou regions preserve their autonomy from the Fouta Djallon. The alimy nevertheless retained the de jure power to nominate rulers in these border states of his empire, even if these nominations were not realized de facto or if they were merely figurehead leaders with little actual impact on or power in these areas.
The nature and extent of the interdependency between Fouladou and Feuta Djallon provide the basis for understanding the Foul revolt and the subsequent establishment of a self-governing Foul state. At the time of the revolt, Fouladou seems definitively to have been under pagan Mandingue control, and although the Fouladou Mandingues had relations with the leaders of Gabou and Feuta Djallon, theirs was nevertheless an autonomous state.

In 1367, the Foul of Fouladou successfully revolted against this Mandingue domination and established a state independent of the Mandingues. The leader of this revolt and subsequent king of Fouladou was Alfa Iolo Eggué, a Foul of the slave caste. Nothing in Alfa Iolo's background gave him the right to rule. Unlike Podé Kalo, his family enjoyed no tradition of respect for their Islamic learning. The available evidence would normally be interpreted as militating against the possibility of his gaining political power since his family was both pagan and belonged to the slave caste. Alfa's family history unfortunately sheds little light on the problem of his conversion to Islam, a problem having many ramifications for the subsequent history of Fouladou. Alfa Iolo's father, Kallal, had left Manding, a Mandingue hinterland region in present-day Mali, and had come to Fouladou passing through the Feuta Djallon. Kallal obtained permission from the Fools of Fouladou to marry one of their daughters and this union produced four sons: Kolo, Bakary Donba, Yoro and Diadio Eggué. Kolo was fifteen when his father died. At this age, he went to found the village of Diémé, which later became one of his capitals. Whether or not Kallal was a Muslin is unclear but it seems most improbable that he was. Nothing in Iolo's religious or social background indicates that he was
predestined to rule, again unlike Foda Haba whose ancestors had received a divine revelation of his eventual greatness. Holo came from a modest family, undistinguished either by its courage or its piety. In the light of this, the universal emphasis and consensus on El Hadji Omar Tall's encounter with Alfa Holo—his conversion of Holo, his revelation to Alfa of the destiny God had prepared for him, and his injunction to Holo to convert the Poulis—must be understood as attempts to legitimize Alfa Holo's seizure of power, and its perpetuation under Moussa.

The great Toucouleur Tijaniyya marabout is invoked in all Fouladou legends to glorify and sanctify the Holo family and to justify its powers and rights. According to all oral histories, El Hadji Omar passed through the Fouladou region before beginning his jihad, either in 1346 or 1354, on a trip between Dinguiraye in the Fouta Djallon and his homeland in the Fouta Toro. Other legends attest to El Hadji Omar's presence in various other parts of the Casamance, along the Gambia and in Senegal around this same time, a fact which helps render credible the Fouladou claims.

Two main traditions exist detailing the causes and dates of Alfa Holo's conversion to Islam. These two traditions are equally possible. Determination of the correct story, however, is basic to interpretation of Fouladou history for it contains the answer to the confusing attitude of Alfa and Moussa to Islam and to the Fouta Djallon. One school holds that El Hadji Omar himself converted Alfa Holo before the Poul revolt. The other contends that Holo's conversion was purely pragmatic since the Fouta Djallon promised aid only conditionally on Holo's conversion. If El Hadji Omar is seen as the one responsible for converting Holo, this would indicate that Fouladou was independent of the Fouta Djallon.
for El Hadji Oumar would not have counselled revolt against the authority of an Islamic state, particularly one with which he was on good terms. If, however, the responsibility for conversion is assigned to the Fouta Djallon, this substantiates the probability of Fouladou's provincial status within the Fouta Djallon empire. The Fouta Djallon which was both Islamic and Peul, may have aided the Fouladou Peuls to revolt against its own enemy, the pagan Mandingue state of Gabou, but would certainly have demanded Islamization as a precondition. Most explanations of this situation seem to be justifications or legitimization of Molo's behaviour.

According to the first variant of the story, Oumar found hospitality at the home of Molo's wife while Molo himself was out hunting and after other villagers had consistently refused to accept him. On his return Oumar congratulated Molo on his wife's kindness, remained as his guest for some time, and predicted Molo's future. El Hadji Oumar told Molo that nine years remained for the Mandingue domination of Fouladou, and at the end of those nine years, Molo would lead the Peuls in a holy war against the Mandingues. This prediction clearly points to the paganism of the Mandingues who ruled Fouladou at that time, and to the absence of connections between them and the Islamic state of the Fouta Djallon. Molo was also initiated into the Tijaniyya mysteries of El Hadji Oumar, who taught Molo to pray, to use his rosary, to fast, and to recite Tijaniyya verses. Oumar also predicted the birth of Moussa, and foretold that he would be a king. He recommended Molo and his future son, Moussa, to the protection of Tafsir Bara Dia, one of El Hadji Oumar's great talibes in Kabada, the Toucouleur enclave in the Casamance.
Kolo accompanied Omar when the march left Fouladou, and then Kolo decided to turn back. Omar predicted that the lands which they had covered together would all be under Kolo's rule one day. Whether this story is entirely on fact (no) justification cannot be argued with certainty. Kolo's great-grandson, Hamadou Fallaye Falla, claims that even prior to El Hadji Omar's passage, Kolo called himself a Muslim because he initiated three Mandingo friends in their prayers, but that Kolo also admitted to El Hadji Omar that he had never been converted and did not know how to read or write. Kolo's grand-nephew, Demba Sou, grandson of Bakary Dembe, Kolo's brother, maintains that Kolo was converted to Islam by the almay of the Fouta Djallon, but that this took place after the passage of El Hadji Omar; Omar nevertheless remained Kolo's only march, despite Kolo's links with the Fouta Djallon. El Hadji Omar's presence in Fouladou before the Foul revolt seems quite certain, but the exact nature of his relationship with Alfa Kolo and the specific details of his predictions cannot be proved. The answer to this apparent dilemma seems most likely to lie in a modification of the dichotomy. El Hadji Omar's interest probably caused Kolo to Islam. The sanction for Kolo's state-building activities, however, depended on his obtaining religious and political recognition from the militarily powerful Muslim Foul state, the Fouta Djallon. The almay's support in sending troops to aid the Fulas of Fouladou was crucial to Fouladou's initial victory. By sending Kolo a turban and conferring on him the title of Elfa, the almay of the Fouta Djallon implicitly bestowed approval and thus power on Alfa.

There are numerous inconsistencies and contradictions in the story of Alfa Kolo. That he was a great hunter of elephants and a native of
Fouladou are incontrovertible. Whether or not he was a member of the slave caste is less certain. Obviously, the family denies it, but general opinion seems to confirm his slave status within traditional Peul society. The problem of a slave’s right to rule was raised several times during Molo’s and later Moussa’s reign, and was used as a justification for revolting against them. The spiritual-religious support Alfa had received from El Hadji Oumar and the almamy of the Fouta Djallon helped sustain their prestige despite these attacks.

A French commentator puts forth the view that El Hadji Oumar had inspired Alfa Molo to undertake a holy war against the pagan Mandingues. As foretold by El Hadji Oumar, Molo did indeed lead the Peul uprising — whether politico-religious or purely political — against the Mandingues between 1865 and 1867. Several factors proved essential to the Peuls’ success. The Mandingues living in Fouladou had uncentralized, mutually independent villages. The Toucouleurs of Kian-Kabada came, albeit in small numbers, to the aid of the Fouladou Peuls, as El Hadji Oumar had foretold and recommended. The Fouta Djallon added its considerable weight to the supporters of Molo, conferring on him the turban and title of Alfa, leader of Fouladou. When revolution began, the Fouladou Peuls seemed quite capable of emerging victorious. Reinforcements became necessary when the revolt lengthened, and they became more numerous as the Peuls approached victory and others wanted to share in the victory. Molo sent to the almamy of the Fouta Djallon, asking for reinforcements from him. Whether the almamy made these reinforcements dependent on Molo’s conversion or not, he did send troops under his son’s leadership, Mamadou Salif. Several crucial questions arise at this point. Had Molo converted to Islam by the time he began his revolt;
did he consider himself to be fighting a holy war against the pagan Mandingues; were those Mandingues controlling Fouladou pagans, lapsed Muslims or practicing Muslims? Did the almamy of the Fouta Djallon insist on Molo's conversion; did he send the sign of office and the title to Molo? Was the Fouta Djallon interested in creating a new Muslim province within its control, or was it merely interested in revenge on its traditional enemies, the pagan Mandingues of Gabou?

All of the oral traditions collected, with one exception, affirm that Molo was converted by El Hadji Oumar prior to asking the Fouta Djallon for help. No oral tradition gives much emphasis to the role of the Fouta Djallon in liberating Fouladou from the Mandingues. Some traditions indicate that the Mandingues in Fouladou were pagans. It is highly probable that hindsight has erased the role of the Fouta Djallon, particularly since Alfa and Moussa encountered difficulties with the Fouta Djallon. The official family history as provided by Alfa's great grandson, Mamadou Fallaye Balde, denies the Fouta Djallon any role whatsoever in Fouladou's war of independence. This is explicable in terms of the problems Alfa and Moussa faced in keeping their state independent of Fouta Djallon and in even encroaching on Fouta Djallon territories. This history also credits Alfa Molo with unexpected piety and sincerity of faith. At the start of his revolt, Alfa Molo asked a question similar to one credited to Fode Kaba. Alfa asked: "Why would I make war upon Muslims? My marabout El Hadji Oumar told me to make war on the pagan Mandingues. After having chased them out, I will take control of the country in order to establish the Muslim faith. This will be done with the help of the marabouts, for I am a Muslim and it is El Hadji Oumar who converted me."
Alfa seems certainly to have had the position and titles of leadership conferred upon him by the almamy of the Fouta Djallon. This, combined with the prediction El Hadji Oumar had made, provided the Molos with enormous spiritual and political support. Both rulers of Fouladou had, however, to wage frequent battles to maintain their leadership. Not the least of their adversaries was, in fact, the Fouta Djallon. Certainly the Fouta Djallon claimed sovereignty over some regions held by Fouladou, and vice versa. Fouta Djallon opposition very probably existed because of the lax nature of Alfa's Muslim state and the loose practice of his faith. Apparently after the Peuls' victory over the Mandingues, Alfa Molo and the Fouta Djallon almamy had a dispute. Although the cause for this is uncertain, it could have been over doctrinal matters in which the Fouta Djallon put much store. This resulted in the almamy's withdrawal of his help to Alfa and in his rescinding Alfa's title, in favor of his own son, Mamadou Salif. Alfa eventually emerged the victor in this contest, and was reinstated officially, but a pattern of rivalry was set which endured until Moussa's abdication of power in 1903. During the rest of Alfa's reign, the Fouta Djallon seems to have abstained from other interventions.

Alfa demonstrated a modicum of respect for the Fouta Djallon's power, as for its religious importance. He actively solicited marabouts to settle in Fouladou and to convert the Peuls to Islam. Alfa brought in the great Tijaniyya marabout, Thierno Muhammadu Diallo and encouraged the proselytizing activities of others, primarily from the Foutas Djallon and Toro. Alfa's great-grandson says that Alfa Molo had obtained a piece of writing from El Hadji Oumar which Alfa revealed to the marabouts he convoked. This paper enjoined the promulgation of Islam in Fouladou.
and listed the rules to be obeyed, notably never to war on Muslims. Even
under Alfa N'Diaye, however, conversion seems to have been an enforced pro-
cess for, as Kapoudou Fallaye Falla says, “all those who did not convert
were decapitated or shot.”

Alfa’s deliberate policy of Islamisation was at least partially
in his own best interest, since conversion would entail acceptance of
Alfa’s divinely predetermined position, and would provide a basis for unity.
Alfa avoided antagonizing the Peul Djallon and, to keep relations unevent-
ful, submitted to the always a part of any booty gathered in his wars, and
sent an annual tribute payment. In this adroit manner, Alfa managed to
keep his frontiers safe from external attacks while he built up his strength
within his newly won lands.

Alfa’s was not a quiet life after his revolt and the wars of
consolidation which lasted into the early 1870’s. One of his first tests
as leader of Pouledou was the conflict with Podo Kaba at Keroum inwards
1875. This conflict served to emphasize the ethnic divisions which had
grown up in the Casamance and which gained greater importance during
Moussa N’Dyne’s reign. Podo Kaba, as leader of the Mandingues, and Alfa
N’Diyane, leader of the Peuls grappled in a struggle which ended in a state-
mate for both parties since Mandinge expansion eastward or Peul expansion
westward were effectively suspended after this encounter. Henceforth each
group was obliged to recognize the existence of the other and to work
out plans of action within the ethnic boundaries which Alfa N’Diyane’s revo-
lution had brought into being by creating a Peul state in the Upper
Casamance.
Alfa Holo followed a policy of attempting to thwart internal opposition to his rule by several means. On the one hand, he tried to bind his military lieutenants to himself by giving them responsibility for the government of provinces within Fouladou. This policy also represented an effort to keep the military leaders occupied with small-scale problems and to prevent them from uniting against him or from competing with him for land and power. Not long after the victory of the Paul revolt, one of Alfa Holo's staunchest allies, and according to some, his closest (i.e., a noble Paul), tried to rebel against his authority and to take over his power. Alfa had the traitor put to death, as a lesson to other potential rivals for the leadership of Fouladou. That he never gained total adherence to his leadership or to the state he created is indicated by the difficulties Husseina faced in attempting to succeed Alfa Holo.

Having created the provincial system, Alfa kept only central overlordship for himself. He may have only replaced the defeated Murdianga chiefs with victorious Paul chiefs, superimposing them on traditional regions. The names of these provinces vary from informant to informant, and probably represented a carry-over from the Old Empire. One source claims that there were only three large provinces in traditional Fouladou: Firdou, Gabau and Fosali. Myers, when he signed his treaty of protectorate with the French in 1883 called himself king of Firdou, also commanding the lands of: Kanako, Bikhe, Pariako, Bouabo, Kelle, Fouladou, Fouloutang, Karoni, Mokana, Sabekola, Kanadou, Konama, Diolou, Gira, Konoro, Campoyo, Kantara, Kibo, Kanakaounda, Dinar, Sateruma, Baloto, Badari, Nari, Tadoumde, lands of Fako Kaba, Mahana, Danyou, Fatama, Bokoum, and Korouly (etc. . .). Alfa Holo's grandson/poet lists
the provinces established after the revolt as being fourteen: Manica, Kantura, Mimpay, Patinness, Patimbalalacoula, Diacbes, Fathiane, Fokal, Pata, Patountrouse, Pata, Sosa, Firocou, Kanadou. Provinicial names vary on maps as well, and many "provinces" would appear to be only large town-like agglomerations of people. (see map, p. 157.)

As the provincial system probably predated Alfa's independent Fouladou, and since the component parts vary so widely from informant to informant, the exact limits of Fouladou--the original or the conquered states which made up Fouladou--cannot be defined with precision, but they were vast, extending from the Gebbia River to deep into Portuguese Guinea. All, or parts of Gabou were included. Both oral evidence and some written evidence claim that Gabou was in large part incorporated into dependent Fouladou. Some sources even say that Fouladou was the name chosen to replace the traditional title of Gabou, and that Firdou (not Fouladou) was only one province of traditional Gabou. Other sources indicate that Gabou maintained its status as a separate entity, even though it was eventually subjugated by the Foulah and became one of the Fouta Djallon tributary states. Gabou's status certainly varied with great rapidity: parts of it were effectively included within Fouladou; other parts were claimed by Fouladou or the Fouta Djallon, but remained independent of either, first under pagan Mandinguo rule, and later, seemingly under Muslim Mandinguo direction.

The reality of provincial control seems to lie again in the question of Fouladou's relationship to the Fouta Djallon, and the extent of the Fouta Djallon's authority or pretensions to power. Both sides seem to have claimed regions outside of their actual control. That parts of
the Casamance and Gambian regions and some parts of Portuguese Guinea were linked to the Fouta Djallon, particularly to the alirny of Labe either through direct subinfeudation or through a hierarchical chain of vassalage, as clear. The three main provinces (Firdou, Gabou and Foroah) do seem to have had such relationships of vassalage to the alirny of Labe in that he appointed their chiefs and they depended on him for military support and paid his dues or taxes from their vassalships. Equally supportive evidence lies in the fact of direct and constant contact between the Fouta Djallon and Fouladou in terms of migrations and trade. The major conflict between Fouladou and the Fouta Djallon came when the Europeans demonstrated their interest in Fouta Djallon. The local leaders profited from this interest to put forth their own claims—both realistic and wishful.

Unfortunately the question of which lands Mousa ruled and which were strictly under the jurisdiction of the Fouta Djallon province of Labe became a political football which the French kicked around. The French used Mousa Balle, or more precisely, profited from the territorial claims he made, to weaken and divide the various leadership factions in the Fouta Djallon. Throughout the 1880's and 1890's, France was contesting Britain for occupation of the Fouta Djallon. Mousa's alliance with the French put him into a very advantageous position, for with the French help he could both extend his actual control over areas in which he pretended to have rights but which he was unable to occupy or control without the French support. He could also behave without reference to the Fouta Djallon, no longer sending tribute or booty to the Fouta Djallon, and at the same time extending his kingdom at the Fouta Djallon's expense.
The Fouta Djallon-Fouladou problem had the misfortune to be used by rival factions within the colonial government. In December 1881 the Casamance had been joined directly to the colonial government of Senegal, and the Rivières de Sud made into a separate administrative division. Both the Senegalese government and French administrators in Keur, Timbo and Conakry in present-day Guinea elected jurisdiction over the Foute Djallon. The problem of Foute Djallon-Fouladou relations was thus further complicated by internal colonial rivalries which led to each side of the quarrel receiving conflicting aid from the French.25 Moussa Kolo and Boubacar Sancé of Boudou profited from these jealousies and rivalries to take over small parts of the western and northern Foute Djallon states.

Many of the conflicting demands toward the turn of the century resulted from previous failures by both Fouladou and Foute Djallon leaders to gain effective control of regions they considered theirs. The successful revolt which Alfa Kolo had launched lasted for several years, at the end of which Alfa, with substantial support from the Foute Djallon, was firmly master of the large region of Fouladou between the Gambia River and the Foute Djallon, west to the Middle Casamance and east to the Kolounto River. Moussa subjugated many more regions to Fouladou's control. With increasing size, however, came decreasing control. Moussa was obliged to reconquer many of the lands his father had taken, or to lose direct control over outlying provinces. In 1899, Moussa was obliged to accept a French decision on his eastern and southern borders, a decision which gave the disputed lands of Pabesé to the Foute Djallon and made the Kolounto Moussa's eastern frontier.26

Moussa inherited the title and position of leadership from his father. He did not automatically inherit the respect and fear which his father had earned and which had enabled him to govern quite effectively.
At his father's death, Houssa inherited many problems which his father had created without ever resolving, and many others which had lain dormant under his father's rule. Alfa Kolo had led the Peuls to victory and had set up the framework of a functioning state system. He claimed control over many regions which the Fouta Djallon also claimed. Territorial disputes proved to be a constant problem for the leaders of Fouladou after his death. As much of his ability to rule over the provincial system he had established depended on his own personality and power, and on the great religious prestige incumbent on him from his direct connection with el Hadji Omar, a peaceful or smooth accession to central leadership after his death was virtually impossible. Houssa had to face outside opposition from the Fouta Djallon certainly, and possibly from the Hausings of Gabou or the Middle Casamance. He also was faced with succession by several individual provincial leaders within Fouladou. The greatest threat to Fouladou's stability after Alfa Kolo's death was the internecine war for over-all control of Fouladou which broke out between Alfa's heirs—whether self-appointed or with Diour, customary as with Bakary Deeba, or chosen, as was reportedly Houssa's advantageous situation.

Alfa Kolo's death in 1831, occasioned a succession struggle between his brother, Bakary Deeba, and his son, Houssa Kolo. Alfa called the two potential claimants to his throne to his death bed and made known his wishes. To Bakary Deeba, he gave his wives and cattle, but it was to Houssa that he entrusted all his other property and succession to the throne. After his father's death, Houssa announced that he considered Bakary Deeba as his father and that, therefore, it would be disrespectful for him to rule instead of Bakary Deeba. Houssa then apparently
confided the kingship on Bakary Demba, on the understanding that Bakary should not interfere in Moussa's activities in the provinces he governed or change the system as established by Alfa.\textsuperscript{27} The kingship seems not to have entailed central rule of all the states within Fouladou, but only overlordship, at best. This was probably not Alfa Kolo's intention, but a state of fact, wherein powerful local leaders ruled independently and only had recourse to the central kingship when they needed help or support.

Shortly after this transfer of the title of kingship to Bakary Demba, towards 1332, the power struggle began. In 1839 a British officer wrote:

There is no doubt... that Donbell is the recognized King of the Fehrdoo country; but it is equally true that his nephew, Nasa Bollok, exercises, apparently with the king's concurrence, greater authority than the king himself.\textsuperscript{28}

He added that Moussa had a "standing feud" with Fédé Kaba, and a quarrel with his own brother, Dicori "who is a chief in the Niamina country, which has practically been incorporated into Fehrdoo," but that "at the present moment Moussa Kolo holds an exceptional position arising from his natural force of character..."\textsuperscript{29} Dicori, Moussa Kolo's half brother, Bakary Demba, his paternal uncle, Banban Dalla, a powerful Mandingue chief, and Moussa himself were the protagonists in this confrontation which divided Fouladou. Bakary initiated the struggle by telling the people of Kanadou and Sankolla, provinces over which Moussa ruled, to disobey Moussa and to assassinate him. Moussa learned of his uncle's treachery, challenged the inhabitants of these provinces, and subjugated them. Thereafter, Bakary and Dicori continued to antagonize Moussa, sending raiders into the provinces he controlled and causing general chaos throughout all of Fouladou.
Moussa's situation worsened rapidly as competitors and chal-

lengers compounded the original treachery of his uncle and brother. Circum-
stances made it most advantageous for Moussa to enter into an alliance with
the French, for in this way he gained the extra strength he needed. By 1333,
when he signed a treaty with the French, he was weakened on all fronts:
to the west Fode Kaba was solidly established in his fort at Médina in
Kian; to the east, several provinces (Fatiana and Pakano) were threatened
by the extensive strength of Alfa Yaya in the Route Djallon; in the south,
other provinces (Fambantana, Kanfodia, Kola and Sanka) refused to obey
Moussa and virtually seceded from the federated Fouldou Alfa Molo had
built. Danantan under the leadership of Famban Dallah declared open revolt
against Moussa's rule. Dicori and Bakary enjoyed increasing popularity
and influence in central Fouldou, at Guinara and Sofiana.

Moussa's needs coincided with and complemented European needs at
this point. The area comprising Fouldou covered parts of Portuguese
Guinea, French Senegal, and British Gambia. Each of these three colonial
powers in the last decade of the 19th century became increasingly interested
in expanding into the hinterland. This inland expansion eventually necessi-
tated boundary delimitations as the powers inevitably found themselves
contesting control of regions. Moussa Molo profited from this European
presence to gain support for his difficult position, and they, particularly
the French, gained control peacefully over large areas, agriculturally
fertile and commercially wealthy.

The Europeans needed strong African rulers to guarantee security
to traders, particularly in this strategic area which formed the axis of
many important caravan trade routes. They preferred policies of cooperation
with local rulers, to avoid having to spend time, money and lives in cam-
paigns against recalcitrants. Where they did not find such leaders, they
created them, as in the Sudan where they found that but were refused col-
laboration they attempted to violate local power, as in the cases of Abu
Meckhao in Selaou or Pedí Kaka in Hiss and Fogo. Mousse was more than
willing to collaborate with the Europeans and he cleverly realized that
he could turn the Europeans needs to his own advantage. He secured first
French and later British support, which enabled him to gain the upper hand
in internal Poulaou disputes and to translate many parts of his kingdom
from nominal to actual submission. The Portuguese consistently supported
opponents of Mousse, however, trying to create local leaders whose allegi-
ance would be within the colony and to the Portuguese colonial government.

Beginning in 1792, Mousse made overtures to the French adminis-
trator at Selaou. His father before him had cooperated with the
Europeans in putting down a Mouván revolt at Selaou in 1779, but with-
out receiving the same returns as his son.32 On November 1390, the French
signed a treaty of protectorate with Mousse Mousse.33 Lieutenant Lacadie who
negotiated the treaty also discovered the important size and richness of
the region. He wrote that “Poulaou or Poulaou is no longer the small coun-
try indicated on Japa’s map.”34 He said that Poulaou’s northern limits
extended from MacCarthy Island in the north to Guina’s In, its western
limits were Gambia, Senegambia, Polon, and Tinne in the south, Poulaou stretched from Ferk to the Juna River, and included Fenyre and
Foussé to the Tonka River; and in the east, Selaou and Matta jar the
limits. At this time the French believed they could develop Poulaou.
as a rubber-producing area, since in 1382 the traders had purchased 60 tons of rubber.\textsuperscript{33} The treaty gave the French participatory rights in the government of Fouladou as they understood it to exist. In the treaty, however, Moussa claimed sovereignty over many areas which he had never or no longer actually controlled.\textsuperscript{34} His gamble on the French coming to his aid to subjugate these areas proved successful in some instances, particularly against his uncle Bakary Derba, his brother, Dodi and his rival Bamban Dalla.

Once having become an ally of the French, Moussa began to call upon them for military support. He gave them his support in two major expeditions, the first in 1387 against Hamadou Lamine, and the second in 1901 against Fode Kaba. His help contributed to the French and British strategy in defeating Fode Kaba, since the presence of at least two hundred of his cavalry and seven hundred infantry secured the eastern front for the Europeans.\textsuperscript{35a} The French were particularly grateful for his help against the Dibango marabout Hamadou Lamine, and felt that the 2,000 cavalry he contributed had been essential to their victory.\textsuperscript{35} Nevertheless, Moussa's troubles within Fouladou continued throughout his reign, and he was obliged to sign further treaties with the colonial powers, eventually, perhaps inevitably, losing any control over his lands and becoming a bonded "paper tiger" of the Europeans.

On 11 January 1395, and again on 9 March 1397, Moussa signed treaties which gave the French three important benefits: first, he conceded land at Hamdallahi, his capital (with N'Donna, his father's capital and a neighboring village, as an alternative site), on which they could build a military post or residence, and rights to have a telegraph line
pass from Fatick north of Gambia to Soudiou across Moussa's territory; second, he recognized French rights to collect half-taxes within his lands; and, third, he gave them the right to supervise his actions. In 1901, after protracted negotiations with the British, Moussa gave up any claims or rights over Gambian regions, in return for payment of 12,000 francs (£500) a year. In this agreement of June 1901 Moussa made five important concessions: 1) that part of his kingdom within the British sphere of influence should become part of the Gambia Protectorate; 2) that a British officer should be put in charge there; 3) that all dealing in slaves would be outlawed; 4) that "practices of punishment repugnant to the laws of humanity and civilization" would be discontinued; 5) that the Governor could impose and collect a hut tax there. Moussa had been in contact with the British over questions of his sovereignty in the Gambia at least since 1892, and probably since 1837. The boundary delimitation in 1836 cut off many of his lands from his residence in French Senegal, but he declined British offers to settle in their colony, assuring them of his close ties with the French. The Portuguese government consistently followed a policy of refusing to recognize Moussa Molo's claims to sovereignty over parts of their colony, Portuguese Guinea. They did, however, retroactively acknowledge Alfa Molo's prior sovereignty over the parts of Fouladou formally lying within their borders after 1836. The Portuguese recognized instead a chief who had rebelled against Moussa Molo, Sellou Coyada, whose father Mamadou Pate Coyada had seceded from Fouladou. In 1929 when Moussa Molo requested permission to settle at Dandou Kossara, the town where his father had been buried, both the French and the Portuguese refused him rights of passage or entry. Of the
colonial powers, only the French actively supported Moussa in his domestic problems, and then only insofar as support for him did not conflict with their policies elsewhere, and insofar as he cooperated with them on commercial and administrative matters.

Moussa Molo's rivalries with the Fouta Djallon and his friendship with Almamy Boubakar Saada, almay of Boundou, complemented French designs on the Fouta Djallon. In 1895, the French authorized both Moussa Molo and Boubakar Saada to make war on the Fouta Djallon province of Labe, as part of France's overall plan to attack and subdue the Fouta Djallon from several different approaches.42 A French captain, Baures, arrived at Ham-dallaye with thirteen artillerymen (tirailleurs) to augment Moussa's contingent of one hundred warriors from Foreah and Gabou.43 After initial successes against Thierno Ibrahima of N'Dama, the Fouladou-French coalition confronted a second of Moussa's enemies, Bamban Dallo, the Mandingue leader of two Fouladou provinces, Paquessi and Daumentan. On July 9th, Moussa's army was ingloriously defeated at Paroumba. Captain Baures left in disgust and Moussa, unable to continue the war alone, retired to Hamdallaye. From there, he made continual demands on the French for help. With the assistance of French troops finally sent under Lieutenant Moreau, Moussa defeated Bamban Dallo at Kankelefa and Koutane in Banjir on January 21 and 22, 1895 respectively, although Bamban Dallo succeeded in fleeing the French. In this battle Moussa himself had approximately three thousand men at his side, Peuls from Fouladou, Mandingues from several areas, Toucouleurs, Wolofs, some Moors and Peuls from Cayor. About half of his men were armed with some kind of guns; others had only sabers or sticks, others nothing.44
Prior to this time, and again with French assistance, Moussa Molo had succeeded in getting rid of his traditional enemies, his uncle Bakary Demba and his brother, Diociri. Early in 1392, Moussa attacked and defeated the two leaders of resistance and opposition in their strongholds -- Bakary Demba at Korop in Guimara, and Diociri at Niore in Pata. After having appealed to the French for help in calming disruptive revolts within his jurisdiction, Moussa received approval from the Governor of Senegal, de Lamothe, who sent a Lieutenant Bertrandon with a detachment of twenty-six men to help Moussa, their ally. On 27 February, Korop was taken, although Bakary Demba escaped to the Gambia. Diociri’s headquarters at Niore were taken on 13 March. According to Fode Kaba at least, Diociri had made overtures to the Mandingue marabout, asking for support, but Fode Kaba had refused, saying that both he and Moussa were under the French command and had to obey them. Diociri surrendered, but died shortly after, perhaps assassinated on Moussa’s orders. After this, no serious rival arose in Fouladou, and Moussa designated no heir apparent who might scheme against him.

According to Moussa Molo’s grandson, religious differences caused the division between Bakary Demba and Moussa. After Bakary had obtained leadership of Fouladou, he displaced and murdered many of Alfa Molo’s appointed provincial chiefs. Outraged by these actions, Moussa charged him with being a despot who had reneged on his promise to rule the country as Alfa had. He also accused Bakary of having chased out all the marabouts whom Alfa had called into Fouladou to instruct and convert the population. Bakary, in response, replied that Alfa’s provincial organization did not interest him and that all would obey his, Bakary’s orders.
He further said:

We were not born Muslims. We have no knowledge of this religion. Our only religion is drinking palm wine, dancing to the sound of tambours (drums) while forming a circle around the calabashes and barrels of palm wine.

Differences in religious conviction may very well have existed between Moussa Molo and his uncle Bakary. Certainly at this point, much of Fouledou had not been converted to Islam, or had been converted only in name. The principal dividing factor between the three — Moussa Molo, Bakary Demba, and Diori — seems basically to have been rivalry for control of the military and of the administration. Moussa, by realizing the advantages to be gained from cooperating with the Europeans, managed to emerge victorious in this rivalry.

The French, however, became increasingly suspicious of his methods of ruling, and increasingly aware of popular protests. His administrative system retained the same basic principles and divisions which had been established by his father. These geographical divisions may have existed when the Mandingues had ruled Fouledou. Alfa certainly replaced the ruling chiefs with his own lieutenants and supporters, some Mandingues and some Peuls. Moussa in turn retained many of the same people, perhaps from inability to displace them successfully without a revolt or coalition against himself. Moussa did take under his personal rule the central Fouledou province of Firdou, which his father had assigned to one of his lieutenants. He also extended his father's conquests, and consolidated others so that the state he finally ruled was much larger than the one his father had originally liberated. Difficulty of communications and transport obviously meant that many parts of the kingdom were only
nominally under Moussa's direct overlordship. Some regions claimed by Moussa in actuality only aligned themselves with Fouladou when they needed its military support.

The virtually constant difficulties Moussa encountered during his reign seriously impaired Fouladou's wealth. As early as 1894, the French at Sedhiou became aware of the fact that trade caravans from Soudan and Bondou were avoiding crossing Fouladou to arrive at Sedhiou. These caravans changed their routes to safe undisturbed passage through Kolla and Kanadou in Portuguese Guinea, to the market at Farim. Because of Moussa's exacting policies of taxation, arbitrary judgement, or enforced conversion, many entire villages emigrated into British Gambia or Portuguese Guinea, further weakening Fouladou's economy. Frequently cases were cited where Moussa tried to prevent the French from learning of these emigrations by imposing double taxes on remaining villages, a policy which eventually forced the remaining ones to revolt or to emigrate.

The French had attempted to systematize taxes and justice within Moussa's kingdom, but neither they nor the British could force implementation of agreements on these or on slave trading matters. Although Alfa Molo had the reputation of being a just man, during Moussa's reign, the courts were exceedingly corrupt, justice personal and prepotent. In theory, the judicial system was in the hands of the king and of his provincial chiefs, but under Moussa justice was based uniquely on "capriciousness and self-interest." The king, Moussa, was the ultimate judge beyond whom no recourse to appeal was possible. Theoretically, he convened a palaver including the defendants and witnesses, heard all sides, then pronounced judgement. In actuality, beautiful women or gifts of money
or goods were often used to influence the king's listening capacity, so that judgement was predetermined in an unjust way. Often too, secret envoys were sent to the place of the crime so that information could be gathered and the judicial decision taken before the palaver began, a fashion of proceeding which permitted such judicial mismanagement.

Moussa had a reputation — perhaps undeserved — for being blood-thirsty. Numerous legends persist of cases where he had people buried alive, pregnant women slit open, or enemies dropped into wells. For a price of fifty cows he could permit one man to kill another, a rival or enemy. Muslim courts did exist, but generally seem to have been based uniquely on traditional laws or on Moussa's whims since the participating marabouts depended on Moussa for their lives. They also seem to have been established as a means of duping the Europeans into approving conditions within Moussa's kingdom and to legitimizing his Muslim leadership position.

Moussa's excesses eventually proved his undoing. In 1903, he was called to Sadiou to account for the many complaints which had come to the administrator's ears, and for the economic ruin which was threatening Fouladou. He agreed to meet with the French, but was warned of their intentions, and fearing deportation to Sierra Leone, chose instead flight into the Gambia. The French had feared the possibility of complications arising from their convocation of Moussa, since they were unsure how many troops and supporters Moussa then actually possessed. A telegram just prior to the assigned date of Moussa's meeting with the French administrator at Sadiou allayed their fears. It seems that Moussa had tried to rally men to his support from Gambia, but without success,
and that "all the village chiefs of Foulou [Firdou] determined to repulse with all their energy any attempt made by him." 59

On May 14, 1903, in the absence of the French resident from his post at Moussa's capital of Hamdallaye, Moussa gathered his goods, people and flocks, and burned both this capital and his other capital, N'Dorma. On 16 May he passed into the British colony of Gambia, having burnt several villages on his route in attempts to force the inhabitants to follow him. Nevertheless, when he encountered opposition from village chiefs who no longer feared him, he dared not resist them, so feeble was his support. In addition to the villagers who fecklessly accepted to accompany him, he took with him the several hundred wives of his harem and about sixty horsemen who were his body guard.

With permission from the British government, he settled at Kerseraounda. Many of those who had accompanied Moussa deserted him shortly thereafter to return to their homes. Most of the inhabitants of those villages which had left Fouladou for refuge in Portuguese Guinea or Gambia also returned rapidly, rebuilding their villages and their old ways of life in a pacified Fouladou. Moussa died in 1931 after twenty-eight years in the Gambia, interrupted by a temporary wartime deportation to Sierra Leone. He made repeated requests to the French, asking permission to return to Fouladou. As the last representative of traditional kingship in the Senegalese colony, and as one who had been particularly troublesome to their progress, the French consistently refused these petitions. Despite his early cooperation with the French and his aid to them in two important military expeditions, Moussa was rejected by the French as he had been by his own subjects. It is difficult to
assess his merits as a ruler--military leader, administrative director, or spiritual force—for many different evaluations of the man and his rule are possible.

Moussa's character has been described in widely contradictory terms. In 1884, a French officer went to visit him at his court and described all he saw in glowing terms: Moussa was announced to them at Karedallays by a long gun salute and the singing of thirty or forty griots, walking or riding. Moussa himself was mounted on a large horse, wearing a yellow silk boubou (flowing cloak-like garment) with a blue shawl and a violet turban. He was younger than thirty at this point. His entourage of griots and warriors were nearly all dressed neatly in blue or white boubous. His residence was surrounded by high walls and permission for entry came from a royal clique. Later reports were less flattering. Captain Baudos who was with Moussa at the mortifying defeat of Foureca in 1895 wrote even before that event that Moussa was a stubborn, rigid person, unwilling to take any advice and dependent on no one for counsel.

Another observer described him as being very superstitious:

**Moussa Kala** preaches Islam ostentatiously, and frequently makes what he calls "offerings," that is, at certain periods of the year or on holidays, he gives cattle as gifts to the poor, but makes certain that these are not taken from his hordes. Hardships have a great influence on him, especially concerning war or his relations with the Europeans.

On the whole, Moussa was an extremely adroit manipulator of his own destiny. He gave the territories and titles he inherited from his father greater concrete significance, but in so doing, managed to undercut his own power in two ways. On the one hand, Moussa abdicated many rights and powers to the French colonial system, and became increasingly
a figurehead for their administration, dependent on them for substantiation of his claims. On the other hand, his "reign of terror" diminished the population and traditional natural wealth Fouladou had enjoyed from its own resources and from its being on a trade route. By the time of Moussa's emigration into the Gambia, Fouladou had become a poor and depopulated territory. Moussa's regime devastated the productivity of the region, decimating and dispersing the population, thus causing the land to lie fallow and uncultivated.

There is no record of Moussa's ever having taken on Islamic titles, and few references to his religious beliefs or practices. Islam was for him a pragmatic element useful in the administration and pacification of his state. He had several nongovernment councillors, but they seem to have been primarily scribes or emissaries with the Europeans, not decision-makers. Moussa consciously attempted to foster a sense of Peul unity, or widespread identification with Fouladou. At one point, he tried to bring about this unity by enforcing a national language policy on the population of Fouladou, deciding that whether the inhabitants were Mandingues or Peuls, only Peul should be spoken. Religion was for him another source for accomplishing the unification of Fouladou. On this religious level, however, Moussa Kolo was less successful in obtaining his goals. Alfa had begun the deliberate official policy of encouraging the spread of Islam. Islamisation as an official policy was less effective than accidental conversion. One essential corollary of this official policy, however, was the increasing number of religious figures circulating or living in Fouladou, and in this sense, the official decision was effectively implemented.
Despite the Kalaf's connection with and reliance on El Hadji
Cassar, the Fouta Djallon, and Islam more or less, neither Alfa nor House
created a truly Islamic state in the orthodox sense of a socio-economic
territorial unit ruled according to Islamic principles and based on the
Sharia (Islamic law). They did, however, provide over the beginning of
Islamization in a state which they had forged and to which they had
given the administrative superstructure necessary for its continued
functioning.


The following information is based primarily on two family accounts, the first that of Hamadou Fallaye Baldé, Moustafa Kolda's grandson and official keeper of the family history. The second is from the grandson of Bakary Déroba, Kekouenyel Djibba Sow, in the village of Korrop.


See, Martin Klein, Islam and Imperialism in Senegal: Sine-Saloum, 1347-1914 (Stanford, 1983); also, personal interview with Awa Doutchéy; also, personal communication from Ibrahim Janna, graduate student in history, Gambian, University of Wisconsin.

Both official family historians, Hamadou Fallaye Balde and Koukenyel Denba Sow, belong to this school, thus giving it credence. Personal interviews.

The main exponent of the other school is Pathe Balde, an elder who was an eyewitness to some of the latest events in Mousa's life. Personal interview, Sere Demara, department of Kolda.

See the translations of my interviews with Hamadou Fallaye Balde and Koukenyel Denba Sow.

Personal interview, Hamadou Fallaye Balde, Faraba, department of Kolda.

Personal interview, Koukenyel Denba Sow, Korrop, department of Kolda.

In the Fouta Djallon, the coronation rite was called "enturbaning," and it was the turban which was the symbol of office for the imamate of the imamate and of the provinces. The title "Alfa" implies both religious and political leadership. It has, however, become a common name in modern times, and the significance has been correspondingly lost. As with the enturbaning rite, the title alfa was given only to the alms of the imamate or to those of the provinces.

12 The one exception is Pathe Baldé, living in the village of Sare Doura, department of Kolda. Personal interview.

13 See both the official family histories, that of Mamadou Fallaye Baldé and that of Kouhenayel Bamba Sow.

14 Personal interview, Mamadou Fallaye Baldé, Fareba, department of Kolda, also, see above.


16 Personal interview, Mamadou Fallaye Baldé, Fareba, department of Kolda.

17 See above, 125.

18 Alfa Idrissa Jaya, son of Alfa Ibrahima, King of Labé (Fouta Djallon) to Administrator Superior of the Casamance, received 7 Nov. 1895 (?), 2, AIR, 12278, 61.

19 Treaty between Lieutenant Lenoir and King of Firdou, 3 Nov. 1893 (Moniteur du Sénégal, 415).

20 Mamadou Fallaye Baldé, personal interview.


22 See, for example, Administrator of Fouta Djallon to Governor of Guinea, Timbo, 23 July 1897, AIR, 1833 (19).

23 "Rapport sur les Rivières du Sénégal," Jean Bapot, Lieutenant Governor to Governor, St. Louis, 6 March 1894, AET, 'Sénégal et Dépendances, t. 54.

24 In the 1890's, both France and England sent missions into the Fouta Djallon, attempting to control the entire region. The English sent Beechman, and the French Bayol and later Mirey.


27. Enclosure in no. 104, Llewelyn to Lord Knutsford; Robert H. Sverett, Manager to R.S. Llewelyn, McCarthy Island, 3 March 1992, GPRC, 5/6, 74-75.


29. ibid.


33. ibid.

34. At one point, Yousa énervementally claimed that his father had made him promise that he would sign a treaty with the Europeans; this prompted the French to take rapid action, in order to obtain a treaty before the British could. See, "Casamance, Notice Historique par M. Adam, 1834," AHS, 19 192. See also, Administrator in Chief of Colonies, Administrator Superior of the Casamance, Moloud, to the Lieutenant Governor of Senegal at St. Louis, Ziguinchor, 25 June 1910, 4, AHS, 199 377, 13, and see above.

35. See, Administrator Sir R.G. Denton to Mr. Chamberlain, confidential, received March 19, 1901, 50, GPRC, 5/9, no. 126, 10011.

35a. Haidou Lamine was a Diakhité marabout who attempted to take over the rule of Foulou. He attacked the French at Dafou with a huge force. After concerted French-Denton-Foulou attacks, he was defeated and killed on December 1827. See, Administrator in Chief of the Casamance, Moloud, to the Lieutenant Governor of Senegal, 25 June 1910, AHS 199 377, 13.
37 "Report for 1901 presented to both Houses of Parliament by
Command of His Majesty, July 1902," Colonial Reports, Annual, no. 355-
Gabia, 26, GPRO, and ANS, 12 8 (3).
38 "Fodé Kebe Expedition, I, 1992," GPRO; and Enclosure in no.
104 (Llewnlyn to Lord Knutsford), Robert H. Syrett, Manager to R.B.
Llewnlyn, McCarth Islam, GPRO, 54/8, 74.
39 Letter from Moussa Molo, King of Firdou, to Commandant of
Sedhiou, October 1294, ANSOC, 5 IV, 123 s.
41 "Incidents de frontière, 1902-1909," Report of 1903, ANS,
27 13.
42 Telegram, Governor to Administrator at Foundiougne, St. Louis,
1 May 1294, ANSOC, 5 IV, 72.
43 Exposition Coloniale internationale de Paris 1931: Les armées
Françaises d'Outre-Mer, Histoire Militaire de l'Afrique Occidentale Fran-
çaise (Paris, 1931), 190 ff.
44 "Sénégal et Dépendances, Mission du Firdou, Rapport du
45 H. de la Roncière, "Travail d'hivernage, Historique du
Fouladou, ancien territoire de Moussa Molo," 1904, 3, ANS 12 795.
46 Fedé Kasa to Carabane, ANSOC, 5 IV, 703-1 (1), ca. February
1294; Letter to Monsieur le Président du Conseil, Ministre des Affaires
Étrangères, from English ambassador in Paris, 7 Dec. 1293, A27, Numinres
et Documents, Afrique, Sénégal et Dépendances, 19-12; and, see above.
la Casamance," 1906, ANS 16 328, 57.
48 Personal interview, Mamadou Fallaye Balde, Farba.
49 Ibid.
50 H. de la Roncière, "Renseignements pour faire suite à l'his-
torique du Fouladou, no. 203 de 1903; no. 16, Mandallahi, 2 mars 1294;" 27, ANS, 13 295 - 2.
51 Governor of Senegal and Dependences, H. de la Nacel, to
Governor of French Guinea, St. Louis, 22 Jan. 1294, ANSOC 5 IV - 72.


Law and Customs of the Various Communities in Western Africa; Pointing out the Desirability of Having a Compilation of (1) Diola, (2) Mandingue, (3) Foulah. Colonial Secretary's Office, Minute Paper, 1900, 2/93, CPAC.


Post script to a report to the Minister of Colonies, n.d., AS, 15 G 377, 1.

Mission Lenoir en Haute Casamance, 1894," ASOCH, S III, 15e.

Bourès to Governor de la Nothe, Mangñini, 19 May 1894.

RELIGIOUS CENTERS IN AND ASSOCIATED WITH THE CASAMANCE
POLITICS AND PERSONALITIES
(The Introduction and Implantation of Islam in the Casamance)

The various groups living in the Casamance were subject to pressures from several external forces throughout the 19th century. Islam in the Casamance represented an alien, intruding force as much as did European colonialism. Both of these forces—Islam and colonialism—introduced new ideas, practices, and needs into the Casamance, while also bringing new persons to work and settle in the region. Some elements in the spread of both Islam and colonialism remained external and alien to the Casamance peoples, acting on local peoples and evoking reactions from them, but not merging into the local situation. The European colonial personnel—British, French, or North Senegalese—tended to remain outside the internal workings of society, acting on the life styles and belief systems of the people with whom they came into contact, but never being internalized into local society. Fodo Kaba and Mousse Mbo contributed to the internalization of these external ideas and values. Fodo Kaba and Mousse Mbo both had direct relations and continual contact with external leaders, political systems, and values. In this way, they brought the Casamance into the mainstream of events outside the Casamance. At the same time, they initiated actions within the Casamance, actions stemming from and directed at local events and persons, inspired perhaps by non-indigenous factors, but nevertheless, initiated in the Casamance.
A Comparative Overview of Islam in the Casamance:

Since the dissolution of the Sudanic medieval empires and throughout much of the 19th century, the Casamance remained isolated from contemporary developments which were taking place in neighboring regions, or which were being carried out by ethnic relatives of Casamance groups in other parts of West Africa. These external events had repercussions in the Casamance, but were not reduplicated there. For the Peuls in West Africa generally, the entire 19th century was a period of political change, social revolution, and religious upheaval.1 The Peuls in the Casamance, however, remained oblivious to these developments. One wave of the storm washed into the Casamance in the form of emigrants fleeing religious or political change, but these emigrants adapted to local ways, without carrying with them the changes of their homelands. For at least the first half of the 19th century the Mandingoos also did not react to outside pressure.

Islamization of the Casamance was not the theocratic phenomenon which it was in other parts of West Africa, under the leadership of Samory Toure or El Hadji Omar, who created truly Islamic states.2 The generally apolitical nature of Islam as it developed in the Casamance stemmed from several factors. The most significant factor lies in the apolitical nature of the Islamizing forces. Even in the case of Fouladou where the Molos tried to create a state by using Islam, Islam was a secondary element serving political purposes and not the central organizing principle of a theocratic state.

Fodé Kaba's career typified the character of militant Islam in the Casamance: depending uniquely on force and threats, the Islam which
Fodo Kaba represented rarely recognized the political aspect of Islam. Fodo Kaba neither built a state on an Islamic model, nor did he encourage or facilitate the activities of marabouts in the lands he dominated or attacked. Ironically, Fodo Kaba actually halted the spread of Islam by bringing chaos and insecurity into the pagan areas. When the French removed Fodo Kaba from the scene, pacification and stabilization then opened the doors to the dispersion of Muslims and, consequently, to the spread of Islam.

Moussa Helal actively encouraged the conversion of pagans to Islam, inviting many marabouts and religious teachers into Fouladou. He tended to work against his own desire for large-scale conversion by keeping the area in an almost continual state of war, and thus inhibiting the movement of religious figures. The state of Fouladou cannot be called an Islamic one, as neither Koranic economic structures nor legal systems were adopted. Conflict with the orthodox Islamic state of Feuta Djallon also demonstrates the low priority given to Koranic stipulations on political behaviour and Muslim solidarity. The period of the Kolos' rule over Fouladou nevertheless marks the beginning of large-scale conversion by the pagan Pouls. Islam was politicised under the Kolos, instead of politics becoming Islamized. Fodo Kaba's career served to regenerate Islamic activities among the Casamance Kandingués, both by introducing contemporary Muslim personnel, ideas and movements into the Casamance, and by forcing the Kandingués to assess their role as Muslims vis-à-vis both a jihad leader such as Fodo Kaba had tried to be and pagan or lapsed Muslim groups.
The process of Islamisation of the Casamance consisted of slow accretion and individual conversion, although individual conversions often produced family- or village-wide conversion. The fragmentation of ethnic groups and their political decentralisation hindered large-scale conversions above the very local village level. The rural population of entire villages sometimes converted en masse, but the more frequent pattern was one of individual personal conversions. The impression one gains from the oral information given by Diola informants is that the younger men in a village were generally the first converts, setting an example which others in some cases followed. As they inherited or obtained political maturity, these young converts became increasingly spiritually important. Among the Diolas, the elders seem generally to have resisted conversion, their faith in the traditional religion intact despite the disruptive pressures caused by European colonialism and Muslim invaders. A certain amount of resistance to Islam manifested itself among some groups through greater adherence to fetish beliefs and practices. Among the Peuls of Fouladou, the traditional fetish religion took on social significance, since the slaves tended to convert to Islam while the aristocracy remained fetishers. Peul opposition to Islam also stemmed from a conscious decision made by those groups which had fled the Islamisation of the Fouta Djallon, and thus was at least partially a matter of principle. Gradually, adherence to fetish worship was eroded, but Islam retained marks of social revolution for the Peuls just as it presaged political revolution among the Diolas.

For both groups, adoption of Islam was finally a conscious choice made despite concrete awareness of what such a decision implied. Both
groups moved from positions of resistance to Islam into positions of accommodation to Islam. That the belief system of Islam as practiced and espoused by those two groups of recent converts was syncretic cannot be argued within the framework of this study, for no information is available on Diola or Peul conviction. The important point is not their beliefs or their commitment to Islam as a faith, but rather the absence of Islamic elements in their social and political lives. In this sense, the Peuls and Diolas must be termed syncretic Muslims, for many elements of the pagan, pre-conversion social structure, political system and economic organisation persist. Many external elements—style of dress, ways of praying, Islamic beads—were incorporated, but there is no way of knowing how profound was the understanding of the significance lying behind those externals.

Even the Mandingues, traditionally the orthodox representatives of Islam in West Africa, did not form a converting, missionary group in the 19th century history of the Casamance. Just as the Diolas and Peuls eventually accommodated their traditional systems to include Islam, so too among the Mandingues of the Casamance, the 19th century was a period of clarification and consolidation. The Mandingues were themselves passing through a stage of Islamic renewal and rediscovery which eventually led to their missionary activities among the Diolas. This era resulted in no political revolution: no unified form of political life replaced the traditional Mandingue decentralisation. Even those existing regional units did not take on more hierarchical organisation. In one sense, the Mandingue rediscovery of Islam contributed to further fragmentation, since a split developed between the Tijaniyya Mandingues loyal to Fadl Kaba and
the Qadiriyya Mandingues, opposed to him, but without a counterpart leadership figure. No single leader -- religious or military, or both -- arose out of Mandingue renewed Islam to guide a hierarchically-organized, religiously-based Muslim Mandingue state.

Two elements were of primary importance in determining the methods and progress of Islam among the Diolas and the Peuls: the nature and extent of their contact with external Islamic groups; and the nature and structure of their traditional social, religious and political systems. Three major factors have been at work in the Islamization of the Diolas: on the negative side are the activities of militant Muslim warriors for the faith, and the presence of profiteering Muslims in official administrative or commercial positions, for they at least exposed the Diolas to Islam directly. On the positive side are, first, the teaching and example given by Mauritanian religious figures, particularly during the initial years of European colonialism, and, second, the peaceful proselytization accomplished by the Mandingues or other Senegalese Muslims who came as traders, civil servants or teachers after pacification of the Lower Casamance.

Among the Peuls of Foukadou, non-indigenous spiritual figures from two main Peul centers of Islamic diffusion in the Western Sudan -- the Fouta Toro on the Senegal River and the Fouta Djallon in present-day Guinea -- played the vital role in conversion. Cherifian families from Mauritania had some small role in converting the Fouladou Peuls, but the burden of conversion rested on the Peuls from the two Foutes.

A descriptive analysis of the processes at work among these two major ethnic groups in the Casamance and of the Casamance Mandingues.
role in each indicates both why Islam arrived at such a late date in the
two regions neighboring the Mandingue states, why conversion progressed
so slowly, and why Islamization remains incomplete even today. On the
positive side, consideration of the leading figures responsible for those
conversions which did take place indicates that relative to the ratio
between the number of pagans and the number of converting elements, more
Islamization did take place than might have been expected. Islamization
remained, at least in this early period of conversion, superficial at
the worst, and syncretic at best.

The Introduction of Islam among the Diolas:

Because of the absence of a social hierarchy or political cen­
tralization among the Diolas, and because of the geographical barriers
separating communities, Islam entered among the Diolas only in a piece­
meal fashion. In the last decades of the 19th century, Diola experiences
with Muslim raiders and adventurers such as Fode Sylla and Fode Kaba,
and with Muslim carpetbaggers such as the French administrative chief
Mangene Syo and the self-appointed warrior chief, Birahiri N'Diaye,
left a heritage of resistance to the unilaterally militant form of Islam
and to the foreigners who represented Islam. In addition to being seen
as a religion of foreigners, profiteers and brigands, the long-term
Soninké-xamabout (pagan-Muslim) wars along the banks of the Gambia spread
southward, at least to the frontier villages of Conde and Fegny, causing
Islam to be seen as an intolerant power-seeking force. Over the years
the effect of these wars was to erect rigid barriers between the two
religious groups. The conjunction of several circumstances produced
the death blow to traditional Diola paganism in a way that the Soninke-marabout wars were not alone capable of doing. The wars certainly provided a first step toward the erosion of traditional beliefs. But it was the coincidence of these Soninke-marabout wars with European penetration and with Mandingue or Wolof disruption which effectively dislocated traditional ways of life. Because of the repeated defeats inflicted on the Diolas, faith was weakened in the traditional social protection and stabilization afforded and guaranteed by the fetish chiefs. In those areas where the Diolas experienced such defeats, one precondition for the introduction of Islam was thus established.

Since both the traditional fetish religion and Islam were encompassing religions, guiding and directing a total way of life and ultimately connected with the overall society, conversion of the Diolas involved not merely a change in religious beliefs, but also a total rejection or at least a modification of the society's traditional guidelines and structure. Diola society lacked political or class organization, and was organized around fetish shrines, fetish priests and "clubs" (age groups or work groups). The necessity for and justification of abandoning allegiance to these traditional societal bases did not come from the Soninke-marabout wars alone, for these served generally only to reinforce demands for adherence to the traditional ways. The longer the wars went on, the more polarized were the two factions. What began as a matter of political control became with time an increasingly inclusive question of principle, and increasingly a question of culture conflict wherein concessions became tantamount to defeat.

Muslim communities had existed among the Diolas for a considerable period of time, but without traceable instances of conversion. On the one hand, there were the dioula (traders; Muslim) who settled in or
traversed Fogny and Cahlé. In most cases, these dôégûs took wives from among the local population, but rarely did these wives convert to Islam. The male children of these unions, although Muslims, were generally sent away from the region, apprenticed as Koranic students to a distant sheikh or marabout, and rarely seen in the region again. These dôégûs then, do not seem traditionally to have played the role of disseminators of Islam. They remained foreigners even then establishing roots and families in the region. They fulfilled a specific and functional role as traders and merchants, within but profoundly apart from local society. They felt no obligation to convert others to Islam, and the Diolas had no reason to want to convert. Dôela chiefs had no need for Arabic scribes to carry out their correspondence or their missions as each community lived self-sufficiently, so the Muslims could not fulfill their often-seen traditional administrative-political role. No massive, repeated challenge had yet come from the outside world to encourage the Diolas to desert their traditional ways. The two religions could coexist, each with its own life style and political system.

Islam is not a disease that simply spreads. It is a religion, a faith, a way of life entailing responsibilities and participation. For Islam to be adopted, there must be a prior dissatisfaction with traditional religion and discontent with traditional society. Islam fulfills a need, real or imagined, and that need comes with the disintegration resultant upon changes in established systems and beliefs and during the period of tension between the breakdown of one system and the adoption of another. The visible signs of individual conversion indicate a rapid
process, changing for example from fetish beliefs and practices one day to profession of Islam the next. On a societal-wide level, however, Islamisation involves greater manifestations of change, even if these be only modification of old ways or new names for old institutions. The externals of ritual practice at least must be changed, thus dislodging the fetish chief from his traditional focal center of power, and shifting emphasis away from traditional fetish-based age groups or work groups.

Pode Kaba and Pode Sylla, the French conquest and administration provided the catalysts to create a situation wherein the need for change was felt among the Diolas of the north bank.

On the south bank, in the Casamance region, European penetration was much less intensive and less disruptive. The fetish chiefs’ authority was infrequently challenged and the cohesiveness of society preserved intact. Contact with Muslim militants or Islamised ethnic groups was similarly infrequent. On the south bank, both exposure to Islam and corrosion of traditional society and values were absent and are still rare. Such was not the case on the north bank.

The Diolas on the north bank had long-term and peaceful contact with Muslims before the later 19th century. Muslims who formed part of the trading network between hinterland regions and the Gambia had traditionally lived among the Diolas, particularly on the north bank of the Casamance River. One of the earliest French references to the Muslim presence among the Diolas was made in 1852 when the French resident at Carabane wrote about the precautions France should take at Carabane against the increase of marabouts who spread discord in the area by dividing the inhabitants of Carabane into two rival warring groups. 12
There are few references in oral or archival documents to suggest that the Lower Casamance, that is the F国务院 and Conde regions, was the scene of much intensive Islamic proselytization. One administrator wrote:

I believe that Islam is repugnant to the Biolas; otherwise all of the Casamance would be Muslim given the amount of time that maraboutic propaganda has been at work there. But the simple soul of this race [the Biolas] can accommodate perfectly to the Muslim superstitions. 13

Mandingue and Wolof traders constituted the advance guard of Islam among the Biolas, even though there was little contact between the two religious communities, since the outsiders normally lived in separate parts of a village, or in completely separate villages, if their numbers permitted. Sindian was one important commercial center in F国务院, and was both the largest village in F国务院 and the home of more than three hundred permanently-installed Mandingue traders. 14 Wolof and Toucouleur commercial elements dotted the F国务院 and Conde regions, as well as some regions around Gussaye, near Carabane and near the present Portuguese Guinean border. 15

In the early 20th century, the main Biola converts to Islam were made by Cherif Tahfoud, a Mauritanian marabout who settled in the Lower Casamance and gained an enormous spiritual reputation there, as his brother Cherif Bokkai did in the Upper Casamance. There were instances of conversion affected by Gambian Mandingues before the arrival of the North African element, but only isolated ones.

Oral histories in the F国务院-Conde region are unanimous in referring to one Landiatta as the first convert to Islam among the Biolas of the Bluff region. 16 As a young man, Landiatta went to the British Conde and returned with a friend, Eiso Fanera. He announced to his relatives
that he had become a Muslim and had returned to Thiébou with a Mandingue who would teach them the new religion. Fall, his brother, converted also, and then their father, enraged, threatened to kill them, accusing them of having brought evil into the village. Landiatta and his brother reverted to paganism out of fear, but readopted Islam when the Mandingue marabout began to succeed in converting others. Fanara taught the people of Thiébou how to pray, to fast, and to do the ablutions, and gradually they were converted to Islam. Even before the guidance and inspiration of Cherif Mahfoud, Thiébou had become a center of conversion among the Diolas of Fogny. The incident of Landiatta and Fanara took place during Fode Sylla’s wars in the Fogny-Coro region, and before the installation of Cherif Mahfoud at Dassilane, probably between 1879 and 1880.

Mahfoud, however, is individually responsible for the conversion of many Diola villages in the Coro region, particularly. He established several centers in the Casamance, at Dassilane and Darou-Khairy in Fogny, and Binko in Balantakounda. His influence and disciples extended from British Guinea through the Casamance and into Portuguese Guinea. The French records vary enormously from African traditions and from his family history on the facts of his life. The French documentation, based on work by Paul Marty, a noted French administrator and student of Islam, but one opposed to Islamisation of the Diolas, is extensive but repetitive and often invective. He wrote in 1915 that:

It is annoying and often contrary to our policy concerning Sufi Islam that we have allowed Mahfoud to settle in the middle of the fetish Diola regions. Despite his limited chances of success, it was unnecessary at the least to allow him to implant himself among this interesting but crude group, who are coming closely but directly on our path—this wretched marabout is fishing in troubled waters.

The French administrators in the early 20th century were concerned
to prevent the growth of any pan-Islamic movement and saw the proselytization of Mauritanian Moors in Black Africa as part of or as a forerunner to such a catastrophe. Mahfoud's father was also a brother of Ka Al-Ainin, an active marabout in Mauritania against whom the French were particularly vituperative because of his non-cooperation with their policies. Marty, and subsequent administrators, saw Mahfoud's installation in the Fogny region as being only in 1901, whereas oral and family traditions assign his arrival in the Casamance to the year 1877. The French denigrated his spiritual accomplishments in the proselytization field and in conversion, and emphasized his entrepreneurial activities in the world of business. Oral evidence definitely seems to indicate his successes in conversion, and the respect accorded him and his descendants today confirms this.

Mahfoud belonged to an important Mauritanian maraboutic family. He himself was the oldest son of Talib Ayar who was the ninth son of Mohammed al-Fadel, the founder and first leader of the Fadeliyya, and was related to Ka Al-Ainin and Saad Bou, two of the most widely influential Qadiriyya leaders in the Western Sudan, and ones with whom the French had much contact — military in the case of the former, and diplomatic with the latter. Mahfoud was born in the Mauritanian Hodh in 1855 (although some French documents vary between 1855 and 1870), and before leaving for Senegal, studied with Saad Bou and Ka Al-Ainin, living and travelling in Tichit, Walata, Tagant, Chinguetti, Seguia and Dra. He learned the Koranic sciences, then turned to studies of jurisprudence. During this period of apprenticeship, and as was common practice, Mahfoud travelled into Senegal, begging alms for his master of fourteen years, his paternal uncle, Shayh Faa'd 'Abr. This trip would very possibly have brought
him into the Fogny region, as his son claims, for there were Mauritanian Fadaliyya marabouts at Bathurst whom he may have visited. There is evidence in oral tradition to support this contention. At the time of Landiatta's conversion, Sekou Dionkhou was the chief of Thiobon. Sekou Dionkhou acted once as host to Chérif Mahfoud when he arrived suddenly and unannounced at Thiobon. Mahfoud asked for lands to build on, and Sekou Dionkhou gave him land in the neighboring village of Dassilame (then Nara). The house he constructed there caught fire soon afterwards, but was then rebuilt. If we accept the calculation that this was sometime during the decade 1870-1880, this confirms the contention of Mahfoud's son Chamseddine that his father first visited the Casamance in 1877, before eventually founding his two most important centers of Dassilame (Fogny) in 1900 and Binko in Balantacounda in 1906. He may in any case have visited the region at this time, even though he may not have had much contact with the local population or have made any conversions.24

The presumed date of his first visit to the Casamance was 1877 and he settled at Dassilame (Fogny) in 1877 and then travelled widely outside the Casamance during the twenty-two intervening years. In this time, Mahfoud met with virtually every important contemporary Muslim leader, Qadiriyya or Tijaniyya, and with the French leaders. According to Mahfoud's son, he visited Shehou Amadou, the son of El Hadji Omar, at Niore and the French military commander of the Sudan colony, Archinard at Kayes. He offered his services to the latter as an intermediary between the French and Samory Toure.25 Then he reputedly went to Khasso and Bafoulabé where he sought information as to how he could find Samory Toure. In the family history, when Mahfoud eventually found Samory (probably in 1893 at
Cuassoulou), Savory wanted to harm Mahfoud, but God prevented it. Savory honored and respected Mahfoud for his obvious high position in God's eyes, giving him one hundred and fifty slaves and unknown quantities of gold and silver. Savory did not, however, concede anything towards the French cause which Mahfoud was pleading. Samory's lieutenants and relatives throughout the land showered him with similar gifts, still according to the family history, and he brought all of these to his master at Mauritania, Faaid 'Abr. He then set off again into the Senegambian region, where he spent several months at Niani, teaching in a school, gathering disciples and wives.

Returning to the Casamance, Mahfoud was invited by Moussa Molo, already king of Fouladou, to come to Fouladou, and he spent a year there. At this point again, the French and traditional sources diverge. Marty puts the date of this visit at 1895, but Mahfoud's son Chamsedine says that it was just after the death of Alfa Molo, presumably meaning in 1831. In this case, the French chronology seems the more plausible, and it is possible that Chamsedine confused Alfa Molo with Bakary Dumbo, Moussa's paternal uncle, who did die in 1892. According to the French, Mahfoud was not used by Moussa during that year and so he left to go to British Sandougou near Kian and Fongny before going north again to St. Louis and to Saad Bou in Mauritania.

In 1897, in the French version, Mahfoud returned to his community at Sandougou, then went to his cousin, Cherif Abba in Voyi, Portuguese Guinea. During 1897-98, he travelled to many towns there with his entourage of talibes (disciples) until Mamadou Patta, a brother of Modu Sallou Coyada, the chief of Portuguese Gabou, chose him as his official marabout.
Mahfoud left Portuguese Guinea briefly for a trip to St. Louis and to Sand Eou, then returned to Guinea, installing himself on the Rio Goba in the province of Kanadougou until 1901, and engaged in proselytization and commerce until he returned definitively to the Casamance.\(^{30}\)

Chamsedine, Mahfoud's son, recounts a different story of these years. He claims that Moussa was then Emir of Firdou,\(^{31}\) and in that capacity had summoned Mahfoud, welcoming him with great honor and respect:

He told him of his concerns and of his sorrows. \([\text{Mahfoud}]\) gave \([\text{Moussa}]\) eight hundred cows, some slaves and some money. \([\text{Mahfoud}]\) gave \([\text{Moussa}]\) a talisman, recommending that he put it in a \([\text{kandingue guitar-harp}]\), give the \([\text{gith}]\) to one of his \([\text{griots}]\), who would then visit any lands Moussa wanted to possess. Mahfoud declared that Moussa's \([\text{griot}]\) would not play the \([\text{gith}]\) in a region without Moussa's becoming master of that region. Moussa \([\text{Holo despatched his \text{griot} to leave with his \text{gith} to play through-out the region.}]\)

Having assured Moussa's future, Mahfoud next went to answer the calls of Alfa Mamadou Patta, Emir of Gabou, who also sought to obtain a talisman.

Mahfoud then decided to settle, temporarily at least, in the Conso-Fogny region. His first establishment was at Marsassoum where he built a school and left several of his students in the care of the Kandingue village chief, Muley Drame. He next went to Thiobon where he converted Sekou Dionkhou. While he was looking for a place to build his new community, Bourama Diatta helped him choose Nara, near Dioulolou, and renamed it Dassilasse. Many there resented and feared his settlement, saying: "This cherif is bound to start a holy war; he is just looking for a site to build on before starting his holy war."\(^{32}\) Obviously Mahfoud was accompanied by a large number of students, who must have seemed
like an array to the Diolas. Their reaction is, however, an interesting
correspondence on the Diola conception of Islam and witness to their unfor-
tunate experiences with previous Islamic figures.

The emphasis and details in the family history differ from the
French version. The French generally were sympathetic to Mahfoud, want-
ing primarily to use him to their best advantage. The mysticism inherent
in the family history makes separation of mythical elements difficult,
but evidence of the family bias consists primarily in the central role
this history gives Mahfoud in many events where he was obviously at best
only a peripheral figure.

Mahfoud's activities were indisputably peaceful and his only
concerns religious or commercial. He had several encounters with the
three colonial administrations, French, British, and Portuguese, for
he had many disciples in those territories. None of those colonial
governments was particularly complimentary or favorable to charifian or
narabatic leaders. Sometime between 1900 and 1906, the British travel-
ing commissioner Sitwell, who was later killed by Podé Kaba's partisans
at Sansanding, encountered Mahfoud. His attitude and words toward the
chief were harsh. In the words of Mahfoud's son, Sitwell said:

I don't want you to come in my territory, for I have heard that all
you do is to collect alms. I am asking you now to leave my territory
before I return from my trip to Kian.24

Mahfoud did, nevertheless, make attempts to serve colonial pur-
poses. In 1905 and 1906, Mahfoud attempted to play the same mediating
role between the Portuguese and Voi peoples as he had tried between the
French and Sanomy. Once again, however, he failed, and was put under
house arrest by the Portuguese.25 In 1906, after his failures in
Portuguese Guinea, Mahfoud first spread the rumor that he was returning to Senegal, sending disciples ahead of him to settle at Tanaffe near Binako. He also then spread a prediction of doom and divine retribution, recommending massive expiatory cattle-slaughters as penance -- a recommendation which was followed by many before the French intervened and which redounded to Portuguese profit at rim, since the Diolas took their skins there to be sold instead of to French markets.

Although the French were particularly anti-cherifian or anti-maraboutic, they nevertheless maintained a policy of trying to elicit cooperation from potential enemies and to divert their interests from opposition to the colonial administration. In 1907, therefore, after his return from his abortive mission to Portuguese Guinea, the French allowed Mahfoud to settle in the village of Binako in Balanteounda, where he established a new religious center. His hopes for converting the fetish Balantes were quickly frustrated: Mahfoud seems to have had poor relations with the Balantes, whom he described as being: "... thieves, whose nature was thieving and whose profession was theft." He did manage to establish a modus vivendi with the surrounding population, whereby the two groups ignored each other. His talibes (disciples), although the Balantes remained uninspired or untouched by their demonstrations of piety, continued their religious practices uninterrupted.

Binako was strategically situated midway between Mahfoud's Portuguese disciples in Portuguese Guinea, at Brassou and Voyi, his Mandingue followers in Pekee, and his Diola missions in French and British Casamance and Fogny. At Binako, he was also in a position to earn some extra income by running a successful river ferry on the Casamance. By 1905,
despite its modest beginnings, Binsko had become a flourishing spiritual and economic community with about 150 talibes who cultivated a large number of rice and millet fields and produced substantial saleable crops.\(^37\)

Kahfoud's prestige and influence were enormous in the Gambia-Casamance-Portuguese Guinea regions. The conversions eventually affected by his students and disciples in these regions were numerous, although by no means inclusive of all the pagans. Even those pagans who were converted by his talibes often claim to have been converted directly by him, so widespread was his reputation. Many outsiders came into the Casamance for his communities or schools, and he himself maintained constant contact between Mauritania and the Fadeliyya leaders Saad Bou and his communities. In 1911, Cheikh Saad Bou himself obtained permission from the French authorities to travel in the Casamance in order to collect alms. He had apparently decided to make the Casamance and Portuguese Guinea important centers of his proselytization and intensified contact with them at this time.\(^38\)

As a representative of the Fadeliyya brotherhood, Kahfoud had the right to give Qadiriyya or Tijaniyya msids (initiation). This, in a sense, represented a liberalism or open-mindedness which enabled him to have a widespread influence without parochial limits of ethnicity or affiliation. This also enabled him to form a bridge between himself and his contemporary religious figures. Through consanguinity, marriage, or brotherhood affiliations, Kahfoud was linked with all the major Islamic figures of the Casamance — Cherif Sidi, Cherif Bekkai, Cherif Younouss and Fode Kadiali. Through diplomacy, he was linked to the French administration at Sedhiou: through his communities, his
influence was implanted among the major pagan ethnic groups of the Lower Casamance region.

In the last decades of the 19th century, Diola relations with Muslim groups and leaders underwent a radical change. Active opposition replaced peaceful tolerance, as Muslim raiders or administrators began to devastate the region for their own purposes. The feelings engendered by these clashes were long-lived. In 1911, a decade after the demise of Fodé Kaba, the last representative of militant Kandingue Islam among the Diolas, one French administrator described the situation in terms of violent opposition. Although he may have exaggerated in extending his observation to the whole of Diola-Kandingue relationships, there are certainly elements of truth in his observation, and probably total realism about the situation in some Diola territories.

Even today, the Muslim Kandingue is for [the Diolas] the greatest enemy of their race; no one who carries the Muslim beads, whether a trader or a farmer, risks crossing Diola lands without French protection, and there are numerous instances of murders where the Diolas have assassinated a trader and left his body near the woods, an act not of thievery, but of fear that he might be the agent of penetration of a too-well established social order [Islam].

An earlier commentator wrote, however, after visiting the region in 1893:

Despite the antagonism which has reigned for centuries between the Muslim Kandingues and the fetish Diolas, the two groups see everywhere to live together on good terms.

Until the 19th century, the Diolas and Kandingues lived together peacefully on the bases of implicit agreements concerning the rights and obligations of each group. The oldest form of contact between the two groups was commercial. The Kandingues acted as middlemen between the Diolas and the market centers along the Gambia River. During the period of the slave trade, the Kandingues probably raided Diola villages for
captives to sell to the Europeans. It is even more likely that the
Diolas living near the Kandinguus raided other Diola villages to capture
prisoners whom they then sold to the Kandinguus, who in turn sold them
to the Europeans. In this period of the slave trade, some Diola regional
political organization existed and had a primarily commercial raison d'etre.
By the 19th century, however, Diola society had disintegrated and no po-
litical hierarchy existed beyond the village level. Organization within
villages was even secondary to loyalty to the family grouping, and the
strongest social principle was survival of the fittest.

The traditional basis of the individual Diola’s life lay in his
attachment to his land and his involvement with fetish gods. Neither
social nor physical mobility, then, existed within this highly fragmented
classless society. These attachments to the land and its gods meant that
Islam could have little appeal to the Diolas until some external event
broke the identification and equation of man-land-religion. Until then,
the presence of Muslim traders and teachers, even when these settled in
sizeable communities in the midst of the Diolas evoked no envy on the
part of the Diolas, and presented no feasible alternative to their tra-
ditional ways and concepts. Although one cannot say with any certainty
that the Diolas made the identification of Kandinguus with traders or of
traders with Islam, they certainly recognized Kandinguus, traders and mara-
bouts as outsiders, alien to the Diola language, religion or lineages.
In this sense, one can state that the Diolas and Kandinguus cohabitated
for several centuries without contact.

The 19th century changed this situation, and resulted in a new
modus vivendi. The Soninké-marchout were divided the population. These
were resulted from several factors. First, trade in the area declined between the end of the Atlantic slave trade (ca. 1810) and the beginning of colonialization in the classic economic sense (ca. 1835). This decline forced the Mandingues to reevaluate their position both as religious and economic figures. This reevaluation coincided with an international and widespread Muslim resurgence which demanded doctrinal revisions. The end result was that the Mandingues along the Gambia realized that their situation had to be altered. Instead of cohabitating with pagans and administering their government and trade, the Mandingues decided that they should occupy the positions of power, and that their religion should not, indeed could not, tolerate others.

The Soninké wars about were which lasted throughout the 19th century were the result of these attempts to reverse the religious, political and economic roles of the two groups. Fodé Kaba in Kian and Fagny and Fodé Sylla in Goro stand out as two of the leading figures of those wars. During the 19th century, the Islamic-pagan dichotomy crystallized into a war for the survival of one way of life and the demise of the other. Islam as seen by the Diolas did not mean merely external elements of dress and ritual observance. It represented a vital threat to the survival of their whole universe. The gap between the two groups widened with time. The large-scale activities of Fodé Kaba and Fodé Sylla combined with those of Muslims in the service of colonialism, Birahima N'Diaye and Kangone Soyo, and erected seemingly insuperable barriers between the two.

Outside events such as the increasing European military, administrative and commercial penetration, and the installation of new
Casamance groups in traditionally Diola lands added an ambiguous element to the clear cut pagan-Muslum division. The addition of these further external elements helped blur the lines of division. The fetish societies failed to meet the challenge from these new forces, and thus the way was opened for substitution of the encompassing way of life offered by Islam.

Conversion of the Diolas was a slow process. Villages were isolated from each other, as from contact with other ethnic groups. Islam could not be imposed centrally and unilaterally from above as there was no hierarchical political system. Even the conversion of a village chief did not necessarily entail or promote the conversion of the rest of the male population—although in some cases this did happen.

Islam took on an ethnic character among the Diolas, and conversion was often opposed simply on grounds of ethnic rivalry, as was the case particularly with the Mandingues. Peaceful proselytization and instruction did, nevertheless, eventually lead to the reconciliation of Islam with fundamental and traditional Diola social mores. Many Diolas are not Islamized even today, although between the turn of the century and the present, approximately eighty percent of the Diolas in Fogny and Como have accepted Islam.

Islam and the Peuls of Fouladou, and a Muslim Renaissance in the Médio Casamance:

Islamization of the Fouladou Peuls followed a pattern very different from that among the Diolas. The Diolas had long experience with and exposure to Muslim traders, and a brief but intense history of contact with militant Muslims. The Peuls, on the other hand, had a history of
settled contact with non-Muslim inhabitants, and a recent history of voluntary exile from Islamized regions. While the Biolas began to convert after exposure to jihad, the Pouls knew only the quietist, diffusive kind of Islam which peaceful traders and teachers espoused in their lives and behaviour.

Conversion of the Pouls in Pouladou was facilitated and expedited by two factors absent among the Biolas: hierarchical political organization and social structure. The machinery of large-scale diffusion was present in the political infrastructure of Pouladou, that is in the provincial organization, since groups could be exposed and convinced collectively. This, combined with the social cleavage created by the existence of a two-level social hierarchy including slaves and nobles, allowed for collective conversions in a relatively short period of time. Because of the existence of these spatial entities—the provinces—and socially specialized groups—the castes, Islam was introduced, accepted and spread with a minimal amount of work by a small number of people.

Both Alfa and Koussou Kojo used their influence to foster Islamization of the Pouls. The active encouragement which the administrative hierarchy in Pouladou thus gave to proselytization helped lay the foundations for the conversion process. Significantly, also, the adherence of the top levels in the political-administrative hierarchy, the provincial governors and military commanders, and the social liberalism and egalitarianism which the Kojo servile origin seemed to represent lent the idea of a real upward social mobility to the conversion process. The social or political gains to be won from conversion had a parallel in the economic sphere, a subject which has received attention from
virtually all students of Islamisation in the western Sudan. Travelling merchants have usually played the role of advance-guards of Islam, whether consciously or not. The social and economic advantages which their status and way of life seemed to represent to the average cultivator or herder gave Islam enormous prestige and caused it to be imitated by many. Even if imitation began only at the most superficial behavioural level, increasingly imitation involved substantive recognition of and adherence to the principles underlying the exterior appearances of Muslims—boubous (loose, flowing garments) and prayer beads.

The convergence of religious and commercial interests led to the integration of the two—behaviour and belief—and although syncretic Islam often emerged from this integrative process, the solid foundation of interest in and commitment to Islam was made. The leaders of this spread of Islamic elements, then, were both the political-administrative hierarchy in the state of Fouladou, and the numerous Peul or Mandingue traders transversing Fouladou between the Fouta Djallon, Barbouck and the Gambia states.

Active and deliberate policies of Islamisation were adopted and pursued by both reigning Moors—Alfa and later Koussa. Their debt to the Fouta Djallon for its help in the war of independence was partially responsible for the introduction of many religious persons into Fouladou. Nevertheless, the constant wars Alfa and Koussa had to wage in attempting to establish, control and consolidate their empire created a situation distinctly unfavorable to the peaceful spread of Islam. Traders and teachers come generally with pacific times, and cannot carry out their missions in periods of agitation.
Trade and contact with the Fouta Djallon also declined as the revolution in Fouladou ran its long course, thereby limiting the easy access and the amount of exchange which traditional trade routes, geographical proximity and ethnic affiliations should have fostered. Despite the small number of actual conversions achieved, and despite rivalries with the Fouta Djallon, Fouladou became at least a quasi-Muslim state under Moussa Molo.

Hindsight at least makes the myths and realities of the two regions comparable. Although Fouladou was but a poor imitation of the Fouta Djallon imamate, the similarities are striking. J. Spencer Trimingham, an Islamicist well-versed in West African Muslim history, has written of the interesting features of government found in the Muslim states of the Fouta Djallon and Fouta Toro:

The basis of authority was new to the Sudan state. The ruler derived his authority from God and ruled according to divine law. He was chosen according to custom which derived from the history of the jihad by an electoral body composed of the descendants of the Muslims who took part in the liberation movement and formed the new aristocracy. After the death of the first theocrat a council of hereditary electors made its appearance and a Muslim enturbaning, the principal rite in the investiture of chief imams, consecrated the new ruler.42

Although it would be forcing the truth to claim that Alfa's revolution represented a jihad, some sources have made this claim, and there is, at least in retrospect, an element of truth in it. What is more significantly similar is the reliance on divine appointment to justify the leadership. This sanctification Molo received from his supposed association with El Hadji Oumar and from the responsibility for introducing Islam to the Peuls in Fouladou which this famous Tijaniyya marabout gave to Molo. According to one oral tradition recounted by Koukenyel Demba Sow,
the son of one of Moussa's uncles and opponents, El Hadji Cumar also predicted that Alfa Molo was pre-ordained by Allah to have sovereignty of Fouladou. Sow adds further that before his death, Alfa gave Moussa a very special gris-gris (Muslin amulet) which he admonished Moussa never to show anyone — an action which would seem to be tantamount to conferring all power on Moussa, thus justifying Moussa's subsequent right to depose his uncle Bakary Demba from leadership of Fouladou.43

Similarly, the leaders of Fouladou during and immediately after the 1867 revolt became a "new aristocracy" — more, in the case of Fouladou, a militarily-based aristocracy than a spiritually-oriented one. It is, however, possible that some of this aristocracy had converted to Islam with Alfa Molo, prior to the outbreak of the revolt.44 Further similarity lies in the supposed entalurning of Alfa Molo by the alamay of the Fouta Djallon, a ceremony replete with religious significance within the context of the Fouta Djallon imamate. The conferral of the title "Alfa" conveyed great political and religious importance. It also implied that Alfa Molo was recognized as having status equal to the aristocracy of electors and leaders which ruled the traditional provinces of Fouta Djallon.

Actually, Alfa Molo's reign and its connection with Islamization of Fouladou probably represented only the germinating stage of Islamic ideas, whereas Moussa's reign included the two further stages of the process of Islamic conversion which Tringham postulates: crisis and gradual reorientation.45 The Holos sanctioned the use of force to effect conversion, and the marrabouts in Fouladou used persuasion and instruction to consolidate conversion — a process which Fode Kebe never practiced among
the pagan Diolas. Alfa's reign introduced the concept of Islamization among the Peuls; Moussa's reign similarly contributed to apostasy from traditional beliefs. Between the time of Alfa's revolt and the introduction of Islam; a social crisis and spiritual vacuum developed which Islam and the marabouts eventually filled. In so filling, they turned society towards new, firmer bases of internal organization and external contacts.

Several individual marabouts shared the task of introducing Islam to Fouladou. The most important of these was indubitably Thierno Diallo. His role among the Peuls parallels that of Cherif Mahfoud among the Diolas, for in both cases, their names are almost invariably invoked as being the prime agents of Islamic conversion. As with Cherif Mahfoud Thierno Diallo's village and tomb are today the scene of many pilgrimages, and of much veneration. In both cases, also the villages have become centers of Muslim learning. Thierno Muhammadu Diallo came from Kankan in the Fouta Djallon, where he had received his Koranic instruction and where he was initiated into the Tijaniyya brotherhood. He spent a decade or so in St. Louis on the Senegal river fervently practicing his religion and initiating others into the Tijaniyya order. After some time, he left St. Louis and went to Bathurst in the Gambia where he began collecting what became a large entourage of students and disciples from the Gambian states, and from the Toucoulcur enclave of Kabada, before finally settling at Soboulde in Fouladou. From Soboulde, a village of Fouladou lying to the northwest of Kolda, Thierno Muhammadu Diallo and his network of disciples and teachers spread throughout the Peul villages, converting pagans and initiating others into Tijaniyya mysteries. He was himself the
spiritual (and possibly political) counsellor to Alfa Ndeo and later Moussa Ndeo.

One of the most important of Thierno Diallo’s disciples was the marabout Thierno Aliou, also a Tijaniyya from the Peuta Djallon, and initiated by Thierno Diallo. He too settled in Soboulde where he conducted a Koranic school for residents from the immediate neighborhood.

Another important marabout in Fouladou was El Hadji Ali Tiana (Diagne?) who founded the village of Kedina El Hadji sometime near the beginning of the 20th century. According to one informant, El Hadji Ali is responsible for the fact that fifty-five percent of Fouladou’s inhabitants were converted to Islam.

Those three holy men seem definitely to be the moving forces behind meaningful conversion of Fouladou Pauls. They were residents of the region, and, although foreigners to Fouladou, both linked Fouladou with the religious centers in Peuta Djallon and also brought formal, orthodox Muslim rituals and practices into Fouladou. A certain amount of syncretism obviously occurred in this process of Islamization, but it is insignificant when compared with the massive accomplishments credited to these three religious leaders. Sarakollo and Mandingue religious figures must have had a role in the Islamization of some parts of Fouladou, particularly along the northern and western borders of Fouladou, where the Mandingue territories lay, but no record of them as individuals exists.

The Mauritanian influence among the Pauls, as among the Diolas, was important. In Fouladou, however, the Mauritanian influence was neither unique nor as decisive as in the Diola-inhabited regions of Conbo and Fogny.
Outside the Fony and Confo regions, the Mauritanian element does not seem to have performed a converting role. It manifested itself rather in the creation of Muslim centers—communities of learning and of farming which attracted Muslim adherents, but which remained largely outside the framework of local society and custom.

The major representative of Mauritanian Islam in Fouladou was Cherif Bekkai. Like his brother, Mahfoud, whom Bekkai considered his immediate spiritual leader in the Casamance, Bekkai was affiliated to the Fadelia brotherhood, led by Sâd Boun in Mauritanie.

Bekkai was born in Portuguese Guinea (ca. 1860) and received much of his Koranic education in the Fouta Djallon. He identified with Mousâe Kelo and even accompanied Mousâe into his Gambian exile. He did not remain in Gambie, but returned to the Casamance. Although based among the Pouls, he seems to have had a predominantly Mandingue entourage. He supervised two flourishing Koranic schools, as well as an agricultural community. He appears to have taken only a minimal interest in conversion, and was certainly not an active proselytizer for the faith. The French decided that he was a "bon vivant," preoccupied with his crops and his material interests.

Bekkai's importance in the Upper Casamance lies not in his conversion of pagan Pouls, but in his creation of a religious center there, linked with the Fouta Djallon and Mauritania. These connections helped bring Fouladou into the mainstream of Western Sudanese Islam. His community attracted many students and disciples, thereby contributing to the spread of Muslim elements throughout Fouladou and exposing the Fouladou Pouls to important developments in Islam.
The most important center of foreign Islam among the Mandingues of the Middle Casamance was founded by another Mauritanian, Cherif Younouss. His religious links connected him with Mauritania, but also with the important North Senegalese Tijaniyya center at Tivaoune, presided over then by El Hadji Malick Sy. His headquarters were at Banghere and Sandiniery, across the river from Sedhiou, and his disciples were mainly from among the Mandingues of Gambia, Portuguese Guinea and the Casamance. As in Bekkai's case, Younouss had a greater reputation as a businessman and farmer than as a learned Muslim. He established himself at Sandiniery toward 1883 and attracted many students and disciples -- Mandingues for the most part, but also some Wolofs, Toucouleurs and Peuls all from North Senegal. Younouss, like Bekkai, also had dealings with Houssa Molo, but these do not seem to have been significant or extensive.

Cherif Younouss' prestige in the Casamance stemmed more from his association with the many Mauritanian marabouts who visited his settlement at Banghere than from his contact with Houssa Molo. The model village he created at Banghere, and the flourishing agricultural community were excellent propaganda, but it was his mysticism which won him the most respect — and fear — among the peoples of the Casamance.

In 1913, Younouss, in an uncharacteristic display of piety, played the role of Islamic purifier publicly, reacting against the laxity of Muslim observances or the syncretism of pagan-Islamic practices. Younouss announced that he had had a dream in which one of the Muslim saints, Cheikh Abd el Qader El Djilani had spoken to him:

The Prophet warned him that the whole region would be severely chastised, men and women dying, whether Muslims or pagans, because God was angry with the beliefs and actions of all, with their frequent adultery, their lack of modesty, their failure to give alms or to observe the fasts.
Men, women, heads and even 70,000 chickens would perish throughout a whole year unless alms were collected immediately to propitiate the angry deity. Specific quantities and kinds of alms were prescribed, as well as certain prayers which needed to be recited or read a definite number of times during each day. Measures taken by the British and French administration helped calm the frightened population. Finally neither the alms nor the divine retribution materialized.

Although Youncuss's reputation was widespread throughout the Casamance, he lost in this encounter as he had in an earlier one with Fode Kadiiali, an important Casamance Nandingue marabout at Bakadadji (Baghdad), near the northern Songrougou. Fodé Kadiiali, son of Kene Ndia, one of Fode Kaba's rivals at N'Diama, had founded the village of Bakadadji, but had been forced out of it by Fode Kaba. He then went to Mali for a time, during which period Youncuss profited from his absence to persuade the French to install one of his disciples as chief of Bakadadji. When Fodé Kadiiali came back to the Casamance, the French refused to authorize his return to Bakadadji, even as a simple quarter chief (chef de quartier), so he settled in N'Diama. Youncuss visited the Bakadadji region, winning some of the population to his side, but he realized that Fode Kadiiali's influence would soon eclipse his own, so he abandoned his opposition to Fodé Kadiiali there, returned to Sandiniery for several months, and then emigrated out of the Casamance into Portuguese Guinea where he remained for several years.

Fodé Kadiiali was not the only local Muslim leader to frustrate the interests of Mauritanian Muslims in the Casamance region. After the 19th century Islamic awakening which Fode Kaba had done much to trigger
among the Casamance Mandingues by reminding them of their Muslim duties, Kemo Ndia, Fode Tanding, and Fode Dionbo had begun to create Islamic centers of study and conversion. Several other important centers arose among the Mandingues of the Middle Casamance. Fode Kadiali himself was a Qadiriyya who came from a Toucouleur background: his father, Kemo Ndia had emigrated from the Fouta Toro and founded the village of N'Diana in Yacine where he had created a community of his students and disciples, and from which he launched his holy war against the Rainouns in the 1860's. Fode Kadiali was born in Yacine (ca. 1860), but did his Islamic studies in the Fouta Djallon and in Portuguese Guinea and Mauritania before founding Bakadadj in 1890. In an attempt to use his considerable influence among the Mandingues for their own purpose, the French first consented to support him against Younouss after their initial refusal to do so in 1908, and then incorporated him into their administration as cantonal chief (chef de canton). His acceptance of this civil service chieftainship caused him to lose much prestige and influence among the Mandingues.

Several other Mandingue marabouts enjoyed a relatively limited prominence in the Middle Casamance. Like Fode Kadiali, these marabouts were Qadiriyya affiliates, most of whom had gotten their Koranic education in the Fouta Djallon with Karamoko Koutoubo, the grand marabout of Touba in the Fouta Djallon, who seems to have educated a whole generation of Muslim Mandingues in the Middle Casamance. At Santiaba, a quarter in Ziguinchor, Famara Seydi, a Mandingue from N'Diana had a Koranic school. Near N'Diana, Fode Senoussi Souare had a school and agricultural community. He was educated in the Qadiriyya center of Karamoko Koutoubo at Touba, and later persuaded his father-in-law, Younouss of Bangera, to give him
permission to perform the Tijaniyya initiations, thereby greatly increasing his influence. 62

Another local Mandingue figure won much importance and gained many adherents and disciples for his communities at Sibikoroto and Kerouane near Kerassoum on the eastern banks of the Songrougnou. This was Cherif Sidi, whose influence extended through family links into both Gambia and Portuguese Guinea. Like Fode Kadija, Sidi came from a family which had become increasingly part of Mandingue society, although it seems originally to have been Mauritanian. 63 Sidi studied in North Senegal and Mauritania, and set up communities in Gambia, Portuguese Guinea and the Middle Casamance, the last serving as his headquarters. He attempted to establish a center of conversion among the pagan Diolas of Fogny in 1914, but these plans for proselytization coincided with a period of French opposition to the spread of Islam in general, and to a desire specifically to preserve the Diola fetishism intact from Muslim contamination. In May 1915:

[Sidi] was invited ... not to disturb the traditions or the social and religious customs of the Diolas, and to regain his village of Kerouane, where he was at liberty to carry out his apostolic mission throughout the Mandingue region. 64

This moratorium on Muslim proselytization was a belated and ineffective reaction to a process whose development the French had previously fostered. The policy was not applied universally. Although the French often referred with regret to the spread of Islam among the Peuls of Fouladou, they did not contrive to inhibit it there as they did among the Diolas of Fogny and Combo. This difference came partially from the fact that the French had less contact with or knowledge of those marabouts spreading Islam in the Upper Casamance. No one figure could be isolated in the
Upper Casamance as responsible for widespread conversion. Also, no history of religious violence or persecution existed in Muslim-pagan relations in the Upper Casamance as it did among the Diolas and Muslims in the Lower Casamance. More important for the absence of application of such an overtly anti-Muslim policy was the fact that the French judged Fouladou to be a Muslim state. Although they realized that Islamization was far from being universal among the Peuls of the Upper Casamance, they nevertheless conceded the region to inevitable Islamization. The Upper Casamance was, however, in the first decades of the 20th century a region of incomplete and recent Islamization.

The Peuls of Fouladou went through a virtually total revolution in the latter half of the 19th century—at least in terms of external appearances. Their international status changed from that of a dependent group resembling bonded serfs, to that of a dominant group ruling over its own independent area. Within the Peul community itself, the roles of the two castes were reversed, the slaves becoming the dominant ruling class which adopted new political and religious forms, while the aristocracy clung to what rapidly became minority social and religious beliefs.

In order to bolster their own ruling position, both Alfa and Mousa Molo had recourse to Islamic ideas. The legitimacy of their power over the Peuls of Fouladou lay in their contact with El Hadji Oumar and in the divine revelations he reportedly made concerning them. Since Alfa Molo converted to Islam only shortly before launching his revolt, it is dubious that he could have rallied the Peuls to his revolt by declaring a holy war on the Kandingoes. It is certain, however, that he obtained help from the Fouta Djallon on the basis of ethnic solidarity, but more importantly, on the basis of religious community.
Once in power, Alfa and Moussa after him, used Islam to unify the Peuls vis-à-vis pagan Mandingues. They sponsored the proselytization of marabouts, but hampered their activities by maintaining an unstable situation of chronic warfare. To offset the limitations necessarily imposed on the peaceful acceptance of Islam, the Mlos made use of the political, administrative and military hierarchy with which they had endowed Fouladou. By ordering provincial governors and military leaders to effect Islamization of their subjects, the Mlos accomplished sweeping conversions. Islam in Fouladou after the Peul war of independence was neither the religion of foreigners nor of social superiors. Indeed it enjoyed the adherence of prominent local leaders, and of the reigning "patriot" heroes—Alfa and Moussa Molo.

Neither ruler, however, showed interest in building a truly Islamic state ruled by inclusive Muslim law. Instead, they tried in their politics to select the most strategically useful elements of Islam for the furtherance of the state and their rule. Moussa never took on Islamic political-religious titles, although his father had been given such a title by the almany of the Fouta Djallon. In the end, paradoxically, the impact and effects of Islam were longer lasting and more profound for Fouladou than the reigns of Alfa or Moussa Molo.

Colonial Politics and the Spread of Islam:

French colonial policy towards Islam was as pragmatic and opportunistic as was the Mlos' use of Islam. The French attitude toward Islam varied from region to region, from administrator to administrator, and from one period to another. Their attitude had both political and moral
aspects. At certain times, political expediency dictated a pro-Islam local policy. For a long period, the humanitarian aspects of French colonial concerns favored official encouragement of Islam as a necessary stage in the civilizing process which France had taken upon itself. One commentator on the civilizing value of Islam summed up this argument regarding Islam as an essential intermediary stage in the upward linear process of moral and political improvement. He wrote:

Muslim propaganda is one step towards the civilization of West Africa and it is universally admitted that the Muslim peoples of those regions are superior to those who have remained pagans, in all that concerns social organization, intellectual development, trade, industry, happiness, well-being and manners.66

Praising Islam as an evolutionary movement, and not as a revolutionary one, he pointed out that an Islamic society had a democratic and unified character, stimulated economic and commercial improvements, as well as agricultural and pastoral modernization. A Muslim society, as he saw it, also provided security for trade routes and introduced hygienic and sanitary reforms.67 Most significant was the social community Islam called forth, the idea of a common goal based on common discipline:

From the practical point of view, Islam has the advantage of constituting groups which as groups are easier to govern and to administer than pagan tribes, because of their realization of communal integrals and because of the obedience they give to their chiefs.68

This attitude, developed largely after pacification and enunciated by many, favored the spread of Islam in several ways. First, it obviously meant that France would not deliberately attempt to restrict the movement and activities of proselytising muraubits or teachers. Second, this deliberate encouragement of Islam resulted in several accidental by-products which further facilitated Islamization. The French administration
tended to rely on Arabic scribes for carrying out their business with local chiefs, thus raising the Arabists to position of important status and giving them—and the language—great prestige in the eyes of the local peoples, whether these were Muslims or not. The French colonial administration also relied heavily on Muslims in the civil service, using them as indirect rulers in many decentralized and usually pagan areas, such as was the case in the Lower Casamance.

The French thus unwittingly raised the superficial, external aspects of Islam to positions of importance in the minds of the local groups. The French also preferred to use Muslim law in their litigation procedures since, unlike traditional law, it was codified and written. Donal O'Brien in his study of the French attitude to Islam also suggests that the colonial administration had many anti-clerical elements in it, and thus often displayed open hostility to Christian missionaries, favoring Islamization by default.69

Until the completion of pacification, around the turn of the century, official French policy had been ad hoc and pragmatic. Many French administrators serving in West Africa had had earlier service in North Africa, and thus some familiarity with Islamic societies. Some Muslim leaders showed cooperation in the French penetration; others violently opposed it, but pagan groups too manifested opposition to the French. Inconsistent as French Islamic policy was in French West Africa, the guidelines remained generally favorable to Islam in the belief that Islam would produce a stable social order and a progressive social ethic. Although the French had a long history of dealing with Muslim societies, and had evolved an implicit policy for these dealings, it was only in 1900 that
the Service of Muslim and Saharan Affairs began in Paris, and in 1906 at Dakar, the Service of Muslim Affairs was set up to begin the evolution of a coordinated and clear policy towards Islam in West Africa.

Even before the creation of these agencies, the French in situ tended to distinguish between "good" and "bad" Islam. "Good" Muslims were those who cooperated with the French, working with them and not opposing them; "bad" Muslims were "fanatics" who acted independently of the French, or refused to cooperate with them, or even opposed them. The Mandingues of the Casamance alternated between being seen as "good" and "bad" Muslims.

Until the disappearance of Fedé Kaba, the French saw the Mandingues as menaces to both French administration and commerce, and to Diola society.

In most of the 19th century, the French advocated Islamization of pagan groups such as the Diolas. In 1893, Claudius Kadrolle, a French traveller, wrote that France had to become a Muslim nation in West Africa because:

> Our fetishers have too rudimentary an organisation to be able to understand our laws; Islam is thus necessary in order for them to develop, little by little, in the realm of intelligence, in moral ideas, to learn a taste for trade, to be convinced that there is an order and master in all things.70

Part of the official French opposition toward Islam was based on opposition to slave-raiding practices of Muslim groups. This became particularly applicable to the Diolas of the Lower Casamance once the administration was aware of the problem which caused the Diolas to flee their lands or to disappear into the inland slave market.71 The French also attempted to restrict the movement of marabouts and other religious figures who travelled around, collecting alms and gifts and impoverishing the various groups who dared not refuse their welcome.72 To this end, they tried to establish rules concerning the quality of Koranic education, and
to supervise the movement of religious figures. Legislation was easier than enforcement, and improved the situation only in those towns where the French had sufficient time, personnel and interest to supervise the implementing of their legislation. Little could be done to control the movement of marabouts or the activities of dioula, both of whom often exploited whenever they could.

After the creation of the Muslim bureaux to study the situation, France became more aware of pan-Islamic movements. The increasingly tense situation in Europe prior to the outbreak of World War I, and particularly the problems of the moribund Ottoman Empire, forced the French to supervise Islamic activities closely. Contacts between West Africa and the North African or Egyptian Muslims were identified as early as 1908. In commenting on the activities of Mauritanian Muslims in the Gambia and the Casamance, one French official wrote that:

These religious figures follow French foreign policy very closely and keep abreast of French action in northwest Africa. (... ) They are equally informed on the modernizing movement in Egypt, and approve of this development.73

Even at this late date, however, French analyses and recommendations were often contradictory. One document dated 1910 makes reference to a recent spurt of Mauritanian Islamic activity in the Casamance and specifically mentions the increased Islamic awareness these contacts were fostering there, recommending that Dakar supervise the travels of Moroccans or Mauritanians in the colony of Senegal.74 Another document of the same year, 1910, returns to the earlier theme of Islamic usefulness:

Islam in the Casamance offers no danger to the French; what is even better is that for many reasons we should even favor its installation and spread as a means of peaceably penetrating the pagan populations around the mouth of the river and thus impose organization on them.75
This changed policy toward Islam—discouraging instead of encouraging its spread—resulted from several analyses of the situation. A certain romantic interest in the preservation of the "savages" in their "state of nature" played a role in changing French policy. More important and decisive was the increasing fear of pan-Islamic movements which seemed to forebode the dismantling of Western colonial empires in the face of widespread Muslim uprisings. A third explanation concerns the possibilities which the French envisioned of West African Muslim unity, and resembles their fear of international Muslim unity. Divide and rule suddenly became an ex-post facto rationalization of the successes of European colonial penetration. This policy had also been used to play one religious leader off against another, in an attempt to reduce their effectiveness—a policy which the French had tried in the Casamance to pit the various competing chorifian and maraboutic families against each other, but which ironically had ended in the greater activity and energy of each.

Since divide and rule had proved its efficiency in the period of military conquest, the policy obviously deserved to be retained: religious differences should, according to this theory, be emphasized, with a strong, self-consciously aware, centralized fetishism battling against invading Islam. A stop had to be put to the dual phenomena of the breakdown of pagan societies and the consolidation of a unified Muslim bloc. To this end, some French officials recommended that:

We must return to paganism its strong personality of earlier times which excessive French centralization has been in the process of undoing simply because this personality was not sufficiently recognized and appreciated.77
The French who had earlier recommended the Islamization of pagan, decentralized groups later found themselves unable to reverse a process whose beginning they had fostered. They had not initiated the process, but had encouraged it. To the traditional dioula traders and wandering marabouts customarily found even in pagan areas, the French had added one further Muslim element — the Muslim administrative officials of colonial rule and Muslim commercial employess of the colonial economy. Ironically, France had given sanction to Islamization while simultaneously creating the peaceful conditions Islam needed to implant itself and to take root. Quite paradoxically, the French could not stop peacefully what Casamance Muslim leaders had attempted to start violently.
FOOTNOTES


3 See, for example, F.-H. Ruxton, Maliki Law: Being a Summary from French Translations of the MUKÀMAH OF BAVI MAUL with notes and bibliography (London, 1918).

4 Oral, personal interview with Diola elders, such as Lansana Diedhiou, Kartik, department of Siguinha.


6 See above, 15 ff.

7 The title cherif applies to those who claim descent from the Prophet through Mohamed's daughter Fatimah and her husband 'Ali.

8 It is generally believed that about eighty percent of the Diolas of the North bank are Islamized, with the other percentages being part Christian and part pagan. On the South bank, eighty percent of the Diolas are probably pagans, ten percent Christian and ten percent Muslims. Among the Mandingues of the Casaméne, probably all are Muslims, with a rare instance of a Christian. The Peuls of Fouladou probably have about seventy percent Muslims while the rest remain pagans.

9 See above, 119 ff, 105 ff.

10 See above, 109 ff.


12 Resident of Carabane, E. Bertrand-Boudard to Félix Bauduin at Carabane, 21 April 1957, 1, 439, 2D 5.


16 The Bluff region includes the villages of Thendieme, Thiobon, Thionck-Essyl, Kartiak, N'leou, Baligore, Thandiene, etc. It lies between the marigot of Bignona and the marigot of Mouloucou.

17 Personal interview, Anisoumene Diatte, Thiobon, department of Bignona.

18 ibid.

19 ibid.


20a Ma al-Ainin was a marabout who campaigned against the French in Morocco. He belonged to the Jadiriyya brotherhood. See, fn. 22, below.


22 Saad Bou was a Mauritanian marabout, and the brother of Ma al-Ainin. He was a Jadiriyya, although a leading exponent of the Fadila offshoot. The Fadilla is an offshoot of the Jadiriyya brotherhood whose founder died in 1800 in the Hodh. His innovation was the claim to be able to give affiliation to any brotherhood. The Fadilla have no mystical chain, as do other brotherhoods, but the founder, Mohamed al-Fadel, received mystical revelations from the Jadiriyya and Tijaniyya founders, giving him direct affiliation to these orders and authorization to give their initiations rites. See, Paul Marty, "Mission au Sénégal," I (Paris, 1917), 9 ff. See, also, Personal interview, Cherif Chauedine, Daroul-Khairy, department of Bignona.
23 Information on Ma al-Minh and Sâd Bâ can be found in Paul Marty, *L'Islam au Sénégal*.

24 Personal interview, Bakary Sonko, Taïobon, department of Bignona, and Cherif Châmed Saïdine, Daroul-Khâiry, department of Bignona.

25 Cherif Châmed Saïdine, ibid.


27 Personal interview, Cherif Châmed Saïdine, Daroul-Khâiry, department of Bignona.


29 "Baîr" is both a political and a religious title, and the use of it by Cherif Saïdine in reference to Foulaoud and Gabou is curious in terms of what it implies about their religious status. Baîr comes from the Arabic meaning ruler, prince, or military commander, but is also a title, similar to Alfa, given to the Prophet's descendants through his daughter, Fatimah.

30 Personal interview, Cherif Châmed Saïdine, Daroul-Khâiry, department of Bignona.

31 ibid.

32 ibid.


34 ibid. 13.

35 "Rapport politique du 3e trimestre 1903," Governor-General AOF to Ministry of Colonies, Dakar, 2 Dec. 1903, ANSC, S I 97 ter., Y.

36 ibid., 17, and "Rapport politique du 3e trimestre 1903," Governor-General AOF to Ministry of Colonies, Dakar, 2 Dec. 1903, ANSC, S I 97 ter., Y.


43. Koukonyel Dama Sow, Korup; personal interview.

44. Personal interview, Omar Balde, Dioulacolon, department of Kolda.


46. Personal interview, Omar Balde, Dioulacolon.

47. Different oral and written sources give different versions of his name. In some cases, it appears as Diagne and in others as Thiam.

48. Personal interview, Omar Balde, Dioulacolon.


52. El Hadji Malick Sy was a Tijaniyya leader in North Senegal. His headquarters at Tivaouane rivaled other Tijaniyya centers in North Senegal and West Africa. See, "Notices de Paul Marty, 1914," ANS, 13 345, 37.


Governor of the Colonies, Lieutenant Governor of Haut-Sénégal- \nFigué, to the Governor General of AOF, Dakar, "au sujet de la prédiction \nde Cherif Younous de Saindarii," 1-2, AIS, 133-67, d.2, # 124.

"Notes pour les archives: surveillance de l'Islamisme," \n1er April 1907, 1-2, AIS, 133-67, d.2., # 156.

See above, 101.


Abid., 24.


Alain Guellien, La Politique musulmane dans l'Afrique Occidentale \nFrançaise (Paris, 1915), 100.

Ibid., 102-3.

Ibid., 104.

Ibid., 109.


Claudius Madrole, Notes d'un voyage en Afrique Occidentale, \nde la Casamance en Guinée par la Fouta Djallon (Paris, 1854), 32.

Capitaine H. Erosselard-Faicherbe, La Guinée Portugaise et \ntes possessions Françaises voisines (Lille, 1856), 53.

GPRC, 911-c, 1857, 5-6.

"Mission Robert Arnaud en Casamance: étude des questions \nmusulmanes, Dakar, le 7 jan. 1903," 7, AIS, 133 379-1.

Letter to the Central Commissioner, Aug. 1920 (?), AIS 133 1.

76
Gouverneur Général de l'ACF, Colonie du Haut-Sénégal-Niger,
Bureau Politique, Koulouba, le 12 août 1911: "Confidential: Circulaire
au sujet de la politique mausolée dans le Haut-Sénégal-Niger; Le gouver-
neur des Colonies, lieutenant-Gouverneur du Haut-Sénégal-Niger, officier
de la Légion d'Honneur, à Messieurs les Lieutenants-Colonels commandant
le territoire militaire du Niger et la Région de Tontoutou, les Adminis-
trateurs et Commandants de Circles," 2, ANS, 153 103, no. 169 /No. 167/.
77
ibid., 3.
CONCLUSIONS

Today many North Senegalese think of the Casamance as a pagan area. This misconception results partially from the popular identification between Casamance and Diola. Although the Diolas today remain heavily Christian or pagan in relation to other Senegalese groups, approximately eighty per cent of the north bank Fongny and Combo villages have accepted Islam. Along the Sengourou in the east and the Gambia in the north, one still finds the highest density of Muslims, but mosques and Koranic schools have sprung up throughout the region. Many Diolas have deserted Christianity on both banks of the river, so the number of Christians has actually declined in the last decades. Fetish villages or regions are increasingly rare, and are located almost entirely in the region of Oussouye — south of the village of Oussouye and into the Portuguese Guinean territory.

The traditional (religious, geographical, linguistic, ethnic and historical) differences between the Casamance and North Senegal which have brought forth the identification of the Casamance with the Diolas have been reinforced by the extra-Senegalese orientation of the other two major groups — the Mandingues have looked towards Gabou or Mali to other members of their ethnic groups there, and the Peuls have been more closely linked to the Fouta Djallon than the Fouta Toro. These external orientations of the Casamance peoples result from their historical experiences as much as from geographical causes.
Throughout West Africa, the 19th century was a period of political and cultural shocks for virtually all West African groups. These upsets were particularly intensive in the Casamance. The arrival of the Europeans and the revival of Islam occurred simultaneously with the many population movements taking place in and around the Casamance. The combination of the external forces — Islam and colonialism — with internal change necessitated a long period of adaptation and accommodation. The difficulties inherent in accommodating such multi-level movements as were the external events were complicated by the internal changes accompanying these movements of populations. Adjustment to change was eventually made, but only after a series of interacting events had taken place.

Geographical and ethnic factors peculiar to the Casamance have made its history an intricate pattern, with no single group or person around which events rotated. Instead, the focus of power and activity have been diffused throughout the region as a whole, and have shifted with great rapidity within the component geographical or ethnic divisions of the Casamance. In the 19th century, at least, this检查ered history takes on a coherent and meaningful form when examined in the framework of Islam.

During the 19th century, especially during the later decades, Islam became an omnipresent and influential factor throughout all but the Casouye region of the Casamance. Islam has gradually overtaken the traditional differences separating the various Casamance groups, and has created today a relatively homogeneous cultural framework for
the disparate peoples of the region. In the process of so doing, however, Islam was often directly or indirectly responsible for conflict.

The many groups which inhabit the Casamance coexisted for centuries with a minimum of contact. In the 19th century, this situation was greatly altered. New and fragmentary groups began moving into the Lower Casamance region, coming from Portuguese Guinea where they had been evicted by Mandingue pressures westward. These Mandingue pressures were the result of changes further in the hinterland which triggered a series of population displacements and seriously changed the ethnic map of the Casamance. The arrival of the groups from Portuguese Guinea pushed many Diolas across the Casamance River, where they met with settled Diola communities north of the river. In turn, one group, either the recent migrants or the older settled community, depending on which was stronger, moved and resettled itself westward, northward or eastward. Whereas traditional movement had been towards the west, sheer physical geographical limitations forced the newer movements to take an eastward orientation. This eventually resulted in a contact and conflict situation, for the inhabitants of the Middle Casamance were undergoing similar population pressures.

Religious and political alterations in the regions neighboring the Casamance forced the Mandingues in the Casamance itself to push westward. This forced the Bainounks or pagan Soninkes into further westerly positions, while the Mandingues incorporated the older groups into their expanding group or annihilated them. Eventually these eastward-moving Diola groups collided with the westward-moving ones.
New events within the Casamance itself gave rise to further population relocations. The Peul revolution in 1867 resulted partially from contemporary emigrations and caused further population changes. The Mandingues of the Upper Casamance abandoned their traditional homeland of Fouladou after losing control of this region to the Peuls, although it seems that some Mandingues were incorporated into the new system. Peul emigrants coming primarily from the Fouta Djallon had helped stimulate the war of independence by their force of numbers, and the Fouta Djallon itself contributed to the Peul victory in Fouladou in a large extent.

The Casamance in the 19th century was obviously the scene of enormous demographic changes. The arrival of the Europeans contributed to furtherance of these changes. European military penetration caused many groups to move voluntarily, in the interest of self-preservation. The introduction of a European money economy also contributed to population shifts to avoid administrative taxation policies, or to resettle along changed trade routes or to find new lands for cultivation of the marketable peanut crop which the French introduced and encouraged.

No group in the region had sufficient resilience to be able to withstand these external pressures, or sufficient organization to be able to resist them. The combination of European pressures and population movements coincided with the Islamic intrusion, largely from the Fouta Djallon and the Gambia and, to a limited extent, from North Senegal.

The combination of these three major forces — population shifts, European colonialism and Islam — helped force a situation of contact, and with contact, unfortunately, came conflict. Before the introduction of these outside forces, the various groups in the Casamance
had lived peacefully, each within rather clearcut and geographically-
determined boundaries. Contact between the groups was unnecessary
and virtually non-existent. Major trade routes and population move-
ments were north-south, through ethnic groups, rather than east-west,
across them. Geographical features favored this orientation along
rivers and around forests. Traders lived within each region, thus
rendering even commercial contact unnecessary. Each group was largely
self-sufficient. Conflicts within groups were self-regulating. No re-
course to outside persons or territories was required.

The intrusion of outside elements upset this balance of groups
and powers. The history of the Casamance since the demolition of this
balance has been one of prolonged attempts to adjust to and internalize
these outside elements, and to establish a new balance within the region.

Events outside the Casamance provoked changes within the
Casamance. The Gambian Soninke-warabout wars and the revolution in
the Fouta Djallon had both direct and indirect effects on the Casamance.
The Muslim-pagan conflict along the Gambia River spread into the north-
er parts of the Diola territories of Fongey and Conbo, recreating the
Gambian situation of rivalry for political power and religious unity.
One of the leaders of the Soninke-warabout wars, Naba Diakhou, particu-
larly influenced this Muslim resurgence in the Casamance, giving both
concrete aid and spiritual encouragement to the movement there. These
wars also gave rise to such local militant leaders as Fodé Sylla and
Soukary, the former attempting to convert the pagan Balantes and Bai-
noums in the confines of the Mandingue territories, and the latter
fighting a holy war among the pagan Diolas of British and French Conbo.
More important, however, were the two politico-religious leaders — Fodé Kaba and Moussa Molo. These two leaders had both received inspiration and support from outside regions: Fodé Kaba from the Muslim state created by Maba in Saloura and Moussa Molo from the Fouta Djallon, and, through his father, from the Toucouleur politico-religious leader, El Hadji Oumar Tall. These were the two major representatives of militant or political Islam in the Casamance.

Fodé Kaba Dounabouya, a Mandingue, set up an impermanent jihad state in the Kian region between the Songrougou River and the Gambia River. Moussa Molo, king of Fouladou in the Upper Casamance, was the son of the Peul leader, Alfa Molo. Alfa had led the Peul revolt against the Mandingues in the Upper Casamance and had there established the state of Fouladou. Both leaders, Fodé Kaba and Moussa Molo, tended to use Islam as a practical means for achieving their political, military, or economic ends — slave-trading in the case of Fodé Kaba, and administrative centralization in the case of Moussa Molo. Other more minor figures followed similar policies with less widespread effects. These included Birahim N'Diaye and Xangone Seye, who were both Senegalese Wolofs brought into the Casamance by the French as administrators or traders. The long-range effects of these persons was one of discouraging conversion, since in the minds of the non-believers Islam became rapidly associated with the slave trade and with pillage.

The task of conversion belonged rather to unknown traders and itinerant marabouts, or to foreign cherifs who settled in the region during and after the phase of militancy. Foremost among these was
Cherif Mahfoud who lived and worked among the Diolas of Fogny and Combo. Cherif Bekkai and Cherif Younouss founded important religious communities in the Casamance, but these were religious cases, not proselytizing centers. The example set by these people in the practice of their religion and in the way of life that appeared to accompany it, was the single most important factor in the spread of Islam. In the long run, it was the dispersion of peaceful Muslims, traders, migrants or teachers, which caused the diffusion of Islam in the Casamance. The important role eventually assumed by the Mandingues in converting the pagan population of the Casamance, then, only began after the period of militant Islam had ended with Fode Kaba's death in 1901 and Moussa Kolo'e exile in 1903.

Militant Islam did not result in the creation of Islamic theocratic states to direct the militants or to organize society after cessation of hostilities. Indeed, the most important survival of these episodes of conquest was renewed consciousness of ethnic differences. Only when the period of militant Islam had ended and when peaceful religious conversion began to occur, did a consensus based on religion begin to emerge.

Great internal changes within each region and each ethnic group were produced during the phase of militant Islam. Since this phase was often paralleled by the phase of European penetration, interest at that time remained purely local and tribal, never reaching the plane of the larger religious community, although in some cases attaining for the first time the ethnic level. On the functional level, Islam did perform the vital task of reintegrating societies threatened by inter-
nal migrations and external penetration. Islam in its militant form also helped provide the bases of learning and faith on which subsequent solid conversion could rest. Ironically, European colonialism helped to lay the foundations for the spread of Islam in the Casamance, by creating stable conditions which permitted peaceful proselytization and interaction to occur, and in some cases even encouraging the activities of Muslims with formal official policies.

Each of the three major forces — the spread of Muslims, colonialism, and population movements — worked to eventual Islamization of the Casamance. Internal population movements and European colonization each helped stimulate the breakdown of traditional systems of politics and religion. Militant Islam further aggravated this disintegration. All three forces to a large extent resulted in the separation of the religious from the political aspects of pagan societies. This divorce rendered the fetish systems impotent since the two aspects were so necessarily intertwined. In the reconstruction subsequent to these breakdowns, Islam provided the spiritual and political bases for societal reorganization. In the end, contact and conflict with external factors combined to provide both the conditions for and agents of Islamization.
BIBLIOGRAPHY

ABBREVIATIONS

AEP Archives du Ministère des Affaires Étrangères, Paris
ANSOM Archives Nationales, Section Outre-Mer, Paris
AOF Afrique Occidentale Française
ANS Archives Nationales de la République du Sénégal, Dakar
(formerly the Archives of the French West African Federation)
CEHAIS École Nationale d'Administration, Dakar
GPRO Gambia Public Records Office, Eathurst
HMSO His Majesty's Stationery Office
INHÉM Institut d'Hautes Études d'Outre-Mer
JAH Journal of African History
RHCN Revue de l'Histoire des Colonies Françaises

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The greatest part of the research on which this study is based has come from archival sources. The following archives have been consulted:

Archives of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Paris;
National Archives, Overseas Section, Paris;
Archives of the Republic of Senegal, formerly Archives of the French West African Federation, Dakar;
Archives of the Gambia, the Gambia Public Records Office, Bathurst.

The Ministry of Foreign Affairs in Paris provided primarily diplomatic materials, particularly correspondence between the Government of Senegal and the neighboring colonies under British and Portuguese rule. The Archives of the Gambia have incomplete records for the period involved, and a visit to the British Public Records Office in London would be helpful in order to supplement these rather sketchy and incomplete materials. The Overseas Section of the National Archives provides much material, but the largest part of it duplicates the papers held in Dakar. Some travellers' reports are found that are not in Dakar, and some enclosures, copies of which were not retained in Dakar. In general, nevertheless, it is in the Archives of the Republic of Senegal that the bulk of the research material exists, both the Archives of the French West African Federation and the Fonds St. Louis (which consist of the archives taken from there to Dakar when AOF broke down into separate states). These archives provide political reports, economic statistics, information on education, religion, colonial administrators, crops, etc. They often give a chrono-
logically incomplete picture, but the official correspondence, reports, and studies which are contained in the archives of Senegal represent the foundation of any studies to be undertaken on the old French West African Federation, at least until the beginning of the 19th century, and in some cases, going back even into the 18th century.

Some manuscript collections have been used in the Institut Fondamental d'Afrique Noire, and the Fonds Français in the French National Library. Various secondary sources and published works have contributed much information, as have personal interviews and recording sessions in the Casamance with local elders, religious and political leaders, and descendants of persons involved in this study. These will be catalogued below—the informants by language group, and the secondary sources by alphabetical order for books and then for articles. Several recent unpublished materials have been used, as have official publications put out by the colonial government at various times.
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PERSONAL INTERVIEWS

Diola Language Informants

Mamadou Sane, dite ASSANGALEME; Balingore, department of Bignona; an elder with information primarily on Fode Sylla. 8 Feb. 1968.

Abdou DIATTA; Thionck-Essyl, department of Bignona; ex-cantonal chief; an elder with information on Fode Kaba among the Diolas. 9 Feb. 1968.

Cheikhou Ansoumane DIATTA; Thiobon, department of Bignona; an elder who is the son of the first Diola to convert in that region. 9 Feb. 1968.

Lansana DIEHIOU: Kartiak, department of Bignona; an elder, ex-chief of village; primarily with information on Diola battles. 10 Feb. 1968.

Tete DIEHIOU: Ziguinchor; an elder of the town, ex-interpreter for the French colonial government, currently adviser to the Governor of the Casamance on problems of traditional law and customs; intimate knowledge of events in his lifetime, and much information on the history of the entire region. February, March, May, 1968.

El Hadji Bodiare SAGNA: Thendieme, department of Bignona; elder who was an early convert to Islam. 11 Feb. 1968.

Mamadou SAGNA: Diouloulou, department of Bignona; elder, village chief. 7 Feb. 1968.

Bouli SANE: Bona, department of Sedhiou; elder with details on Fode Kaba's wars against the fetishers, among whom was his father. 12 Feb. 1968.

Bakary SONKO: Thiobon, department of Bignona; the village elder, with some information on the early introduction of Islam to the region. 9 Feb. 1968.

Arabic Language Informants

Cherif Muhammad Chamsedine AIDARA: Daroul-Khairy, department of Bignona; son of Cherif Mahfoud; detailed written knowledge of the family history and of the spread of Islam among the Diolas; text in Arabic, interviews in Mandingue. February, March, May, 1968.

Waissou SYLLA: Oudoucar, department of Sedhiou; elder and grand marabout; information on family of Ibrahim Sylla and on Fode Kaba. 18 Feb. 1968.

Peul Language Informants

Mamadou Fallaye BALDE: Faraba, department of Kolda; young marabout, grandson of Moussa Molo; holds Arabic manuscripts written in Peul and dating back to grandparents' times; enormous information on details of Moussa's rule and of conversion. 21 Feb., 14 March 1968.

Oumar BALDE: Dioula colon, department of Kolda; elder, ex-cantonal chief; learned, has done some research on oral history; information on details of Moussa's rule and of conversion. 18 March 1968.

Fathe BALDE: Sare Demara, department of Kolda; elder, eye-witness to Moussa Molo's declining years; information on Moussa's rule. 19 March 1968.

Soukaba BALDE: N'Dorna, department of Kolda; elder, eye-witness to late years of Moussa's rule; grandson of one of Moussa's provincial chiefs; information on Moussa's reign. 20 Feb. 1968.

Arllette COUMBA: Sare Bandiagara, department of Kolda; elder, eye-witness to late years of Moussa's rule; information on Alfa Molo's revolt. 15 March 1968.

El Hadji Mamadou Amadou DIALLO: Faffakuru, department of Kolda; elder, honorary chief of Faffakuru and ex-cantonal chief; legend of Peul installation in the Casamance; with chiefs of village quarters and imam of village, details on arrivals of the various families in the region. 29 May 1968.

Thierno Abdoul FALL: Darsalam, department of Kolda; young, learned marabout; information on the spread of Islam among the Peuls. 19 Feb. 1968.

Ali M'BALLO: Kolda; information on Alfa and Moussa's provincial organization. 21 Feb. 1968.

Koukenyel Demba SOW: Korrop, department of Kolda; elder, son of Moussa's uncle, Bakary Demba; information on Alfa's early life and on his career, and then Moussa's problems. 28 May 1968.

Keita WANDJAGA: Hamdallaye, department of Kolda; elder, information on the Molos' rule and on the conversion of the Peuls. 15 March 1968.

Wolof Language Informant

El Hadji Moussa HANE: Senoba, Department of Sedhiou; Toucouleur marabout, Koranic school teacher; information on the establishment of the Toucouleurs and their enclave in the Casamance. 17 March, 30 May 1968.
Mandingue Language Informants

Abdoulaye CISSOKHO: Bona and Inor, department of Sedhiou; griot with cora; grandson of Fode Kaba's griot. 10, 23 Feb. 1968.

Kelountane COSSOKHO: Sedhiou; elder, eye-witness to Fode Kaba's defeat at Medina. 29 May 1968.

Arfan Landing DAFE: N'Diama, department of Sedhiou; elder, information on his family, that of Fode Landing. 30 May 1968.

Babou DIABATE: Sedhiou; griot with cora. 12 Feb. 1968.

Oumar DIABATE: Sedhiou; griot with cora. 17 April 1968.

Mapate DIAGNE: Sedhiou; elder, schoolteacher who, although Wolof, has been in Sedhiou since birth; has done much research on oral history of the region. 14 Feb. 1968.

El Hadji Mamadou DOUCOURE: Pata; Kerewane, department of Kolda; elder, grand marabout; Sarakolle with some details on the spread of Islam among the Peuls. 20 Feb. 1968.

Maye DOUMSOUYA: Inor, department of Sedhiou; elder, grand marabout, son of Fode Kaba Doumbouya; much information on the family; obvious bias. 23 Feb. 1968.

El Hadji Fode Almamy DRAME: Souma-Kerantaba, department of Sedhiou; elder, imam of village, repository of traditional respect with wisdom; much information on foundation of mosques throughout Pakao. 15 Feb. 1968.

Fode Bourama DRAME: Dassilame-Pakao, department of Sedhiou; elder, village chief; much detailed information on Fode Kaba's relations with the Muslim Mandingues. 19 March 1968.

Ibrahim SANE: Mangacounda, department of Sedhiou; elder, imam of village, descendant of an Islamized family frightened out of its Songrougou homelands by Fode Kaba's raids. 12 March 1968.

El Hadji Boukary SYDI DIA: Bakadadj-Sonkodou, department of Sedhiou; elder, grand marabout, grandson of Kemo Madia and son of Fode Kadalay; information on the family history. 23 Feb. 1968.

SYLLA: Dakar; elder, member of the Fode Kaba Doumbouya family; precise and detailed information on the family and career of Fode Kaba. 15 May, 1 June 1968.

Thierno SYLLA: Dallilame-Pakao, department of Sedhiou; elder and marabout, descendant of Ibrahim Sylla, leader of Mandingues in 1840's; much information on Mandingue Islam and Mandingue relations with Fode Kaba. 19 March 1968.
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          Northwestern University, M.A. 1965