

A Tentative Chronology of Futa Toro from the Sixteenth through the Nineteenth Centuries

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A Tentative Chronology of Futa Toro from the Sixteenth through the Nineteenth Centuries*

The middle valley of the Senegal river, known as Takrur in early Arabic sources and as Futa Toro among the Fulbe, has long enjoyed a reputation as a region strongly influenced by Islam and an area of agricultural wealth. The Islamic reputation goes back particularly to the eleventh century writings of al-Bakri, who describes a Muslim State and capital called Takrur contemporary with the Ghana kingdom and the Almoravid movement.¹ This heritage was enhanced by the creation of an Islamic State, called the Almamate, in the late eighteenth century, and by a number of *mujaddidūn* or "renewers" who played important roles in the Islamization of Senegambia in the nineteenth century.² Two of the three categories of oral hereditary historians of Futa, the *awlube* (sing. *gawlo*) and the *mābube* (sing. *mābo*),³ have in many cases been strongly influenced by the presence of clerics with Arabic writing skills and have frequently incorporated material from Arabic manuscripts in their performances.

* We have adopted the following abbreviations for the footnotes in this article: ANF, Archives Nationales de la France (Franc-Bourgeois); ANFOM, Archives Nationales de la France, Section Outre-Mer (Oudinot); ANS, Archives Nationales du Sénégal (Dakar); CEHSAOF, Comité d'Études Historiques et Scientifiques de l'Afrique Occidentale Française; FC, Fonds Curtin (original and translation tapes); FJ, Fonds Johnson (original tapes and written translations); FR, Fonds Robinson (original tapes and written translations); IFAN, Institut Fondamental d'Afrique Noire (Dakar); PRO, Public Record Office (London).

The three tape collections are all to be found at IFAN in Dakar and at the Center for African Oral Data of the African Studies Association (Archives of Traditional Music, University of Indiana). They are the product of field research in Senegal between 1966 and 1969. The Johnson and Robinson collections are indexed in volumes 31 (1), 1969, and 32 (3), 1970, of the *Bulletin de l'IFAN (BIFAN)*, Série B.

1. Cf. 'UMAR AL-NAQAR, "Takrūr, the History of a Name," *Journal of African History*, 10 (3), 1969, pp. 365-374.

2. Such as al-Hajj 'Umar, Ma Ba Diakhu, Amadu Madiyu Ba, Malik Sy, and Amadu Bamba Mbacke.

3. The third group, the *wambābe* (sing. *bambādo*), are closely associated with the noble pastoral Fulbe and are much less influenced by the Arabic manuscript tradition.

Futa's precolonial image as a source of surplus millet stemmed from its ability to cultivate a second or dry-season crop on the floodplain of the river, at a time of year when the other regions of Senegambia and Mauritania could produce nothing. In addition, the sedentary and pastoral Fulbe lived on both sides of the river and controlled access to the Upper Senegal valley, a factor of increasing importance after the French began their efforts to expand inland along the river in the seventeenth century in search of gum arabic and other products in the interior. The sedentary Fulbe have been numerically and politically dominant in Futa Toro and are called Tokolor.

In spite of this heritage of Islam and relatively long European contact, it is difficult to establish accurate dynastic lists before the late eighteenth century and an accurate chronology of major events before the mid-nineteenth century. Prior to the sixteenth century and the creation of the Denyanke regime in Futa, one can only cite presumed names of dynasties and speculate about their origin, duration and extent of control.¹ Most of the Arabic sources focused on areas further east, in particular the States of Ghana, Mali, Songhay and Kanem-Bornu. Futa itself apparently never developed a strong indigenous tradition of Arabic composition like that of Timbuktu, at least not one that stressed historical writing.² Most of the Europeans who travelled in the interior in the early period did not commit their impressions to writing, and it is only with the establishment of French posts within the middle valley itself, i.e. the mid-nineteenth century, that a full and accurate chronology is possible.

The oral and Arabic sources of Futa history are nonetheless rich and might have provided even more substantial insights into the early period had they been adequately exploited in the early colonial period. Since the efforts of Maurice Delafosse, Henri Gaden and Cheikh Moussa Kamara³ in the early twentieth century, virtually no European or Senegalese historians have studied seriously the precolonial past of Futa Toro. One consequence of this neglect has been the widespread acceptance of the material contained in *Chroniques du Fouta sénégalais* (Paris, 1913), a publication based on two manuscripts written by Satigi Sire Abbas Soh, an Arabist of Yirlabe province in Central Futa, and containing the annotation and glossary of Delafosse and Gaden.⁴

1. Some of this material on the early dynasties can be found in F. BRIGAUD, *Histoire traditionnelle du Sénégal*, Saint-Louis du Sénégal, 1962, pp. 20 ff.

2. See, for example, the second session with Thierno Dahirou Anne of Nguidji-logne (FR) and his remarks about the limited knowledge of Arabic acquired by Almamy Abdul Kader Kane and the other founders of the Almamate in their studies at the Pir school in Cayor in the late eighteenth century.

3. A cleric of Ganguel in Eastern Futa who lived from 1861 to 1945 and wrote a long, two-volume manuscript history of Futa Toro in Arabic during the years 1920-1924. Entitled *Zuhūr ul-Basātīn fī Ta'rikh is-Sawādīn* (and two other names) it is found in the IFAN Manuscript Room in Dakar and in Ganguel. See *Catalogue des manuscrits de l'IFAN*, Dakar, 1966, pp. 93-94.

4. Even when the Kamara material becomes fully available, the "Yirlabe" orientation of Futa chronology and history is likely to remain. Kamara spent

In this article we propose a tentative chronology for the periods of the Denyanke regime and the Almamate, including lists of rulers for both eras and major events for the later and better documented period. In addition to our own fieldwork in Senegal, where we collected oral, Arabic and European archival material, we have drawn on published European accounts and on the archives of Paris and London.¹

THE DENYANKE PERIOD

In his commentary on the Soh manuscripts,² Maurice Delafosse accepted the Yirlabe author's list of Satigi (the title of the Denyanke rulers), wherever they were not in conflict with authorities who had written much earlier, such as as-Sa'di in the *Tarikh as-Sudan*, or with others who recorded the events as they happened, such as European travelers or residents on the coast. The resulting revision of Soh's own chronology was considered reasonably accurate.

While Delafosse's method is the correct one, the answers it yields are wrong, at least for those periods which can be checked against the more detailed data of the French archives (which had not been explored in Delafosse's day). The trouble lies with Soh's chronicles, which are simply not accurate either as to the order or the duration of reigns in the Denyanke period. The passage of time has brought to light other, similar chronicles or Satigi lists, but they are not in agreement with one another. They differ not merely in detail but wholesale.

Table I gives a rough comparison. After omitting Koli Tengela, the founder of the dynasty, and all rulers after Sule Bubu, the last Satigi to have general recognition, the lists range from 18 to 28 reigns. Only two lists have the same number, and these two differ by more than a century on the total duration of the dynasty. The whole set of lists differ from a minimum of 223 years (carrying the death of Koli back to about 1550) to a maximum of 357 (suggesting 1420). Three lists are in rough agreement on a duration of 223-233 years and three others group around the range of 340-357 years. This would suggest that Koli died either in the 1540s or in the 1420s. Further comparison leads to the sad conclusion that the lists differ drastically from one another with little or no pattern of correspondence. There is not even an indication that one

several years there in the 1890s and apparently obtained some of the same information used by Satigi Sire; both authors drew upon the writings of Mamadu Lamin Ly of Salde, the last regularly elected and installed Almamy of Futa Toro. The colonial administration, through its post at Salde, tended to favor Yirlabe over its neighbor and rival province, Bossea.

1. In this article, each of us has worked primarily on the period of his respective research focus: Curtin on the Denyanke era, Johnson on the early nineteenth and Robinson on the late nineteenth century.

2. Contained in SOH, pp. 167-183.

may have been copied from another, or that the published lists of Soh and Delafosse had any influence on those that came later.

The problem, then, is to find the truth from a dozen witnesses, each telling a different story. One procedure would be to examine the general character of each witness. In this case, however, we have no knowledge of the way in which any of the lists was recorded or preserved. Even those now in written form were transmitted orally for long periods of time.

A second possibility is to seek a consensus. A parallel examination of the various lists might show at least some areas of agreement. It would be tempting, for example, to take a numerical average of the durations attributed to each reign, but the result would have no greater probability of accuracy than any of the individual lists from which it is derived. The possible date of Koli Tengela's death can serve as an example. As we have seen, the groupings of some lists in Table I suggest a date either in the 1540s or the 1420s. Either of these dates would have greater probability than an 'average' date in the 1480s.

With this warning, it is nevertheless possible to search the lists for whatever measure of agreement may be found. The result appears in Table II, which is not a reflection of past events but which at least tells something about the nature and value of these particular traditions. The original lists are in very poor agreement. Not a third of the Satigi on the consensual list have the support of ten or more of the authorities. Even when a ruler is recognized by the great majority of the sources, they are often in strong disagreement about the length of his reign. The reign-length estimates themselves arouse suspicion: far too many are even decades or multiples of decades, and the numbers 23 and 33 turn up with improbable frequency. They can hardly be interpreted as indicating a precise period of years. The consensus represented by Table II is, then, both minimal and very inaccurate.

This leaves a third possibility, to compare each list in turn with a compilation of independent data found scattered through the European archives. The crucial assumption is that whatever list is most accurate during 'known' periods of time will also be most accurate for those for which there are no archival data. This assumption will not be universally valid, but it is more likely to yield good results than the search for a consensus. Perhaps the best parallel is a class taking a two-part examination. The student with the highest grade on part 1 might not have the highest mark on part 2 as well, but he is likely to have a higher grade than the average of the class as a whole. The probability in favor of the consistent performer increases with the increasing diversity in the performance of the class as a whole. Table III gives a partial king-list for the eighteenth century, based entirely on archival evidence and projections based on that evidence. It can therefore serve as a control for evaluating the accuracy of the traditionally transmitted lists given in Table I.

The point of departure is Table III listing the reigns in the early and mid-eighteenth century that are identifiable from the European archives. This archival record helps to explain why some of the traditional lists were so much in error. The Futanke State was very weak in the early eighteenth century, and Moroccan armies were operating all along the fringes of the desert, sometimes making and unmaking Satigi at will. This foreign influence helped to create a pattern of multiple reigns for several individuals, and the complexity of multiple reigns is seldom transmitted without written records. Rivalry for office created further complications, and a traditional historian was often faced with a hard decision about which contender to count.

By comparing Table III with the consensus list, some of the shortcomings of Table II become immediately obvious. The reign-lengths are far too long, so that, if one takes 1776 as the end of the Denyanke regime and subtracts the consensus length of each reign, Samba Bohi falls in 1645-1649 rather than in 1702-1707. On the other hand, making allowance for multiple reigns, the two lists agree as to the order of reigns. The main problem is that four Satigi not on the consensual list appear in the French records: Bubakar Sire Samba Lamu, his brother Samba Sire, Bubu Gaisiri (son of Samba Gelaajo Jeegi) and Jaje Ule. It is easy to guess why these names were omitted by so many of the sources. The sons of Sire Samba Lamu (Sire Tabakali) are the last in this branch of the family to hold office. From then on, Satigi were drawn from the line of Bubakar Tabakali. Then, in the 1730s, this branch itself split, resulting in a period of civil war between Samba Gelaajo Jeegi and Konko Bubu Musa. Samba's son, Bubu Gaisiri, was the last clearly identifiable Satigi of Samba's line, though Jaje Ule may also be from that branch.

For a better 'fit' and one that includes the Satigi missing from Table II, it is necessary to return to the original sources. One or two of the missing names appear on several of the source lists, but only one gives them all, the anonymous Satigi list in Cahier 5 of the Fonds Gaden at IFAN. This list with its reign-lengths is given in Table IV. Not only does it mention all four of the Satigi omitted from the consensual list, it is also reasonably accurate chronologically for the range of time that can be verified. Subtracting reign-lengths from 1776 would place the beginning of Samba Bohi's reign in 1709, rather than the actual 1702, thus giving a variance of slightly less than 5 per cent. Chronologically, therefore, this list is markedly more accurate than either the consensus or Soh's list.

It is now possible to return to the method Delafosse followed, using the anonymous list of Table IV for the periods where archival information is not available. For the periods from 1702 to 1729 and 1738 to 1753, the archival data would clearly take precedence. For other periods, the reign-lengths can be translated into dates by subtraction from the known dates of succession. When this is done (right hand columns of Table IV), the result can be checked against other scattered external evidence. The

great *jihād* of Nasir al-Din can be dated to the 1670s from European reports, and at least one tradition places this religious struggle in the reign of Sire Tabakali. This would be perfectly consonant with the presumed accession of this Satigi in 1669.¹

The only other synchronism between European and Futanke chronology outside of the reign of Koli Tengela comes from a citation of Jannequin that he and his companions made their way up the Senegal in the dry season of early 1639 to the country of "Sambalam," corresponding to Samba Lamu.² A single date during such a long reign is not always helpful, but this one gives some assurance that the reign is not set too early in time.

The next point of contact is the question of the chronology for Koli Tengela himself. Delafosse dates his reign to 1559-1586, but these figures, based partly on a misreading of a Portuguese text, have since been corrected by Teixeira da Mota.³ Portuguese records indicate that a Portuguese delegation visited Koli during the reign of João II (1481-1495), and that Koli was already ruler of Futa at the time. This early date also falls into line with present knowledge of the chronology of Salum.⁴ The chronology of Table IV therefore appears to indicate reigns a little later than the reality for the sixteenth century, just as it does for part of the eighteenth. If one assumes on the basis of the *Tarikhs* of Timbuktu that Koli died between 1512 and 1520,⁵ the margin of error of Table IV would lie between 12 and 20 years (see Table V).

THE PERIOD OF THE ALMAMATE

Beginning with the late eighteenth century, it becomes possible to list some major events as well as to determine the order and approximate length of reigns of the rulers. This is because of the emphasis placed by traditional historians on the creation of the Almamate, the intermittent trading relationships established by the French and British occupants

1. Sieur CHAMBONNEAU, "L'histoire du Toubenan, ou changement des Royes, et Reforme de Relligion des Negres du Senegal Coste d'Affrique depuis 1673 qui est son origine, jusqu'en 1677," in C. I. A. RITCHIE, "Deux textes sur le Sénégal (1673-1677)," *BIFAN*, Série B, 30 (1), 1968, pp. 289-353; Capitaine STEFF, "Histoire du Fouta Toro" (unpublished MS., 1913, Fonds Gaden, Cahier 1, IFAN).

2. JANNEQUIN, *Voyage de Lybie*, Paris, 1643, p. 67.

3. DELAFOSSE, in SOH, pp. 178-179; A. TEIXEIRA DA MOTA, "Nota sobre a historia dos Fulas," *Conferencia internacional dos africanistas occidentais, Bissau 1947*, Lisboa, 1952, 5, pp. 55-69.

4. See J. BOULÈGUE, "Contribution à la chronologie du royaume du Saloum," *BIFAN*, Série B, 28 (3-4), 1966, pp. 657-662.

5. Both *Tarikhs* give the year 918 A.H. (1512-13 A.D.) as the death-date of Koli's father (or foster father), Tengela, but the two accounts differ enough to open the possibility that the individual in question was actually Koli, and not his father. The *Tarikh as-Sudan*, however, mentions Koli by name and indicates that he was still alive at this time. The probable conclusion is that Koli's death was no earlier than this. See Mahmoud KATI, *Tarikh el-Fettach*, Paris, 1964, pp. 72-74; Abderrahman ES-SA'DI, *Tarikh as-Soudan*, Paris, 1964, pp. 127-129.

of Saint-Louis in the late eighteenth century, and the more regular commerce set up by the French after reoccupying Bakel (in the Upper Senegal valley) in 1818.

Many problems still beset the establishment of a list of Almamies, their reign-lengths and dates. Arabic and orally-transmitted lists, which generally go back to the same sources, tend to agree about the number and identity of the Almamies, and sometimes about their order, but they are less helpful concerning the multiple reigns of one man, a frequent occurrence in the nineteenth century. European archival material is quite unevenly distributed until the mid-nineteenth century, and usually is more concerned with trade in the Upper and Lower Senegal valleys than with the situation in Futa Toro. In the 1850s two major changes occurred. On the one hand, Governor Faidherbe established posts in the middle valley manned by commanders who reported on a regular basis to Saint-Louis.¹ This provided a much greater flow of information than had ever existed previously, allowing the historian to verify in much greater detail and to establish more secure chronologies. On the other hand, this French intervention, coupled with the successful campaigns of al-Hajj 'Umar to recruit thousands of Futa inhabitants for his wars in the east, induced a sharp decline in the institutions of the Almamate and in the importance of the position of the Almamy. Periods without a chief of State became frequent and real authority came into the hands of chiefs with provincial bases of support, foremost among them Abdul Bokar Kan. As a consequence, the traditional historians have paid less attention to the position of Almamy in the last three decades prior to the creation of colonial rule in 1891.²

The list of Sire Abbas Soh, with the amendments of Delafosse, has dominated the discussion of Almamate chronology and appears in Table VI. Soh was one of the few traditional historians to provide information about multiple reigns, and he even gave some dates based on the Muslim calendar (see Table IX). Delafosse, using some published French accounts of treaties, forts and protectorates, amended some of Soh's reign-lengths and attempted the dating of the reigns (which is found in the right-hand column).

In checking Table VI against archival and other written European material, numerous errors appear. For the period up to the mid-nine-

1. Forts were built at Podor (1854; actually built by Protet, Faidherbe's predecessor) in Western Futa, Matam (1857) in Eastern Futa and Salde (1859) in Yirlabe province, Central Futa. Protectorates were established over Dimar (1858) and Toro (1859) provinces in Western Futa and over Damga and Ngenar provinces (1859) in Eastern Futa.

2. The electoral council of Futa, often under the control of Abdul Bokar, continued nonetheless to attempt to elect Almamies until 1880, and there are even some indications of similar efforts in succeeding years. In 1881 the French tried and failed to impose a candidate for the position (Babaly Ly of Diaba in Hebiabe province, Central Futa), and this may have served to discredit finally the institution. See D. ROBINSON, "Abdul Bokar Kan and the History of Futa Toro, 1853 to 1891" (Ph.D. Dissertation for Columbia University, 1971), Ch. 7.

teenth century this material is less abundant, but by combining what is available with the order of reigns provided by Soh and Delafosse and some additional correlations on major events, one arrives at a tentative list for the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries (contained in Tables VII and VIII).

For the period after 1854, the oral and Arabic accounts are less helpful but it is possible to rely on the correlations from the French archival material to date with reasonable accuracy the reigns of Almamies and the interregnums. The principal dossiers are those of the river posts established by Faidherbe in the 1850s: Podor in Western Futa, Salde in Central Futa and Matam in Eastern Futa (see Table IX).¹

In attempting to establish a chronology of major events for the period of the Almamate, one may best begin by studying accounts provided by the oral and Arabic historians. Some events are dated by Soh in the *Chroniques*. Kamara provides a list in his *Zuhūr ul-Basātīn*.² A third list comes from Mamoudou Dia, a Yirlabe Arabist who has collected a great deal of oral and Arabic material in Dakar and who regularly broadcasts on historical subjects for Radio-Sénégal.³ All three have the "Yirlabe perspective" already mentioned. They all tend to focus upon battles, epidemics and other phenomena rather than on the reigns of the chiefs of State. The dates appear sometimes to be rather accurate, at other times to be off by two or three years. This may come from the confusion of the lunar Muslim calendar (approximately 100 years for every 97 solar years) with the traditional solar or seasonal calendar of Futa Toro. Table X is a synthesis of the three accounts.

By consulting the European archival material and integrating the traditional accounts with it, it is possible to construct a more accurate and detailed chronology. It is useful to separate the period of the Almamate into two sections: a more tentative one up to 1854 and a firmer one after 1854. These chronologies appear in Tables XI and XII.

1. All of these dossiers are the ANS in Dakar. Podor correspondence is found in 13 G 120 to 135; Salde in 13 G 147 to 155; and Matam in 13 G 157 to 162. More detailed treatment is found in ROBINSON, *passim*.

2. From the Ganguel copy of the manuscript, obtained by Robinson in an interview with Kamara's son Habibou on 21 April 1968; the passage has not yet been located in the Dakar copy.

3. FR, Mamoudou Dia, session 3 of 15 June 1968.

TABLE I

REPRESENTATIVE SATIGI LISTS OF THE DENYANKE DYNASTY

<i>Authority</i>	<i>Number of rulers</i>	<i>Duration of dynasty</i>	<i>Average reign length</i>
1 Sire Abbas Soh	26	357 years	14 years
2 Hamidou Kane	23	223 "	10 "
3 Maurice Delafosse	27	205 "	8 "
4 Alhassane Mamadou Bal	18	268 "	15 "
5 Abdoul Malik Bousso	19	225 "	12 "
6 Thierno Yaya Melil Diya Sy	24	357 "	15 "
7 Baba Ama Ngaydo	22	302 "	14 "
8 Samba Ndianor	23	340 "	15 "
9 Steff	Incomplete for some periods		
10 Samba Alassane Ba	List of rulers without reign lengths		
11 Anonymous	28	233 years	8 years
12 Abdoulaye Kane	25	313 "	13 "

Sources: for nos. 1-3, DELAFOSSE and GADEN, in SOH, pp. 22-38, 172-173, 180; for nos. 4-5, FJ, tapes 27 and 28; for nos. 6-8, FR Film (Manuscript Room, IFAN), items 1.19-20, 1.4, 1.25-42 (roll and picture); for no. 9, STEFF; for no. 10, Samba Alassane BA, "Historique de la famille des Denianke et des Almamy avant et après la pénétration française" (unpublished MS., CRDS, Saint-Louis du Sénégal); for no. 11, manuscript in the Fonds Gaden, Cahier 5, IFAN; for no. 12, Abdoulaye KANE, "Histoire et origine des familles du Fouta-Toro," *Annuaire et Mémoires du CEHSAOF*, 1, 1916, pp. 325-343.

TABLE II

A SATIGI LIST BASED ON THE CONSENSUS OF THE AUTHORITIES

(Alternate estimates of length of reign given where no clear consensus exists; most frequent estimates in italics.)

*** A Satigi accepted by all twelve authorities in Table I

** Accepted by ten or twelve authorities

* Accepted by eight or nine authorities

Unmarked names accepted by five or more authorities

<i>Name and alternate names</i>	<i>Reign length</i>
1 Laba Tengela***	4 years
2 Yero Jam (Yero Koli, Yero Diam)	1-6 "
3 Sire Yero Koli (Sire Yero Jam)	2 "
4 Gata Kumba ¹	Less than 1 year

1. Appears at this point in the sequence on less than five of the lists; on a few lists it appears at a much later point in the order.

	<i>Name and alternate names</i>	<i>Reign length</i>	
	—	—	
5	Samba Lamu (Sawa Lamu, Samba Yero Koli)**	2-20-30	years
6	Bubakar Samba Lamu (Bokar Tabakali)***	23-30-33	“
7	Sire Samba Lamu (Sire Tabakali)*	23-30-33	“
8	Gelaajo Sire Samba Lamu (Gelaajo Bambi)*	10	“
9	Sire Garm (Sire Guma, Sire Gamu)	12	“
10	Gelaajo Bubakar Samba Lamu (Gelaajo Tabara)*	10	“
11	Samba Bohi (Samba Boye) ¹	4	“
12	Samba Dundu (Samba Donde, Samba Bubakar Samba Lamu)*	25-30	“
13	Gelaajo Jegi (Geladio Diegui)	10-20-23-25	“
14	Bubu Musa**	2-10-20-23	“
15	Konko Bubu Musa**	2-7-10-20-30	“
16	Samba Gelaajo Jegi	3-10	“
17	Sule Njai (Soule Ndiaye)***	10-23-30	“
18	Sule Njai II	2-10	“
19	Sule Bubu*	2-8-10	“

1. Appears on only four lists, but is attested by European visitors.

TABLE III

SATIGI IDENTIFIABLE FROM THE CONTEMPORANEOUS EUROPEAN RECORDS¹

(Dates in italics are guesses by inference from the European records)

<i>Dates</i>	<i>Satigi</i>
—	—
<i>1672</i> - Apr. 1702	Sire Samba Lamu (called Sire Tabakali) ²
Apr. 1702 - Apr. 1707	Samba Bohi (Samba Bubakar Samba Lamu)
Apr. 1707 - 1709	Samba Dundu (Samba Donde or Sawa Donde)
1709-10	Bubakar Sire Samba Lamu ³

1. By a curious coincidence in historical research, this table was compiled simultaneously with that published by Oumar KANE, "Essai de chronologie des satigis du XVIII^e siècle," *BIFAN*, Série B, 32 (3), 1970, pp. 755-765. We have modified our results to take account of differences where Kane appears to correct our earlier findings, but have held to our first opinion where we appear to have seen documents Kane did not see. Differences in any case are slight, and Kane's article explains the rationale behind most conclusions reached here, as well as his own.

2. J.-B. LABAT, *Nouvelle relation de l'Afrique occidentale*, Paris, 4 vols., 1728, 2, pp. 198-200, 202-203.

3. *Ibid.*, p. 203; O. KANE, p. 757.

<i>Dates</i>	<i>Satigi</i>
1710 - Oct. 1718	Gelaaajo Jeegi (Gelaaajo Bubakar Samba Lamu) ¹
Oct. 1718 - May 1721	Bubakar Sire Samba Lamu (2nd reign)
May 1721 - early 1722	Bubu Musa (1st reign)
Early 1722 - Sept. 1723	Bubakar Sire Samba Lamu (3rd reign)
Sept. 1723 - Oct. 1724	Bubu Musa (2nd reign)
Oct. 1724 - late 1724	Samba Sire Samba Lamu
Late 1724 - 1725	Bubu Musa (3rd reign) ²
1725-26 or later	Samba Gelaaajo Jeegi (1st reign)
Before 1733 - (1738-40)	Konko Bubu Musa (1st reign; European reports indicate that he was in power on 4 Sept. 1733, during the second half of 1735 and on 20 Apr. 1737, but this was a period of conflict with Samba Gelaaajo, who may have held power between times) ³
(1738-40)-1741	Samba Gelaaajo Jeegi (incomplete evidence indicates that he may have come to power late in 1738 or early in 1739; he was reported still in power in July 1741, and was apparently deposed shortly afterwards) ⁴
1741-43	Konko Bubu Musa (2nd reign; resigned in 1743 in favor of his brother Sule Njai) ⁵
1743-47	Sule Njai I (Soule Ndiaye; 1st reign)
1747-49	Bubu Gaisiri (Bubu Samba Dundu) ⁶
1749-(1750-51)	Sule Njai I (2nd reign)
(1750-51)-1752	Jaje Ule (Dyadye Ouleye or Dyadye Hola; reports indicate only that he was in power in June 1751 and that a change of rulers, unnamed, took place in 1752, again early in 1753 and again in 1755) ⁷
1757	(Sule Njai reported in power in Oct. 1757, with no indication whether this was Sule Njai I or Sule Njai II) ⁸

1. Bruë to Saint-Robert, 6 June 1720, ANF Colonies C^o 6; O. KANE, p. 757.

2. For the successions between 1721 and 1724, see A. DELCOURT, *Les établissements français au Sénégal*, Dakar, 1952, pp. 153-154, 157, 163. See also Du Bellay to Directeurs de la Compagnie des Indes, 18 December 1724, ANF Colonies C^o 8; Demain, Memorandum of 1 April 1726, ANF Colonies C^o 9.

3. Devaulx to Directeurs de la Compagnie des Indes, 4 September 1733, ANF Colonies C^o 10; Conseil du Sénégal to Directeurs, 6 November 1736, ANF Colonies C^o 11; Saint-Adon to Directeurs, 20 April 1737, ANF Colonies C^o 11; Thomas HULL, "Voyage to Bundo" (unpublished MS., 1735, from the library of the Duke of Buccleuch, p. 18); O. KANE, pp. 762-763.

4. Conseil du Sénégal to Directeurs, 30 July 1741, ANF Colonies C^o 12.

5. Conseil du Sénégal to Directeurs, 11 September 1743, ANF Colonies C^o 12.

6. Unsigned, untitled, undated memorandum ca. 1750, ANF Colonies C^o 29.

7. Conseil du Sénégal to Directeurs, 30 June 1751, ANF Colonies C^o 13; Conseil du Sénégal to Directeurs, 20 June 1753, ANF Colonies C^o 14; O. KANE, p. 764.

8. Conseil du Sénégal to Directeurs, 3 October 1757, PRO, C.O. 267/12 (the British filed some of the captured French correspondence as background for their own occupation of the captured colonies).

TABLE IV
ANONYMOUS LIST OF THE SATIGI¹

I Based on death of Sire Tabakali (1702)
II Based on deposition of Sule Bubu (1776)

<i>Rulers</i>	<i>Reign length</i>	<i>Speculative dates of reign</i>	
		I	II
Koli Tengela	5 years	1527-32	
Laba Tengela	3 years	1532-35	
" Mene Dian "	4 years	1535-39	
Gelaajo Bambi	24 years	1539-63	
Gelaajo Tabara	16 years	1563-79	
Gelaajo Gaisi	1 year	1579-80	
Yero Jam Koli	6 years	1580-86	
Njai Garm	3 months	1586	
Jaje Garm	3 months	1586	
Jaje Ule I	23 years	1586-1609	
Gata Kumba	1 year	1609-10	
Samba Lamu	30 years	1610-40	
Bokar Tabakali	29 years	1640-69	
Sire Tabakali	33 years	1669-1702	
Samba Bohi	4 years	} Dates based on French records are preferable down to reign of Bubu Musa (see Table III)	
Samba Dundu	1 month		
Bubakar Sire	5 years		
Samba Sire	1 year		
Gelaajo Jeegi	10 years		
Bubu Musa	2 years		1729-31
Konko Bubu Musa	7 years		1731-38
Bubu Gaisiri	2 years		1738-40
Jaje Ule II	2 years		1740-42
Sule Naji	23 years		1742-65
Samba Bohi Konko	2 years		1765-72
Bokar Sule	2 months		1772
Makhan Uru	$\frac{1}{2}$ day		1772
Sule Bubu	4 years		1772-76

Source: SOH, pp. 173-175.

1. Entry no. II in Table I; Fonds Gaden, Cahier 5, and entitled "Liste des princes denyankobe." It is very similar to another list in the same cahier attributed to Alfa Bokar Ndiang.

TABLE V
REVISED LIST OF THE DENYANKE SATIGI OF FUTA TORO

<i>Rulers</i>	<i>Dates of reign</i>
1 Koli Tengela	Before 1495 to after 1512
2 Laba Tengela	1532-35

<i>Rulers</i>	<i>Dates of reign</i>
3 " Mene Dian " (Jam Koli?)	1535-39
4 Gelaajo Bambi	1539-63
5 Gelaajo Tabara	1563-79
6 Gelaajo Gaisiri	1579-80
7 Yero Jam Koli	1580-86
8 Njai Garm	1586
9 Jaje Garm	1586
10 Jaje Ule I	1586-1609
11 Gata Kumba	1609-10
12 Samba Lamu	1610-40
13 Bokar Tabakali	1640-69
14 Sire Tabakali	1669-1702
15 Samba Bohi	1702-07
16 Samba Dundu	1707-09
17 Bubakar Sire Samba Lamu	1709-10
18 Gelaajo Jeegi	1710-18
19 Bubakar Sire (2nd reign)	1718-21
20 Bubu Musa (1st reign)	1721-22
21 Bubakar Sire (3rd reign)	1722-23
22 Bubu Musa (2nd reign)	1723-24
23 Samba Sire Samba Lamu	1724
24 Bubu Musa (3rd reign)	1724-25
25 Samba Gelaajo Jeegi (1st reign)	1725-26
26 Konko Bubu Musa (1st reign)	1726-(1738-40)
27 Samba Gelaajo Jeegi (2nd reign)	(1738-40)-1741
28 Konko Bubu Musa (2nd reign)	1741-43
29 Sule Njai I (1st reign)	1743-47
30 Bubu Gaisiri	1747-49
31 Sule Njai I (2nd reign)	1749-(1750-51)
32 Jaje Ule	(1750-51)-1752
33 Sule Njai I (3rd reign)	1752-65
34 Samba Bohi Konko	1765-72
35 Bokar Sule	1772
36 Makhan Uru	1772
37 Sule Bubu (Sule Njai II?)	1772-76

TABLE VI

CHRONOLOGIES FROM DELAFOSSE AND SATIGI SIRE

<i>Almamies</i>	<i>Reign length</i>		
	<i>S. A. Soh</i>	<i>Rectified</i>	<i>Probable dates</i>
1 Abdul Kader	30 years		1776-1805
2 Moktar Kudeji	1 year		1805-06
3 Hammad Lamin	3 years		1806-09
4 Yusuf (1st reign)	4 years		1809-13
5 Abubakari Lamin	3 years		1813-16
6 Yusuf (2nd reign)	1 year		1816-17

	<i>Almamies</i>	<i>Reign length</i>		<i>Probable dates</i>
		<i>S. A. Soh</i>	<i>Rectified</i>	
7	Sire Ahmadu	1 year		1817-18
8	Yusuf (3rd reign)	2 years		1818-20
9	Ali Ibra	1 year		1820-21
10	Yusuf (4th reign)	1 year		1821-22
11	Sire Hasan	1 year		1822-23
12	Yusuf (5th reign)	1 year		1823-24
13	Bokar Modibbo	6 months		1824
14	Yusuf (6th reign)	1½ years		1824-26
15	Ibra Diatara	1 year		1826-27
16	Yusuf (7th reign)	1 year		1827
17	Mohammadu An	1½ years		1827-29
18	Yusuf (8th reign)	1½ years		1829-31
19	Biran Ibra (1st reign)	1 year		1831-32
20	Mahmudu Sire	6 months		1832
21	Amadu Baba Lih	6 months		1832-33
22	Sire Ahmadu (2nd reign)	6 months		1833-34
23	Yusuf (9th reign)	6 months		1834
24	Biran Ibra (2nd reign)	6 months		1834-35
	Interregnum	3 years		1835-37
25	Baba Lih	4 years		1837-41
26	Mohammadu Biran (1st reign)	3 years		1841-44
27	Mohammadu Dyah	2 months	2 years	1844-46
28	M. Biran (2nd reign)	1½ years		1846-48
29	Sire Ali	1½ years		1848-50
30	Ahmadu Hammad (1st reign)	6 months		1850-51
31	Rasin Mahmudu (1st reign)	2 years		1851-53
32	M. Biran (3rd reign)	1 year		1853-54
33	Sibawayhi	?	2 years	1854-56
34	Ahmadu Hammad (2nd reign)	4 months		1856
35	Rasin Mahmudu (2nd reign)	3 months		1856-57
36	M. Biran (4th reign)	1 year		1857-58
37	Mustafa	2 months		1858-59
38	M. Biran (5th reign)	3 months	9 months	1859
39	Ahmadu Biran	6 months	9 months	1859-60
40	Mahmudu Malik	3 months	6 months	1860-61
41	Ahmadu Demba	1½ years	2 years	1861-63
42	Alhasan	9 months		1863
43	Rasin Mohammadu (1st reign)	8 months		1863-64
	Interregnum	1 year	1½ years	1864-66

<i>Almamies</i>	<i>Reign length</i>		
	<i>S. A. Soh</i>	<i>Rectified</i>	<i>Probable dates</i>
44 Sada Ibra (1st reign)	1½ years		1866-68
45 Mohammadu Bal	1 year		1868-69
46 Sada Ibra (2nd reign)	1 month		1869
Interregnum	?	2½ years	1869-72
47 Malik Mohammadu	?	Few months	1872-73
48 Rasin Mohammadu (2nd reign)	7 months		1873-74
Interregnum	?	6 months	1874-75
49 Njay Eli (1st reign)	?	Few months	1875-76
Interregnum	?	Few months	1876-77
50 Mohammadu Ahmadu	?	Few months	1877
51 Mohammadu Alamin	2 years		1877-79
52 Njay Eli (2nd reign)	?	Few months	1879-80
53 Sire Baba Lih (1st reign)	?	Few months	1880-81
54 The same (2nd reign)	Till death	9½ years	1881-90

TABLE VII

ALMAMIES FROM 1776 TO 1854 IDENTIFIABLE IN EUROPEAN
AND TRADITIONAL SOURCES

(Dates in italics are inferred)

<i>Dates</i>	<i>Almamies</i>	<i>Clan name, village, province</i>
1776 ¹	Abdul Kader named	Kan, Kobbilo, Bossea
1796 ²	Hamat Lamin served a few months, while Abdul Kader imprisoned in Cayor; Abdul Kader then returned to the office	Bal, Bode, Aere-Toro
June or July 1806 ³	Moktar Kudeji named, Abdul Kader deposed	Talla, Sinthiou Bamambe, Damga

1. This is SOH's date (p. 43) and corresponds to the thirty year reign usually attributed to Abdul Kader (until 1806). Some traditional authorities put his accession in 1778-79 (see Table X) and a case can also be made for 1777 (on the basis of observations that Abdul Kader had served nine years before the battle against Trarza Amir Eli-l Kowri in 1786; see S. M. X. GOLBERRY [sic], *Travels in Africa*, I [W. Mudford trans.], London, 1803, pp. 179-182, and J. B. L. DURAND, *Voyage au Sénégal*, Paris, 1807, p. 71).

2. The year of the famous battle of Bunguye against the Damel of Cayor (see Table IX). See SOH, pp. 49-51; Mungo PARK in Roland MILLER, ed., *Travels of Mungo Park*, London, 1960, pp. 261-263; STEFF.

3. Gouverneur to Ministre de la Marine, 19 August 1806 and 9 February 1807, ANF Colonies C^s 22.

<i>Dates</i>	<i>Almamies</i>	<i>Clan name, village, province</i>
<i>Apr.-May 1807</i>	Hamat Lamin named, Moktar Kudeji driven from office ¹	Bal, Bode, Aere-Toro
1 Apr. 1808	Yusuf in office (1st term) ²	Ly, Diaba, Hebiabe
Fall 1812	Bokar Lamin dismissed ³	Bal, Bode, Aere-Toro (brother of Hamat Lamin)
Mar. 1813	Yusuf (2nd term) ⁴	Ly, Diaba, Hebiabe
Late 1815 or early 1816	An Almamy deposed; probably Ali Ibra ⁵	Wan, Mbumba, Lao
1816	Sire; probably Sire Amadu ⁶	Ly, Ogo, Ngenar
Feb. 1817	Yusuf (another term)	Ly, Diaba, Hebiabe
Late 1817	Biran Ibra (1st term)	Wan, Mbumba, Lao (younger brother of Ali Ibra)
Late 1817	Tafsir Mamudu (or Mama-du) ⁷	An (?), Diandioli, Ngenar
Aug. 1818	A new Almamy; probably Yusuf ⁸	Ly, Diaba, Hebiabe

1. KAMARA (II, fos. 260-261) says that Moktar Kudeji did not remain in office more than fifteen days after the death of Abdul Kader.

2. On 1 April 1808, envoys of Almamy Yusuf signed a treaty with the French (ANS 13 G 9, piece 26). Since almost every Almamy list gives Hamat Lamin Bal as the third ruler, following Moktar Kudeji, he must have served in 1807.

3. MacCarthy to Maxwell, 21 November 1812, PRO C.O. 267/36.

4. MacCarthy (to Maxwell, 9 April 1813, PRO C.O. 267/36) indicates that a new Almamy had been named to replace Bokar Bal. This must have been Yusuf, since various traditional sources say that he replaced Bokar. See KAMARA, II, fo. 261; SOH, p. 66.

5. Brereton to Earl Bathurst, 13 February 1816, PRO C.O. 267/42. Brereton reports that an Almamy had recently been deposed. This was probably Ali Ibra Wan, since traditions agree that he ruled before his younger brother Biran. Biran ruled first in 1817, and the other Almamies ruling in the years immediately previous are definitely identified in the records (as Sire and Yusuf).

6. Yusuf to Schmaltz, received 23 February 1817, ANS 13 G 138; Schmaltz to Min., 15 March 1817, ANS 2 B 2. Traditional lists for this period refer to a Sire Amadu Ly of Ogo, corresponding to the Sire cited in Schmaltz's letter.

7. Yusuf was still in office in September 1817 (Schmaltz to Yusuf, 14 September 1817, ANS 2 B 2). Biran soon replaced him and wrote to the Governor (letter of 1817, ANS 13 G 138). Shortly thereafter the "inhabitants of Futa" wrote to the Governor to indicate that they had unseated both Biran and Yusuf and named Tafsir Mamudu. G. MOLLIEN (in H. DESCHAMPS, ed., *L'Afrique occidentale en 1818*, Paris, 1967, pp. 123 and 142) says that the Almamy is Mamadu and that he lives in Diandioli, a village near Ogo. A Tafsir Mamudu An is given in the Almamy lists and dated to 1827 by Delafosse. He was from the Thierno Tillere family of Nguidjilogne. KAMARA (I, fo. 335 ff.) mentions that the An of Nguidjilogne were locked in a bitter dispute with Yusuf, partly over the issue of whether the Europeans should be allowed to build at Bakel (Yusuf favored it, the An were opposed). The French built their fort at Bakel in 1818. In addition, the villages of Diandioli and Nguidjilogne are very closely tied by kinship and Tafsir Mamudu might well have chosen to reside in Diandioli for a while.

8. Fleuriau (to Almamy, 11 August 1818, ANS 2 B 3) wrote to the new Almamy whose name he didn't know. In October Fleuriau knew that the Almamy's name was Yusuf (to Min., 3 November 1818, ANS 2 B 3).

<i>Dates</i>	<i>Almamies</i>	<i>Clan name, village, province</i>
Mar. 1819	Interregnum, Yusuf deposed ¹	
Sept. 1819	Biran Ibra newly elected ²	Wan, Mbumba, Lao
Feb. 1821	Civil war between Biran and Yusuf ³	
Aug. 1821	Yusuf (another term) ⁴	Ly, Diaba, Hebiabe
July-Aug. 1822	A new Almamy; perhaps Bokar Modibbo ⁵	Kan, Dondu, Ngenar
8 Feb. 1823	Bokar driven out by revolt; probably interregnum ⁶	
1823-25	Yusuf (another term) ⁷	Ly, Diaba, Hebiabe
Some of intervening time	Perhaps Sire Hasan ⁸	Ture, Aere, Aere-Toro
Sept. 1828	Yusuf (another term) ⁹	Ly, Diaba, Hebiabe
Some of intervening time	Perhaps Ibra Diatara ¹⁰	Any, Gaol, Ngenar
Early 1831	Interregnum of several months ¹¹	
Aug. 1831	An Almamy in office; perhaps Yusuf	Ly, Diaba, Hebiabe
Some of intervening time	Perhaps Mamudu Sire ¹²	Dia, Anyam Wuro Sire, Wor-go-Bossea

1. Schmaltz to Min., 5 June 1812, ANS 2 B 4.

2. Schmaltz to Almamy Ibrahim (the Arabic form of Biran), 16 September 1819, ANS 2 B 4.

3. Biran remained in office until some point in early 1821, but attempts to unseat him began as early as April or May 1820 (Schmaltz to Min., 21 May 1820, ANS 2 B 5). Biran continued writing to the new French Governor, Le Coupé, during 1820 (ANFOM Sénégal IV 16 f). By February 1821 Yusuf, with his army, was attempting to unseat Biran (Le Coupé to Min., 8 March 1821, ANS 2 B 6).

4. Almamy Yusuf to Ibrahim Tamsir Samba Kudi, copy received at Saint-Louis, 28 August 1821, ANS 13 G 138.

5. Comdt. Sénégal to Comdt. Bakel, 14 September 1822, ANS 3 B 22.

6. Sous-Lt. Petit to Gov. Roger, 13 March 1823, ANS 13 G 164. Governor Roger (to Min., 7 July 1823, ANS 2 B 8) reported the Futa Toro as in "a time when the country is divided among various Almamies contending for power." French reports bother only to identify the likely winner(s) of such struggles.

7. Yusuf won out in a three-way struggle for power (Lt. Hesse, report on voyage to Galam for 1823, 25 September 1823, ANS 1 G 6).

8. According to Delafosse and Soh, Sire Hasan ruled between two of Yusuf's terms. He may have ruled between 1825 and 1828, but there is no confirmation of this.

9. During this period Yusuf was fighting against Biran Ibra and Hamat Ba, the Madiyu of Toro (C. BERTON, "Note sur le Prophète du Fouta," 30 December 1828, ANFOM Sénégal IV 16 f; KAMARA, II, fo. 372 ff.).

10. According to Delafosse and Soh, Ibra Diatara ruled between two terms of Yusuf and after the reigns of Bokar Modibbo and Sire Hasan. It may have been here, but there is no confirmation of this.

11. Gov. Brou to Saint-Germain, 31 May 1831, ANS 13 G 22.

12. According to Delafosse and Soh, Mamudu Sire ruled just after a term of Biran. It seems better, however, to put him in the early 1830s rather than later

<i>Dates</i>	<i>Almamies</i>	<i>Clan name, village, province</i>
Oct. 1832	Civil war within Futa ¹	
Aug. 1833	Biran is Almamy, Yusuf recently deposed	Wan, Mbumba, Lao
Sept. 1833	Yusuf replaced Biran ²	Ly, Diaba, Hebiabe
Early 1835	Biran (another term) ³	Wan, Mbumba, Lao
Mar. 1835	Yusuf (another term) ⁴	Ly, Diaba, Hebiabe
June 1835	Biran (another term) ⁵	Wan, Mbumba, Lao
Late 1836	Babaly named Almamy, Biran recently deposed	Ly, Diaba, Hebiabe (son of a first cousin of Yusuf)
Sept. 1837	Amadu Babaly is Almamy ⁶	Ly, Ogo, Ngenar (nephew of Sire Amadu Ly)
Oct. 1838	New Almamy; probably Babaly ⁷	Ly, Diaba, Hebiabe
May-June 1841	Interregnum, Babaly deposed ⁸	
July 1841	Mamadu Biran named Almamy ⁹	Wan, Mbumba, Lao (son of Biran)
Aug. 1843	Change of Almamy; probably Mamadu Dia replaced Mamadu Biran ¹⁰	Dia, Anyam Wuro Sire, Wor-go-Bossea (son of Mamudu Sire Dia)
Oct. 1843	Mamadu Biran (another term) ¹¹	Wan, Mbumba, Lao
Jan. 1844	Interregnum ¹²	

in the decade where there is more archival material and in which he is not mentioned at all.

1. Gov. to Joseph Allain, 1 November 1832, ANS 3 B 51.

2. Comdt. Bakel to Gov., 23 August 1833, ANS 13 G 164; Gov. to Laurencin, 26 September 1833, ANS 3 B 51.

3. In his letters (Almamy Biran to Gov., 31 January and 3 February 1835, ANS 13 G 138), Biran indicates that he had recently taken office again.

4. Almamy Yusuf to Gov., received 7 March 1835, ANS 13 G 138. Since Yusuf wrote here in conjunction with the powerful customs-collector Eliman Mbolo, it seems likely that he was actually serving as Almamy during this time.

5. Almamy Biran to Gov., 13 June 1835, ANS 13 G 138.

6. Almamy Amadu Babaly to Gov., letter translated 9 September 1837, ANS 13 G 138. Babaly Ly of Diaba is mentioned as having been in office in July 1837 (ANS 3 B 63, 17 July 1837).

7. Gov. Soret to Gov. Charmasson, "Mémoire de remise de service," 14 April 1839, ANS 13 G 22.

8. Gov. Montagnières de La Roque to Min., 18 July 1841, ANS 2 B 19.

9. Gov. Montagnières de La Roque to Almamy Alpha Amadou Birane, 9 July 1841, ANS 3 B 63. Mamadu (frequently confused with Amadu) Biran had just been chosen, following an interregnum of at least a month.

10. Gov. Bouet (to Min., 10 August 1843, ANS 2 B 22) mentions the change of Almamies but gives no names. Judging from the lists of Soh and Amidou Kane, it seems appropriate to put Mamadu Dia here.

11. Almamy Mamadu Biran and principal chiefs to Gov., n.d. (probably October 1843), ANFOM Sénégal IV 19 g; Gov. to Min., 31 October 1843, ANS 2 B 22.

12. Gov. to Caille, 4 January 1844, ANS 3 B 53.

<i>Dates</i>	<i>Almamies</i>	<i>Clan name, village, province</i>
Feb. 1844	Mamadu Biran ¹	Wan, Mbumba, Lao
Apr.-May 1844	Interregnum, Mamadu Biran then returned to office ²	Wan, Mbumba, Lao
June 1844	Babaly Ly named, Mamadu Biran deposed ³	Ly, Diaba, Hebiabe
Early 1846- early 1847	Interregnum ⁴	
Apr. 1847	Babaly ⁵	Ly, Diaba, Hebiabe
July-Nov. 1847	Probably Mamadu Biran ⁶	Wan, Mbumba, Lao
Jan. 1848	Interregnum ⁷	
Feb. 1848	Mamadu Biran ⁸	Wan, Mbumba, Lao
May-June 1848	Interregnum ⁹	
July 1848	Sibawayhi elected ¹⁰	Ly, Ogo, Ngenar (son of Amadu Babaly Ly)
Nov. 1848	Interregnum ¹¹	
Jan. 1849	Mamadu Biran elected ¹²	Wan, Mbumba, Lao
Sept. 1850	Interregnum, Mamadu Biran deposed ¹³	
Nov. 1850	Alfa Sire took office ¹⁴	Wan, Mbumba, Lao (son of Ali Ibra Wan)
Jan. 1851	Interregnum, Alfa Sire died ¹⁵	

1. Caille to Gov., 22 April 1844, ANFOM Sénégal IV 19 g.

2. Caille to Gov., 12 June 1844, ANFOM Sénégal IV 19 g; Laborel to Min., 28 June 1844, ANS 2 B 24.

3. Caille to Gov., 12 June 1844, ANFOM Sénégal IV 19 g; Gov. p.i. to Min., 28 June and 9 July 1844, ANS 2 B 24.

4. Memoire left by Gov. Thomas, 11 December 1845, ANS 13 G 22; chiefs of the Bosseabe to Boubakar Kodiche *et al.*, ca. March 1846, ANS 13 G 139; Caille to Gov., 30 December 1846, ANS 13 G 165; Caille to Gov., 11 February 1847, ANS 13 G 33.

5. Chiefs of Futa to Gov. and Caille, received Saint-Louis, 10 April 1847, ANS 13 G 139.

6. The Almamy was living at Mbumba. Gov. to Min., 1 October 1847, ANS 2 B 27; Reverdit to Gov., 24 October 1847, ANS 5 B 14.

7. Diack Moctar to Gov. and Reverdit, received 26 January 1848, ANS 3 B 64.

8. Almamy Mamadu Biran *et al.* to Gov. and Reverdit, received 12 February 1848, ANS 3 B 64.

9. Reverdit to Gov., 28 May and 21 June 1848, ANS 5 B 14.

10. Gov. to Min., 19 July 1848, ANS 2 B 27; Almamy "Sibaoui" *et al.* to Gov., received 15 August and 24 August 1848, ANS 3 B 64.

11. Reverdit to Commissaire, 1 December 1848, ANS 13 G 33.

12. Asst. Dir. of External Affairs to Gov., 28 January 1849, ANS 5 B 14.

13. Duprat to Gov., 2 October 1850, ANS 5 B 14.

14. Duprat to Gov., 27 November 1850, ANS 13 G 33; Almamy Sire *et al.* to Gov., received 29 November 1850, ANS 3 B 64.

15. He died of poisoning apparently. See Duprat to Gov., 17 January 1851, ANS 13 G 139.

<i>Dates</i>	<i>Almamies</i>	<i>Clan name, village, province</i>
Apr. 1851	Sibawayhi ¹	Ly, Ogo, Ngenar
Nov. 1851	Mamadu Biran ²	Wan, Mbumba, Lao
Oct. 1852	An Almamy of Pete, Amadu Hamat, replaced Mamadu Biran ³	Sy, Pete, Yirlabe
June 1853	Thierno Rasin replaced Amadu Hamat ⁴	Ndiatch, Medina-Ndiathebe, Lao
May 1854	Mamadu Biran replaced Thierno Rasin ⁵	Wan, Mbumba, Lao

1. Almamy "Sibaway" *et al.* to Gov., received 14 April 1851, ANS 3 B 64. Sibawayhi was still ruling in July (see his correspondence with the Governor, 4 July 1851, ANS 3 B 96).

2. Duprat to Gov., 26 November 1851, ANS 5 B 14; Almamy (Mamadu Biran) to Gov., received 26 November 1851, ANS 3 B 96.

3. Brossard to Gov., 4 November 1852 and 30 May 1853, ANS 13 G 33; same, 5 January 1853, ANS 5 B 14; KAMARA, II, fo. 171 R, margin.

4. Brossard to Gov., 27 Jun 1853, ANS 13 G 33.

5. Teissier to Gov., 21 May 1854, ANS 13 G 120.

TABLE VIII

REVISED CHRONOLOGY OF ALMAMIES, 1776-1854

(Dates and names in italics are inferred)

<i>Almamies</i>	<i>Years of reign</i>
Abdul Kader Kan	1776-1806
Hamat Lamin Bal (interim term during Abdul Kader's imprisonment in Cayor)	1796 (few months)
Moktar Kudeji Talla	1806-07
Hamat Lamin Bal	1807
Yusuf Ly	1808-10
Bokar Lamin Bal	1810-12
Interregnum, struggle for Almamate	Late 1812 - Mar. 1813
Yusuf	Mar. 1813 - 1814
Ali Ibra Wan	1815
Sire Amadu Ly	1816
Yusuf	1817 (several months)
Biran Ibra Wan	1817 (few months)
Mamadu Mamudu An	Late 1817 - July 1818
Yusuf	Aug. 1818 - Mar. 1819
Interregnum	Mar.-Sept. 1819
Biran	Sept. 1819 - July 1821

<i>Almamies</i>	<i>Years of reign</i>
Yusuf	Aug. 1821 - July 1822
Bokar Modibbo Kan	July 1822 - 8 Feb. 1823
Interregnum, struggle for almamate	Feb.-Aug. 1823
Yusuf	Aug. 1823-?
<i>Sire Hasan Ture</i>	?
Yusuf	?-1828-?
<i>Ibra Diatara Any</i>	?
Interregnum	1831 (several months)
<i>Yusuf</i>	?-Aug. 1831-?
<i>Mamudu Sire Dia</i>	?
Yusuf	?-July 1833
Biran	July-Sept. 1833
Yusuf	Sept. 1833-?
Biran	Jan.-Feb. 1835
Yusuf	Mar. 1835
Biran	<i>June 1835 (without break?)-late 1836</i>
Babaly Ly	Late 1836 - at least July 1837
Amadu Baba Ly	Sept. 1837 - Oct. 1838
Babaly Ly	<i>Oct. 1838 - May 1841</i>
Interregnum	May-June 1841
Mamadu Biran Wan	July 1841 - Aug. 1843
Mamadu Mamudu Dia	Aug.-Oct. 1843
Mamadu Biran	Oct.-Dec. 1843
Interregnum	Jan. 1844
Mamadu Biran (in and out of office several times)	Feb.-June 1844
Babaly Ly	June 1844 - <i>Mar. 1846</i>
Interregnum	Mar. 1846 - <i>Feb. 1847</i>
Babaly Ly	?-Apr. 1847-?
Mamadu Biran (?)	? (at least July)-Dec. 1847
Interregnum	Dec. 1847 - Jan. 1848
Mamadu Biran	Feb.-May 1848
Interregnum	May-June 1848
Sibawayhi Ly	July-Oct. 1848
Interregnum	Oct.-Dec. 1848
Mamadu Biran	Jan. 1849 - Sept. 1850
Interregnum, struggle for power	Oct. 1850
Alfa Sire Wan	Nov. 1850 - 11 Jan. 1851
<i>Interregnum</i>	?
Sibawayhi	<i>Mar.-Oct. or Nov. 1851</i>

<i>Almamies</i>	<i>Years of reign</i>
Mamadu Biran	Nov. 1851 - Oct. 1852
Amadu Hamat Sy	Oct. 1852 - June 1853
Thierno Rasin Ndiatch	June 1853 - Mar. or Apr. 1854
Mamadu Biran	May 1854

TABLE IX

ALMAMIES OF FUTA TORO, 1854 TO 1891

(Less likely interpretations are indented)

<i>Almamies</i>	<i>Dates</i>
Mamadu Biran Wan of Mbumba (Lao)	May 1854 - early 1856
Rasin Ndiatch of Medina Ndiathebe (Lao)	Apr.-Aug. 1856
Amadu Hamat Sy of Pete (Yirlabe) ⁶	Sept.-Nov. 1856
Mamadu Biran Wan OR: Sibawayhi Ly of Ogo (Ngenar)	Nov. 1856 - July 1858 Sept. and Oct. 1857
Shaykh Umar suspended Almamate OR: Mamadu Biran Wan maintained	July 1858 - Jan. 1859 Until Jan. 1859
Mustafa Ba of Hore-Fonde (Worgo-Bossea)	Feb.-Sept. 1859
Mamadu Biran Wan	Sept. 1859 - Oct. 1860
Interregnum OR: Mamadu Biran Wan maintained ²	Oct. 1860 - May 1861 Same period
Amadu Biran Wan of Mbumba (Lao) ³	May-Aug. 1861
Interregnum	Aug.-Oct. 1861
Eliman Bababe Mamudu Ba of Bababe (Lao)	Oct. 1861 - Feb. 1862
Interregnum without an Almamy ⁴	Feb.-June 1862
Amadu Thierno Demba Ly of Diaba (Hebiabe)	June 1862 - Mar. 1863
Interregnum OR: Mustafa Ba	Mar.-June 1863 Same period
Mamadu Biran Wan	June 1863 - Oct. 1864
Amadu Thierno Demba Ly	Oct. 1864 - Aug. 1865
Rasin Selli Talla of Sinthiou Bamambe (Damga)	Aug. 1865 - Jan. 1866
Interregnum	Jan.-Apr. 1866
Thierno Barobe Alhassan Baro of Aere (Aere-Toro)	Apr.-Oct. 1866

1. Not well attested.

2. Tension between Bossea and Lao was so great during 1860-61 that it seems unlikely that Mamadu Biran was the effective Almamy after October (ANS 13 G 120.131; 13 G 140.39, 48, 49, 51, 52; 13 G 147.18-20).

3. Assassinated in August by Ibra Almamy or his associates (ANS 13 G 147.41-43).

4. Neither the reign of Eliman Bababe Mamudu nor the interim is well attested.

<i>Almamies</i>	<i>Dates</i>
Amadu Thierno Demba Ly ¹	Oct.-Dec. 1866
Rasin Selli Talla	Dec. 1866 - Aug. 1867
Saada Tapsir Baba Wan of Mbumba (Lao)	Aug. 1867 - June 1868
Interregnum	June-Dec. 1868
OR: Saada Wan maintained ²	Same period
Saada Tapsir Baba Wan	Dec. 1868 - Dec. 1870
OR: Interregnum without an Almamy ³	Sept. 1869 - Dec. 1870
Mamadu Bal of Gollere (Lao)	Dec. 1870 - Apr. 1871
Interregnum	Apr.-Oct. 1871
OR :Saada Wan re-elected	Same period
Saada Tapsir Baba Wan	Oct. 1871 - May 1872
Interregnum	May 1872 - June 1873
OR: Mamadu Bal re-elected	Jan.-Mar. 1873
Malik Thiam of Diaba (Hebiabe)	June 1873 - May 1874
Interregnum	May 1874 - June 1875
Rasin Selli Talla	June-Nov. 1875
Interregnum	Nov. 1875 - Feb. 1876
Ndiaye Baro of Diaba (Hebiabe)	Feb. 1876 - July 1877
Mamadu Amadu Ly of Ogo (Ngenar)	Aug.-Oct. 1877
Interregnum	Oct. 1877 - Mar. 1878
Ndiaye Baro	Apr. 1878 - July 1879
OR: Interregnum	Dec. 1878 - July 1879
Interregnum	July-Oct. 1879
Mamadu Lamin Ly of Salde-Tebegout (Yirlabe)	Oct. 1879 - Oct. 1880
Period without an Almamy	Oct. 1880 - 1891
OR: Bubu Haba Ly of Diaba (Hebiabe) ⁴	Apr. and May 1881
AND/OR: Ndiaye Baro ⁵	Sept.-Nov. 1883
AND/OR: Bubu Haba Ly ⁶	Apr. and May 1889

1. Not well attested.

2. Saada probably ceased to have the support of the majority of the electoral council because he had not joined in the campaigns against Thierno Brahim (ANS 13 G 148.50-52, 58-59; 13 G 141.7).

3. Not very clear. This was just after the cholera epidemic and while Amadu Madiyu was still present in Futa (ANS 13 G 124.57; 13 G 141.30-31; 13 G 148.89-91).

4. In April and with the support of a large French force, Colonel Pons attempted to isolate Abdul Bokar and arrange the election of Bubu Haba Ly to the position of Almamy. Ly received little support (see ANS 1 D 39, *passim*).

5. Cf. SOH, p. 100.

6. ANS 13 G 154.104.

TABLE X

TRADITIONAL CHRONOLOGIES FOR THE PERIOD OF THE ALMAMATE

<i>Muslim calendar</i> ¹	<i>Christian calendar</i>	<i>Events</i>
1140	1727-28	Birth of Abdul Kader Kan (DIA, KAMARA) ²
1193	1779-80	Abdul Kader named Almamy of Futa, went to Thilogne to serve (DIA, KAMARA) ³
1198	1783-84	Birth of Amadu Moktar Ly, son of Dewa Eliman of Pete (KAMARA)
1200	1785-86	Death of Trarza chief, Eli Kowri, in battle against Brakna and Futa; birth of Amadu Lamin Ly, son of Dewa Eliman of Pete (DIA, KAMARA, SOH)
1212	1797-98	Birth of Umar Tal (DIA)
1213	1798-99	Battle of Bunguye (DIA, KAMARA) ⁵
1214	1799-1800	Death by drowning of Thierno Tillere Amadu Delo (DIA)
1220	1805-06	Abdul Kader deposed from position of Almamy (SOH)
1221	1806-07	Abdul Kader assassinated at Gouriki (DIA, KAMARA, SOH)
1226	1811-12	Madiyu attacked Lao and Pete in battle of Gunagol; Madiyu sacrificed his son (DIA, KAMARA)
1238	1822-23	Battle of Dabiya Rewo between Futankobe and Moors (DIA, KAMARA)
1239	1823-24	Battles of Ndendori and Koloka; famine; Elfeki Amadu Diatara expelled and replaced by Futankobe (DIA, KAMARA)
1240	1824-25	Battle of Moudery; birth of Mamadu Lamin Ly of Pete and Salde-Tebegout (DIA, KAMARA)
1244	1828-29	Death of Almamy Yusuf Ly at Diaba (DIA, KAMARA)
1246	1830-31	Year of prosperity under Almamy Babaly Ly after long famine (KAMARA)
1247	1831-32	Year of prosperity under Almamy Mamadu Biran Wan (DIA, KAMARA)
1252	1837-38	Babaly elected Almamy (SOH)
1270	1853-54	Construction of Podor fort (DIA). Construction of Matam fort (SOH)
1272	1855-56	Mamadu Biran elected Almamy; Farbanna battle and expedition (SOH)
1275	1858-59	Construction of Matam fort (DIA)
1276	1859-60	Building of dam at Garli (DIA, KAMARA)

1. In each of the sources the dates are given according to the Muslim calendar.

2. Soh puts this in 1141 (1728-1729).

3. Soh puts this in 1190 (1776-1777).

4. Soh puts this in 1210 (1795-1796).

<i>Muslim calendar</i>	<i>Christian calendar</i>	<i>Events</i>
1277	1860-61	Umar spent rainy season at Hore-Fonde; famine (DIA, KAMARA)
1278	1861-62	Construction of Salde fort; birth of Baidy Suadu Ly, son of Mamadu Lamin (DIA, KAMARA)
1280	1863-64	Year of prosperity under Almamy Amadu Thierno Demba Ly; battle of Thiew (Dirmbodya); battle of Umar against Segu chief (DIA, KAMARA)
1281	1864-65	Battle of Didel; battle of Mani-Mani between Umar and Masina on the day of the eclipse of the sun (DIA, KAMARA)
1282	1865-66	Death of Umar at age of seventy on day of great solar eclipse (DIA)
1284	1867-68	First plague of animals (DIA, KAMARA)
1287	1870-71	Election of Saada Wan as Almamy; great human epidemic at Saint-Louis (DIA, KAMARA)
1288	1871-72	Epidemic came to Futa during cold season (DIA, KAMARA)
1289	1872-73	Lao and Yirlabe signed treaty of unity, peace and mutual aid to Alkabedié, near Galoya (DIA)
1290	1873-74	Battle of Dyorodou (DIA, KAMARA)
1291	1874-75	Battle of Thiaski; battle of Pete, with 160 (KAMARA) or 170 (DIA) dead
1296	1878-79	Assassination of Samba Gurmel; death of Lam Toro Samba Umahani; arrival of European colonel at Meri (DIA, KAMARA)
1297	1879-80	Building of telegraph line across Law and Yirlabe (DIA, KAMARA)
1299	1881-82	Battle of Dirmbodya; battle of Lam Toro Mamadu against the Tuabir (DIA, KAMARA)
1301	1883-84	Comet sighted (DIA, KAMARA). Battle of Abdallah and death of Ali Banna, Jolof leader (DIA) ¹
1303	1885-86	Emigration of Samba Nguma (DIA, KAMARA). Emigration of Yero Balel (DIA)
1304	1886-87	Battle of Saba in Rip; battle of Mamadu Lamin at Bakel (DIA, KAMARA)
1305	1887-88	Battle of Fori (Dia) ²
1308	1890-91	Death of an elephant in Yirlabe; assassination of Samba Diadana; Kamara returned to Futa to Thikite (Yirlabe) (DIA, KAMARA)
1309	1891-92	Fall of Umarian State and return to Futa of many Futankobe; great floods and prosperity (DIA, KAMARA)

1. Kamara puts the battle of Abdallah in 1302 (1884-1885).

2. Also called the battle of Gori or Guri, apparently in Diafounou (Mali), and involving the Ardo of Diafanou. Kamara puts it in 1307 (1889-1890).

<i>Muslim calendar</i>	<i>Christian calendar</i>	<i>Events</i>
1310	1892-93	Second plague of animals (DIA, KAMARA)
1311	1893-94	Great human epidemic in Futa (DIA) ¹
1313	1895-96	Rain during dry season, many died thereof. Kamara established residence at Ganguel (KAMARA)
1315	1897-98	Death of Amadu Sheku, the <i>Lam Julbe</i> (DIA)
1316	1898-99	Death of Thierno Ndiaye of Galoya; capture of Samori (DIA) ²
1318	1900-01	Assassination of Abdulaziz Wan of Mbumba (DIA, KAMARA)

1. Kamara puts it in 1312 (1894-1895).

2. Kamara puts it in 1319 (1901-1902).

TABLE XI

MAJOR EVENTS IN FUTA TORO, 1785 TO 1854

<i>Date</i>	<i>Events</i>	<i>Sources</i>
31 Mar. 1785	Treaty of commerce fixing customs payments between French and Almamy after attack on boats of Saint-Louis at Salde	Treaty, ANS 13 G 9; "Sénégal," 11 Aug. 1785, ANF Colonies C ⁶ 18.
Oct. 1786	War between Futa and Trarza, Futa victorious	GOLBERRY, I, pp. 179-182.
Early 1788	Failure of millet crop in Futa and Upper Senegal	Fraisse to Comte de La Luzerne, 14 February 1789, ANF Colonies C ⁶ 19.
Aug. 1790	Reports of major war activity in Cayor	Commandant p.i. Boucher to Min., 21 Aug. 1790, ANF Colonies C ⁶ 20.
Ca. 1790	Muslims of Njambur fought Damel Detié Foul Ngoné, killed him, won independence. Called on Ndiaye Sal of Futa to rule them with title of <i>Qadi</i>	<i>Moniteur du Sénégal</i> , 23 Dec. 1856, p. 3 (Amary Ngoné Ndella succeeded Detié as Damel in 1790 or 1791).
1791	After suppression of the privilege of the Compagnie du Sénégal on 18 January, the French abandoned their trading post at Podor	Colonies C ⁶ 20: Blanchot, "Considérations sur l'organisation du Sénégal," 3 July 1797, ANF Colonies C ⁶ 20.
5 Jan. 1796	Abdul Kader's imposition of Islam on the Khassonke by threatening intervention on side of Gadiaga	MILLER, pp. 50, 52, 59.

Date	Events	Sources
1796	Abdul Kader's campaign <i>vs.</i> Cayor, defeat at battle of Bunguye, and imprisonment in Cayor	MILLER, pp. 261-263.
1796	Walo revolted successfully against Futa. Dagana divided between Walo and Futa	FJ, Mangone Diaw, session of 3 Dec. 1967 (tape 4A).
1797	Execution of Almamy Sega Gaye of Bundu; intervened in ensuing succession crisis	Maj. Wm. GRAY, <i>Travels in Western Africa</i> , London, 1825, pp. 194-197; Capt. ROUX, "Notice historique sur le Boundou," <i>Journal Officiel du Sénégal</i> , 12 Aug. 1893, p. 294.
4 Feb. 1802	Treaty of alliance and trade between French Commandant of Senegal and Abdul Kader	ANF Colonies C ⁶ 21.
Early 1802	Futa ready for war with Bundu and Khasso who were ravaging Gadiaga	Picard to Min., 20 June 1802, ANF Colonies C ⁶ 21.
3 May 1804	Treaty concerning payment of customs duties to Futa by Saint-Louis traders	ANS 13 G 9.
Sept. 1804	French punitive expedition destroyed 10 villages around Podor, killing <i>ca.</i> 200 Tokolor and taking 620 captives	Blanchot to Min., 1 Oct. 1804, ANF Colonies C ⁶ 21; anonymous French merchant of Senegal to brother, 18 Aug. 1805, ANF Colonies C ⁶ 22 (Durand folder).
July 1805	Men of Dimar attacked boats of Saint-Louis near Fanaye, killing several men and pillaging cargoes	Anonymous French merchant to brother, 18 Aug. 1805.
Aug. 1805	French punitive expedition defeated at Fanaye	Blanchot to Min., 27 Aug. 1805, ANF Colonies C ⁶ 22, Durand folder.
Oct.-Nov. 1805	Dimar seeking to buy back captives taken by French in September 1804	J. MONTEILHET, "Les finances et le commerce du Sénégal pendant les guerres de la Révolution et de l'Empire," <i>Annuaire et Mémoires du CEHSAOF</i> , 2, 1917, p. 399.
4 June 1806	Treaty of peace and trade between Abdul Kader and Blanchot	ANF Colonies C ⁶ 22.
Early 1807	Alliance of Bossea with Bundu and Kaarta against Abdul Kader (leading to his death in battle [April])	GRAY, pp. 198-199.

<i>Date</i>	<i>Events</i>	<i>Sources</i>
13 July 1809	British took Saint-Louis from French	Maxwell to Castlereagh, 20 July 1809, PRO C.O. 267/33.
Mar. 1813, ff.	Civil war in Futa over choice of Almamy. Near famine conditions in Senegal River valley, severe famine in Jolof, millet extremely scarce. Famine ending in September	MacCarthy to Gov. Maxwell, 9 Apr. 1813; MacCarthy to Earl Bathurst, 8 July, 13 Aug., 22 Sept. 1813, PRO C.O. 267/36.
1816	War begins between Bundu-Khasso on one side and Kaarta-Gadiaga on other	GRAY, pp. 201-202; Capt. Wm. Gray to Gov. MacCarthy, 21 July 1818, PRO C.O. 267/47.
Early 1816	War between Futa and the "Bambara" (Futa allying with Bundu)	Lt.-Gov. Brereton to Earl Bathurst, 13 Feb. 1816, PRO C.O. 267/42.
Early 1817	Kaarta and Bundu still at war	GRAY, p. 204.
Feb. 1817	Almamies of Bundu, Futa Jalon, and Futa Toro joined to fight the Bambara, who were threatening Futa	Almamy Yusuf to Schmaltz, received 23 Feb. 1817, ANS 13 G 138.
Apr. 1817	Almamy Yusuf and Futa chiefs in Bundu preparing for war with the Bambara (Kaarta)	Schmaltz to Almamy Yusuf and chiefs, 2 May 1817, ANS 2 B 2.
Apr. 1817	French established alliance with Eliman Bubakar of Dimar, their spokesman to the Almamy	Schmaltz, "Instructions...", 2 May 1817, ANS 2 B 2.
Mar.-Apr. 1818	Bundu called on Futa and Khasso for reinforcements; Bundu retreated to upper Futa after defeat in April	MOLLIEN, pp. 155 and 191; GRAY, p. 206.
Apr. 1818	Bambara followed retreating Bundu forces into Futa and destroyed a dozen villages	Schmaltz, "Note" to Min., 9 Aug. 1818, ANS 2 B 3 bis.
Mid-1818	Futa mediated between Bundu and upper Gadiaga (Kamera) to make peace	GRAY, p. 207.
Late 1818	French bought land for a post at Bakel, lower Gadiaga	Schmaltz to Min., 13 Jan. 1819, ANS 2 B 3.
8 May 1819	Treaty between French and Walo, ceding lands for a French post at Dagana	E. SAULNIER, <i>La Compagnie de Galam au Sénégal</i> , Paris, 1921, p. 85.
Late 1819	Alliance of Futa, Cayor, Trarza, and Brakna against Walo and French in opposition to establishment of post at Dagana	Anonymous memoire, 1819, ANS 13 G 138, piece no. 6.

<i>Date</i>	<i>Events</i>	<i>Sources</i>
May 1820	Futanke chiefs negotiating with Bambara who had attacked Bundu and were threatening Futa	Schmaltz to Min., 21 May 1820, ANS 2 B 5.
May 1821	Men of Dimar attacked boat from Saint-Louis	Gov. ¹ to Hesse at Bakel, 18 May 1821, ANS 3 B 22.
Sept. 1821	Futa allied with Bundu, intending to attack Galam	Yusuf Sire to Gov., received 9 Oct. 1821, ANS 13 G 138.
Feb. 1823	Almamy Bubakar and partisans, driven out of Futa, take refuge among Soninke of Gadiaga	Petit, chef de poste at Bakel, to Gov. Roger, 13 Mar. 1823, ANS 13 G 164.
June 1824	Almamy of Futa arranging with Tunka of Galam to attack Guidimaka	Comdt. de poste at Bakel to Gov. Roger, 8 June 1824, ANS 13 G 164.
July 1824	War between Walo and Dimar, initiated by Eliman Dimar	Gov. to Petit, 22 and 23 July 1824, ANS 3 B 23.
Aug. 1824	Peace reestablished between Futa and Walo	Gov. to Petit, 14 and 20 Aug. 1824, ANS 3 B 23.
July 1825	Peace concluded between Bundu and Gadiaga	Comdt. de poste of Bakel to Gov., 23 July 1825, ANS 13 G 164.
Apr. 1828	Mamadu Amar Ba of Souiouma (Podor) returned to Toro, began preaching and winning general support	C. BERTON, "Note sur le prophète du Fouta," 30 Dec. 1828, ANFOM Sénégal IV 16 f.
Late Sept. 1828	Mamadu Amar Ba, now known as the "Mahdi," allied with Biran Wan <i>vs.</i> Yusuf Ly in struggle for place of Almamy. Wan-Mahdi forces defeated near Mbumba, Mamadu Amar disappeared	Duranton to Gov., 26 Sept. 1828, ANS 1 G 8; Berton, "Note."
Dec. 1828	The Mahdi sacrificed his infant son and aroused great popular support. Almamy Yusuf commanded him to appear for judgement in general assembly in January	Berton, "Note."
11 Mar. 1830	Governor Brou allied with Eliman Dimar to rout the "false prophet" Dihle who had come from Njambur with Serigne Koki, attacked Walo, and threatened Dimar	Brou to Min., 5 May 1830, ANS 2 B 14; Brou to Saint-Germain, 31 May 1831, ANS 13 G 22.

1. The commanding officer in Senegal was actually called "Commandant du Sénégal" until *ca.* 1830, when the title "Governor" was instituted.

<i>Date</i>	<i>Events</i>	<i>Sources</i>
31 Aug. 1830	Treaty between Brou and Lam Toro concerning trade	Treaty: ANS 13 G 9, piece 27; Brou to Saint-Germain, 31 May 1831, ANS 13 G 22.
Mid-1831	War between Bambara and Futa	Gov. to Comdt. at Bakel, 9 Sept. 1831, ANS 13 G 204.
Oct. 1832	Civil war in Futa Toro	Gov. to Comdt. of Bakel, 1 Nov. 1832, ANS 3 B 51.
Mid-1833 - Apr. 1837	Severe famine conditions in Futa, millet lacking. Low flood waters in 1834 and 1835. Famine ended with millet harvest of April 1837	Cadeot to Min., 3 Oct. 1833, ANS 2 B 15; Quernel to Min., Mar. 1834, ANS 2 B 16; Pujol to Comdt. at Bakel, 20 Nov. 1834, ANS 13 G 204; Pujol to Min., 27 Jan. 1835, ANS 2 B 16; Shaykh of Bokhol to Gov., 9 July 1835, ANS 13 G 138; Pujol to Artigues, 6 Nov. 1835, ANS 3 B 52; Guillet to Min., 21 Apr. 1837, ANS 2 B 17.
Feb. 1834	Eliman Dimar joins with French in armed expedition against Trarza and Walo	Gov. Quernel to Min., 7 Mar. 1834, ANS 2 B 16.
Mid-1834	Samba Cumba Diama of Goye took refuge in Futa when Samba Yasin of Kamera destroyed Tyabo	F. CARRÈRE and P. HOLLE, <i>De la Sénégambie française</i> , Paris, 1855, p. 142.
3 Aug. 1834	Convention passed between French Governor and Alcaty of Futa concerning payment of customs duties on trade and settlement of claims against pillagers in Futa	ANS 13 G 9, piece no. 28.
1835	Almamy of Futa leads troops into Galam <i>vs.</i> Samba Yasin	Pujol to Comdt. Alin at Bakel, 1 Dec. 1835, ANS 13 G 20
Late 1835 ?- early 1836	Smallpox epidemic in Senegal River valley	Pujol to Min., 23 Feb. 1836, ANS 2 B 16.
Apr. 1836	Almamy Biran named Abdul Tamsir Alcaty in place of Eliman Bolo	Almamy Biran to Gov., Apr. 1836, ANS 13 G 138.
Dec. 1836 - May 1837	Almamy of Futa and Brakna "Emir" Amadu at war over customs duties received on gum collected in Futa	Malavois to Min., 17 Dec. 1836; Guillet to Min., 29 Mar. 1837, ANS 2 B 17; Guillet to Doucelance at Dagana, 22 May 1837, ANS 3 B 51.
10 Mar. 1837	Governor p.i. Guillet as intermediary had Eliman Dimar and leaders of Walo sign treaty of peace. The treaty stipulates that the Governor	Guillet to Min., 20 Mar. 1837, ANS 2 B 17; Soret to Lam Toro, 26 Dec. 1838, ANS 3 B 63

<i>Date</i>	<i>Events</i>	<i>Sources</i>
	at Saint-Louis will be mediator in any future difference between Futa and Walo	
Apr. 1837	Governor of Saint-Louis intermediary in concluding peace between Dimar and Trarza	Guillet to Min., 21 Apr. 1837 ANS 2 B 17.
May 1837	Peace signed between Eliman Dimar and Brakna through offices of French Commandant	Gov. to Caille, 27 May 1837, ANS 3 B 51.
June 1837	Peace concluded between Brakna and Futa	Guillet to Min., 17 June 1837, ANS 2 B 17.
1838 (<i>month?</i>)	Bambara fighting in Futa	G. HARDY, <i>La mise en valeur du Sénégal</i> , Paris, 1921, p. 263.
Apr. 1839	Futa and Walo on point of war. Lam Toro murdered Yogomaye, a leading chief of Walo, risking war between Toro and Walo	Charmasson to Min., 22 May 1839, ANS 2 B 17.
Sept.-Nov. 1839	Attacks on French shipping in Futa	Gov. to Almamy, 6 Sept. and 22 Nov. 1839, ANS 3 B 63.
Mar. 1840	People of Cascas (Lao) attacked and pillaged 4 boats of Saint-Louis, wounding 9 crew members	Gov. to Min., 16 Mar. 1840, ANS 2 B 18.
10 July 1840	Treaty between Futa and French regulating payment of indemnity for attack in March, and providing for sending 4 Futanke hostages to Saint-Louis	Treaty: ANS 13 G 5; Charmasson to Min., 15 Aug. 1840, ANS 2 B 18.
Mid-late 1841	Extraordinarily heavy flooding in Senegal River valley	Montagnès de La Roque to Min., 21 Oct. 1841, 18 and 20 Jan. 1842, ANS 2 B 19.
7 Oct. 1841	Treaty between Futa and French regulating mutual demands over affair of Cascas (indemnity, customs payments). Trade reestablished on 20 October	ANS 13 G 9, piece no. 29; Montagnès to Min., 21 Oct. 1841, ANS 2 B 19.
Sept. 1842	Futa attacked Walo, Walo requesting aid from French	Pageot to Min., 24 Sept. 1842, ANS 2 B 20.
4 Aug. 1843	The French attacked Cascas and burned it to the ground	<i>Ibid.</i> ; Bouet, at Cascas, to Almamy, 4 Aug. 1843, ANS 3 B 63.
Aug. 1843	Almamy removed from office because of attack on Cascas	Bouet to Min., 10 Aug. 1843, ANS 2 B 22.
Oct. 1843	Discussions, on demand of Almamy and leaders of Futa, between Governor Bouet and	Almamy M. Biran and principal chiefs to Gov., n.d. ANFOM Sénégal IV 19 g ;

<i>Date</i>	<i>Events</i>	<i>Sources</i>
	Almamy Mamadu Biran to determine final payment of indemnity	Bouet to Min., 31 Oct. 1843, ANS 2 B 22.
Feb.-Apr. 1844	Almamy Mamadu Biran and troops intervened on side of Moktar Sidy in Brakna succession dispute, were defeated in battle of 7 March. Bossea chiefs then agreed to depose M. Biran	Caille to Gov., 22 Apr. 1844, ANFOM Sénégal IV 19 g.
Late May 1844	Governor Bouet kidnapped Moktar Sidy of Brakna and exiled him to Gabon	Bouet to Min., 25 May 1844, ANS 2 B 22.
June 1844	Mamadu Biran and troops involved in Brakna civil war, against Ulad Siyed fraction and again defeated	Caille to Gov., 12 June 1844, ANFOM Sénégal IV 19 g.
10-11 June 1844	French destroyed villages of Mao and Doué in Toro	<i>Ibid.</i>
Mid-June 1844	M. Biran again deposed as Almamy, flees to Jolof to avoid facing council of Futa	Gov. p.i. Laborel to Min., 28 June and 9 July 1844, ANS 2 B 24.
Mid-July 1844	Peace concluded between Brakna and Futa, at which all chiefs swore to call Governor of Senegal as mediator in any future disputes	Laborel to Min., 24 July 1844, ANS 2 B 24.
24 July 1844	Peace concluded between French and Futa	Gov. Thomas to Min., 31 July 1844, ANS 2 B 24.
Nov. 1844	French Governor sends two iron-clad vessels through the marigot of Doué for first time to impress Futa. People withdraw to interior	Thomas to Min., 7 Dec. 1844, ANS 2 B 24.
Feb.-Mar. 1846	Futa army joined Bundu to attack Guidimakha, disbanded almost immediately. Bundu also calling on Bambuk for aid	Paul Holle to Gov., 19 Jan., 6 Mar. 1846, ANS 13 G 165.
May 1846	Kaarta forces come to help Guidimakha, attack upper Futa, are repulsed with losses	Paul Holle to Gov., 19 May 1846, ANS 13 G 165.
Early 1847	Contention among leading chiefs of Futa over distribution of customs payments received from shipping on river (from French)	Eliman Rindiao and partisans to Gov. and Caille, 10 Apr. 1847, ANS 13 G 139.
June 1847	Al-Hajj Umar Tal on voyage in Senegal valley	Al-Hajj Omar to Sultan Ndar and Col. Caille, received 25 June 1847, ANS 13 G 139.

<i>Date</i>	<i>Events</i>	<i>Sources</i>
Mid-late 1847	Great suffering in Futa because of shortage of millet and salt and serious epidemic among herds	Duchâteau to Min., 29 Nov. 1847; Baudin to Min., 3 Dec. 1847, ANS 2 B 27.
Nov. 1847	State of hostility between Futa and Saint-Louis ended by giving of 6 hostages from Futa to the Governor and resumption of trade	Duchâteau to Min., 29 Nov. 1847; Baudin to Min., 3 Dec. 1847, ANS 2 B 27.
July 1848	Lam Toro and (Eliman Rindiao) Falilu request Governor to build fort in Podor	Duchâteau to Min., 19 July 1848, ANS 2 B 27.
July 1848	Hostility between Dimar and Saint-Louis because of attack on French boat in Dimar. Toro opposes Dimar's refusal to make reparation. Continuing bad relations between Dimar and Saint-Louis in 1848-49	<i>Ibid.</i>
Sept.-Oct. 1848	Army of Futa left to help Goye <i>vs.</i> Guidimakha but returned to Futa before reaching Goye	Paul Holle to Dir. of External Affairs, 28 Aug. and 20 Oct. 1848, ANS 13 G 165.
21 July 1849	French pillaged and burned villages of Fanaye, killing more than 75 Tokolor, to punish Dimar for exactions made on traders of Senegal in past years	Capt. Deyris to Gov., 26 July 1849, ANS 1 D 4; Baudin to Min., 4 Aug. 1849, Duprat to Gov., 30 Nov. 1850, ANS 13 G 33.
4 Feb. 1850	Treaty of peace between Futa and Senegal, concerning payment of reparations and giving of hostages by Futa to the French	ANS 3 B 96.
Oct. 1851	Great ferment and division among chiefs of Futa over distribution of customs payments collected from traders on river	Duprat to Gov., 27 Oct. 1851, ANS 5 B 14.
May 1852	Ndiak Moktar, Tukolor minister of the Brakna emir, assassinated by one of his cousins	Protet to Min., 8 June 1852 ANS 2 B 30.
Jan. 1854	Amadu Hamat assassinates the Saint-Louis trader, Malivoire, at Nganno	Brossard to Gov., 11 Mar. 1854, ANS 5 B 14.
23-24 Mar. 1854	French capture Podor, begin rebuilding fort there in 28 March	Colomb to Gov., "Rapport du chef d'état-major de l'expédition de Podor," n.d., ANS 1 D 7, piece no. 308.

<i>Date</i>	<i>Events</i>	<i>Sources</i>
6-5 May 1854	French attack, burn Dialmatch (capital of Dimar)	<i>Ibid.</i>

TABLE XII

MAJOR EVENTS IN FUTA TORO, 1854 TO 1891¹

<i>Date</i>	<i>Events</i>
July 1854	French officer freed by Dialmatch
Oct.-Nov. 1854	French arms embargo in Upper Senegal and Umar's reprisals
Dec. 1854	Faidherbe became governor; Futankobe journeyed to meet Umar in Bambuk
Early 1855	Umarians pressured trade in Upper Senegal; Umar's letters to Saint-Louis
June 1855	Almamy Mamadu Biran deposed Lam Toro Hamat Ali; Bokar Saada deserted Umarian cause
Sept.-Nov. 1856	Struggle in Futa over conditions of trade; Amadu Hamat Sy deposed and Mamadu Biran Wan renamed Almamy
Mar. 1857	French burned Guede
Apr. 1857	Brakna prince Mohamed Sidi seeking Almamy Mamadu Biran's support against Sidi Eli
Apr.-July 1857	Siege of Medine by Umarian forces
Sept.-Oct. 1857	French built Matam fort, razed riverine villages
Feb.-Apr. 1858	Garli barrier constructed
May 1858 - May 1859	Shaykh Umar in Futa Toro
Apr. 1859	French established protectorate over enlarged Toro province
Aug. 1859	French signed treaties with Almamy Mustafa and with Eliman Pete; construction of Salde fort begun
Sept. 1859	French established protectorate over Eastern Futa
Apr. 1860	Almamy Mamadu Biran's trip to Bossea and Eastern Futa
June 1860	Futanke expedition against Jolof
Sept. 1860	French officer treated roughly at Hore-Fonde
May 1861	Amadu Biran Wan elected Almamy
Aug. 1861	Amadu Biran assassinated at Mbumba
Oct. 1861	Eliman Bababe Mamudu elected Almamy
June 1862	Amadu Thierno Demba Ly elected Almamy
July 1862	First battle of Dirmbodya (or Thiew)

1. The main sources for these events are the Podor correspondence (ANS 13 G 120 to 135), Salde correspondence (ANS 13 G 147 to 155) and Matam correspondence (13 G 157 to 162). More detail is given in ROBINSON, *passim*.

<i>Date</i>	<i>Events</i>
Sept. 1862	Bokar Saada and Bakel Commander came to Eastern Futa to mediate dispute; battle of Lumbel (or Bokol)
Dec. 1862	Expedition led by Matam Commander against Tigguere (Ngenar), decapitation of Sire Diye Ba of chiefly family of Matam
Jan.-Feb. 1863	Jaureguiberry's expedition through Futa, skirmish of Didel, assassination of Lam Toro Sire Geladio
Mar. 1863	Amadu Thierno Demba deposed; Samba Umahani installed by French as Lam Toro
June 1863	Mamadu Biran reelected Almamy
Aug. 1863	New treaties with Eastern and Central Futa reaffirming agreements of 1859; Samba Umahani deposed
Sept. 1863	New treaty with Toro and installation of Muley as Lam Toro
Mar.-June 1864	Ami Sidi Eli in virtual exile on north bank of Central Futa
June 1864	Thierno Brahim returned to Koundel
July 1864	French raids at Kaedi and Bossea riverfront; Mamadu Biran's raids in Bossea <i>jeri</i>
Aug. 1864	French appointed Hamady Al-Hajji Kan "Almamy of Damga;" Abdul Bokar captured Ndiot (Futa Ferlo)
Sept. 1864	Matam Commander captured Elfeki Mamadu and Baidy and had them deported to Saint-Louis
Oct. 1864	Mamadu Biran deposed, Amadu Thierno Demba reelected Almamy; Thierno Brahim moved to north bank
Nov. 1864	Regnault signed treaty of Dirmbodya with Futa, reaffirming agreements of 1859 and 1863
Dec. 1864	Abdul Bokar and Aydi sacked Mbumba, first time
Jan. 1865	Abdul Bokar and Aydi sacked Mbumba, second time; Mamadu Biran fled to Podor; refugees from Jolof and Maba's campaigns began to come to Futa
Apr. 1865	Thierno Brahim defeated Matam contingent
June 1865	Tunka and allies defeated Thierno Brahim at Moudery
July 1865	Refugees from Jolof began to come in greater numbers to Futa
Aug. 1865	Rasin Selli Talla elected Almamy
Sept. 1865	French sent gunboats to Damga to protect against Thierno Brahim
Oct. 1865	Thierno Brahim moved west along north bank
Dec. 1865	Samba Umahani returned to Toro with "Nioro" and Central Futa support
Jan.-May 1866	Abdul Bokar's expedition of reconciliation with Bokar Saada
Mar. 1866	Matam Commander captured Baba Var
Aug. 1866	French built Aere fort
Oct. 1866	Almamy Alhassan Baro deposed
Apr. 1867	Bokar Saada and Abdul Bokar made expedition against Tambacounda (Wuli)
Aug. 1867	Saada Tapsir Baba Wan elected Almamy

<i>Date</i>	<i>Events</i>
Nov. 1867	Thierno Brahim attacked Waounde
May 1868	Abdul Bokar's coalition defeated Thierno Brahim, first time
Nov. 1868 - May 1869	Cholera epidemic in Futa
Feb. 1869	Thierno Brahim attacked Waounde, Seno Palel
May 1869	Abdul Bokar's coalition defeated Thierno Brahim, second time; Thierno Brahim killed
June 1869	Amadu and Ibra Madiyu defeated Serigne Coki; French destroyed Wuro Madiyu
Aug. 1869	French named Samba Umahani Lam Toro
Oct. 1869	Aere Commander assassinated; battle of Petogne; inauguration of Sambe Umahani as Lam Toro; French gunboats retaliated against Aere
Nov. 1869	Trade stopped because of Madiyanke harassment in Halaybe, Law; Sambe Umahani repelled Madiyanke attack on Guede
Feb. 1870	French (Treve) expedition against Madiyankobe in Toro, Aere, Halaybe
Mar. 1870	Amadu Madiyu travelled through Central Futa
Nov. 1870	Battles of Nenette and Mboyo Dieri (Toro)
Dec. 1870	Most Madiyankobe withdrew to Jolof
Feb. 1871	Abdul Bokar defeated Bubu Sire Any at Sindi, made exactions on Eastern Futa families
Mar.-May 1871	Abdul Bokar in Khasso, returned with Dinding Sambala
July 1871	Ibra Almamy and Bubu Sire went to Jolof and Cayor for aid
Aug. 1871	Battle of Anyam Touguel, death of Muley
Sept. 1871	French sent gunboat to protect Guede
Oct. 1871	Cayorian army came to Futa, withdrew; Madiyanke destruction of Gamadji, Lerabe, Ndioum (Toro)
Mar. 1872	Battle of Dyorodu
May 1872	Encounters of Louggere, Wending and Abdallah; Paldié agreement
June 1872	Lat Dior and Amadu Madiyu severed their alliance
Apr. 1873	Battle of Bofel
May 1873	Battles of Thiankine and Bari
June 1873	Malik Thiam elected Almamy; Ibra Almamy returned from Cayor
Oct. 1873	Madiyankobe defeated and destroyed Pete
Nov. 1873	Baidy Elfeki killed Thierno Tellol Sire Thierno Abdul at Kanel
Feb. 1874	Abdul Bokar expelled Baidy Elfeki from Eastern Futa
Feb. 1875	Battle of Samba Sadio (Cayor)
Mar. 1875	Ibra Almamy executed Saada Wan and family
Apr. 1875	Baidy Elfeki accidentally killed
July 1875	Meetings of reconciliation at Dirmbodya

<i>Date</i>	<i>Events</i>
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Aug. and Nov. 1875	Abdul Bokar raided Kanel
Mar. 1876	Battle of Lilia
May 1876 - June 1876	Battle of Lobouguel, death of Mamadu Siley An Abdul Bokar's coalition sacked Mbumba; Ibra Almamy went to Western Senegal
Aug. 1876	Governor Brière visited posts of middle valley
Sept. 1876	Bra Madiyu led raids against Yirlabe and Law
Oct. 1876	Ibra Almamy visited Brière in Saint-Louis
Apr. 1877	Samba Umahani seized Central Futa cattle
May 1877	Abdul Bokar in Upper Senegal to arbitrate dispute; Ibra Almamy and Ismaila Siley An returned to Saint-Louis
Aug. 1877	Mamadu Amadu Ly elected Almamy
Sept. 1877	Brière journeyed to Central Futa
Oct. 1877	French column at Meri, Mamadu Amadu deposed, Galoya Treaty
Jan. 1878	Ibra Almamy and Ismaila Siley signed treaties of protectorate in Saint-Louis
Feb. 1878	Ibra Almamy seized Boki and Walalde
Apr. 1878	Ndiaye Baro reelected Almamy; boundary agreement signed by Ibra Almamy and Lam Toro Samba
June 1878	Samba Gurmel assassinated at Wasetake
Oct. 1878	Mamadu Mbowba named Lam Toro
June 1879	Meetings of reconciliation under auspices of Shaykh Sidya al-Baba
Oct. 1879	Mamadu Lamin Ly elected Almamy
Nov. 1879	Bu El Mogdad met with Futanke leaders at Mbolo Ali Sidi
Dec. 1879	Jacquemart and Monteil missions in Futa and Ferlo
Apr. 1880	Matam Commander attacked Bra Madiyu
June 1880	Telegraph line completed to Salde
Oct. 1880	Brière travelled to Futa, was not received; telegraph poles burned at Barga (Worgo) and Diaba; Mamadu Lamin deposed and expelled from Hore-Fonde
Feb.-May 1881	Pons column in Central Futa, activities of Mamadu Mbowba
May 1881	Gababe Treaties with Abdul Bokar; Kaedi Treaty with Aydi; Mamadu Mbowba deposed as Lam Toro
June 1881	Hamme Gaisiri elected Lam Toro
Aug. 1882	French sent gunboat to Mbumba to protect Ibra Almamy
July 1883	Dispute of Cascas and Ibra Almamy erupted; French sent gunboats to Central Futa
Aug. 1883	Mbolo Ali Sidi Treaties with Abdul Bokar and other leaders
Sept. 1883	French officer negotiating at Kaedi about future post
Oct. 1883	Cascas dispute with Ibra Almamy reemerged
Nov. 1883	Abdul Bokar invaded Law, attacked Mbumba; Ibra Almamy

<i>Date</i>	<i>Events</i>
	defeated him at Gollere; Voyron column invaded Central Futa, destroyed Dabiya Odedji, Cascas, Hayre Mbar
Dec. 1883	Albury Ndiaye sent Jolof contingents to support Abdul Bokar
June 1884	Abdul Bokar and Jolof contingents sacked Mbumba, suffered defeat at Louggue
Apr. 1885	Treaty between Albury and French, with Mamadu Abdul present; Samba Nguma emigrated to east, defeating Ibra Almamy's forces and contacting Abdul Bokar
Aug. 1885	Treaties of Hore-Fonde between Abdul Bokar and French
Feb. 1886	Saer Maty defeated Biram Cisse and Abdul Bokar at Saba (Rip)
Apr. 1886	Mamadu Lamin laid siege to Bakel; Superior Commander Frey put Mamadu Lamin on defensive
Dec. 1887	Sidikh deposed, Hamady Natago chosen Lam Toro
Mar. 1888	Allys travelled to Boki Diave to see Abdul Bokar, arranged Koile Tekke meeting of Abdul and Ibra Almamy
Oct. 1888	Murtada began recruiting in Futa and Jolof; seizure of slave porters near Salde by Saint-Louis traders
Mar. 1889	Hamady Natago died, Sidi Abdul chosen Lam Toro
Apr. 1889	Bubu Haba Ly chosen Almamy of Futa (?)
May 1890	Dodds invaded Jolof, Albury Ndiaye fled to Futa
June 1890	French gave ultimatum to Abdul to expel Albury; Futanke chiefs refused hospitality to Albury; Abdul and Albury moved to north bank and Kaedi
July 1890	Ibra Almamy prevented Law dissidents from joining Abdul
Aug. 1890	French bombarded Kaedi, began construction of fort; some Jolof returned to their homeland; Jeandet reorganized Toro
Sept. 1890	Jeandet assassinated in Aere
Oct. 1890	Shaykh Mamadu Mamudu named chief of Eastern Futa by French
Nov. 1890	Shaykh Mamadu assassinated at Horndolde
Jan. 1891	Archinard captured Nioro; many Futankobe began to return to west
Jan.-Feb. 1891	Dodds and auxiliaries invaded Futa, established protectorates in Central and Eastern Futa
May 1891	Abdul Bokar attempted to regain control of Eastern Futa
Aug. 1891	Death of Abdul Bokar