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Captain S. Pasfield Oliver

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Friday, May 11, 1894.

Lieut.-General W. H. GOODENOUGH, C.B., R.A., in the Chair.

LE SOUDAN FRANÇAIS, AND RECENT FRENCH OPERATIONS ON THE UPPER NIGER.

By Captain S. PASFIELD OLIVER, late Royal Artillery.

THE CHAIRMAN: We have received a note from Captain Oliver to say he was too unwell to come here this afternoon, and he has requested our Editor, Captain Maude, to be so good as to read the paper for him. Captain Oliver may be known to some of you as having been for a long time identified with researches regarding French operations in Madagascar, and elsewhere, with which he has an intimate acquaintance. He has requested me to acknowledge the kind assistance which he has received from the "Temps" newspaper, in preparing the matter which will be brought before you.

BEFORE giving a sketch of the recent advance of the French military and naval forces along the course of the River Niger, of their successful occupation of Timbuctou, and of the consequent establishment of their influence throughout the length and breadth of the vast Sahara, it may be as well to trace the development of French authority over that extensive region, now comprised under the modern name of the French Soudan, but which formerly was merely a prolongation and dependency of the colony of Senegal, when it was known as *le Soudan occidental*.¹

Senegal.

The term Senegal is, at present, applied to the country formerly known as the French Senegambia, and is generally reserved to the territory in the immediate neighbourhood of the lower and navigable waters of the great River Senegal. This important artery is the largest river which, skirting the southern fringe of the Sahara deserts, forms therefrom a convenient outlet to the Atlantic sea-coast; for the route *viâ* the Niger from the same country is long, circuitous, and unhealthy, whilst the French port of St. Louis is, by many days' voyage, far nearer to Europe than the ports of the Niger Delta. North and north-east of the River Senegal is a rainless dis-

¹ The "Bled-es-Soudan," or "Country of the Blacks," being the Arabic term for the region drained by the numerous affluents of the interior river system of West Africa, most of these taking their rise in the elevated plateaux of the Fouta Djallon and the highlands of the so-called Kong Mountains.

trict, but south and south-east lies a fertile country, watered by an abundant periodical rainfall. Its most distant source is in the heart of the Fouta Djallon, where, under the name of Bafing, or "Black River," it takes its course from springs some 2,500 ft. above the sea and runs at least a thousand miles in a circuitous track to its mouth; at first flowing north, at Bafoulabé, or "The Two Rivers," its stream is joined by the Bakoy, or "White River," of nearly equal volume, the product of various tributaries from the east. From this confluence, at 470 ft. elevation, the Senegal flows north-west, over many cataracts and rapids, between precipitous banks to Médine and Kayes, where it receives the waters of its chief northern affluent, the Kuniakari, and, becoming navigable, flows steadily on to Bakel, there it is joined by a southern affluent, the Falémé, at 300 miles from the mouth at St. Louis, where its waters have thrown up an extensive bar and are merged in numerous lagoons before joining the ocean.

The People.

North of the Senegal (and of the Niger, further east) the country is inhabited by two distinct races, comparatively fair (as opposed to the Negro), viz., the Berbers, the supposed aborigines of the Atlas plateau, and the Arabs—intruders from the East since the days of Mahomet. The people, mostly nomad, which have sprung from the cross between these races and the blacks, are designated, indiscriminately, as Moors. Another race, not dissimilar in many respects to the fellahs of Egypt, form, however, the bulk of the population between the 10th and 18th degrees of latitude, known as *Peuhls*. In some States these *Peuhls* dominate over the blacks; in others they keep isolated, and lead an independent, pastoral life. In many places they have allied themselves with the black race, and the result has been a mixed type known as *Toucouleurs*, i.e., "two colours," a foreign designation which attests the lasting impression left by the British, during their occupation of St. Louis from 1758 to 1779, and again from 1880 to 1817. Of the negro races further south it is impossible to enumerate all the varieties, whose name is legion; it will suffice to state that the *Oulofs* are the finest in physique, and have furnished good material for native troops to the French. The majority of the black people, however, belong to the Manding, Malinka, Soninka, and Bambara tribes, from the left bank of the Senegal.

The origin of the French colony of Senegal has been ascribed to the establishment of a trade with this part of Africa by the mariners of Dieppe as long ago as 1364; but it was not until 1626 that a factory was permanently established on the little islet of St. Louis at the mouth of the river. The numerous vicissitudes of this possession need not be recounted; it was finally acknowledged as French territory in 1814, and for a long time but a modest traffic was carried on between this port and the port of Bordeaux. Under the Bourbons and Louis-Philippe the French military ports only extended to Richard Toll and Dagana. It was not until 1854 that expeditions were first pushed up the river by Captain Protet as far as Podor;

and after the Crimean war posts were established as high as Médine (where the Senegal ceases to be navigable) by General Faïdherbe, who succeeded Protet in governing Senegal successfully. Under his beneficent rule, works of all kinds, bridges, roads, telegraphs, lighthouses, schools, barracks, were undertaken at St. Louis, at Dakar, and in the island of Gorée, transforming these places into veritable European towns, thereby rendering them habitable and even attractive to French residents.

At this time a Mussulman chief began stirring up the tribes of the Western Soudan against the increasing power of the Europeans on the coast; and, as the contemporary history of the Soudan Français hinges almost entirely on the fortunes of the dynasty established by this powerful potentate, it is necessary, in order to understand all that has occurred in this region during the last two decades, to possess some slight acquaintance with the origin and rise of this personage—El Hadj Omar and his family.

El Hadj Omar.

El Hadj Omar was a Toucouleur, that is to say, he belonged to that population which inhabits the Senegalian Fouta, which race is a cross between the Peuhls and the people of the middle and upper Senegal. Omar was born at Aloar, a village not far from the present French post of Podor (just above the Delta of the Senegal), and, as his name indicates, had made a pilgrimage to Mecca, on his return from whence he settled in Senegambia, fixing his residence in the Fouta Djallon, where he soon acquired a high reputation as a Marabout—a fanatic saint or Fakir. About 1818 he moved eastwards to Dinguiray (on the higher waters of the Niger), and there he began to assemble some of the "Faithful" as military followers.¹ When he had recruited a following strong enough, he constructed the fortress of Koundian, in the neighbourhood, and on the left bank of the Bafing river (which is the highest tributary of the Senegal), due north of Dinguiray, and half way between that village and Médine, which might serve him as a base for his contemplated raids and conquests. [Dinguiray is in some measure a vassalage of Fouta Djallon, and Koundian belonged by right to Omar—being his property.] Having completed his fortress, Omar at once commenced to summon the "Sofas" to war against the unbeliever, and proclaimed a "Jehad." To his appeal all the available warriors of the neighbouring regions readily answered, and taking up their arms placed themselves under his command, and in 1854, at the head of 12,000 combatants, he commenced his campaigns by conquering Bambouk,² and several independent provinces on the banks of the Upper Senegal. In less than three years the whole of that country situated between the middle Senegal and the upper waters of the Niger had submitted to him, and he

¹ The armed horsemen are known throughout the Soudan as "Talibés," the foot warriors as "Sofas."

² The province between the Falémé and the Bafing rivers.

established himself at Nioro, the capital of Kaarta, the country which commands the commercial line projected by General Faidherbe, between the French colony of Senegal and the Niger River. Having attained to this high position, influence, and power so rapidly, Omar now believed himself strong enough to attack the French, who, under the guidance of General Faidherbe, had by this time pushed forward their military outposts along the banks of the Senegal, to facilitate the transit of the commerce between their colony and the interior of the Soudan. In April, 1857, the Hadj advanced to lay siege to the French post at Médine, then defended by Paul Holl with 7 Europeans and some 50 Senegal native troops and *Laptots*, native boatmen of the Senegal. After a siege of 97 days, Omar was obliged to retire, after having been defeated in two encounters with a relief column despatched as soon as possible by Faidherbe, and the colony of Senegal was thus saved from imminent destruction.

A distinguished engineer, M. Daponchel, had already proposed the establishment of a railway across the Sahara, to bring Algeria in communication with the populations of the valley of the Niger; but General Faidherbe advised another route, which would start from the point where the Senegal ceases to be navigable (i.e., the post of Médine), and traverse the interval between the upper waters of that river, in a south-east direction, and the higher navigable stream of the Upper Niger, at Bammako, distant some 300 miles or more. This project of General Faidherbe was fully explained in the instructions which he gave to Lieutenant Mage, when he sent that explorer to reconnoitre the Upper Senegal and the Niger in 1864:—"The object," he wrote, "will be to create at the proper time, whenever the orders to that effect may be given, a line of posts at intervals of some 30 leagues between Médine and Bammako, or some other neighbouring locality which may appear more convenient to establish a commercial base and entrepôt on the River Niger."

Lieutenant Mage fixed upon the village of Kita as one of the points where a convenient post might be established, and he returned to St. Louis, after having lived (under compulsion) at Ségou for more than two years, under the protection of Ahmadou, the son of the celebrated Mussulman chief, El Hadj Omar, who had just died.

FIRST PERIOD.

Operations against Ahmadou and Samory from 1879 to 1888.

In 1879 M. de Freycinet formed the celebrated Trans-Saharan Commission, which was instructed to draw up a programme for the best means of pushing French interests inland, and for carrying out exploration towards the Central Soudan; and the line of posts, projected by General Faidherbe, was eventually formed by Colonel Borgnis-Desbordes, but it was not occupied without considerable trouble. It was at first thought that the natives and chiefs might be conciliated by pacific overtures and missions, and, indeed, from previous experiences this appeared a feasible plan. But, although

the missions of Lientenants Piétri, Marly, Jacquemart, Monteil, and Sorin (made in 1879-80) along the lower and middle courses of the Senegal succeeded perfectly well in this respect, and although Captain Galliéni met with an equal success in the higher Senegal, as far as the neighbourhood of Kita, the circumstances were not the same when this last officer reached the line of the watershed and approached the basin of the Niger. There he soon encountered some more barbarous populations of untamable attitude, whose warriors were fiercely hostile to the French explorers.

The unfavourable attitude of the Toucouleurs and the Bambaras was still more manifest when Ahmadou, Sultan of Ségou and of Nioro, the son and successor of Omar, detained the members of the Galliéni mission during 10 months (1880-81) at a distance of some 40 kilom. from Ségou. Ahmadou had inherited the largest portion of the empire founded by his father, and his territories extended directly across the road which the French desired to trace between the Senegal and the Niger. The Toucouleur chiefs, the councillors of Ahmadou, reminding him of the wars which Omar had waged against the French in Senegal, in the days of Faidherbe, urged him to resist. Ahmadou hesitated to embroil himself with the foreigners, but his hesitation came to an end when he learnt that Colonel Borgnis-Desbordes, pushing on in advance, had taken the Toucouleur village of Goubanko, after occupying the village of Kita, which the Malinka inhabitants, formerly subject to the Toucouleurs, had voluntarily submitted to the French protectorate.

The Sultan of Ségou, greatly alarmed, at once signed with Captain Galliéni, on the 21st March, 1881, a Convention which gave to the French access to the Niger. Peace having been thus concluded with the Toucouleurs, it was only necessary to repress some signs of resistance exhibited by the Bambaras of the Niger Valley in order to reach Bammako (where a French post was constructed in March, 1883).

Unfortunately just at the very moment when all difficulty was thus surmounted on the line from Kayes to Bammako (along which was being constructed a section of the railway from Kayes to Bafoulabé), fresh complications arose towards the south.

One Samory, a warlike chief of Malinka origin, who had constituted a vast kingdom around Bissandougou, the capital of the province of Ouassoulou, crossed the Niger, and advanced towards the north with an imposing force towards the end of 1881. A native officer in the French colonial forces was sent to treat with Samory; but the Almamy of Bissandougou received this French envoy, Alakamessa, in such a manner, even menacing him with death, that the French troops, under Colonel Borgnis-Desbordes, at once marched against him.

On the 27th February, 1882, Samory was beaten at Kéniera, and again at Oueyako, on the 5th April, 1883, by Colonel Desbordes. At Kokoro, on the 13th of June, 1885, not only was he defeated by Commandant Combes, but his army was chased off the field and pursued with such vigour that his retreat became a veritable rout,

and the Malinka chief was barely able to continue the strife. However, it was only after the campaign of 1885-86, in which Lieutenant-Colonel Frey crushed the troops of Malinkamory, one of his lieutenants at Fatako-Djingo, that the Almamy of Ouassoulou requested for peace, and the Treaty of 1886 with Samory marks the end of the first period of the French military operations in the Soudan.

SECOND PERIOD.

Peaceful Mission of Galliéni, and Explorations, 1886—1888.

Having retreated to at least 124 miles south of the furthest French outposts, and occupied with the reconstruction of his army, the Almamy of Bissandougou ceased for the time being to constitute a danger to the new French establishments. Samory was busily engaged in making devastating raids to the east and south of his States for the purpose of obtaining numbers of slaves which were necessary to procure food and arms for his troops. Although this Treaty was nothing more than a temporary suspension of hostilities, it was of advantage to the French, as it prevented the British from annexing to Sierra Leone the States of Samory. An agreement was negotiated between the British agents and the Almamy, but the French Treaty of 1886 had the priority, and the British Government readily recognised the French rights under the territorial arrangement of 1889.

Meanwhile, Ahmadou had, at the commencement of 1884, left his capital and possessions on the Niger to settle at Nioro, in Kaarta, where he found himself more at home and in touch with the Toucouleur populations of the Senegalian Fouta, in nearer contact with the French posts, and better placed for making war than at Ségou. Thus, combining their efforts, Ahmadou and Samory could advantageously act against the line of the French posts, by simultaneous attacks from the north and from the south.

But, the vigorous campaigns of Commandant Combes and of Colonel Frey having pacified Samory, at least for the time, Ahmadou resigned himself to remaining tranquil, so that Lieutenant-Colonel Galliéni took the opportunity of obtaining, easily enough, from the son of the Hadj Omar, a treaty, by which his States were placed under the protectorate of France (in May, 1887), and was then enabled to devote the campaigns of 1886-87, and of 1887-88, to disembarass both Senegal and the Soudan from the followers of the false prophet Mahmoudou-Lamine. This period of calm permitted the organization of the colony, now first named "The French Soudan," to progress tranquilly; whilst the French influence was successfully propagated among the Bambara tribes, who had been almost completely detached from the Toucouleur populations. In addition, the French engineers were able to proceed with the construction of the railway from Kayes to Bafoulabé, which was prolonged by a narrow-gauge tram line as far as Diouléba at 30 miles from Bafoulabé, on the way to Badoumbé, and the village of Siguiri on the Upper Niger was

occupied. The establishment of this new post became necessary, because, by a fresh treaty, obtained from Samory by Captain Peroz, the Almamy consented to abandon all his conquests on the left bank of the Tinkisso and on the left bank of the Niger, from the confluence of the Tinkisso (i.e., at Signiri), as far as Bammako.

Thanks to the peace which reigned in the Soudan the French Commander was able to push on his reconnaissances along the great Niger itself. The gunboat "Niger," launched at Bammako,¹ in May, 1884, had not been able during 1885 to get through the *marigot* of Djénné (which places the Bani in communication with the Niger), and Lieutenant Davoust, commanding the gunboat, was unable to stop at Ségon in this rapid journey. In 1887 Lieutenant Caron was more successful. He penetrated the *marigot*² of Djénné and reached Mopti, whence he proceeded to pay a visit to Tidiani, the King of Macina, in his capital of Bandiagara. Next, descending the Niger, he arrived at Kabara, the port of Timbuctou, after having taken a series of hydrographical observations and soundings, which surveys were highly useful afterwards to his successor, Lieutenant Jaime, when he again descended the Niger as far as Korioumé, a village situated by the side of Kabara.

Besides, this peace enabled Captain Binger to prosecute his enterprising journey in the country encircled by the Niger, and also permitted a military reconnaissance to be carried across the Fouta-Djallon by Captain Audéoud.

THIRD PERIOD.

Archinara's Campaigns of 1888 to 1891.

The general situation of the Soudan became considerably modified towards the end of the campaign of 1888-89. The new Commandant, Major Archinard, of the Marine Artillery, had only to carry out the programme of his predecessor. He continued the construction of the railway from Kayes to Bafoulabé with its prolongation towards Badoumbé, and sent Lieut. Jaime to make a second trip down the river to Timbuctou. Meantime he carried out an expedition against Koundian.

Koundian is the fortress which the Hadj Omar had constructed on the banks of the Bafing River, previous to beginning his conquest of Upper Senegal and the Upper Niger. The Toucouleurs had continued to occupy it, although it was in the very heart of the French Soudan possessions, and it would have been let alone had it not been that the garrison collected, for their own benefit, passage dues on the caravans, stopped the merchants and insisted on their paying a ransom before proceeding.

¹ It is at Toulimando, 25 miles below Bammako, that the Niger really becomes navigable.

² "*Marigot*"—the channels which drain, during flood-time, throughout the rainy season, the overflows of the Niger and the Senegal, are locally known as "*marigots*"—they are often dry during the summer, but become broad, deep streams for several months in the year.

In the course of the year 1888, the people of Koundian were warned to put an end to these obstructions, but, in spite of this, the Toucouleurs continued their depredations, and, to the demand of their submission, which was addressed to them by Colonel Archinard, they answered by menaces. All parleying or delay was out of the question, and Koundian was shelled and taken by assault after a stubborn resistance.

Ahmadou now made his dispositions for engaging in a serious war with the French. He married all his daughters to Toucouleur chiefs; in order to ensure their adhesion; and he consolidated his alliance with Abdoul-Boubakar and Samory. The first undertook, with the Toucouleurs of Fouta, to attempt to cut the French communications with Senegal; whilst from Niolo, from Ségou, and from Bissandougou, separate columns were to operate simultaneously against the French posts on the Niger and Upper Senegal Rivers. Colonel Archinard comprehended that it was necessary to strike first at the centre, and to isolate Ahmadou from the Toucouleur States and from the valley of the Niger, by leaving him on one side at Niolo whilst he was operating against Ségou. The town, which was defended by Madani, one of the brothers of Ahmadou, was taken on the 6th April, 1890, and its fall had such an effect that the native populations of the Bambara Kingdom of Ségou came from all sides to give in their submission. Colonel Archinard respected the Kingdom of Ségou, but he declared the extinction of the Hadj Omar dynasty, and gave the sceptre of the kingdom to a Bambara, Bodian, one of those who had long adhered to the French. The Toucouleur families asked to be allowed to quit the country and to return to Senegal. This was granted, and several thousand Toucouleurs now commenced a retrograde exodus back to the Fouta of Senegal.

A French garrison remained at Ségou, where Captain Underberg was placed in charge as Resident, to control the acts of the new Chief Bodian. Besides, it was decided that the anchorage of the gunboats should be transferred from Koulikoro to Ségou, to afford the Resident the support of the crews on board the flotilla. The expeditionary column then returned from the Niger to Upper Senegal, where some serious movements were reported among the Toucouleurs of Kaarta.

In order to prevent Ahmadou going back towards Ségou, Colonel Archinard, after two hours' fighting, captured the fortress of Ousse-bougou, a position which commands the road from Niolo to Ségou by way of Nyamina. Then, in order to stop the eventual march of the contingents of the Kaarta towards Kayes (the French base of operations throughout the Soudan), Lieutenant-Colonel Archinard drove back the Toucouleurs, who were operating towards the valley of the Senegal, and made himself master of the fortress of Koniakary, which Ahmadou vainly endeavoured to retake during the following winter.

The rainy season coming on, the campaign came to a termination for the time, but was reopened in the middle of December, when, after two fights, in which the Toucouleurs were driven back towards

Nioro, the French troops entered, on the 1st January, 1891, into the capital of the Kaarta, which the Toucouleurs, headed by Ahmadou, had just abandoned. Two days afterwards the fugitives were surprised at Youri and utterly put to flight. The most notable of the chiefs fell, fighting to the last, whilst Ahmadou fled, almost alone, into the desert, whence he calculated on being able to regain Macina, where his brother Mounirou reigned. The fight at Youri rendered the taking of Nioro complete; the whole of Kaarta made submission, and the Toucouleur families asked permission to return to the Senegal Fouta. The emigration on this occasion was duly carried out, and no serious incident happened.

In this manner, within the space of a year, the two capitals of Ahmadou, Ségou and Nioro, had fallen into the hands of the French, and the populations, delivered from their oppressors, gladly accepted the authority of the victorious Europeans. For over three years Kaarta has now remained in tranquillity.

In the province of Ségou, however, it happened that the accession to power of Bodian had placed in antagonism two Bambara families, the Massanis (to which Bodian belonged) and the Diaras. Some few of this last-named family now formed a conspiracy to massacre the French garrison at Ségou and then to overthrow Bodian. The movement, however, did not succeed. Those of the Diaras who were compromised fled to the south in the Baninko, where a second rising occurred, which was soon repressed by one of the native agents of the French Government, Mademba. But this submission was of brief duration, and, whilst Colonel Archinard was carrying on operations against Ahmadou in Kaarta, all the Baninko again arose together with a part of Ségou proper. Bodian, old, and without great authority, was then assisting his ally Tieba, the Almamy of Sikasso, to attack the fortress of Kinian; and his troops, irritated at being led so far away, deserted and joined the rebels of the Baninko. Lieutenant Hourst, commanding the gunboat flotilla in the valley of the Bani—whither it had proceeded to try and restore order—was forced to defend himself in Diéna, which the insurgents soon began to besiege. Under these conditions Colonel Archinard hastened to direct his column—leaving garrisons in Kaarta—towards the Niger, which march was accomplished as far as Nyamina by the 18th February. Six days afterwards the blockade of Diéna was raised after a sharp fight. The losses of the insurgents were enormous, and the Baninko for a second time submitted to the French authority.

After this affair at Diéna the column returned to Nyamina. There the senior commandant gave the sceptre to Mademba, to whom was restored the kingdom of Sausanding, formed of the territories which were possessed by Ségou on the left bank of the Niger, which the *Fama* Bodian—old and sick—was incapable of governing together with his possessions on the right bank.

At the beginning of March Colonel Archinard resolved to push on and meet his ancient enemy, Samory, whose attitude gave cause for some disquietude.

On the 13th February, 1889, Samory had concluded at Niako with

Captain Bonnardot a treaty in which he abandoned all his possessions on the left bank of the Niger to the French. This agreement isolated the territories of Samory from those of the Fouta Djallon and from Sierra Leone, enabling the French to open up a route from the Upper Niger to French Guinea and the coast. Those who were interested in embroiling the French with the Almamy hastened to point out to that chief how the concessions he had made to the French would prevent his easily buying cattle from the Foutankas and powder from Sierra Leone. In consequence Samory, within less than three months, sent back the treaty he had signed. Steps were at once taken to induce him to reconsider his decision. Nothing, however, came of these attempts, and Samory prepared for war by now accepting the propositions of Ahmadou with a view to simultaneous action.

Upon this Colonel Archinard determined at once to begin active operations. An expeditionary column marched out from Nyanina on the 8th March, 1891, and, proceeding along the left bank of the Niger, ascended to the neighbourhood of Siguiri. On the 2nd April the French crossed the river, and on the 7th occupied Kankan, a stronghold of Samory, situated some 50 miles from the Niger, in the valley of the Milo, which the Almamy had shortly before abandoned.

Colonel Archinard, leaving a garrison here, proceeded up the valley of the Milo. On the 8th April a fight, at which Samory himself was present, took place in the ravine of Kokouna, at some distance to the south of Kankan; 1,200 Sofas were in position at this locality, and the battle was hotly contested, the French losses being considerable. Nevertheless the Africans were forced to beat a retreat, leaving on the field many Belgian breech-loading rifles, Chassepots, half a dozen "Gras" rifles, of native manufacture, and quantities of cartridges. The following day, another fight ensued, at the marigot of Diamanko, which placed the French in possession of Bissandougou, the most ancient residence of Samory, a town where the Malinka chieftain had started on his first campaign. Samory acted here in the same way he had done at Kankan, leaving only ruins behind him—having burnt everything. Pursuit was impossible, and the campaign was brought to an end for the season, two companies of tirailleurs, under Captain Besançon, remaining to hold the post of Kankan.

FOURTH PERIOD.

Col. Humbert's Campaign of 1892, against Samory.

Lieutenant-Colonel Humbert, who succeeded Colonel Archinard, reached Kayes on the 9th October, 1891. He first organized a scientific mission which, under the orders of the commanding engineer, Marmier, was to survey a projected extension of the railway line from Bufoulabé as far as Kita and the Niger. Having made all arrangements for this civil work, he proceeded to organize

his column, which was concentrated at Kankan by the 6th January, 1892.

On the 9th January the column set out on its march. It included a total of 1,004 combatants, of whom 144 were Europeans, together with 2,084 non-combatants and 338 animals. The artillery was composed of four mountain guns of (80 mm.) 3.15 in.; and there were 32 Lebel rifles, whilst 900 men were armed with "Gras" rifles. The French at first followed up the same route towards Sanankoro, by which the former expedition had marched, and on the 11th January they first encountered Samory's troops at the marigot of Sombiko. However, the impetuosity and dash of the French tirailleurs soon overcame this first show of resistance; they were not to be denied, and the Sofas soon fell back, only to re-form at 3 miles to the rear, at the marigot of Diamanko. Another obstinate fight here took place. At the Sombiko the French lost only 3 tirailleurs killed, and 10 wounded, whilst 17,000 cartridges were expended. At Diamanko, the fire of Samory's troops cost the French three Europeans killed, (among them Sub-Lieut. Mazerand), five Europeans wounded, and a score of natives *hors de combat*, of whom seven were killed.

Samory did not attempt to defend his capital, Bissandougou, which the French entered on the 12th January. Colonel Humbert put the town into a state of defence and sent back escorts to bring up supplies from Kankan, for the country, having been pillaged by the Sofas, was unable to furnish grain or cattle. The enemy managed to threaten and attack these convoys, but it was necessary to push on in advance. Accordingly the column left Bissandougou on the 22nd, to attack Sanankoro, whither Samory had fled. A series of fights ensued; on the 23rd at Ouassako, on the 24th at F'amandougou, again on the 25th at Baratoumbo, where the enemy attempted to make a most spirited resistance; and on the 26th the column occupied the two neighbouring villages of Sanankoro and Kérouané.

The want of provisions and the difficulty of procuring them did not allow of Colonel Humbert's going further at the time, so he established his troops in Kérouané, whence numerous reconnaissances were made round about. It was learnt that Samory had collected a great quantity of "matériel" in a mountain called Toutou-Kourou, whose approach presented considerable difficulties. The attack of this place occurred on the 14th February. The tirailleurs attacked the enemy with the bayonet—the Sofas fled; and the French gained possession of the magazines of Samory, containing 70,000 cartridges for repeating rifles, 60,000 empty metal cartridge cases, and 25,000 kilos. of powder, without counting smaller war materials and stores. Notwithstanding, when Colonel Humbert quitted Kérouané, on the 29th February, in order to return to Bissandougou for provisions and ammunition, he was attacked several times by bands of Sofas, and had to fight twice at the marigot of Aramont, and at the village of Komakhana. The lines of communication between Bissandougou and Kankan were likewise threatened, and here Lieutenant Belleville was killed on the 26th January. On the 9th March, 1892, a convoy of supplies, protected by a strong escort, started from Bissandougou

for Kérouané. In this second march to the south three engagements took place; two on the 10th, at Fabala, again at the marigot of Bananko, and a more serious one at the marigot of Bécéka, when 2,000 Sofas were in the field. In this encounter the French consumed 12,000 cartridges, killed 100 Sofas, and took five repeating rifles. Colonel Humbert arrived at Kérouané on the 15th, returning on the 21st, leaving at this advanced post, under the orders of Captain Wintemberger, two companies of tirailleurs and five mountain guns. The return from Kérouané to Bissandougou was only marked by an encounter with a band of Sofas at the marigot of Bananko. One company was left in garrison at Bissandougou with three mountain guns, and, by the 19th April, the column had got back to Siguiri. The results of the 1892 campaign were not brilliant. In fact, the expedition had only succeeded in carrying the base of military operations 50 miles further to the south.

As soon as Colonel Humbert had brought his column back towards Senegal, the little garrison at Kérouané found itself blockaded, its communications with Kankan intercepted, and the commandant of the post, Captain Wintemberger, was reduced to sending out constantly little expeditions in order to surprise the posts of the Sofas and to widen the circle of their investment. In one of these *coups de main*, on the 1st April, 1892, Samory was very nearly made prisoner, being only enabled to escape thanks to the devotion of his Sofas.

The moral effect produced upon Samory and his forces had been considerable; the bullets of the Lebel rifle especially terrified them. Colonel Humbert had only some 30 of these weapons—few enough. Nevertheless in the hands of expert marksmen they produced wonderful results. Thus, when the Sofas advanced under cover on the left bank of the Milo, in order to open fire on the garrisons of Samankoro and of Kérouané, they believed themselves wholly sheltered from the reach and out of range of the French projectiles behind the huge timber trees, often hollow within. The bullets—of small calibre—were capable of piercing through these natural obstacles, and many Sofas were killed by bullets passing through the trunks of the trees—to their great amazement and terror. This campaign of 1891–92, therefore, had its due effect; it prepared the ground for the ensuing campaign, which owed its success and results in a great measure to the profound demoralization created by these preliminary operations, which now pervaded the ranks of Samory's army.

At the time when Colonel Humbert marched on Kérouané Samory possessed, or at least had a great influence over, two large fortified villages, Tiongi and Fourou, which are situated at 62 miles to the south-west of Sikasso, on the road which leads from the States of Tieba towards the regions then occupied by the French. When the French Resident at Sikasso, Lieutenant Marchant, asked Tieba to march against Samory he was unwilling until he had subdued these places—Tiongi and Fourou—which were in a position to threaten his communications.

Tieba at length sent, in August, 1891, a column against Tiongi.

This village resisted for a long time. Behind earthen walls of slight thickness the inhabitants held out for several months against their assailants. These, in order to reduce the town, constructed all round it numerous stockaded blockhouses of larger or smaller sizes, which they call *sagnes*, and which constituted a series of redoubts, insuring the complete investment of the place. These *sagnes* were attacked and defended for some weeks, for it is only with artillery that it is possible to reduce speedily the defenders of such fortifications.

The campaign against Tiongi, although it ended on the 7th September by the taking of the town, indisposed Tieba, and especially his followers, for further operations. In spite of all the efforts of Lieutenant Marchand, he declared that he would not proceed against Samory until after he had made himself master of Fourou. As it happened, Tieba was not obliged to send his troops against Fourou, for in May, 1892, this town opened its gates to Lieutenant Marchand, who went to Sikasso on his return from the exploration of the Kaladian and the Upper Cavally. Meantime Captain Peroz, a Soudanese diplomat, who had treated with Samory, was sent on a mission to Tieba by Colonel Humbert at the end of the year 1891, and he also failed to obtain material assistance against Samory. Tieba preferred to remain neutral.¹

In 1892 the situation throughout the Soudan to the south and south-east was not promising. The populations of the north-east of the Soudan had become aroused, at the instigation of that old enemy to the French, Ahmadou, now taking refuge in Macina, where he was carrying on intrigues against his brother Mounirou. Besides, the *Fama* of Sansanding, Mademba, had not been very successful in his new kingdom, for around him a coalition had been formed by El Hadj Bougouni, chief of the province of Mampala, the friend of Ahmadou, whom he had helped to pass on to Macina after the abandonment of the Kaarta. El Hadj Bougouni had grouped around him some Toucouleurs commanded by Oumarel-Samba-Doulé, and some Bambaras from the Monimpé and the Sokolo districts. All these forces now marched against Sansanding, which was soon closely invested. Mademba called on his colleagues at Ségou, and Bodian sent all his disposable troops on the left bank of the Niger to assist in the defences of Sansanding.

At the same time some important uprisings took place in the south of the kingdom of Ségou. A violent cattle plague, originating in the Central Soudan, had in the course of the two previous years destroyed a very large proportion of the cattle in the valley of the Niger. The populations who most suffered were the Peuhls, and such was the misery of those in Ségou that they resolved to abandon the country and regain the regions of Segala and of the Bakhounou, situated on the left bank of the Niger, where formerly they had resided. This emigration likewise partook of an insurrectionary character with regard to the new rulers of Ségou, and at the moment when the French

¹ After the death of Tieba the power passed into the hands of his brother Bemba. But Tieba has left a son named Phou, who possesses considerable influence in the country, and he and Bemba are consequently rivals.

Resident was informed of these incidents he heard of the assassination of Lieutenant Huillard, killed in an ambuscade which the Sambori Peuhls had placed to entrap him. Captain Briquetot did not lose a moment. Ségou was denuded of troops; for Bodian had sent his contingents to aid in the defence of Sansanding. Nevertheless he found it possible with 100 men to bring in and bury the body of Lieutenant Huillard, and, moreover, to attack the Peuhl encampment at Boumouti and put to flight the contingents there assembled. But the numbers were disproportioned, and the small troop of Captain Briquetot lost five natives killed and 34 wounded, among whom were the only three European officers among them. It was therefore necessary to return to Ségou, whilst the Peuhls were overrunning the whole country. The French communications were soon cut off for some little time, and Ségou was blockaded as well as Sansanding.

Colonel Humbert, who happened at this time to be in the neighbourhood of Signiri, returning to Kayes, at once sent Major Bonnier to take the direction of affairs in the north-east of the Soudan. Commandant Bonnier raised at Bamako an auxiliary company of tirailleurs, crossed the Niger on the 13th May, and joined his column to the force which Captain Briquetot had brought from Ségou, which now amounted to 1,000 of Bodian's men. On the 28th May he met the Peuhls, to the number of about 1,000, cantoned at Nonguella, put them to rout and pursued them. Catching them up again on the 3rd June at Ouo, on the Baguicé, after a forced march of 40 miles in 24 hours, he killed 100 of their men and made numerous prisoners. The Guénié Kalari Province, which lies to the south-west of Ségou, was thus cleared of the marauding bands which troubled it.

This movement among the Peuhls, however, had been joined by the late rebellious insurgents of Baninko and of Minianka; so it was at Koïla, at 45 miles to the east of Ségou, in the centre of the province of Kaminianougou, that the centre of the revolt was established. Commandant Bonnier having gone back to Ségou after the affair in Guénié Kalari, set off again on the 19th June, in order to attack Koïla. The rapidity of his march enabled him to surprise the rebels, who were forced to fly, leaving behind them over 100 dead bodies and 500 or 600 prisoners. Bonnier was next able to lead his column to the relief of Mademba, who was still blockaded in Sansanding, where he arrived on the 20th June. He was just in time, for El Hadj Bougouni had established his head-quarters in the village of Doséguéla, situated some 12 miles to the north of Sansanding, and his horsemen had ventured to approach within a few hundred yards of the town itself.

On the 25th June, Commandant Bonnier ordered an advance upon Doséguéla by the contingents of Bodian and Mademba, supported by some Senegal tirailleurs under European officers. On the 26th a fight took place under the walls of that place, and the Bougouni and Toucouleurs of Oumarel-Samba were put to flight; Oumarel-Samba was slain, and an attack was then made on the fortified village itself, which was held by Bambaras. A breach having been made by the artillery, Doséguéla was at last carried by storm. The chief of this

village, Niéné Tamaroré, in company with 40 of his most faithful followers, blew themselves up with their magazines, and El Hadj Bougouni fled away to the north and reached his own dominion. The enemy lost over 300 slain, whilst the French on their side lost 16 natives killed and 120 wounded, including two European officers.

Thus, in less than two months, the double insurrections which threatened the French possessions of Ségou and Sansanding had been extinguished.

FIFTH PERIOD.

Colonel Combes' Campaign, 1893.

The general outlook of French affairs in the Soudan at the end of 1892 was somewhat critical, and, since Colonel Humbert had retired from the command, the direction of affairs in the Soudan was confided to Colonel Archinard by the Under-Secretary of State; and it was decided that the direction of the active operations should be given to Colonel Combes, who was appointed to the command of the Soudanese native regiment, now newly organized.

The task of Colonel Combes was more especially to isolate completely the territories which Samory governed, both from Sierra Leone, whence he procured breech-loading magazine rifles and ammunition, and from the Fouta Djallon, where he was able to exchange his prisoners as slaves in exchange for oxen and provisions. In order to carry out his programme it was necessary for Colonel Combes to occupy the valley of the Upper Niger, and to construct there one or more posts up the river from Kouroussa, hitherto the most advanced of the French posts in this direction.

In this high valley of the Niger, for some time past, one of Samory's best and most active lieutenants had been operating, by name "The Old Bilali"—a name given to distinguish him from his sons, also chiefs of the Sofas—who, in concert with Ténesso-Koba, another subordinate chief under the orders of the Almamy, guarded the provinces of Kouranko, Sankaran, and Kissi.

The expeditionary column, including a company of the Foreign Legion under Captain Destenave, was concentrated on the line from Kita to Sigui, where it arrived on the 21st December, 1892. There the column was formed which Captain Briquetot was to lead into the valley of the High Niger; and between the 24th and 25th December the principal portion ascended the Niger in native canoes, which had been assembled for this purpose by M. Ballien, the commandant of the Sigui district. The column arrived on the 30th December, 1892, at Kankan, having passed many villages, all ruined and abandoned, but without meeting any obstacles beyond several of the enemy's outposts on the crests of the neighbouring hills; and here the colonel decided to take the line of the Milo, from Kankan to Kérouané, as the base of his operations. After having reconnoitred the river and ascertained the depth of the channel, he perceived that it would serve him as a road for rapid communication from Bamako to Sigui and Kérouané. All his information being of the most shadowy descrip-

tion, Colonel Combes determined to close with the Sofas as soon as possible; and on the 8th January, 1893, he reached Ouomi, an important strategical point on the left bank of the Milo. There two groups were formed: one, the column of the Milo, under the orders of Commandant de Gasquet, to guard the fords and to keep open the passage to the posts of Kérouané; the other, under the personal orders of Colonel Combes, for active operations in the field.

Colonel Combes left Ouomi on the 15th January, 1893, and arrived without incident at Konafadié, a large village situated south-west of Kankan, whence the Sofas, commanded by Samory, fled before the approach of the French troops. Some prisoners were able to give the dispositions of the enemy, whose object appeared to be to escape from the French advance by the south-east of Kérouané, from the Guéléba and from the Nafana, where the Almamy had placed in safety his wives, his corn, and all his goods.

Colonel Combes returned to the Milo, and by the 24th January established himself at Babila, 24 miles to the north of Kérouané, in a position which commanded the routes both from the east and south.

On the 25th January a flying column was formed which, under Captain Dargelos, could operate in the Kouranko and the Kissi valleys to the south-west of Kérouané, in order to intercept and drive back to the east any bands which ravaged that country. Orders were at the same time given to Captain Briquelot to drive back towards the valleys of the Milo and the Dion the bands of Bilali and of Ténesso-Koba.

A lightly equipped column was then formed to march upon Guéléba and the Nafana country, hitherto almost unexplored, and in relation to which only the most vague information was obtainable. This column included 103 mounted Europeans, men and officers; four companies of native tirailleurs, a squadron and a half of spahis cavalry, and 800 porters, carrying on their heads burdens of from 50 to 55 lbs. ($\frac{1}{2}$ cwt.), equivalent to 30 days' provisions for the Europeans, and six days' supplies for the native African troops and bearers. Leaving the Babila ford on the 4th February, this column took its way rapidly to the east, where it surprised, at Guéléba, the principal bands of the Almamy—particularly that of the Chief N'Golo, who suffered considerable losses, and obtained possession of large stores of provisions. The bands of Samory always retreated fighting, and disputed the passes, fords, marigots, and rivers; burning, as they fled, all the villages on the way, with their stores of provisions, driving before them, like flocks of cattle, the unfortunate inhabitants, terrified by the cold-blooded cruelty of the Almamy. The French column, which marched early and late, often covered a distance of 24 or 27 miles, through a country full of natural obstacles, thereby overtaking the Sofas, who were thus surprised, time after time, whilst in the act of throwing up defences, palisades, entanglements of creepers, &c., at different points in the road, obstacles which, thanks to the rapidity of the French pursuit, were only just commenced, and never brought to completion.

In consequence of this system of harassing the retreat of the enemy, Colonel Combes was enabled to cause the enemy immense losses in men, horses, rice, honey, and kola nuts, provisions which largely assisted the food supply of the French natives, soldiers, and bearers, and also enabled the regulation rations of the white troops to be improved by abundant distributions of rice.

From Guéléba the column marched towards the south-east, towards the Nafana, a country thickly wooded with the strong vegetation of the Tropics; a country covered with jungle, impassable except where the narrow pathways under the trees seemed at times almost indistinguishable, and apparently inextricable. In addition, it may be noted that this difficult country is inhabited by a black race almost savage, and intersected by deep streams, full of water throughout the year, for it rains here for 10 months out of the 12.

This Nafana country was entirely traversed from north to south, and a region was arrived at wholly unknown to Europeans (where the inhabitants build their huts up in the trees, for the purpose, as we may suppose, of being out of reach of inundations), and the fighting throughout was incessant. The great danger for the French was their liability to be fired upon, anywhere and everywhere, from an enemy totally hidden in the luxuriant vegetation.

After having caused as much damage as possible to the enemy, the column retraced its steps. During this arduous march the French troops fought in 14 actions, on all of which occasions the enemy suffered severe losses. They marched nearly 560 miles, crossed 172 marigots with steep banks and full of water, 13 large rivers, and re-entered the post of Kérouané on the 33rd day, on the 10th March, 1893, *without having lost a single European*. They had 2 men of the Foreign Legion wounded, 4 tirailleurs and spahis killed, and 15 natives wounded. It was a remarkable exploit.

Meantime Captain Briquetot was operating in the upper valley of the Niger against the bands of the elder Bilali; but after his first day's march in the enemy's country, he was obliged to leave his guns in a post, on account of the delays which they occasioned in such a difficult country. Two encounters with the Sofas ensued at Douako and Yalinkoro, on the 14th and 24th January, when Bilali and his bands were driven southward towards the Kissi, whither the small column pursued them, again giving them a beating on the 3rd February at Bambaya. Bilali turned out of this place thoroughly disabled, and would then have taken refuge in the thick forest to the west of the Kissi, but he was prevented so doing by the inhabitants, who, rising at the approach of the French, attacked the demoralized Sofas, and massacred them in large numbers in their villages wherever scattered groups of them had taken shelter. Bilali and his few remaining followers made their way back towards the north-west, where they were completely defeated, on the 5th February, in a fight at Nianforando, near Erimankono. The old Bilali escaped falling into the hands of Captain Briquetot, and took refuge in the territory of Sierra Leone; but all his baggage, supplies, and 4,000 prisoners fell into the hands of the French.

On the 10th February, Captain Briquetot's force arrived at Erimankono, where a post was established, and at the same time another post was constructed at Farannah, 24 miles to the east, on the banks of the Niger. It was then learnt that Bilali had left the Sierra Leone territory, where he had obtained assistance and was again in the field with the band of Bakary-Touré.

The French recommenced operations on the 1st March, when they attacked the enemy at Guérineba, where he sustained severe losses. The column next marched in a southerly direction towards Bambaya, where Bakary-Touré had taken refuge, which place was reached on the 18th March, directly after the enemy had struck their camp. But the Sofas drive before them such numbers of the inhabitants that it is easy to follow in their track. The trodden down vegetation in their passage forms, in fact, a broad road more than 20 yds. broad. By the 20th March the large village of Yalé-Kalédou was occupied by the French, and a large accumulation of supplies and provisions of all kinds was found there.

The French then experienced some difficulty in passing the Ouassoukou, a marigot strongly entrenched, which the enemy defended for more than 30 minutes. This obstacle having been surmounted, the pursuit of the Sofas was continued with vigour, their march being impeded by the numerous troops of slaves and cattle which they took with them. At last, during one dark and rainy night, the French surprised the African camp, which the Sofas at once abandoned, with all their belongings, and where the French made 4,500 prisoners. After sharp fighting, the Sofa bands retreated in disorder towards Bouillé, pursued by the spahis under Lieutenant Pouydebat, who dispersed them; and these bands, like those of the Kissi, beaten everywhere, deserted the country in small detachments towards the north-west, by the Milo, where they only encountered fresh difficulties.

Meantime Captain Dargelos, commanding the column of the Kissi, was then operating in the vicinity where Captain Briquetot was cutting up the bands of Bilali. This column, composed of a section of the Foreign Legion, 2 companies of native tirailleurs, 1 troop of spahis, and 300 transport coolies, was engaged in Kouranko and in the Kissi country against the bands of the Ténesso-Koba, of the younger Bilali, and of Amara, one of the sons of Samory; and had left Babila on the 29th January. After making some arduous marches through a mountainous country this column arrived before Fidaoua, a large village fortified by means of stockades and *sagnes*. Here, again, the Lebel rifles contributed largely to the demoralization of the Sofas, who were killed by the small-bore elongated projectiles easily penetrating the wooden planks of the stockades. Finally, the village was carried at the point of the bayonet, and the enemy suffered largely. The son of the Almamy was shot through the body, and only owed his safety to two of his faithful slaves, who carried him off into the bush. The resistance was soon overcome, and upwards of 11,000 prisoners were captured.

These figures appear incredible, but it may be explained that these

prisoners were the captives whom the Sofas used to exchange for arms and cattle. These unfortunate wretches were conducted into the peaceful regions of the Soudan and set at liberty. At the present time they inhabit peaceful villages and engage in agriculture under French rule and protection.

On the 12th February, the section of the Foreign Legion was sent back to Kérouané, and the column kept on its way, scouring the neighbouring country and driving out the remnants of the Sofas.

The inhabitants everywhere came out to entreat the French to occupy their country and to rid them permanently of the presence of Samory's soldiers; and, by the 6th March, Captain Dargelos was able to re-enter Kérouané, having reduced the masses of the enemy into little bands and scattered parties, who at last joined the bulk of Samory's forces beyond the Milo.

Colonel Combes, having taken the precaution to guard by posts of observation established at Kénimbourey, Maréna, Mananfara, and Babila, the line of the Milo, these disunited detachments fell, one after the other, within the defensive zone of these posts, and suffered accordingly. Thus, on the 7th May, it was foreseen that one troop, formed of the *débris* of several bodies of Ténesso-Koba and Amara's men, intended to make its escape by night through a pass between the posts of Mananfara and Babila. In consequence, however, of the dispositions made by Lieutenant Delaverrerie the Sofas were surprised and again completely defeated; Ténesso-Koba and Amara losing their state war-cloaks, 20 valued captives, all their papers, Korans, and their wives, &c. A few of them who managed to cut through, including the mother of Amara, joined Samory himself on the Dion, after having barely escaped capture by a detachment of spahis, under Lieutenant Hauteclouque, who hotly pursued them. The old Bilali encountered a similar reception shortly afterwards.

So in less than three months the expeditionary column had cleared of all Sofas the whole country west of the Milo river. The remnants of the large masses of troops which Bilali and Ténesso-Koba had so long maintained on the Upper Niger were destroyed, and, by the construction of the posts of Farannah, of Erimankono, and Kissidougou, the French were in a position to prevent Samory from easily providing himself with arms and ammunition from Sierra Leone.

At the beginning of April, Colonel Combes ordered the return of the column to Senegal. But previously he visited the posts newly established, selected a locality for the Residency on the Kissi, and despatched Captain Briquetot, with Dr. Gallas and 100 tirailleurs, to completely explore a route wholly within French territory which should open up communication with the coast. Accordingly Captain Briquetot set out on the 8th April from Farannah, and reached Konakry without encountering any opposition.

It is to be remarked that this notable campaign, which only lasted three months, and achieved such important results, cost the life of one European alone, a soldier of the Foreign Legion, who was killed at the taking of Fidaoua.

Whilst these events were transpiring in the south, Colonel Archi-

nard, who arrived in the Soudan on the 23rd January, 1893, heard of the death of Mounirou, the Sultan of Macina, to whose throne Ahmadou immediately succeeded. He at once made a hasty tour of inspection and proceeded to Nioro, the capital of Kaarta, where a re-organization of the provincial administration was necessary. He found the country quiet, the fields being cultivated, and trade with the Moors of the Sahara in full operation.

This activity in commerce is dependable on the attitude of the Moorish tribes. Whenever these Moors pillage a caravan the commerce is interrupted. The Ouled Nacer tribes, for example, still remained untamable. Colonel Archinard took immediate action. He at once prohibited the exportation of millet from the Kaarta over the border in their direction, for the Ouled Nacer Moors are unable to cultivate grain, which forms the base of their food supply. At the end of three weeks their chief came to Nioro with 300 men and 500 camels, and consented, in token of submission, to pay the French an annual tribute of 10 horses.

Colonel Archinard left Nioro on the 17th February, taking with him two small guns which he had left there in 1891. He proceeded towards Gombou, where he arrived on the 27th February. There El Hadj Bougoumi, whom Commandant Bonnier had well beaten six months previously at Doséguéla, came in to make his submission. Next he went on to Ségou, which he reached on the 14th March. There he learnt that the feebleness of Bodian, on one hand, and the intrigues of Ahmadou, on the other, had resulted in new uprising of the Bendougou and the neighbouring provinces of the Baninko and Minianka, whither had retired the bands of the Peuhls which had been broken up by Commandant Bonnier during the previous month of June. Colonel Archinard did not hesitate to depose Bodian and to put at the head of the Ségou district a French officer, whilst a column was organized to operate in the disturbed districts. With two companies of Regulars, Senegal tirailleurs, and four companies of auxiliaries, Archinard marched to the south directly upon Baninko. At Garo he crossed the Mayel-Balevel, and on the 28th March, after preliminary skirmishes, he beat the rebels at Kentieri. The next day he pursued the fugitives and completely defeated them at Mpesoba. After this fresh defeat the revolted Bambaras understood that it would be better to submit, and they delivered up the Peuhl chief who the previous year had led the revolt of Guénié Kalari.

From Mpesoba the colonel pushed on north-east towards the town of San, whose chief, for a long time an ally of the French, had concluded with Commandant Monteil a treaty acknowledging the French protectorate. The Almamy of San came to meet the French column, and facilitated the provisioning of the troops. But this did not occur at Djenné when they arrived on the 11th April, after having recrossed the Mayel-Balevel as high up as Touara.

Djenné is a big town of 10,000 inhabitants on the borders of the Mayel-Balevel, which communicates with the Niger by a navigable *marigot*. It is a very important commercial centre under the suzerainty of Macina. Ahmadou, who had prepared for an invasion

of Ségou, was at Mopti, 30 miles to the north-east, with his contingents.

In spite of the king's proximity, the Toucouleur garrison of Djenné was not anxious to resist. But the traders of Djenné, deceived by the weak appearance of the column, thought themselves strong enough to overpower the French, and prepared a resistance which was all the more intense in its fanaticism because Djenné is a town celebrated for its Mussulman schools. On the 15th, Colonel Archinard had his guns placed in position and began to bombard the military portion of the town, which is situated to the west of the mercantile town. On the 12th, the breach being sufficiently practicable, the assault was delivered. Two French officers were killed, Captain Lespiau and Lieutenant Dugast; the native contingents lost about 30 men, and there were many wounded. But the enemy lost between 400 and 500 dead, and the principal merchants obtained the cessation of the slaughter. In order to conciliate the inhabitants of Djenné, Colonel Archinard had avoided bombarding the mercantile town, so that the next day material order could be re-established, and the merchants made haste to pay a heavy war indemnity.

The Toucouleur garrison had fled with their chief, Alpha Mouça. The column started in pursuit the day after, and after passing for the second time the right bank of the Mayel-Balevel, on the 17th April, entered Mopti, which the troops of Ahmadou had just evacuated. The chiefs of Macina, foreseeing that Colonel Archinard would march upon Bandiagara, the capital, had concentrated their forces on the road from Mopti to that important centre. It was actually at Kori-Kori that the encounter took place. The French had only four tirailleurs wounded after a short struggle, in the midst of which Ahmadou took flight. The King of Macina at once abandoned his capital, taking all his family in the direction of the Haoussa States. But Colonel Archinard, having entered Bandiagara on the 29th April, detached a flying column to pursue the fugitives, caught them up at the defile of Dalla, at a considerably long distance to the east of Bandiagara, and finally captured the *smala* (harem) of Ahmadou, who continued his flight almost alone, and his prestige was so irreparably damaged that Ali-Bouri, one of his most devoted adherents, at once submitted himself to French authority.

Colonel Archinard thought that it would be suitable to place on the throne of Macina a member of the great Toucouleur family; he, therefore, gave the crown to Aguibou, a brother of Ahmadou, who, for the last four or five years, when he was governing the province of Dinguiray, had given fairly satisfactory proofs of his friendly attitude; and, on the 5th May, he quitted Bandiagara, leaving as resident with Aguibou, Captain Blachère.

On returning towards Ségou Colonel Archinard made his way to Sansanding, and there, as at Ségou, he had to proceed to a re-organization of the country, the *Fama* Mademba not having been able to impose his authority upon his subjects. The kingdom of Sansanding was materially reduced; and the territories of Segala, of Monempe, and of Mampala formed, with Sokolo, the new district of Sokoto.

From Sansanding Colonel Archinard passed to Ségou, where he stayed from the 19th to the 23rd May, then on to Bamako, where he arrived on the 29th May, and he was at Kayes by the middle of the following month.

The effect of the rapid intervention in Macina, and the deposition of Ahmadou, dissipated an invasion which was preparing on the side of Ségou. The installation of the French at Djenné, where a post was established under Captain Gauterou, *Commandant de Cercle*, and the presence at Mopti of the Niger flotilla, under orders of Lieutenant de Vaisseau Boiteux, gave the French a preponderant situation in the valley of the Niger.

As soon as Djenné was taken, the people of Timbuctou sent emissaries to Colonel Archinard, protesting their desire to be at peace with the French, showing that Timbuctou was ready to open her gates to the protectorate of France.

Recent Operations, 1893-94.

It has been shown how, in 1893, whilst Colonel Combes, the dreaded "Coumbo" of the Sofas, was pursuing Samory in the valleys of the Milo, of the Sankaran, and of the Bani, those large southern affluents of the Niger, Captains Briquelot and Dargelos, at the head of flying columns, destroyed the bands of marauding Sofas which Kemoko-Bilali, Samory's principal lieutenant, had established on the Upper Niger.

The centre of Bilali's operations, the large village of Erimankono, was occupied by Captain Briquelot, who established there a post; and, in order to prevent any renewal of offensive movements, other military stations were likewise established in the basin of the Niger, at Farannah, and at Mafendi-Cabaya, a village which lies in the triangle formed by the two superior branches of the Niger, viz., the Falico and the Tembi. This territory seems to be a dependency of that province of Kouranko which Samory had conquered some years ago, and which extends beyond the watershed of the Atlantic streams belonging to the British colony of Sierra Leone into the basin of the Upper Niger, which forms an integral portion of the French Soudan.

In order to keep a surveillance over the caravans going from the regions still occupied by Samory to the commercial centres of Sierra Leone, and likewise to prevent the import of arms and ammunition, it was resolved to establish an advanced post further to the south than that at Mafendi-Cabaya.

The operations so far effected in French territory had resulted in the complete dislocation of Samory's bands of Sofas. Some warriors passing the French lines had been able to rejoin the Almamy's contingents concentrated in the neighbourhood of Ténétou, at more than 300 miles to the north-east, where his son, Karamoko, assembled them in the Bouzie, near Mousardou. But a large number of Sofas were thrown back into the British territory of Sierra Leone, where they pursued their habitual depredations. In order to destroy these hordes, which had thus collected inside their colonial frontier, the

British Governor of Sierra Leone, Sir F. Fleming, decided to establish in close proximity to the English frontier a chain of posts parallel to the French line. Caglieri, Falaba, Daugowalé Sangbé, were also furnished with garrisons of black troops, native police, and West India regiments. The establishment of these last two stations only dates from the middle of last year. In addition he decided that an expeditionary column should be sent to the front, to drive out the colony of Sofas who had established themselves within the colony. This column, consisting of 400 men of the 1st Battalion West India Regiment and colonial police, in charge of Captain Lendy, was placed under the command of Colonel Ellis, and proceeded inland last November, via Bendu and the valley of the River Boum.

It is 10 years since the question of the frontier line between Sierra Leone and the French Soudan became a subject for *pourparlers* between the Governments of Great Britain and France. By an agreement in August, 1889 (the final ratification signed on the 12th March, 1890), the frontier was determined between the French Guinea Coast and the colony of Sierra Leone. Some time afterwards, on the 20th June, 1891, the French and English Commissioners precisely specified the frontier line between Sierra Leone and the French Soudan.

It appears that Lieutenant Gaston Maximo Maritz was stationed under Captain Bourie, who was in charge of the post of Farannah, on the Upper Niger, within a few miles of the north-east corner of the Sierra Leone frontier. In September he left with a small force of Senegal tirailleurs and natives, and proceeded to patrol southwards, via Liah, Cabaya, Fodoya, Selia, to Socora, on the Falico river. Thence he followed up the valley of the Falico to Maricolaya and Sambadougou, in the Kouranko country, in search of the Sofas under Bakary-Tourré, who were devastating the Kono country across the British frontier. Maritz's march was continued to Morabaya, across the stream of the Babbe, and along the watershed between the source of the Babbe and the Falico. He next reached Birimba, Tantafarra, and Walbabba, at the source of the Babbe. When he got down south, as far as Foria and Tembi-Counda, at the head waters of the Niger, he was right in the angle of the frontier line, and here he halted on December 21st. Some stragglers from the bands of Sofas (which had been driven by the British out of Sedu on the 20th, from the east side of the Daro Peak, a conspicuous point of the Kong Mountains), in order to facilitate the escape of Bakary-Tourré, who had doubled back towards the Kouranko country, gave information to Maritz that the Sofas were encamped at Waima, west of Tembi-Counda, and north of Daro Mount, and a good opportunity for a surprise attack upon them was not to be lost, even if the Sofas were across the frontier, for now they were foes to the British as well as to the French. Maritz at once marched, and halted on the 22nd within a few miles of Warina, where the camp of the Sofas was indicated to him. After midnight he started again, and, with a full moon to assist his march, was able to deliver his attack on the camp at 4.30 A.M., on the morning of the 23rd. Ten of his men were

killed, and he himself (mortally wounded) only discovered before he died that he had been attacking the British West India Regiment and the Sierra Leone Frontier Police, under Colonel Ellis.

The late Colonel Ellis's official reports have been published in full,¹ by which it plainly appears how the whole affair was due to a wretched mistake; and the friendly relations with our neighbours, the French, are not likely to be disturbed by this lamentable occurrence on the frontier. Since this affair at Warina, another petty collision between French and the Colonial constabulary of Sierra Leone has been reported as taking place in Samoh, north of Free Town, but no importance need be attached to such a trivial affair. Some excitement, however, seems to have prevailed at Monrovia, in consequence of the French flag having been hoisted on the Cavally river, at the eastern extremity of Liberia. There is no doubt that the French would turn this river to better account than the Liberians can possibly do, but the left bank only is in their territory.

Occupation of Timbuctou.

Let us now turn from the south-west to the extreme north-east of the Soudan Français.

It has been shown above how Kayes had been selected as the capital of the French Soudan, of which province M. Albert Grodet was appointed Civil Governor, with Lieutenant-Colonel Bonnier as senior commanding officer of the military forces in the district. On the 17th November, 1893, when the season favourable for operations set in, the annual expeditionary column under Colonel Bonnier left Kayes towards the south-east, where the Almamy of the Sofas was reported as then besieging Ténétou.

By the 26th Colonel Bonnier had concentrated his column at Bammako,² and he at once crossed the Niger and advanced to the relief of Ténétou, which place, after a siege of five months, had now fallen into Samory's hands. It was easy to track Samory by the multitudes of corpses which he left everywhere behind him. It was not, however, until the 5th and 6th December that the French troops came up with their enemy, and two engagements took place on these two successive days, at Faraba, near the left bank of the Baoulé, and further south at Koloni, where the Almamy nearly fell into the hands of his pursuers. His "griot" (*i.e.*, a confidential attendant, who some time ago had accompanied Samory's son, Karamoko, to Paris) was thrown from his horse and captured by the spahis.

After the fight the column returned to Ténétou (68 miles from

¹ See "Times," March 1, 1894.

² From Kayes, by rail, to Médine, 12 kilom.; from Médine, by rail, to Bafoulabé, 114 kilom., by left bank of Bakoy river. From across the Bakoy river to Diouléba, 43 kilom., by Decauville, narrow gauge line. From Diouléba, by water, to Badumbé, 38 kilom. From Badumbé, Lefèvre carts are despatched *via* Kita and Koandou to Bammako and Toulimando, 43 kilom. beyond Bammako, where the Niger becomes navigable.

Bammako), where a post was established, and thence marched back to Bammako by the 17th December.

Colonel Bonnier as senior commandant *pro tem.* (the Civil Governor not having yet arrived at his post) now organized his column for an advance on Timbuctou. Two divisions were formed, one (including all the staff, 2nd and 11th companies of tirailleurs, six mountain guns)¹ to descend the river in boats under the commanding officer, and the other, including the squadron of spahis (regulars), 10th and 12th companies, and irregulars, with two mountain guns and all the horses and mules, to march along the north bank of the Niger through the country of the Touareg Tenguerebbe, where some opposition might be expected.

The 1st division reached Ségou by the 20th, where all dispositions were completed, and Colonel Bonnier started on the 26th, with his troops in boats and lighters, down the stream, whilst Colonel Joffre, of the engineers, in charge of the mounted division, left on the following day, calculating to reach Timbuctou some eight days after the arrival there of Colonel Bonnier's troops.

Meantime Lieutenant Boiteux, commanding the small flotilla at Mopti, pushed on, without waiting for the arrival of Colonel Bonnier's column, to reconnoitre, and whilst the expedition was embarking at Ségou. Lieutenant Boiteux well knew that Timbuctou was only too ready to open its gates to the French, but it was rightly surmised that the Touaregs of the neighbourhood might assume an aggressive attitude. Lieutenant Boiteux landed with only 10 men, and after a skirmish on the 23rd (?) December, when the Touaregs were dispersed by a few shells from the "Mage" gunboat, he took easy possession of Kabara.

Two days afterwards Boiteux with Lieutenant Aube, at the head of their blue-jackets and "laptots" (Senegalais boatmen), entered Timbuctou without resistance, a few rounds of shell from the mountain guns sufficing to put to flight the groups of mounted Touaregs who watched the French movements from a distance.

After the tricolor had been hoisted at Timbuctou, Lieutenant Aube was sent with a small party of "laptots" to receive the submission of some of the neighbouring villages. On the 28th he and his whole party, M. Ledentec and 18 "laptots," were cut off by the Touaregs in the swampy plain of Kabara, and destroyed.

By the time Colonel Bonnier's column reached Mopti the commander learnt of this disaster at Kabara, and hastening on, capturing and utilising all the boats he could lay his hands on by the way, embarked there the 5th Company of Tirailleurs, reached Kabara, and entered Timbuctou without resistance on the 10th January, 1894. The artillery, 2nd Company of Tirailleurs, and convoy of supplies were still three days in rear.

On the 12th January Colonel Bonnier started off on a reconnaissance towards some Touareg camps at three days' march towards Goundam. He took with him all his staff, Commandant Hugny, the

¹ Mountain guns, De Bange 80 mm. (3.15 in.) throwing a 13-lb. projectile.

5th Company and a detachment of the 11th Tirailleurs. The Europeans were mounted upon donkeys, whilst Captain Philippe was left in charge at Timbuctou with the half of the 11th Company, to be reinforced on the 13th by the artillery and 2nd Company, &c. On the afternoon of the 14th January a Touareg camp was captured with a large herd of cattle, and the column then proceeded against another camp of the Touaregs some distance further on, leaving a section of the 11th and a section of the 5th Company under Sub-Lieutenant Sarda guarding the camp and cattle. Towards nightfall the column reached an encampment at Dougoi, which was found empty and apparently evacuated. Here, at 4 A.M., 15th January, the Touaregs, who had assembled at a short distance, surprised the column asleep and with an insufficient watch in the camp where they had taken up their quarters for the night, thoroughly knocked up with the fatigue of the march and their previous campaign. No out-post pickets or patrols appear to have been posted or organized. Closely followed by numbers of warriors on foot, the Touareg horsemen appear to have dashed in among the piled arms and cut down the few sentries before they could give the alarm. A party of horsemen at the same time made straight for the headquarters, which had been fixed in an open space, thereby giving an easy access. A number of cattle let loose by the Touaregs contributed yet further to the general confusion.

Captain Nigotte, in charge of the topography, sleeping at the headquarters, was able to escape with only a slight sword-cut, and join, together with several other fugitives, Sub-Lieutenant Sarda's detachment at the camp in rear, which retreated in good order and reached Timbuctou safely.

Captain Philippe at once sent out reconnoitring parties to bring in as many as possible of the tirailleurs who had managed to escape, and a few were thus recovered. Lieutenant-Colonel Bonnier, Commandant Hugny, Captain Tapard, Lieutenant Bouverot, Sergeants Etessé and Gabriel, Europeans, together with 1 sergeant, 6 corporals, and 61 rank and file tirailleurs (natives), were killed; 95 rifles and about 10,000 cartridges were lost. Captain Philippe at once placed his small garrison at Timbuctou in a state of defence, and as he was able to dispose of 300 rifles and six guns, he was able to disperse any of the surrounding bodies of Touaregs from approaching too near his lines, and to await the approach of Colonel Joffre's column.

Whilst these events had been transpiring, Colonel Joffre's column, composed of one company and a half tirailleurs, a squadron of spahis, 30 irregular spahis, 2 mountain guns (80 mm.) with all the horses and mules of the 1st division, had marched by land *via* Sansanding, Monimpé, Nampala Lère, and Soumpé, having crossed the Niger at starting from Ségou on the 27th December. The march was somewhat delayed by the difficulty of obtaining forage and corn for 250 horses and 1,000 natives in a country which was hostile, as well as by the inundated state of the Niger, which was exceptionally high between Lère and Timbuctou.

The column halted at Nampala, from the 7th to the 10th of January,

and arrived, on the 16th, at Soumpé, having taken a route across a deserted country to avoid the inundations. The Chief of Soumpé accompanied the French force onwards. Nioukou, the Chief of Niasfouké, having threatened the French envoys, a company of tirailleurs, with the cavalry and guns, were sent, on the 20th January, against that village, which was found to be nearly surrounded by a marigot 2 kilos. across and 3 ft. in depth. 400 warriors were drawn up to contest the advance of the French, and at the first shots they charged to within a few yards of the French line. Upwards of 100 were killed by the French rifles; the rest fled, and the village was taken, without a casualty, by the column. Two other villages, Micore and Alta, were found evacuated at the approach of the French, and by the 26th, Captain Pouydebat, after a night-march, arrived at daybreak opposite Goundam, which is on the left bank of a broad marigot, but he was unable to possess himself of the boats which the Touaregs had removed across to the other bank of the stream, which was here 300 yds. broad with a rapid current.

Captain Prost with a squadron of spahis and half a company of tirailleurs, then in rear, proceeded to Tinghirma, on the Niger, where he arrived after ten hours' march by night and captured a quantity of corn and four boats. The villagers made some resistance and lost about thirty men. One tirailleur only was wounded on the French side. These boats were brought to Goundam the evening of the 31st, and their appearance caused much commotion among the Touaregs, who assembled at the point of disembarkation, but they were speedily dispersed by a few shells, and fled during the night. The last had disappeared by the morning of the 1st February, when the passage of the marigot was commenced. On the 2nd, the gunboat flotilla, which had been warned by French scouts, arrived at Goundam, and brought news to Colonel Joffre of the surprise of Colonel Bonnier's reconnaissance on the 13th January. The whole column had crossed the stream by the 3rd February. The Touaregs fled towards the north, and a reconnaissance sent in that direction failed to come up with them during a search of four days.

On the 7th February the column commenced its march to Timbuctou, and on the 9th reached the scene of Colonel Bonnier's surprise. The bodies of the officers and non-commissioned officers were found and carried to Timbuctou, where Colonel Joffre's force arrived on the 12th February.

During this march of 434 miles, the French lost only two native tirailleurs by sickness, and one native tirailleur was wounded.

Such, briefly, are the principal incidents connected with the occupation of the capital of the Western Sahara by the French.

Colonel Joffre's force, by the end of February, had finished the construction of a blockhouse at Kabara, commanding the landing-place, and the construction of an entrenched fort at Timbuctou was approaching completion by the end of March.

The principal chiefs of the sedentary tribes and the heads of villages in the neighbourhood soon came and gave in their submission, acknowledging the French Protectorate.

On the 3rd of March Captain Gautheran, with 40 *tirailleurs* and a machine-gun (Hotchkiss), marched against the Touareg camps at Takai-Gourou, dispersed the Touareg horsemen there, killing several, and captured 80 of their sheep and 50 asses. In another direction, on the 5th March, Captain Prost, at the head of 225 Soudanais auxiliaries, 80 *spahis* and 2 mountain-guns (80 mm.), surprised a large band of Touaregs near a marigot, killed a number of them, and seized a herd of 1,000 sheep, without a casualty to his own men.

The effect of these raids was soon indicated by the envoys of the Touareg Tenguereguif coming in to request an amnesty, which was granted, on condition that five of their notables would reside permanently at Timbuctou, and that the movements of the camps of these nomads were constantly reported, whilst a fine of 1,000 sheep was required to be delivered within 20 days. These conditions not being complied with, Colonel Joffre marched against the encampment of the Touareg Tenguereguif, between Lake Goro, near Diré, and Lake Fati. On learning the approach of the French, the Touaregs prepared to resist them in a position taken up near Lake Goro, where they were speedily dislodged on the 23rd March with great loss, their chief and his principal lieutenants being slain. On the 25th they were again attacked in their camp and driven into the country between Lake Fati and Goundam. Colonel Joffre's column captured on this occasion 59 horses, 30 camels, 8,000 sheep, 400 oxen, and 200 asses, whilst the bodies of 120 Touaregs were found on the field of action. Only one of the Tenguereguif chiefs escaped, having been badly wounded at Goundam, had remained at Farash with a few partisans. All the other chiefs were killed, and, in fact, the tribe has practically been extinguished. The news of this exploit has caused a sensation throughout the Sahara, and must inevitably spread the prestige of the French flag, which might have been endangered had the disaster of the 13th January been allowed to go by unavenged.

The sedentary populations of Timbuctou and the neighbourhood have soon begun to feel the good effects of the reassuring presence of the French troops. The word quickly passed that security reigned in the town, and caravans and lighters from Diaréféré, Mopti, Bandiagara, and Djenné have commenced bringing corn, millets, nuts, and rice, so that the scarcity and distress which previously existed, owing to the exactions of the Touareg tribes, has already ceased. The position of the French garrison at Timbuctou is now assured, and its communication by steam, on water and railway, with Bafoulabé, is only a matter of time.

Colonel Joffre has carried off the honours of the campaign; the march of his small force along over 434 miles (700 kilos.) by land, leaving the banks of the Niger and proceeding north-east, by Lère, over difficult, broken ground, almost destitute of supplies, must be regarded as a very successful exploit. His bringing in all his men, horses, and animals, after six weeks on the line of march through a hostile country, with hardly a casualty, averaging 14 miles a day, is

excellent work, and exhibits the qualities of the few French officers who carried out this creditable operation, under Colonel Joffre's orders.

(It may be compared, in a small way, with Sir Frederick Roberts' march of 320 miles from Kabul to Kandahar, where the average was also about 14 miles *per diem*, but under a higher temperature; but, of course, the achievement of Roberts' force was a greater feat of endurance, for the marching was more continuous.)

It is by such achievements as those briefly sketched in the foregoing narrative that France has acquired that vast territory which has now received a political and administrative autonomy as "*Le Soudan Français*," comprising the whole country drained by the upper channels of the Niger and Senegal river systems. Its boundaries will serve to show its importance and extent. To the west it is now bounded by the French colony of Senegal and Portuguese Guinea; to the south-west by Fouta Djallon (a dependency of French Guinea) and Sierra Leone. Towards the south the frontier meets Liberia and the French Ivory Coast; whilst to the south-east are the British possessions of the Gold Coast. Towards the east, as also to the north, the delimitations of the French Soudan are not yet strictly defined, and must long remain uncertain; but the region now opened to French influence undoubtedly extends from Lake Tchad to Tripoli; whilst the whole of the Sahara, as far north as the limits of Morocco, from Cape Juby to Ghadames, cannot fail to acknowledge, sooner or later, the French Protectorate.

But a few years ago the French power did not reach beyond the basin of the Senegal, but by the prowess, perseverance, and gallantry of men like Archinard, Combes, Humbert, Bonnier, and Joffre, the tricolor has been carried far beyond, towards the interior, and, as we have seen, the whole of the Upper Niger now serves as a highway for European commerce, and a French garrison is firmly established at Timbuctou, the trade centre of the Sahara nomads, who are especially susceptible of military prestige. From Bakel, on the Senegal, to Timbuctou, the distance is some 600 miles and more. From Nioro, on the edge of the desert, to the Sierra Leone frontier, it is not less than 430 miles. The acquisition of this immense domain has been arduous, but the results are satisfactory, and will be profitable to the French nation. France may well be congratulated on the behaviour of her colonial forces. The Senegalais Tirailleurs, and Spahis, led by French officers, have uniformly distinguished themselves by their steadiness, tenacity, and endurance, both on the line of march and when encountering hordes of a fanatical enemy, which have nearly always far outnumbered them during the innumerable encounters by which they have deservedly gained possession of this wide and rich country. It is in order that the gallant deeds of our French comrades in arms during their recent campaigns with Mahomedan fanatics in the Soudan may become better known to officers of the British army abroad, who may not have the opportunity of reading the French accounts of these military events, that this slight description of them has been drawn up, in a very con-

densed form, from more voluminous reports¹ by the present compiler.

The CHAIRMAN: I will just make a remark or two before inviting discussion. We must all rejoice in having had laid before us a statement of the operations which have been undertaken by France during the last fifteen years; a statement of facts which, though I dare say known to experts, are very little known to the British public at large. I think also everybody must have rejoiced in what we have heard of the skill and gallantry and enterprise of our French comrades, and particularly in the introduction of peace and good order in that most distressful country, I say, advisedly "distressful country," because you have all recently read in the papers, in connection with Colonel Ellis's expedition, of the horrors committed by those atrocious bands of Sofas who ravaged the country. At first, when this lecture was proposed, alarm seemed to be felt by some lest we should enter on a thorny path and contentious matter that might give trouble. I do not think this is at all to be feared. The tone of the lecture speaks for itself, particularly in connection with what I told you of its origin. This institution, you will quite understand, has no other object than to propagate information as regards facts which are of interest to us all. I am delighted to see present my friend the French Military Attaché, and the French Naval Attaché, his colleague, who, if they will throw some light upon the operations described will be conferring a great pleasure upon us. Before inviting you to offer any remarks upon the lecture, I would merely call attention to one point of the description of the populations that are dealt with, viz., the "Toucouleurs." I wish the lecturer had been here himself to give us an explanation as to where he got the singular derivation of "two colours" from, but possibly some one may be able to throw light upon it. You will recollect the lecturer says the name "Toucouleurs" had some reference to the English occupation of St. Louis and Senegal many years back, but I doubt whether that is more than a popular superstition. If any one will aid us by throwing light upon these matters we shall be glad.

Major LE COMTE DUFONTAIVE DE HUSSEY: I am not able to give any further explanation than that to which we have listened with such great interest. I have been very much gratified in listening to this lecture and also very much instructed. I have been gratified because I feel in all the words that have been said a spirit of good friendship for your comrades in France. I beg on this occasion to say that this friendship is quite the same on the other side.

The CHAIRMAN: Ladies and Gentlemen,—I am greatly indebted to Count de Hussey for his remark. I can only say further that if in thinking of these operations a feeling of envy may have arisen in any of our minds we need not to make great research into metaphysics to distinguish the character of that envy. There may be envies of different kinds, and if any was felt it would have been of a noble kind—leading to honourable emulation and a desire, in our sphere, to follow the example of the French in bringing civilisation to these regions. I will endeavour to make my own contribution to the discussion by speaking of the interest excited in seeing once again, as compared to our own method, the French method in starting and organizing a colony. It calls to mind the old history of North America. I would invite you to think of what the names are that you find now on the map over that vast region. The names of Lake Superior, of the great towns Detroit, Duluth, Qu'Appelle, and many others too numerous to mention, are just relics of the old French exploration under Government supervision and leading. Our method is rather to follow the trade; I think both have something to learn from each other in this matter. Conspicuous in the French management is the study which they devote and the qualities they show in understanding the

¹ *Vide* Supplément du "Temps," du 28 Septembre, 1893; "Revue Française de l'Étranger et des Colonies et Exploration;" "Gazette Géographique," 1893-94. The sketch map of the Soudan has been reproduced, with permission, from that given in "Le Temps" of 28th September, 1893. The other maps from the French Military Service maps.

people with whom they have to deal. I have here a very interesting French book from the library, the "Senegal and Niger," giving an account of the operations from 1870 to 1883, published in 1884. It contains one or two photographs, notably one of the railway bridge at Basoulabé, about 300 miles from the coast, which will give the practical Englishman something tangible to note as to the material progress which has been made. A quality that I think we often lack rather is the power of taking pains to understand our neighbours, and this applies equally, I think, to understanding the operations of our civilised neighbours, and to understanding the natives and other people who are subordinated to us. Such a lecture as has been given to-day is valuable to correct any ignorance of what our neighbours, the French, have been doing in these countries. I am sure there are many Englishmen you pass in the street, otherwise very well informed, who would say, "Oh dear me, I should like to know what business they have got there," little knowing the laborious efforts, the result of, you may say, centuries of work which have culminated within the last few years, giving them their title. Somehow we certainly, as a nation, have learnt very little, until lately, about the natives beyond our own borders, in West Africa. West Africa has been a sort of *terra incognita* to us, and even now most of us think that while the people on the coast are negroes, uncultivated people and savages are to be found all the way into the interior. We have little other idea than that of the "Great Dark Continent." In speaking of Africa, the "Great Dark Continent" was thought to be an admirable expression, covering the whole field; whereas, as I think those who have listened to this lecture will understand, it is quite a partial description. In the regions of the Upper Niger, the natives, many of them, are people—those at least of the upper classes—who use the Arabic language and written character, and are certainly not to be considered as savages at all. As to the material advantages that we have to hope for from the restoration of peace and good order in these countries, we know that in the portions of the coast line which we possess, commerce is carried on and goods are imported and go into the interior away out of our ken. It, therefore, certainly is useful for us that we should know something about the populations to whom they go, what their demands and requirements are, and it must be important to us that they should be at peace and multiply, and become better customers. The subject is made rather difficult to us by what I may call the curse of Babel, which comes down to us in the different names by which the same peoples are represented. There was a name which struck me with great wonderment when I come across it in this narrative—I mean the "Peuhls." I thought it a very queer word. I made enquiries and found that the "Peuhls" are what are known as "Fulahs." Again, I find in that excellent book, Brocknouse's "Conversazione's Lexicon," that the Germans class them under the name of "Fellatah," and the other collateral names under which these people are known are given, and you may, therefore, understand that Peuhls, Fulahs, and Fellatahs are all the same. It is to be hoped that we may by free intercourse some day arrive at a common method of recognising these and other peoples. These Peuhls, coming originally from the east apparently, established themselves about the head waters of the Senegal and Niger, and after that, about two centuries or less ago, migrated again eastward across the Niger, and there connected with the Houssas, a name familiar to us as many of the fighting troops for our operations in Ashanti and elsewhere are Houssas. The Houssa States, between the forks of the Niger, i.e., between the Niger and the Benue, were largely formed by people allied to the Peuhls, or Fulahs. As regards *Toucouleurs*, that word, according to the "Géographie Universelle" of Réclus, which I should think would be the best authority, is derived from the name of the country where they live, that high country to the south-west of the Senegal, the Futa Jalon, once called Tacurol. The Portuguese, who were the earliest settlers, found this name and took up the name of the inhabitants as Tacuroles, and I think from Tacuroles to Toucouleurs is a very easy stage. Again, in that book to which I referred just now, "Toucouleur" is given as a corruption from Tacurol and Tacuroles.

Captain LE CLERC: I have been in Senegal for two years, and I know the "Toucouleurs" had nothing to do with the British. There is Portuguese blood mixed with the population, but there is no English blood there. The Portuguese

were there in very early times, as they were also in the Canary Islands. No doubt the Normans have mixed up to a great extent with the Negro population of the border, but that is not the reason why we call them the Toucouleurs.

The CHAIRMAN: There is nothing better known to philologists than to give a name a fancy derivative, based on a real resemblance in sound. I think we must be very grateful to Captain Oliver for the lecture which he has prepared, and for the clear way in which he divides his subject into periods: the first period, the advance to the Niger up the Senegal; the second period, the exploration down the Niger; the third period, the consolidation on the Niger up to Ségou; the fourth, the first expedition south against Samory; and the fifth, the second expedition, up to a few months ago. Inquirers who wish to get up this subject will find in the Library Stanford's "Compendium of Travel," 1878; the more recent edition is of 1884; a still more recent book is "Historical Geography of the British Colonies," No. 3, "West Africa," 1894, but in it, so far as I was able to examine it, I do not find any *résumé* of the French conquests of the most recent years, and the word "Sofa" does not appear in any of the books that I consulted. Events in Africa succeed one another very rapidly, and I really think publishers who look after these matters should be prepared to give us the latest information at frequent intervals. In thanking Captain Oliver for his lecture we must also thank Captain Maude for his labour in bringing it before us.