

A Sketch-map  
History of  
West Africa

NORAH LATHAM



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A Sketch-map History of West Africa



# A Sketch-map

## History of West Africa

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*Maps drawn by Pierre Savoie*

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## Preface

This text book is intended for the use of the middle forms of secondary schools where the history of West Africa forms part of the syllabus for the West African School Certificate of Education. The aim has been to produce only a brief outline of the main events. The idea developed in the light of experience with students whose limited knowledge of English made it difficult for them to abstract information from more detailed books. It is hoped that by supplying a summary of the most important developments, much of the labour spent in making and dictating notes may be avoided and more time left for explanation and further reading.

A large number of sketch-maps is provided since the existing historical atlases are too expensive for most schools and too complicated for the young student. The frequent use of simple maps should encourage the greater use of the historical atlas by those who proceed to more advanced studies.

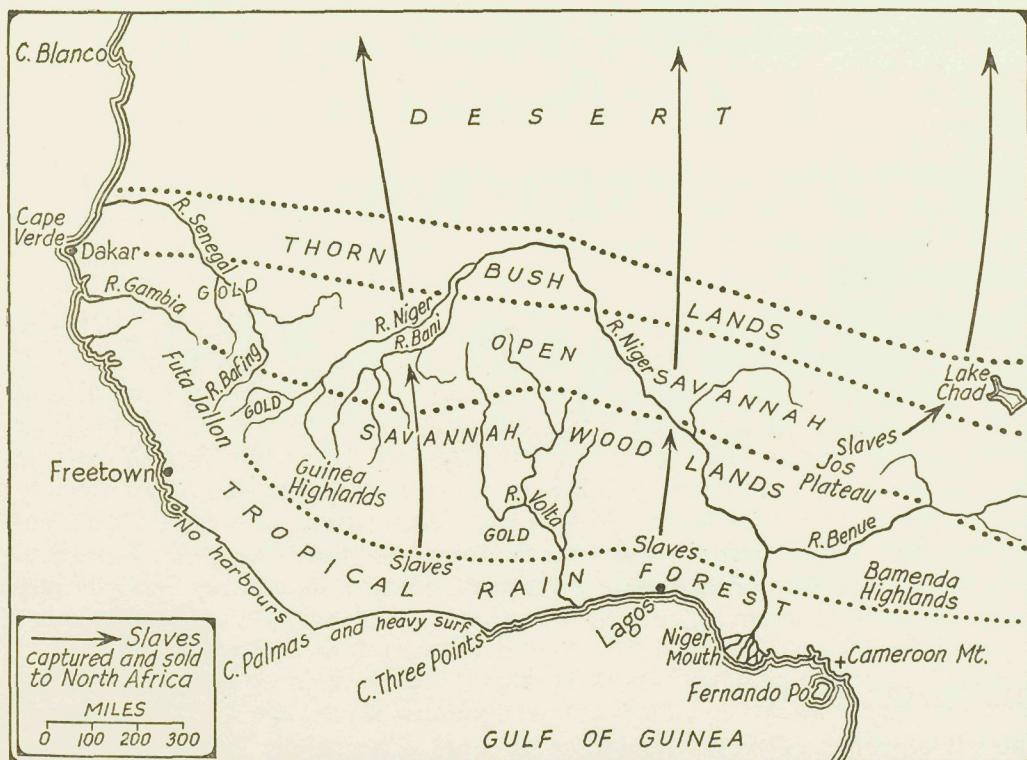
# 1 The Geography and its Influence on History

By West Africa we mean that part of Africa lying south of the Sahara, bounded on the west and south by the Atlantic Ocean, and on the east by the present eastern boundary of Nigeria. The sea is the only true boundary; no physical feature separates either the north or the east from neighbouring regions.

It is a territory watered by four great rivers, the Senegal, the Gambia, the Niger and its tributary the Benue. All of them are navigable for long stretches during the wet season, and have always provided the chief routes of internal communication.

The geographical divisions of West Africa are those resulting from rainfall and vegetation. Along the sea coast there is thick forest merging, some hundred miles or so inland, into open grass country; then comes the thorn bush area and finally the desert. The mountain regions, except Futa Jallon, the Jos plateau and the Cameroons are not sufficiently high to alter the vegetation pattern.

West Africa produces valuable materials for trade. In earlier times the desire for her gold, gums, and slaves sustained the trade routes across the Sahara. Thus what at first sight appears to be an impossible barrier was, in fact, the sole means of contact



The Geography and its Influence on History

with civilization for the greater part of the history of West Africa. Trade increased with the introduction of the camel about 46 B.C.

Along the trade routes came Islam—the religion of the West African savannah lands. It was in this open country south of the desert that the first great empires arose. No geographical barriers arrested their expansion, except the tropical forest to the south.

The Atlantic coast proved almost as great a barrier to contact with civilization as the desert. In the north-west the coast is inhospitable desert; as the tropical latitudes are reached, the coast is barred by dangerous surf or mangrove swamps. Only the Senegal, Gambia, and Sierra Leone "river" provide access to the country. The mouth of the Niger is a maze of small rivers so that for centuries it went unrecognized. Other rivers impede progress either by shallows or rapids near the mouth. The only good natural harbours from Cape Verde to Fernando Po are Dakar, Freetown and Lagos.

Even after Europeans landed on the coast, they found it difficult to travel inland. Tsetse fly killed draught animals; malaria and yellow fever killed men. The forest paths were so narrow that the only form of transport was head portage. The forest also proved a refuge for the more primitive races, driven there by warlike tribes from the desert pushing into the grass country.

## 2

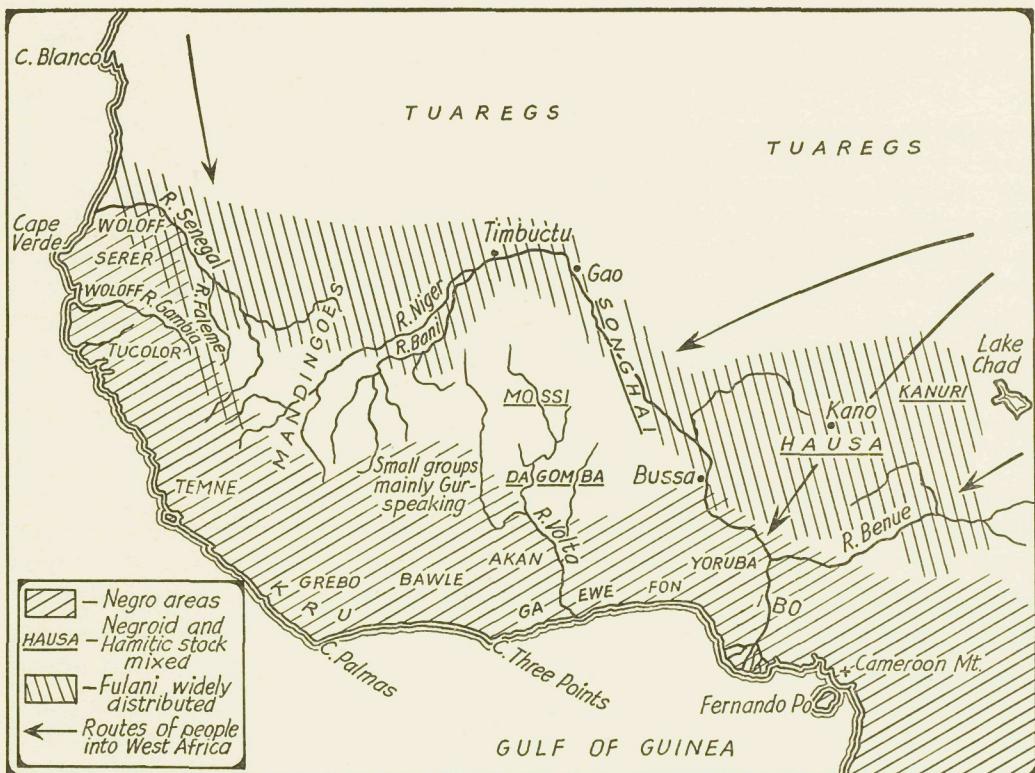
# The Peoples of West Africa

### THE NEGROES

In historical times West Africa has always been known as Negro-land, though Negro races live right across Africa from the Atlantic to the Red Sea between latitudes 17° and 5° north. But by far the largest proportion live in West Africa. The tradition of most of the peoples of the region is that they came from the east. Recent language studies tend to support that view even for the Negroes. Nowadays most of the pure Negroes live in the forest areas, which were not so easily penetrated by invaders. In the Senegal region are the Serers, Woloffs and Tucolors; east of them are the Mandingoes, then to the south, in and near the forest the Kru, Akan, Ga, Ewe, Fon, Yoruba and Ibo. Most of the people to the north of them, though apparently Negro, have a tradition of intermixture with white races.

### THE WHITE RACES

The white peoples of West Africa have belonged either to the Hamitic or Semitic groups.



The Peoples of West Africa

### *The Hamites*

Probably in very early times Hamitic peoples from Egypt penetrated by way of the lake regions to the Benue. Another wave of Hamitic invaders came when the Berbers of North Africa retreated before the pressure of other groups. Between the first and thirteenth centuries tribes crossed the Sahara. Some occupied the southern fringe of the desert as nomads. Among these were the Tuaregs. Others went further south and intermarried with the native people. The Mossi and Dagomba in the territory between the Volta rivers, the Songhai on the Niger between Gao and Bussa, the Hausa-speaking peoples spread over all the land bounded by the Niger, Benue and Lake Chad, and the Kanuri of Bornu are all of mixed Hamitic and Negro stock.

### *The Semites*

Only small groups of Arabs ever settled in West Africa and they were traders in the large towns. Timbuctu, Gao and Kano had their Arab quarters. Some Berbers also had a mixture of Arab blood.

Jews first moved south during the Roman period in North Africa, but further groups followed at the time of both the Barbarian and Arab invasions. It is thought by some that the white people who founded the empire of Ghana were Jews. Some authorities also believe that the Fulani were originally Jews, but their origin is still a mystery.

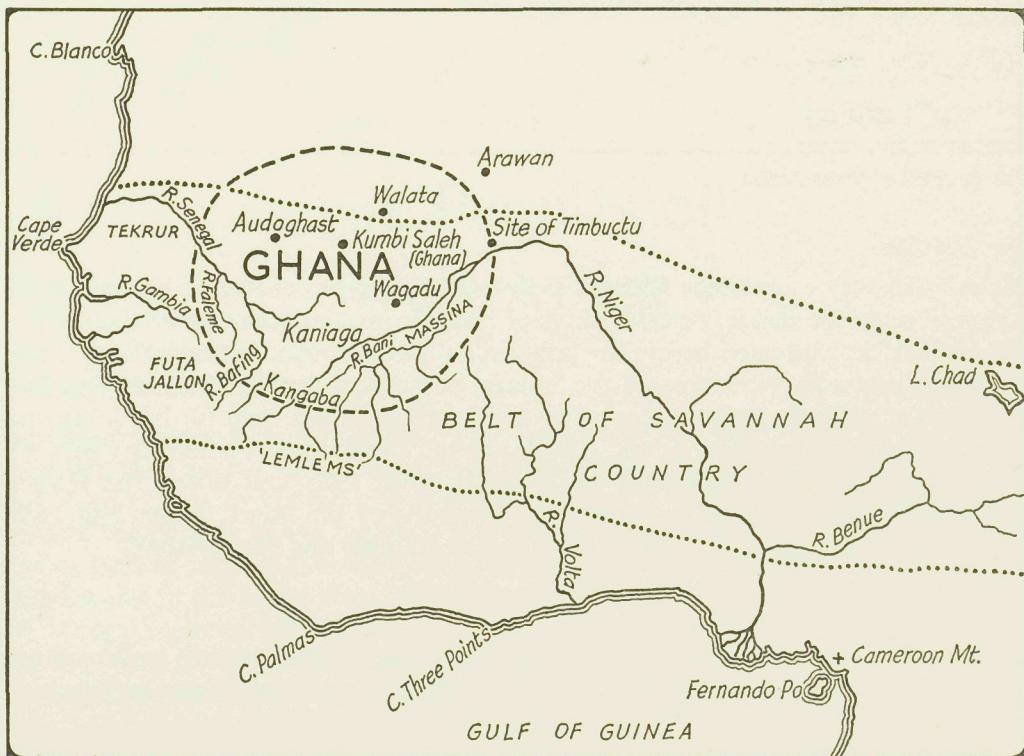
### 3 The Empires of Western Sudan

#### INTRODUCTION

Powerful military empires succeeded one another in the belt of savannah country stretching from the Atlantic to Lake Chad. A ruler leading an army equipped with swiftly moving cavalry, mounted on camels or horses and possessing superior weapons brought from North Africa, was able to extend his dominions easily in this country. These empires, once established, were remarkable for the safety with which merchants could travel about. Arab writers, who either questioned travellers or visited the lands themselves, have told us all we know.

#### GHANA

The earliest empire, that of Ghana, was built up around the town of Kumbi Saleh about 200 miles north of Bamako. From the second to the eighth centuries it was ruled by a white race. There were forty-four white rulers. Then in A.D. 770 Ghana was conquered by Kaya Maghan, a black Mandingo ruler. Under this new dynasty



Ghana at its greatest extent

the empire expanded until early in the eleventh century it stretched from the central Senegal to the site of Timbuctu, north into the Sahara, and south to the "countries of the Lemlem", pagans who were enslaved.

Ghana was famous for its great market to which traders from North Africa flocked to obtain gold, slaves, ivory, kola-nuts, honey, and cotton, in return for salt, copper vessels, dried fruits, and rich textiles.

The rival of Ghana at this time was Audoghast, which was converted to Islam by the Almoravids. It became the base of their leader Abubakr. He conquered Ghana in A.D. 1076. However, within a few years Ghana regained its independence and though some of the outlying parts of the empire broke away, the city remained a flourishing trading centre for more than a hundred years after. Some rulers, though pagan, employed Muslim officials, the treasurer, the interpreter and the vizier. The Muslim residents had their own town of stone with eleven mosques, some little distance from the pagan city of mud and wattle. In A.D. 1203 Ghana was again captured, this time by Sumanguru of Kaniaga. The Arab merchants moved north and built themselves a new town at Walata. In A.D. 1240 Sundiata, the ruler of Mali, sacked Ghana and it then disappeared from history.

### KANIAGA

Another though smaller empire, called Kaniaga, grew up to the south of Ghana. Between A.D. 1100 and 1120 Fulani of the Susu clan intermarried with the ruling family, thus founding the Susu dynasty. It was Sumanguru, a member of this dynasty, who seized Ghana in A.D. 1203. His ambition led him to attack the state of Kangaba and kill all the royal family except the weakly Sundiata. Sundiata gathered together an army and attacked and killed Sumanguru near Koulikoro in A.D. 1235. Relations of Sumanguru fled to Tekrur.

### TEKRUR

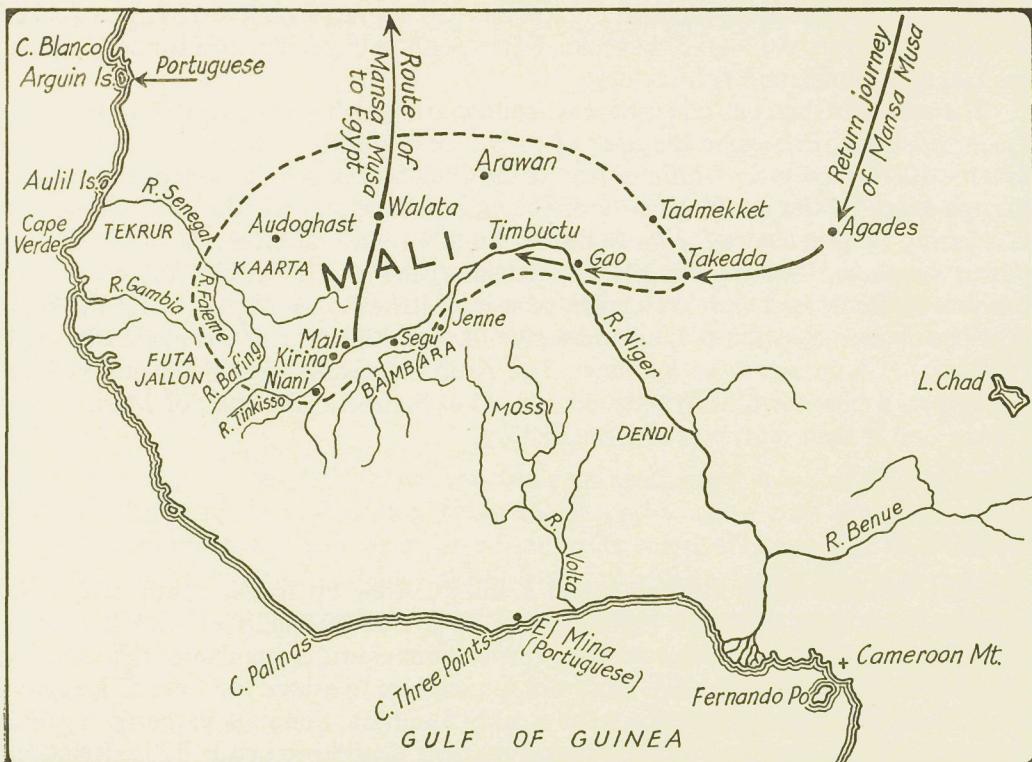
Tekrur, originally inhabited by Tucolors, was an ancient state which at one time covered much of the west coast of the Sudan. It was well known to Arab geographers. A certain Ismail, possibly a white refugee from Ghana, seems to have founded the state about A.D. 800. The ruler became Muslim in A.D. 1040, and supported the Almoravid, Abubakr. In the thirteenth century Susu refugees from Kaniaga founded another dynasty, but they, in turn, were conquered by Woloffs.

In the sixteenth century, a Fulani chief Koli Galadjo wiped out the Woloff chiefs. It was from this area that the Fulani spread across Western Sudan to Hausaland and Bornu.

### MALI

Mali was the first African empire to earn the respect of the Muslim states of North Africa. The fame of its wealth and the learning of its scholars persisted in Europe long after the empire itself had perished.

About the middle of the eleventh century the rulers of the little state of Kangaba were converted to Islam. They began to push both south and south-east. This expansion aroused the hostility of Sumanguru of Kaniaga. He attacked and killed all the



Mali under Mansa Musa

leaders except Sundiata. Some time later Sundiata had his revenge by defeating and killing Sumanguru at Kirina near Koulakoro. Within five years he captured the whole of the Susu empire and destroyed Ghana. He moved his capital to a new site at Niani, which was then called Mali. The empire took its name from this town. Later it was moved still further north. In time Mali exceeded the wealth and prestige of Ghana.

#### *Mansa Musa. A.D. 1307-32*

Mali reached the height of its power during the reign of Sundiata's grandson, Mansa Musa. According to the writer Ibn Khaldun, he was "distinguished by his ability and by the holiness of his life". The boundaries of Mali extended from Futa Jallon to Aukar; north into the Sahara to include Walata, Arawan, Tadmekket and Takedda. Trade with North Africa and Egypt flourished; presents were exchanged with rulers of the Barbary coast, and an ambassador was kept at Fez.

#### *The Pilgrimage to Mecca. A.D. 1324-26*

Mansa Musa's fame spread throughout Europe and the Middle East because of the magnificence displayed on his pilgrimage to Mecca. He travelled by a circular route through Walata to Tuat and Egypt. He returned by way of Ghadames and Gao. There were 60,000 persons in his train. Twelve thousand slaves carried his personal belongings; special cooks provided banquets wherever he stopped. The 50,000 ounces of gold which he took to cover expenses was insufficient, but he had no difficulty in

borrowing more in Egypt for the return journey. While in Egypt he heard of the capture of Gao by one of his generals. He decided, therefore, to visit Gao on the return journey.

Meanwhile, he had persuaded the Andalusian poet and architect Es-Saheli to return with him to Mali. At Gao, Es-Saheli was employed in replacing the poor mosque of clay by one of burnt brick. From Gao, Mansa Musa took back to Mali the ruler's two sons as hostages.

Timbuctu was now famous as a centre of both trade and learning. Es-Saheli was set to work to build a new mosque and a palace for Mansa Musa. Scholars from all parts flocked to study at the Sakore mosque, part of which remained when Barth visited the city in the 1850's.

#### *Decline*

The power of Mali declined after the death of Mansa Musa, except for a short time while his brother Mansa Suleiman was ruling. It was then that Ibn Battuta visited the Sudan (see page 23). Gao had already won its independence; the Tuaregs recaptured Timbuctu, Walata and Arawan; tribes from Tekrur and Mossi raided the frontiers. In the early sixteenth century, the rulers of Mali sought the help of the Portuguese, who were established in Arguin and El Mina. The Portuguese would not help Muslims. In the seventeenth century Mali was captured by the Bambaras of Segu and Kaarta. The last sovereign retired to Kangaba.

### THE SONGHAI EMPIRE

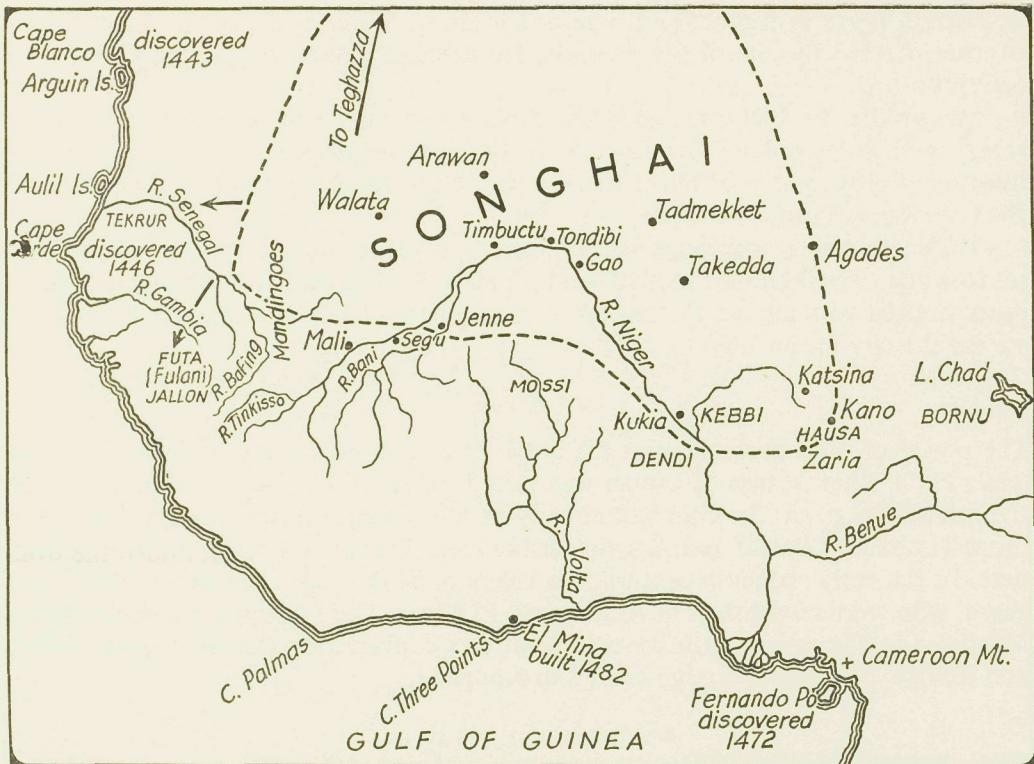
About A.D. 700 farmers living in Dendi accepted, as rulers, pagan Berbers of the Lemta tribe. They founded the Dia dynasty with its capital at Kukia. Dia Kossi, the fifteenth prince of the dynasty, became Muslim in A.D. 1010. He moved the capital to Gao because it was nearer the caravan routes. The city became both wealthy and prosperous, trading with Egypt and North Africa. For a short time it was part of the Mali empire, and the two sons of the ruler were hostages at the court of Mansa Musa. In A.D. 1335 they escaped. Ali Kolen, the elder, re-established the independence of Gao. He was known as Sonni Ali I.

#### *Sonni Ali II. A.D. 1464-92*

Sonni Ali II was an energetic and cruel warrior. He conscripted his subjects for an expedition of plunder to the west. In A.D. 1468 he took Timbuctu from the Tuaregs. Scholars who had not already fled to Walata were persecuted. Five years later he took Jenne; at the same time he had to defend himself against raids of the Mossi from the south, and Fulani from the west. On one occasion the Mossi raided as far as Walata, but could not hold it. A period of chaos followed his death. Then his chief minister, a strictly orthodox Muslim, seized power. He is known as Askia Mohammed.

#### *Askia Mohammed. A.D. 1493-1529*

Under Askia Mohammed the Songhai Empire reached a standard of peace and prosperity which compared very favourably with Europe at the same time. He stopped conscription and had, instead, a well-trained and well-armed standing army.



Songhai about A.D. 1529

Though he fought as many campaigns as his predecessors, the ordinary people carried on their business undisturbed.

Under the influence of Askia Mohammed scholars returned to Timbuctu. It became once more a cultural centre almost as famous as Fez. The markets were strictly controlled; a unified system of weights and measures was introduced. When he felt that his throne was secure, Askia Mohammed went on a pilgrimage to Mecca. His followers impressed the scholars of Egypt and Arabia by their learning. The Caliph of Egypt appointed him as his representative in the Sudan. Askia Mohammed kept up the contacts with Arabian and Egyptian scholars for the rest of his life.

#### *The Campaigns of Askia Mohammed*

In A.D. 1497 he began a series of campaigns to refill the treasury. He attacked the Fulani and Mandingo as far as the borders of Tekrur. He pillaged the Mossi country. Then he made an alliance with the king of Kebbi in order to attack the Hausa states. Gobir, Katsina, Zaria and Kano had to pay tribute to him. Then Agades and Teghazza were taken from the Berbers.

By A.D. 1529, Askia Mohammed was old and blind. His eldest son deposed him, and then for twenty years there was a disputed succession. The collapse of the empire was prevented for a time by Askia Daud A.D. 1549-82.

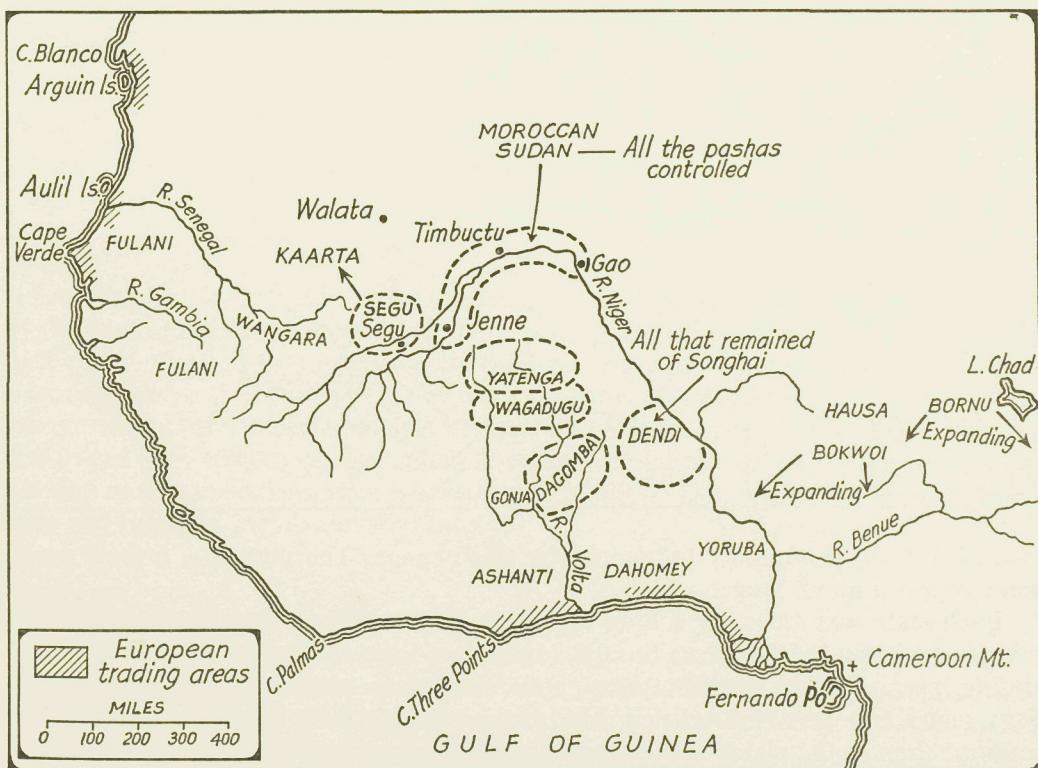
### *The Fall of the Songhai Empire*

The wealth of the Sudan had always been the envy of Morocco. In spite of threats from the Christians in Spain and the Turks in North Africa, El Mansur determined to seize the Sudan. First he attacked the salt mines of Teghazza. Then in A.D. 1590 he sent an army under Judar Pasha across the desert. It was equipped with firearms, hitherto unknown in the Sudan, except for Bornu. The ruler of Songhai, Askia Ishak II, was defeated at Tondibi, and the great Songhai empire collapsed under the attacks of Moors, Fulani and Tuaregs.

### THE MOORISH SUDAN

The Moors did not gain as much gold as they had hoped. The Moorish army could only keep order in the towns like Gao, Jenne and Timbuctu. Elsewhere chaos increased; trade declined and with it the supply of gold.

The Moorish soldiers killed the scholars and destroyed the libraries in Timbuctu, Gao and Walata. In North Africa learning also disappeared after the Turkish con-



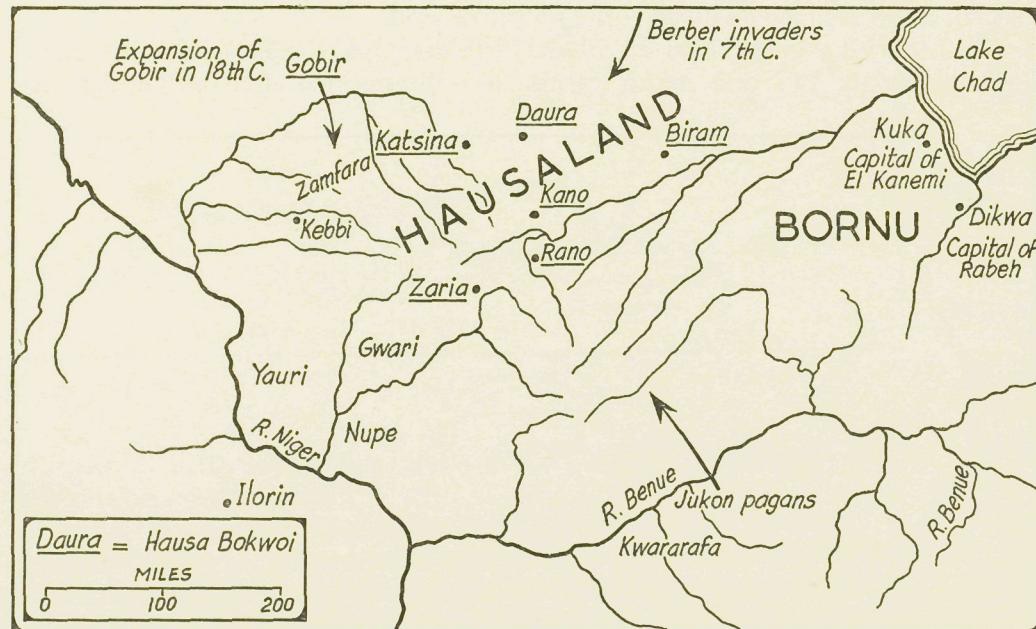
Moorish Sudan

quest. Thus the Sudan was cut off from civilization. The Moorish army broke off its allegiance to Morocco in the seventeenth century. Gao and Jenne became independent of the pashas of Timbuctu. The Western Sudan returned to a poverty and ignorance unknown there for centuries.

## HAUSALAND

There is no Hausa race, but only Hausa-speaking peoples scattered over the area stretching from the Niger-Benue junction to the desert south of Agades. Probably as early as the seventh century a Negroid race of farmers was settled in agricultural communities there. Almost at the same time as the Lemta invaded Songhai, another Berber tribe moved into Hausaland. They intermarried with the native peoples and brought with them certain crafts, notably ironworking.

Originally there appear to have been seven Hausa states (Hausa Bokwoi): Daura, Kano, Rano, Zaria, Gobir, Katsina, and Biram. As Hausa influence penetrated further south, seven others were formed (Banza Bokwoi): Zamfara, Kebbi, Nupe, Gwari, Yauri, Kwararafa, and Ilorin. The Hausas were pagans at first, but about the fourteenth century the ruling class seem to have accepted Islam. The government and



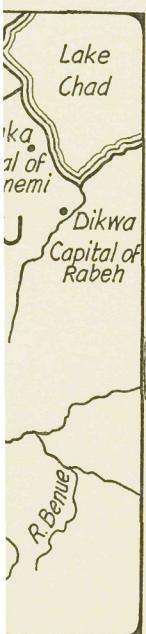
social life were profoundly influenced by this change. The peasants, however, remained pagan much longer.

Each state was ruled by a king and took its name from the chief town. They remained largely independent, though sometimes, as a result of wars, one state or another became dominant. Hausaland was at one time overrun by Bornu; Katsina, Zaria and Kano were tributaries of Mali; Jukon pagans from the Benue ravaged the country; then in the eighteenth century Gobir, having freed herself from the desert tribes, conquered first Zamfara and then other parts of Hausaland.

## BORNU

Bornu was part of the great empire of Kanem mentioned by El Bekri in A.D. 1067. Since it lay at the crossroads of the great caravan routes the people are very mixed,

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but the dominant group are the Kanuri of mingled Negroid, Arab and Hamitic stock. Islam reached Kanem by the eleventh century. By the thirteenth century, the empire stretched from the Niger to the Nile, and from Fezzan to Adamawa. During this period Kanem embassies visited Tunis. Then wars with the Bulala tribe caused the Mai Omar to abandon Kanem and build a new capital in Bornu.

A powerful state was organized from the new centre; Bornu was even shown on a Portuguese map of A.D. 1489. By the sixteenth century Kanem was regained. The military predominance of Bornu at this time was due to the muskets obtained from Tripoli. After the glorious reign of Mai Idris (A.D. 1571-1603) the empire gradually declined.

In A.D. 1806 it was so weak that the ruler Ahmed fled before the conquering Fulani and the country was saved by the fanatical zeal of Mohammed Amina el Kanemi, a scholar of great sanctity. He restored the Sultan but retained the power, ruling from his city of Kuka. He defeated both the Baghirmi and Wadai, leaving a strong state on his death in A.D. 1835. His son Omar replaced the Sultan, taking the title of Shehu. By A.D. 1893 Bornu was once more weak. It was seized by Rabe, a military adventurer from the Sudan. He ruled from Dikwa, until he was defeated and killed by the French in A.D. 1900. Then the British took over Bornu and restored a member of El Kanemi's family as the Shehu.

## 4

# Mossi-Dagomba States

After the Moorish invasion the Sudan was cut off from contact with North Africa by the Turks, and from contact with the European traders, who now visited the coast, by a group of warlike states occupying the land between the head waters of the Volta river and the bend of the Niger. These states always seem to have been able to resist the pressure of the ancient empires of Mali and Songhai and even at times to have threatened their territories. The ruling families were supported by a form of ancestor worship so that the government was remarkably stable. Descendants of these families were still ruling in the nineteenth century.

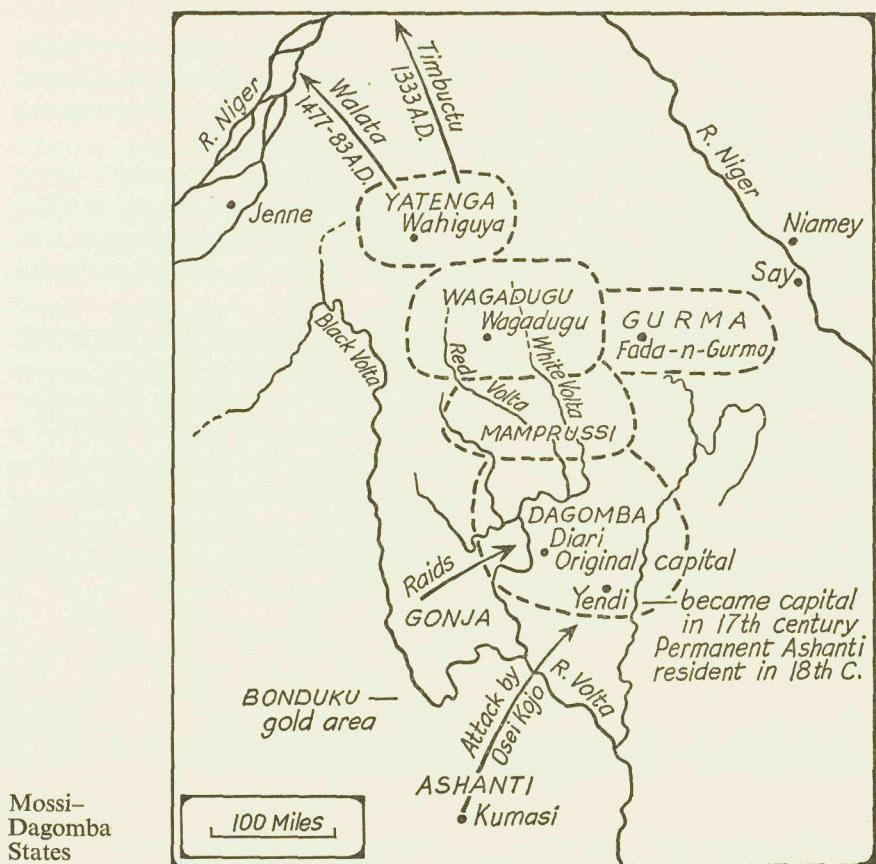
### ORIGIN

The history of the Mossi-Dagomba states is based on oral tradition except for a few references in the Arab writers. The traditions suggest a common origin from an invading race of "red" men who were horsemen and who intermarried with the upper classes of the Negro groups living in the area.

### MOSSI GROUP

Yatenga seems to have been the first of this group to be established and is mentioned by the Arab historians of Mali and Songhai. In A.D. 1333 the king of Yatenga sacked Timbuctu; between A.D. 1477-83 another ruler crossed the Niger and sacked Walata,

A.D. 1067.  
ery mixed,



but was pursued on his return by Sonni Ali II. From the mid-eighteenth century a usurper, Kango, seized power with the aid of the king of Segu and for a century there were family quarrels, which continued until the states fell to the French A.D. 1885-95. Other states in this group were Wagadugu, Gurma and Mamprussi.

### DA GOMBA

Dagomba was the most southerly of the Mossi group and occupied the open country just north of the forest. The capital was first situated near Diari but in the seventeenth century the Gonjas to the south-west became such a menace that the ruler, Na Louro, moved the capital to Yendi. The people of Dagomba acted as middlemen trading in slaves, gold, and kola-nuts obtained from the forest areas, to the Sudan states. In the eighteenth century the rise of the Ashanti confederacy prevented their expansion into the forest. In fact Na Zibirin (A.D. 1752-81) had to submit to Osei Kojo, the Ashanti ruler, and pay him an annual tribute of 2,000 slaves. A permanent delegate from Ashanti resided in the court of Yendi to exact the annual tribute. In A.D. 1895 Dagomba fell to the Germans and was later divided between the Gold Coast and Togoland.

## 5

# The Spread of Islam in West Africa

### ISLAM

The religion of Islam was founded by the prophet Mohammed of Mecca. After his death in A.D. 632 successive leaders spread the new religion east and west.

### NORTH AFRICA

Egypt was conquered by the Arabs in A.D. 639-42. From then on, bands of Arab invaders entered North Africa spreading westwards along the coast. By A.D. 670 Kairouan was a religious centre diffusing the Faith throughout North Africa. The Berbers of the desert eventually accepted the new religion, partly because its teaching gave them an excuse to attack pagan tribes.

### WEST AFRICA

Islam reached West Africa by two routes: first along the Atlantic coast to Senegal and then eastwards across the savannah country; secondly across the desert from Tripoli and Egypt.

#### *Ghana and Mali*

Some Berbers intermarried with the Arabs. People of the mixed race pushed south to the lower Senegal. There a fanatic Muslim sect called the Almoravids grew up. In the eleventh century, Tansina, the king of Audoghast, was converted to Islam and his people the Lemtuna became the spearhead of the Holy War of the Almoravids. In A.D. 1076 Ghana, the pagan capital of the first Sudanese empire, fell to them. The rulers were converted. About the same time the rulers of the small Mandingo kingdom of Kangaba accepted Islam. This state by the thirteenth century had become the empire of Mali from which Muslim scholars later travelled eastwards.

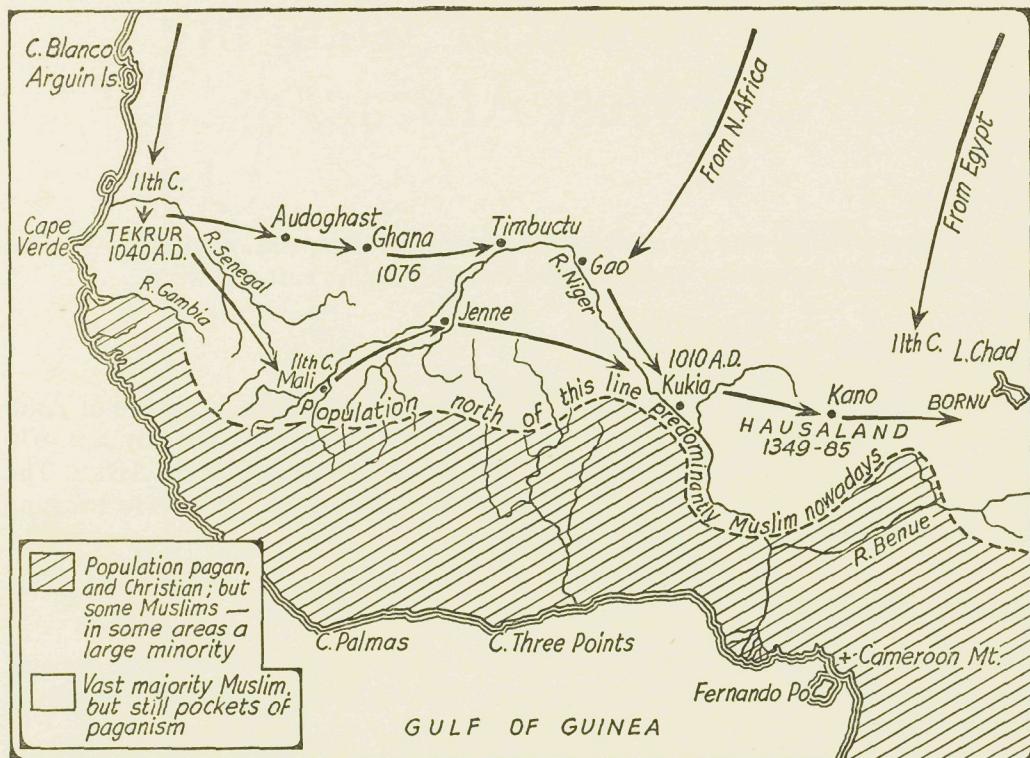
#### *Songhai*

About A.D. 1010, a Berber dynasty with its capital at Kukia adopted Islam, probably through contact with North African traders. Out of this state grew the Songhai empire with its capital at Gao. After Timbuctu had been conquered by the Songhai it became the intellectual centre of the Muslim Sudan, rivalling even Fez.

#### *Hausaland*

The Sarkin Kano was the first Hausa ruler to accept Islam. His conversion took place in the fourteenth century when learned men from Mali arrived there. The first mosque was built in Kano then. In A.D. 1452-63 Fulani scholars visited Hausaland with many books hitherto unknown to the Hausas. However, much fetishism survived among the peasants and even the rulers until the jihad in the nineteenth century.

arabized Berbers → worked earth policy  
'filling in wells, developing of terraces  
and olive groves etc'



The Spread of Islam and Extent of Islam today

#### Bornu

Islam spread around Lake Chad about the eleventh century and was strengthened by traders from Egypt and North Africa. By the thirteenth century it was widespread in the Kanem empire, though the subject races remained pagan until the nineteenth century. When the capital was moved to Bornu in the fourteenth century the Muslim faith was preached by religious teachers from Mali.

## 6 West African Trade with North Africa

### ANCIENT TIMES

Trade between North and West Africa has existed from early times. There are indications that it goes back to ancient Egypt. Herodotus mentions the adventures of five Nasamonians, who, pushing westwards, reached the banks of a great river in which there were crocodiles, and on the banks of which lived a race of black men. This river could have been the Niger. Carthage, and after her Rome, pushed into the desert to establish a frontier against the nomadic tribes who inhabited it. These tribes

acted as middlemen in the trade between North Africa and the Sudan. Early transport was probably by oxen, a method still used in Bornu. The introduction of the camel, though not in general use until about the fourth century A.D., made desert travel easier.

## MIDDLE AGES

As the Arabs pushed in from the east, the North African tribes moved first west and then south. Later the Arabs followed the same route and more frequent contact was made with the Sudan tribes. El Bekri writing in A.D. 1067 describes Negroland in great detail so that trading must have been firmly established. It increased rapidly because races on both sides of the desert possessed goods required by the others.

## MAIN TRADE ROUTES OF THE MIDDLE AGES

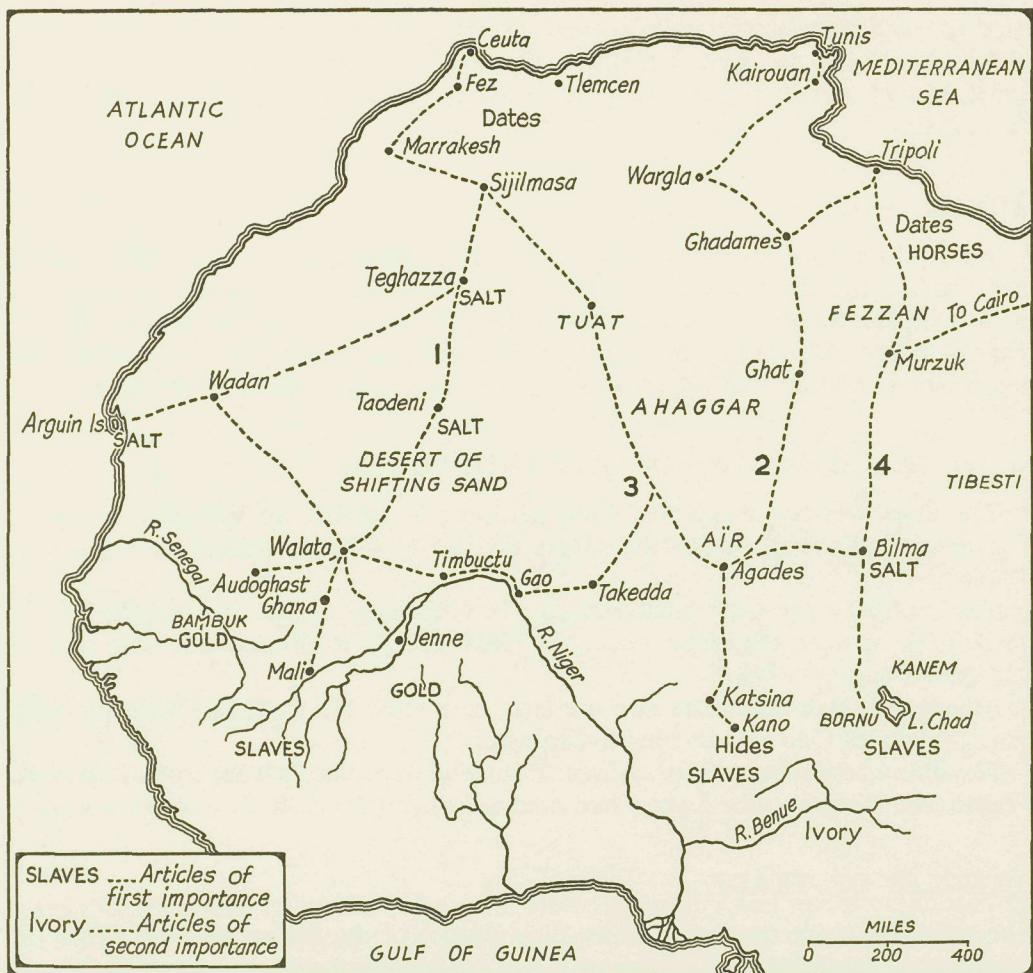
1. The most westerly route was from Morocco beginning at Sijilmasa, going via Teghazza to Walata, whence the routes divided to Ghana, Jenne, Mali and later Timbuctu.
2. The middle route was from Tunisia via Ghadames, Ghat and Agades to the fertile area between the Niger and Lake Chad known as Hausaland. This route is still used today.
3. Another route which came into use later connected North Africa with the Niger bend by way of Gao and thence to Timbuctu.
4. The oldest route from North Africa to the Sudan probably went from Tripoli via Fezzan and Tibesti to the Lake Chad area.

## ARTICLES OF TRADE

The article of trade most needed by the Negroes of the Sudan was salt. That obtainable by those who lived on the coast was not of a kind easily transported through the forest lands. Thus trade routes were early established from the saline deposits at Teghazza, Bilma and later Taodeni by the inhabitants of North Africa, who wanted gold and slaves from the Sudan. The gold traded by Ghana, Mali, Jenne, Timbuctu and Walata was obtained from Bambuk and the gold-bearing areas of the Upper Volta. The captives taken in the wars of expansion by the great Sudanese empires provided a regular supply of slaves. As trade increased other articles were added: beads, cowrie shells, cloth, brass vessels, dried fruits, and horses from the north, ivory, civet, hides and gum from the south. Great trading centres were established north and south of the Sahara, and, as one fell, its place and importance were quickly taken by another. In the north were the towns of Fez, Marrakesh, Tlemcen, Constantine, Kairouan, Tunis, Tripoli, Alexandria, Cairo and Sijilmasa. To the south of the desert were Walata, Ghana, Mali, Timbuctu, Jenne, Gao and Kano.

## METHODS OF TRAVEL

The traders gathered together in large caravans for safety. The meeting place was at certain fixed centres like Sijilmasa at the beginning of the dry season. The traders



The Trade Routes, N. Africa to W. Africa

moved together from oasis to oasis. At certain points guides were picked up for the next stage of the journey. Those who could not keep up with the caravan were left to perish in the sand. South of the Sahara travel was both easier and safer. Guides were still needed, but such order prevailed that it was unnecessary to travel in company or to carry provisions.

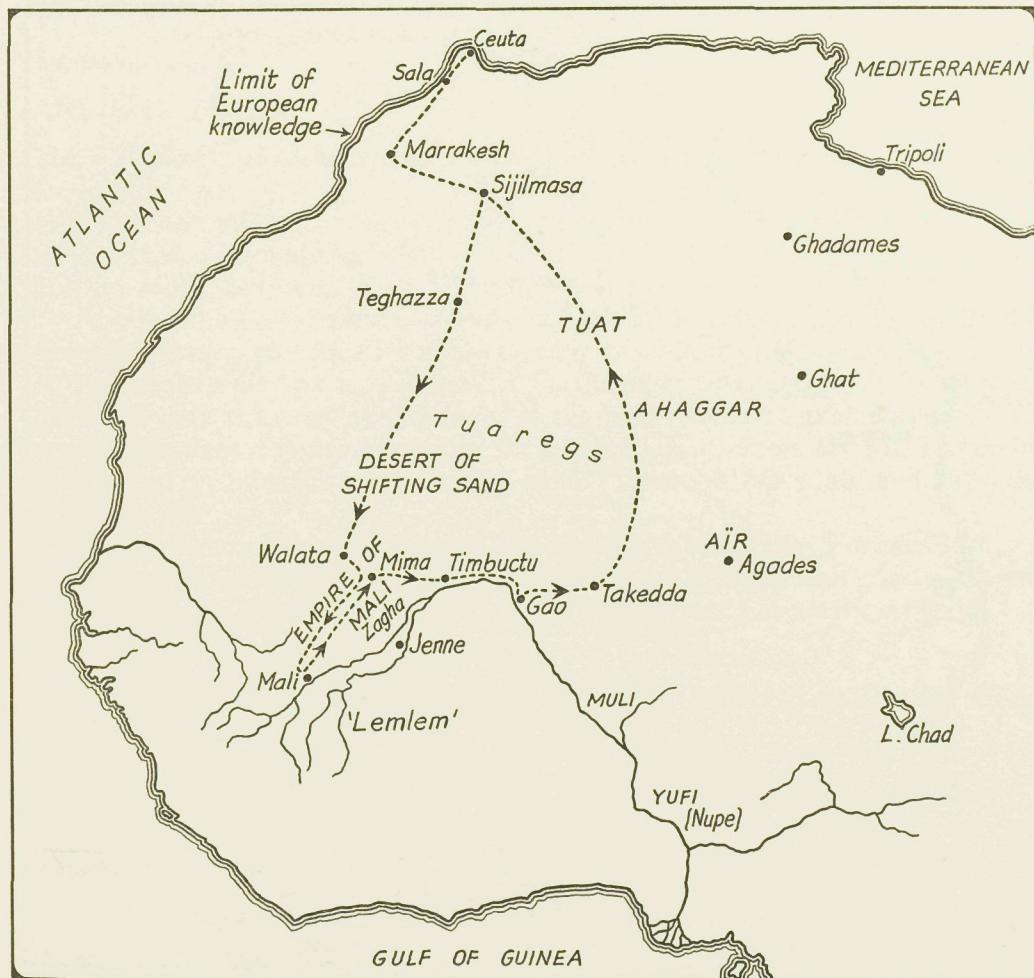
#### THE ORGANIZATION OF THE TRADE

The routes were controlled by the Tuaregs who provided guides, kept the wells in order and levied tolls for these services. Merchants were compelled to use guides, otherwise they might miss the wells. The actual trade was organized by the merchants of North Africa who provided the capital and goods and arranged the caravans. Usually they had agents at the gathering points like Sijilmasa and Walata. These agents collected the articles for trade and provided accommodation for traders during their stay. In Walata, this meant the months of the wet season, for caravans in both directions started off at the end of the rains. The agents were also responsible

for maintaining good relations with the rulers of the Sudanese empires by means of appropriate gifts. We learn all these details from Ibn Battuta and Leo Africanus.

### IBN BATTUTA

Ibn Battuta was born in Tangier about A.D. 1304 from a family long settled there. He belonged to a Berber tribe, the Luata, and received the education of a theologian. At twenty-one he set off on a pilgrimage to Mecca but that journey lasted twenty-four years, during which time he visited both India and China. After his return to Tangier he set off across the Sahara to visit Mali and the West Sudan to complete his knowledge of the Muslim countries. His record is, therefore, the personal account of a traveller to West Africa. His route passed through Sijilmasa, Teghazza, Walata, Mali, Timbuctu, Gao, Takedda and Tuat. He observed the flow of the Niger from west to east but unfortunately his work was not known in Europe. Consequently for centuries Europeans believed that the mouth of the Senegal was the mouth of the great river of the Sudan.



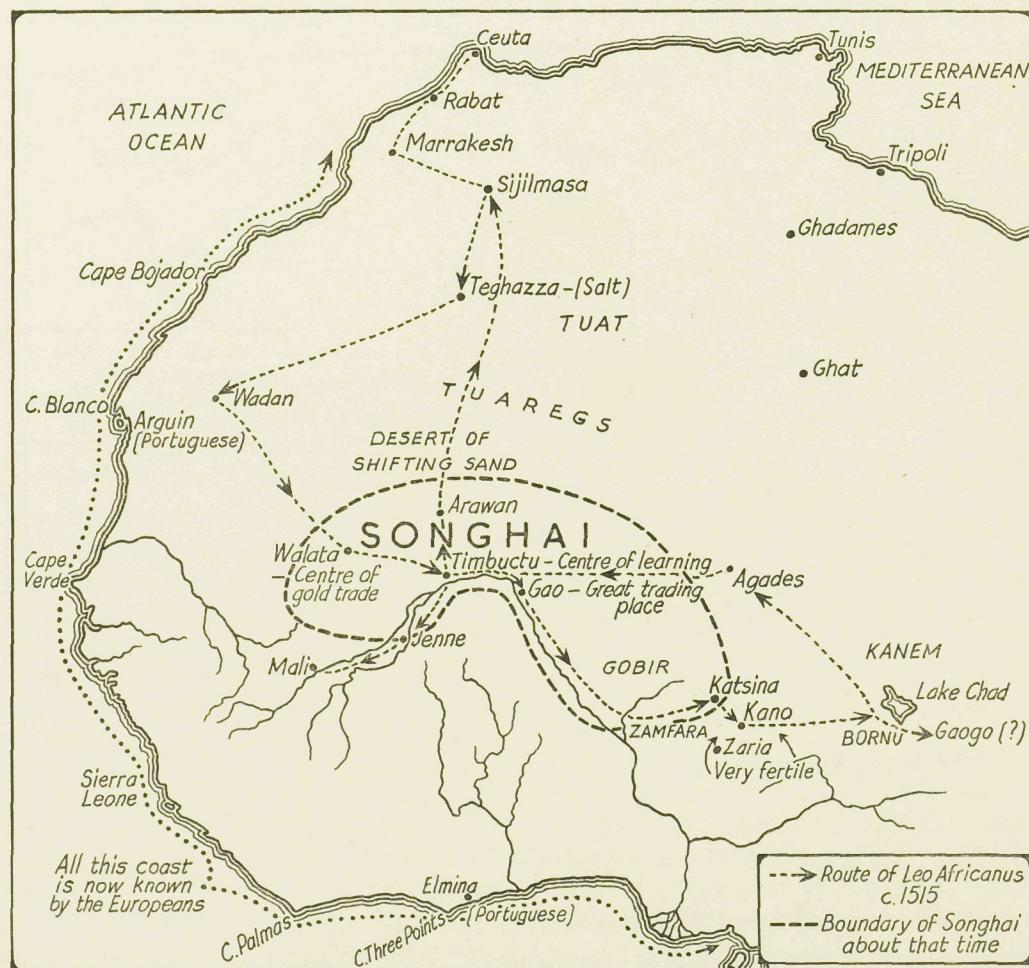
Route of Ibn Battuta

## LEO AFRICANUS

The man known to us as Leo Africanus was born about A.D. 1494-95 to a wealthy Moorish family of Granada. Owing to the unsettled conditions following the capture of the city by Ferdinand and Isabella of Spain in A.D. 1492, the family went to Fez, then a great centre of Arab learning. Leo Africanus had the best education possible. When still quite young (c. A.D. 1510) he travelled with a party of merchants acting as their clerk and legal adviser. Probably he did some trading on his own account.

Then he made the journey to Timbuctu with his uncle, who was sent as an ambassador by the ruler of Fez to the Songhai Emperor, Askia Mohammed. The party followed the normal caravan route across the desert. Leo Africanus was impressed by the good order and security which existed in the empire. He found it possible to travel extensively throughout the Sudan, visiting Timbuctu, Mali, Jenne, Gao, Kano, and Bornu.

Leo Africanus was the man responsible for the error prevalent in European know-



Route of Leo Africanus

ledge as to the course of the Niger. He definitely stated that it flowed from east to west.

Some time after his trans-Saharan journey he was captured by Genoese pirates on the Mediterranean. They presented him to the Pope because he was clearly an educated man. The Pope freed him, but persuaded him to turn Christian and remain in Italy. There he wrote an Italian version of his travels. Some time later the work was published and translated into several European languages. It was in this way that the mistake about the Niger was spread for his work was fairly well known in Europe. That mistake was not corrected until the expedition of Mungo Park in A.D. 1795.

## 7 Exploration of the Coast of West Africa

### ANCIENT TIMES

The West Coast of Africa seems to have been better known in ancient times than in the Middle Ages.

Phoenician settlements were planted as far south as the Wadi Dra'a. The Carthaginians traded beyond the Pillars of Hercules (Gibraltar), though we do not know how far south they went.

About 610 B.C. Phoenician sailors sent by King Neccho of Egypt completed the circumnavigation of Africa returning through the Pillars of Hercules.

In the sixth century B.C. Hanno, a Carthaginian, was sent with 60 ships each having 50 oars and carrying thousands of colonists to found settlements on the west coast. Historians disagree as to how far south he went. Some say Mt. Kakoulima, near Conakry; others Sherbro Sound; some Cameroon Mountain and still others Fernando Po.

The Romans knew of the Canary Isles which they called the "Fortunate Islands".

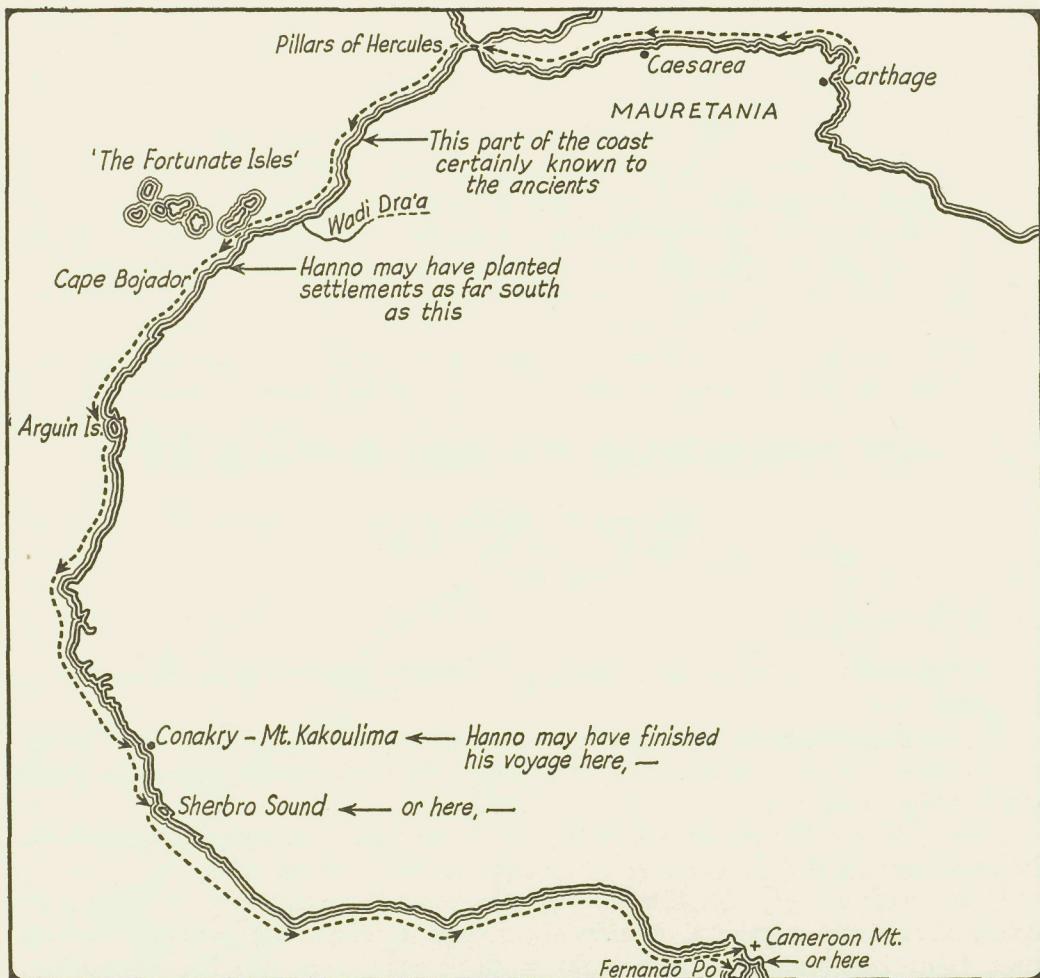
During the Barbarian invasions of Europe and Africa the west coast settlements were abandoned. The Arab invasions cut off Africa from Europe for centuries.

### REASONS FOR THE DELAY IN EUROPEAN EXPLORATION BY SEA

In the middle ages European sailors lacked instruments of navigation. They had few maps or charts and no desire to go further than the familiar coast.

### THE DIFFICULTIES OVERCOME

The compass and the astrolabe were introduced into Europe from the East where they had been in use for centuries by the Chinese and Arabs. Improved maps began to reach Europe from the Jewish map-makers of Majorca. Some famous maps still



The Voyage of Hanno

in existence are the Catalan Map of Martin Cresques, A.D. 1375, Fra Mauro's Map of A.D. 1459 and Martin Beheim's globe of A.D. 1491.

The Turks had closed the Mediterranean route to the Spice Islands of the East and a new route had to be found. Stories were reaching Europe of a Christian king in Africa called Prester John. Catholics hoped to reach his realm and persuade him to join in the attack on the Turks and Moors by advancing on their rear.

#### EARLY EXPLORATION

In the thirteenth century Genoese, Jews and Normans led the way. Lanzarote Malocello rediscovered the Canary Islands in A.D. 1270 and the brothers Vivaldi reached Cape Nun but failed to return. For a time that discouraged others.

We know of two fourteenth century expeditions, one in A.D. 1336 to the Canaries, and one in A.D. 1346 to search for the River of Gold. Both these failed. In A.D. 1402 Jean de Bethencourt sailed for the Canaries and took Teneriffe. With that event the serious exploration of the West Coast began.

## PRINCE HENRY THE NAVIGATOR

From his castle at Sagres in Portugal, Prince Henry planned the exploration of the west coast of Africa. He had great wealth which he spent on equipping ships for almost any sailor willing to undertake exploration. He gleaned information from many sources; he bought and studied navigational instruments; he collected maps and charts to assist the sailors.

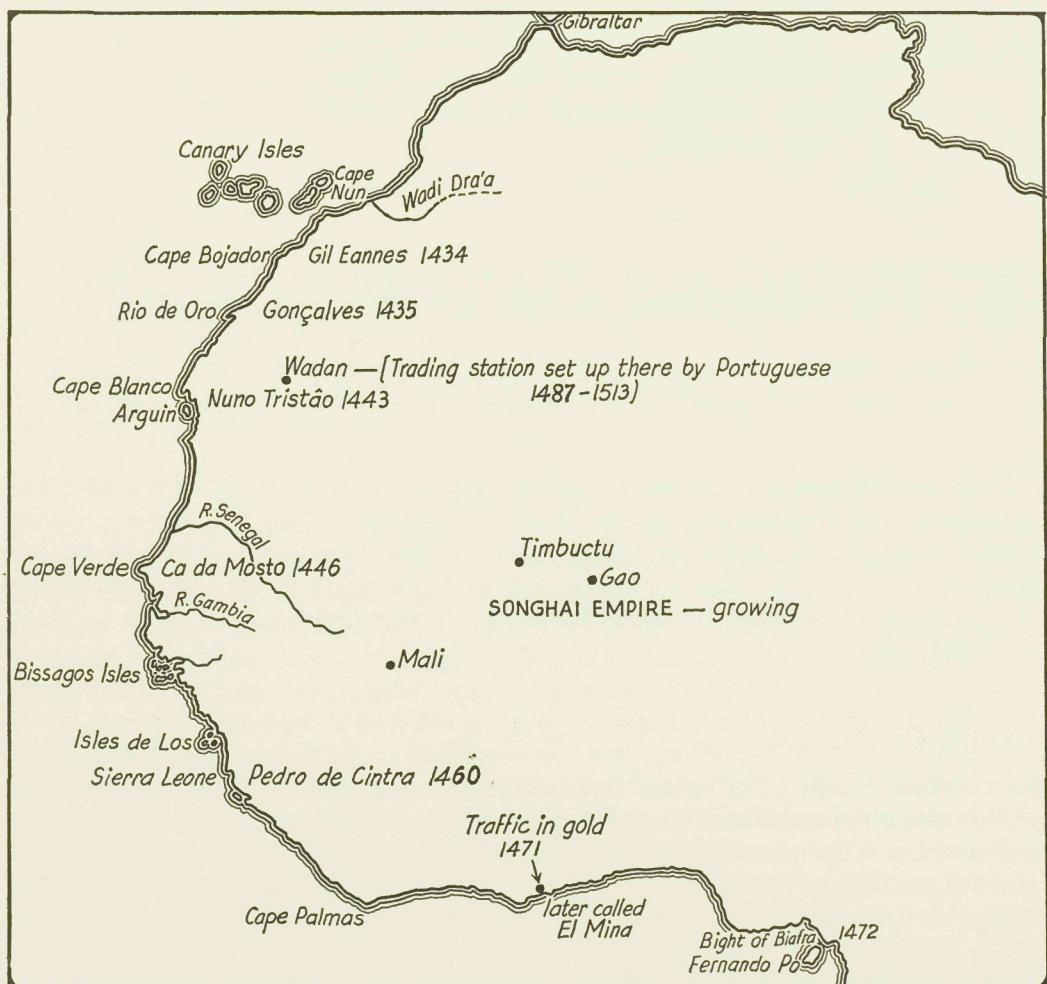
## THE PROGRESS OF EXPLORATION ALONG THE WEST COAST OF AFRICA

A.D. 1416-19 The first expeditions were sent but the sailors refused to go beyond Cape Nun.

A.D. 1434 Gil Eannes reached Cape Bojador.

A.D. 1435 The Rio d'Oro was reached by Gonçalves.

A.D. 1443 Nuno Tristao reached the Isle of Arguin, and five years later a fort was built there.



A.D. 1487-1513 The governor eventually opened up trade with Wadan, having gained permission from the Songhai emperor. It was not a successful venture owing to the hostility of the Muslim Arab traders.

A.D. 1446 Cape Verde was reached by Alvise ca da Mosto, a Venetian in the service of Prince Henry. This was an important discovery because the inhospitable shores of the Sahara had been passed, and the explorers might now find goods for trade.

A.D. 1457 The Bissagos Isles and the mouth of the Gambia were discovered.

A.D. 1460 Sierra Leone was reached by Pedro de Cintra, and named by him.

A.D. 1469 A monopoly of trade on the Guinea Coast, as it was now called, was granted to Fernando Gomez for five years in return for a promise to explore a hundred miles further along the coast each year.

A.D. 1471 A landing was made on what is now the coast of modern Ghana, and for the first time the Portuguese obtained a reasonable amount of gold in trade. The place was called El Mina. In the same year the mouth of the river we now know to be the Niger was discovered.

A.D. 1472 The Bight of Biafra was found by Fernando Po. Fernando Po reached the island which now bears his name. With that, the exploration of the coast of what we regard as West Africa was completed.

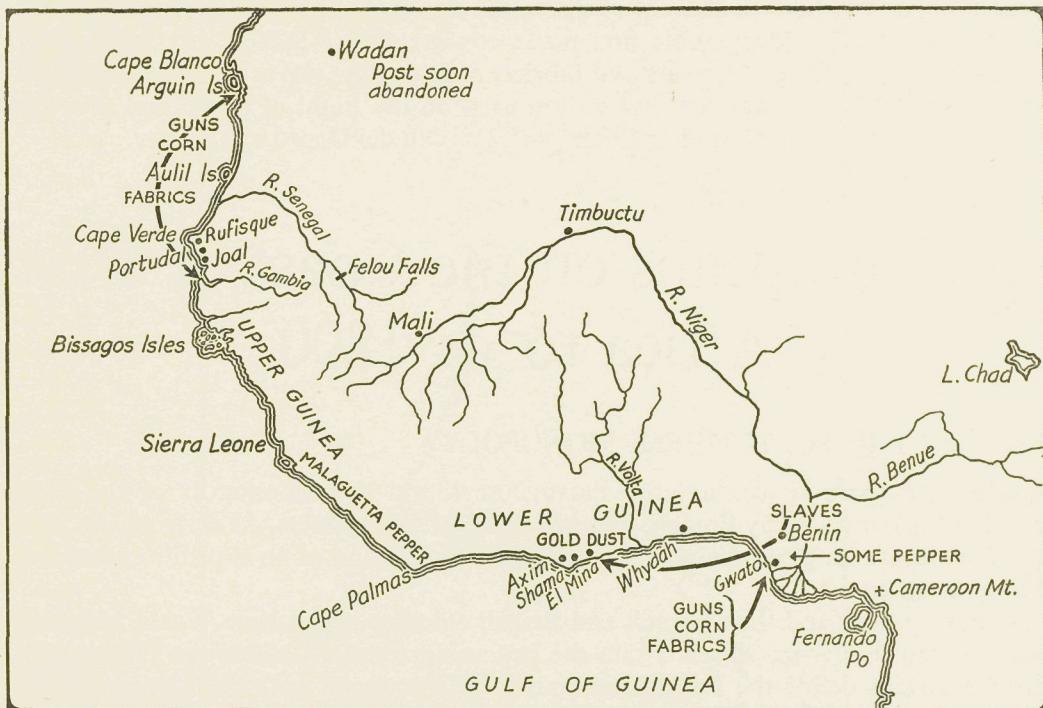
## 8 The Portuguese in West Africa

A.D. 1420-1600

During the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries the coastal trade with West Africa was practically a Portuguese monopoly. It was some time before the Africans distinguished between one European nation and another. Portuguese influence did not extend far inland. The coast was divided into two main trading regions: Upper Guinea, from Cape Blanco to Sierra Leone, and Lower Guinea, from Sierra Leone to the Gold Coast.

### UPPER GUINEA

In A.D. 1448 the first Portuguese fort was built at Arguin, and for a time a trading station was maintained at Wadan. From the Senegal southwards the Portuguese were able to extend their trading connections inland since the coastal tribes were pagans and not ruled by powerful princes. Furthermore the rivers Senegal and Gambia were navigable for some distance inland. In A.D. 1455 Usidomare made contact with traders from Mali; there is a possibility that ten years later Portuguese traders reached Timbuctu, despite the enmity of Moorish traders.



The Portuguese in West Africa

In Upper Guinea the Portuguese had trading stations at most of the river mouths, Saloum, Casamance, and Rio Nunez, as well as at Gorée, Portudal, Rufisque, Joal, the Bissagos Isles and Sierra Leone.

The main articles of trade were a few slaves, gum, and malaguetta pepper. As Portuguese trade with the East Indies increased, they lost interest in this part of the coast.

### LOWER GUINEA

In Lower Guinea trade was confined to the Gold Coast since there were no harbours further west. Trade was brisk for the Portuguese needed the gold for their East Indian trade. In the sixteenth century the supply of gold dust reached £100,000 annually. However, powerful native rulers only leased the land for trading stations and forts. They determined to keep the profits of the valuable trade in their own hands and to prevent the foreigner from becoming too powerful.

In A.D. 1482 the fort of San Jorge da Mina was built on the Gold Coast, and became the headquarters of a royal governor and garrison. Other forts were built at Shama and Axim. Some Africans settled round the forts; the women intermarried with the garrison. Their offspring formed settlements of detribalized Africans. When the Portuguese lost interest in the West African trade, their use as "middlemen" in the coastal trade increased.

### BENIN

Inland from the coast of the Bight of Benin was the city state of Benin, rapidly

expanding at this time as a result of wars with its neighbours. Therefore, Benin had slaves for sale. The Portuguese first made contact with Benin in A.D. 1485. They purchased slaves for grain, arms and fabrics, and sold the slaves on the Gold Coast for gold dust. Gwato was the first station used on the Bight of Benin and then the headquarters were transferred to S. Thomé. Whydah developed much later.

## 9 Europeans on the Coast of West Africa to A.D. 1800

### END OF THE PORTUGUESE MONOPOLY

During the sixteenth century the Portuguese found their monopoly of the West African trade invaded by French, English, and Dutch privateers. As early as A.D. 1480 the Portuguese king complained to Edward IV of England of an expedition that was being prepared.

First Spanish and then French and British colonies in the New World increased the demand for Negro slaves. From the beginning, English sailors like William and John Hawkins defied the Portuguese control of this trade. In A.D. 1553 an English expedition to the Gold Coast and Benin made £10,000 profit in gold. In A.D. 1580 Spain took Portugal; so Portuguese colonies on the West African coast were raided by Spain's enemies Britain and Holland.

### SENEGAL AND GAMBIA

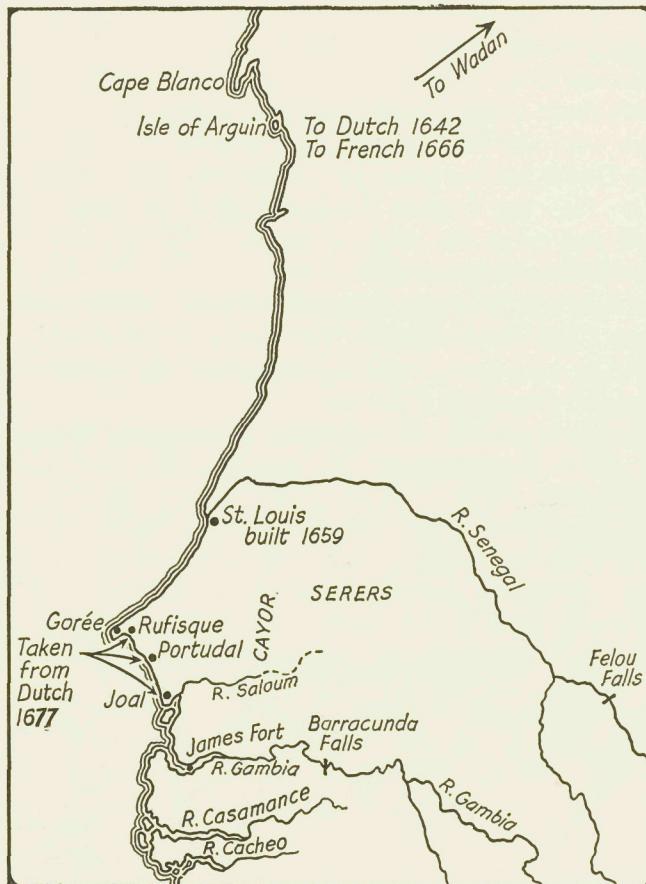
Most of the earlier British expeditions were to the coast between Senegal and the Gambia. In A.D. 1588 Queen Elizabeth gave Exeter merchants a patent to trade there. In the 1620's Thompson and later Jobson sailed nearly 600 miles up the Gambia from its mouth, and Jobson learned something of the trade with Timbuctu. In A.D. 1660 the Company of the Royal Adventurers Trading to Africa was founded and secured James Fort in the Gambia. In A.D. 1672 the Royal Africa Company replaced the earlier company and conscientiously explored the Gambia. As early as this Stibbs sailed as far as the Barracunda Falls and decided that this river had no connection with the "Nile of the Negroes".

In A.D. 1726 the lower reaches of the Gambia were properly surveyed by Captain Smith.

Meanwhile both the French and the Dutch were becoming interested. The Dutch East India Company, founded in A.D. 1602, realized that it needed watering-places along the African coast and captured Gorée in A.D. 1617 and Arguin in A.D. 1642.

In France Richelieu encouraged a French trading company to trade with the Senegal and Gambia area. French interlopers were already at Rufisque and in A.D. 1659 the French built St Louis. Franco-Dutch wars later in the century led to frequent attacks on the coast. In A.D. 1666 the French captured Arguin from the Dutch and in A.D. 1677, having dispersed a Dutch squadron at Gorée, took Rufisque,

Senegal and Gambia



Portudal and Joal. The French governor, Germain Ducasse, made treaties with the Serers and the ruler of Caylor giving the French a zone of influence from Cape Blanco to the Gambia. Thus the French and the British became rivals on the Senegal and Gambia coast. There were continual struggles between the rival forts, breaking into open war whenever there was a war in Europe. Thus in the Seven Years' War A.D. 1756-63 Britain gained Senegal. After the American War of Independence A.D. 1776-83 Senegal was restored to France, only to be captured once more in the French Revolutionary and Napoleonic Wars in Europe. After this interest was transferred to exploration of the interior and the abolition of the slave trade.

### THE GOLD COAST

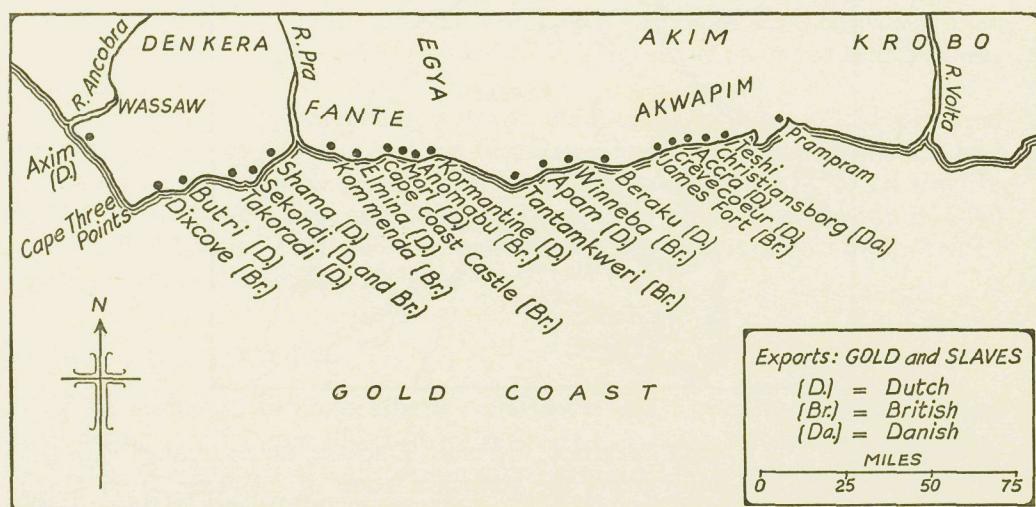
The first forts on the Gold Coast were the Portuguese ones of Elmina, Shama, and Axim. Their posts and naval patrols were too few to prevent interlopers. In A.D. 1631 the English built the fort of Kormantine. When Spain annexed Portugal the Dutch attacked the Portuguese stations and built others at Mori, Butri, Kormantine and Kommenda. In A.D. 1637 the Dutch captured Elmina and in A.D. 1642 Axim, so that the Portuguese were driven from the coast.

Thenceforward the main struggle on the Gold Coast was between the English and the Dutch, though other countries had establishments there because the trade in slaves and gold was too valuable for a monopoly to be allowed.

In the mid-seventeenth century Swedes, Danes and Brandenburgers all built forts, but only the Danes were able to maintain their station. This was at Christiansborg. For some time the Dutch had no serious rival for England was engaged in the Civil War. When in A.D. 1660 the English Company of Royal Adventurers Trading to Africa was formed and given the right to supply 3,000 slaves a year to the West Indies, the struggle broke out once more.

The Dutch were successful in the wars with England in the 1660's and captured all her forts except Cape Coast Castle. The Treaty of Utrecht in A.D. 1713 gave England the advantage once more, because she secured the right to send 4,800 slaves annually to the Spanish American Colonies.

During the eighteenth century, also, forts were constantly changing hands as the result of capture, sale or abandonment. The agents on the coast suffered from fever



The Gold Coast Forts

and many died. All the time the rents charged for the land by the local chiefs continued to rise. In the beginning the rent for Elmina was £4 per annum; by the seventeenth century it was £8. In addition the agents paid annual stipends to the leading men of the town. For example, "Coffee Sam" of James Fort received £16 sterling annually.

At the end of the eighteenth century the Dutch had 11 posts, the British had 8 and the Danes one.

## NIGERIA

No attempt was made to establish shore bases on the coast of Nigeria since the rivers and lagoons provided safe anchorage until the slaves were collected. An awning was fitted to the ship from stem to stern to provide shelter while it was at anchor. The local chiefs were powerful and determined to keep the trade in their own hands.

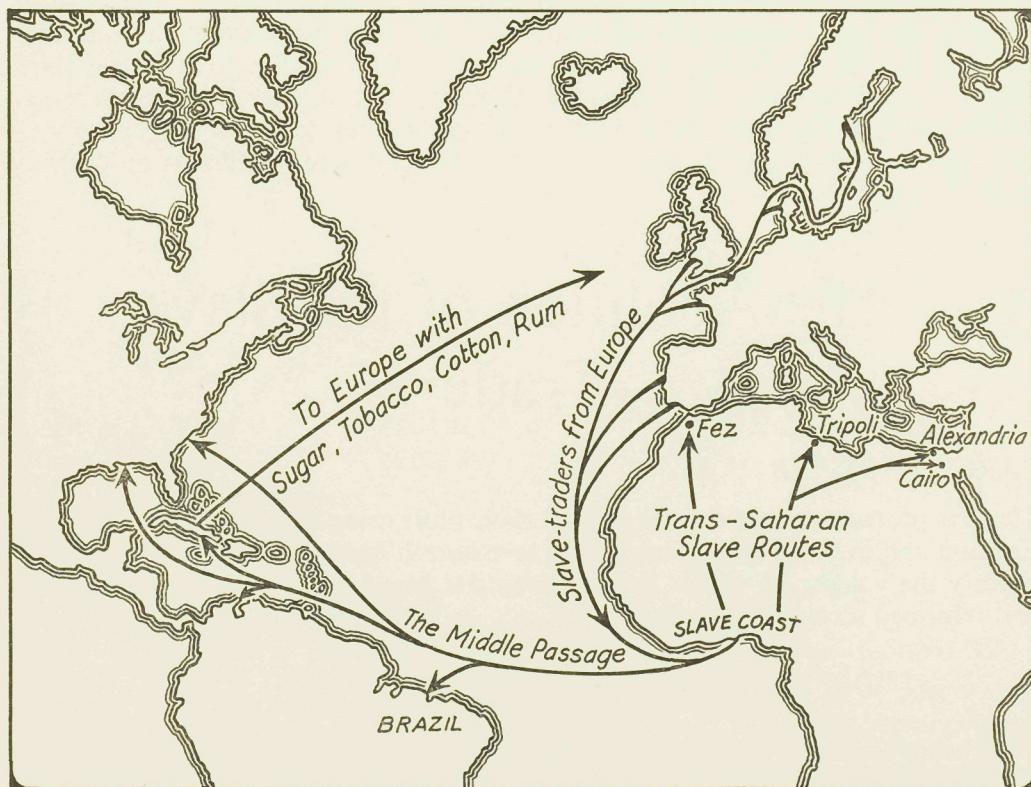
# 10 Slavery and the Slave Trade in West Africa

## SLAVERY

Slavery was normal in West Africa, just as it was usual in all the early empires of history. Slavery was the fate of those captured in war, and was the punishment for crime and the non-payment of debt. Negro slaves were sold across the desert to the Carthaginians and later to the Romans.

## THE TRANS-SAHARAN SLAVE TRADE

The conversion of the peoples of North Africa to Islam increased the traffic. No Muslim may enslave another Muslim, so the pagan Negroes to the south of the Sahara were purchased in increasing numbers to supply the slave markets of Tripoli, Tunis, Fez, Alexandria and Cairo. The pagan Hausa slaves were much appreciated for their intelligence. As the tribes of Western Sudan were converted to Islam, the pagans of the hills and forest were captured and enslaved. It is impossible to know



The Slave Trade from West Africa

how many were carried off annually. Many, of course, died on the long trek across the desert. The main caravan routes were essentially slave routes, and were strewn with the skeletons of those who had perished on the journey.

### THE SLAVE IN THE MUSLIM HOUSEHOLD

The slave in a Muslim household was a domestic slave and on the whole was not treated badly. In fact, should he have a genuine complaint of inhuman treatment, he might be freed after an appeal to the court. A female slave who bore her master a son became free. Slaves could inherit property and could themselves own slaves. Frequently, they rose to positions of responsibility. The slave of the pagan African was probably also treated well but he always ran the risk of becoming a human sacrifice to the fetish worshippers, or being buried alive to serve his master after death.

### THE TRANS-ATLANTIC SLAVE TRADE

The whole attitude to slavery and the slave trade changed when the Europeans came to West Africa to purchase slaves for labour on the plantations of the West Indies and America. All the European nations competed for the trade and offered a variety of goods in exchange: firearms, alcohol and fabrics of all kinds. The normal supply of slaves was not sufficient to meet the demand; rulers began to enslave their own people, and, when that did not produce enough, engaged in tribal wars to make captives. Some of the large states of the Guinea forest owe their existence to the wars thus fostered. By the end of the eighteenth century it was estimated that 74,000 slaves were being shipped annually across the Atlantic. That number does not take into consideration the numbers who perished on the journey to the coast, in the slave barracoons, or who were finally murdered since they were rejected as unfit by the traders.

## 11 The Abolition of the Slave Trade

### EARLY PROTESTS

The first protests against slavery and the slave trade came from the Quakers both in England and in America as early as the seventeenth century. During the eighteenth century the volume of protest in both countries increased, but always the Quakers and reformed sects led the way.

### REASONS FOR TOLERATING THE TRADE

Many kindly people knew nothing of the conditions of the slave trade. Others believed that it was an evil necessary for the prosperity of the West Indies and the plantations of North and Central America. In any case plantation owners felt that

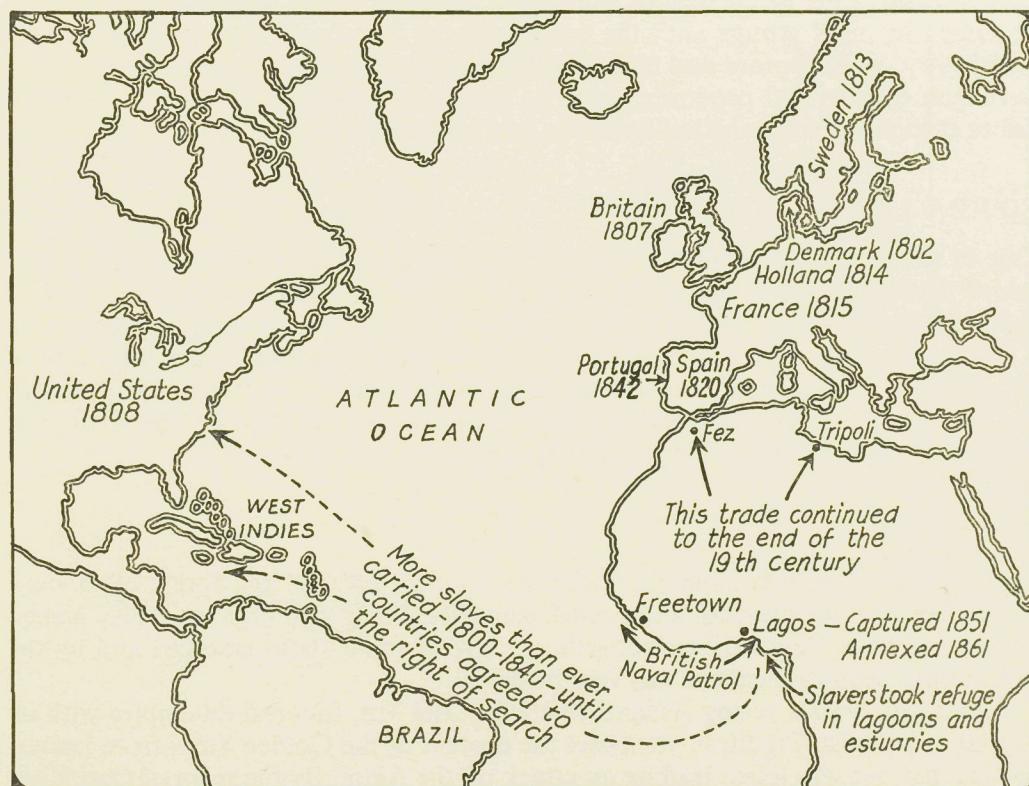
abolition would be undue interference on the part of the government with the private property of the owners. In Britain the plantation owners were very influential in Parliament.

#### THE MANSFIELD JUDGEMENT A.D. 1772: THE ABOLITION OF THE SLAVE TRADE A.D. 1807

The slave-owners prepared the way for their own defeat in England by bringing home domestic slaves. Thus people were able to see the treatment which they received. Eventually a runaway slave was brought before the courts and the judge, Lord Mansfield, ruled that "the status of slavery is so odious that nothing can support it but a positive law". The slave Somerset was freed, and Granville Sharp and his supporters increased their efforts for suppression. It was not until A.D. 1807 that Britain passed a law forbidding British subjects to engage in slave-trading.

#### ABOLITION OF THE TRADE BY OTHER EUROPEAN COUNTRIES

Denmark had already abolished the slave trade in A.D. 1802; and the United States of America followed Britain in A.D. 1808, Sweden in A.D. 1813, Holland in A.D. 1814 and France in A.D. 1815. Britain paid Spain £400,000 for loss of trade and they abolished it in A.D. 1820. Portugal finally abolished the trade in 1842.



Though most European countries abolished the trade by law, they did nothing to enforce the law. Britain instituted patrols of the West African coast; slave ships were captured and taken to the Admiralty Court sitting at Sierra Leone. The trade only stopped when other countries agreed to the right to search ships for slave-trading equipment. The last slave port on the West African coast was Lagos, which was finally annexed by the British in A.D. 1861.

### COMPLETE ABOLITION

After the European countries had abolished slavery in their overseas territories the Atlantic trade ceased. The trade was still carried on across the Sahara until the end of the nineteenth century by Arab traders. Many slaves remained with their African masters after the status of slavery had been abolished, since they had nowhere else to go and were looked after, fed and clothed.

## 12 The Forest and Coastal States

### INTRODUCTION

The peoples of the forest regions were never subdued by the Sudanese empires, but remained in small groups until the trade with the Europeans gave them arms with which they could capture and enslave their neighbours. Some small bands from the savannah country did penetrate either as traders or refugees and taught the forest tribes elements of organization similar to that practised in Ghana, Mali, and Songhai.

### SIERRA LEONE

One of the earliest coastal states was that organized by the Temne of Sierra Leone, which reached its zenith in A.D. 1630-64 under Borea the Great. The Temne reached this region about the fifteenth century under pressure from the Mandingoes. It was a Temne king who was converted to Catholicism and baptized under the name of Don Philip. "King Tom" who made the grant of land for Freetown was probably the minister of a Temne king Naimbana II. It was the Temne who later tried to prevent the settlement of Freetown by liberated slaves.

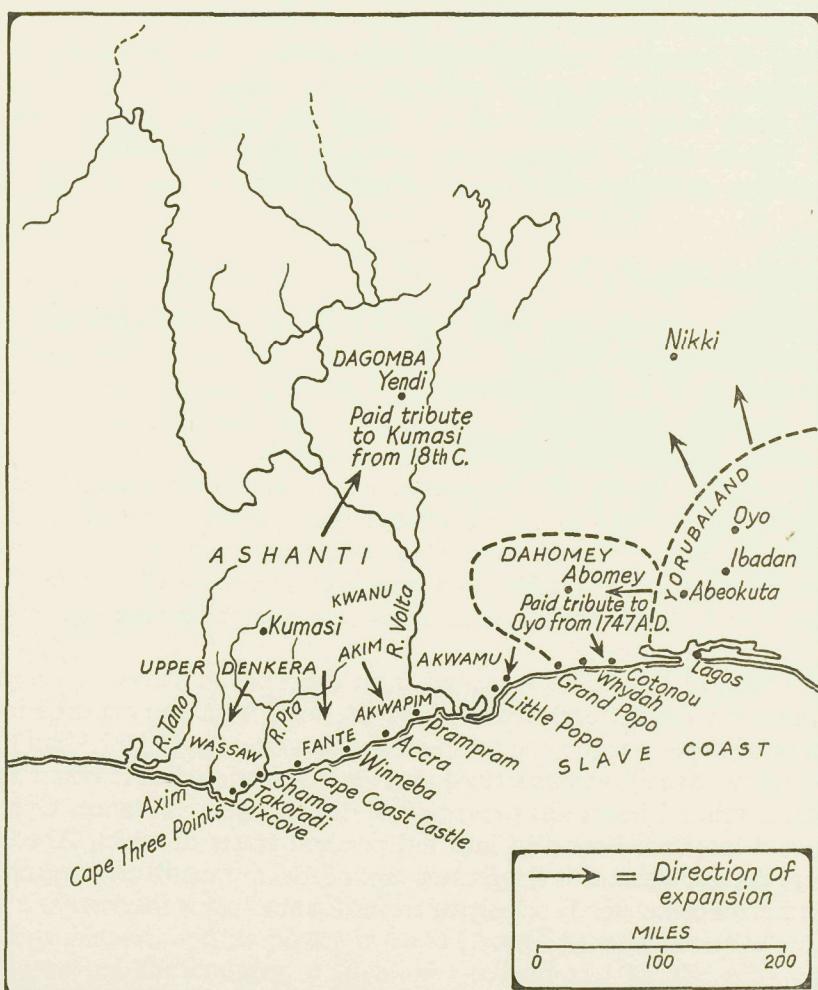
### ASHANTI

Small bands of people from the savannah country invaded the forest of modern Ghana between the eleventh and twelfth centuries. Being well organized they gained control over the Negro tribes living there. Several small states emerged and by the seventeenth century Denkera was very powerful.

About A.D. 1697 a young Ashanti chieftain, Osei Tut, founded an empire with its capital at Kumasi. Tradition attributes the descent of the Golden Stool from heaven to his reign. He was killed leading an attack on the Akim. By the reign of Osei Kojo

A.D. 1752-81 the Ashanti empire extended to Wassaw in the south-west and Banda in the north-west. Even the powerful Dagomba paid tribute. Under Osei Bonsu, A.D. 1800-24, the Ashanti began to attack the coastal states in order to gain direct contact with the European traders. After a campaign in A.D. 1814 most of the coastal states became tributaries of the Ashanti.

The great strength of the nation was due to the close connection between the king and religion, the reverence due to the Asantehene as the guardian of the Golden Stool, and the remarkable war organization.



States of the Gold Coast and Slave Coast

## DAHOMEY

The state of Dahomey, with its capital at Abomey, was carved out by a younger son of the ruler of Great Arda in the seventeenth century. Later rulers attacked Whydah and other coastal towns in order to secure a direct share in the slave trade. European traders came into contact with Dahomey for the first time when they supported the local chiefs against these attacks. Dahomey was successful, so the deposed rulers fled to Yorubaland to seek help. The Alafin attacked Dahomey and in A.D. 1747 the ruler Tegbesu agreed to pay tribute; that tribute continued to be paid until the break up of the power of Oyo in the nineteenth century. In the meantime Oyo and Dahomey reached an agreement on their respective spheres of influence.

The power of Dahomey increased under King Ghezo. He stiffened his army by a corps of Amazons. He feared British attempts to stop the slave trade and so made a commercial treaty with the French, in A.D. 1851. His successor, Glele, was hostile both to the Yoruba state of Abeokuta and to the Europeans established on the coast. His son Behanzin challenged the French and was defeated by them in A.D. 1893.

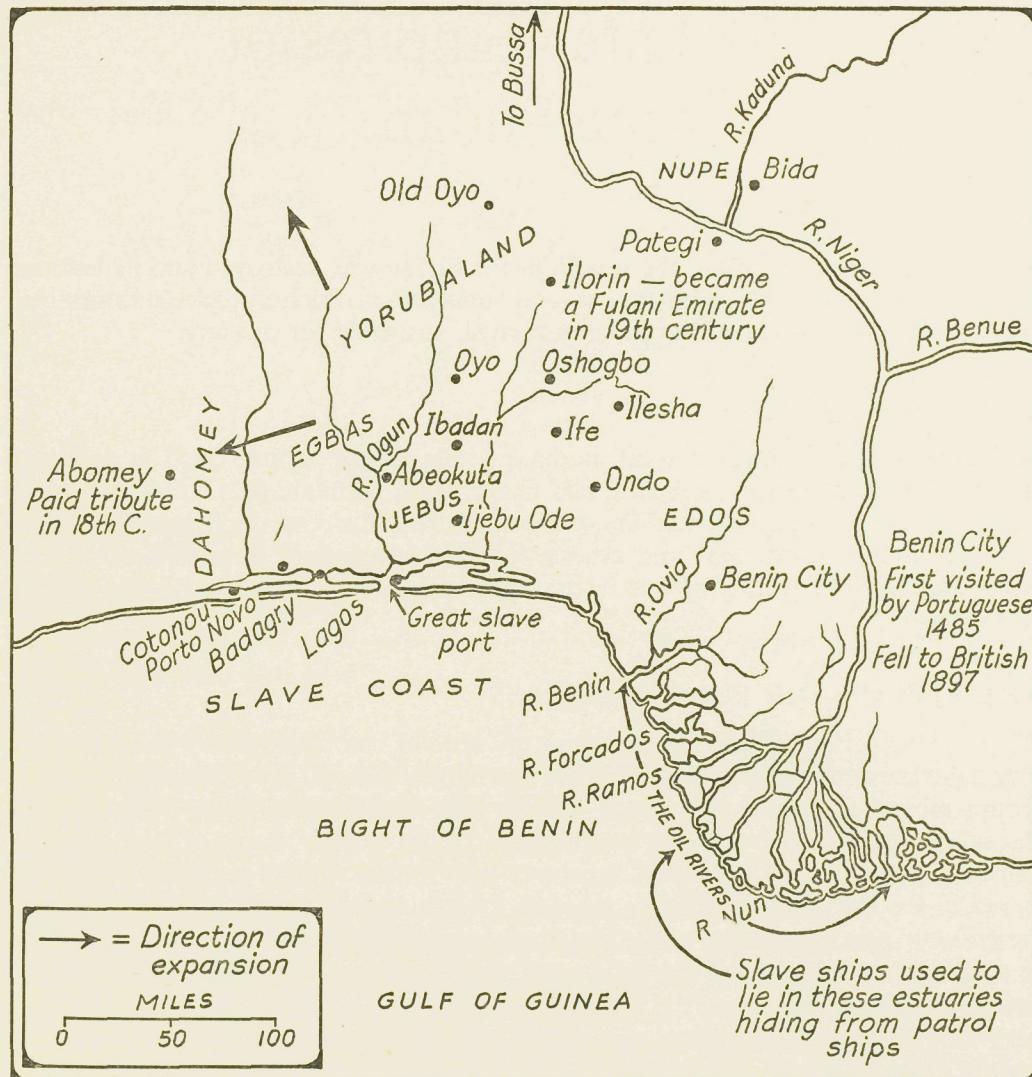
## THE YORUBAS: OYO

Oyo was both the earliest and at its peak the largest of the forest empires. The founders were immigrants from the north or north-east who gained control of the ancient civilization of Ile Ife, where is the supposed grave of Oranyan the second ruler of the Yorubas. The most important group transferred their centre to Oyo; their chief, the Alafin, became the temporal head of the Yorubas and the Oni of Ife remained the spiritual leader. At its greatest extent in the eighteenth century Oyo stretched from Little Popo to the Niger and the ruler of Dahomey paid tribute. Yorubaland was a nation in arms, every able-bodied man being forced to serve during the dry-season; a general who failed in a campaign was expected to commit suicide. It is thought that far-flung Yoruba settlements were founded by generals who refused to die, but could not return.

As the wealth of the Alafin increased from the trade in slaves he became more tyrannical and in the nineteenth century outlying chiefs began to question his power. The governor of Ilorin was the first to revolt and summon the Fulani Alimi to his aid. Eventually Alimi seized Ilorin and ruled it as an independent Emir. When the Fulani attacked Oyo, mutual jealousies prevented united Yoruba resistance. Oyo fell; the once powerful kingdom broke up into independent states of which Abeokuta and Ibadan were the strongest. For the greater part of the nineteenth century, civil war in Yorubaland provided a steady supply of slaves for the Lagos market.

## BENIN

Tradition has it that after the foundation of Ife the king sent one of his sons to the Edos, where he introduced the civilization of Ife. Certainly the figures in brass and wood of Benin show definite influence from Ife. Probably about the fourteenth century Benin City was subject to the Yorubas but by the time the Portuguese visited Benin in A.D. 1485 Benin City was already independent of Oyo and enjoyed a remarkable municipal organization. Originally the ruler was absolute, but in time became so



Oyo and Benin

closely connected with the fetish groups that the government became a theocracy. For over a century after the arrival of the Portuguese Benin was the outlet for all the trade of Yorubaland, and its power extended from Lagos to Bonny. Constant slave raids depopulated the country, cultivation declined and by the time of Bosman (A.D. 1701) the greater part of the city was in ruins. In the nineteenth century Benin was notorious for the barbaric practices of its rulers; those practices ended only with its conquest by the British in A.D. 1897.

## GENERAL CONDITIONS

After the Moorish conquest, the wealth of the Sudan was destroyed and its learning disappeared. Out of the chaos rose several small states which in the nineteenth century, under the impetus of the Muslim revival, struggled for mastery.

## SEGU AND KAARTA

After the collapse of Mali a small Bambara state formed around Segu. It remained independent of Moorish Timbuctu, and under Biton Kululabi (A.D. 1660–A.D. 1710) forced that city to pay tribute. Those Bambara who disliked the firmness of Biton Kululabi moved north-west and established the independent state of Kaarta. The two states were frequently at war in the eighteenth century and Kaarta was pushed further west.

## THE RISE OF THE FULANI EMPIRES

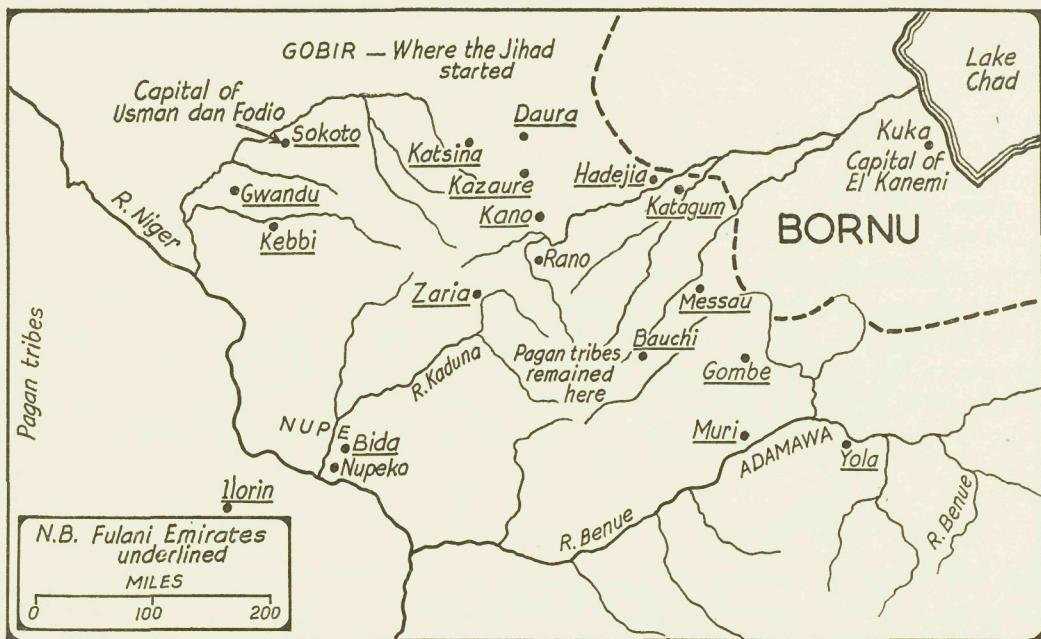
Whatever the origin of the Fulani, from the time of recorded history in the Sudan they have been settled with their herds in the middle Senegal area. From that region groups moved eastwards as nomads, driving their cattle before them. They reached Hausaland and Bornu by the thirteenth or fourteenth century. Some of these nomads remained pagan and a race apart, wherever they settled. Others accepted Islam and served in the Sudanese empires as scholars, imams and administrators. It was from these Fulani that the leaders of the jihads of the nineteenth century came. These men created the last empires of the Sudan and were notorious for their hostility to the European explorers.

## HAUSALAND: THE FULANI JIHAD

The upper classes among the Hausas were Muslims but still practised pagan customs. By the eighteenth century pagan Gobir had established a military supremacy. Among the Fulani settled there, was born in A.D. 1754 Usman dan Fodio, who became famous for his piety and learning. Many followers gathered round him. Yunfa, the ruler of Gobir, fearing their power, began persecutions. Usman dan Fodio then declared himself the Sarkin Musulmi and proclaimed a Holy War. Flags were given to his supporters and soon Fulanis ruled in most of the Hausa states.

Usman dan Fodio died in A.D. 1817. His brother then ruled at Gwandu and his son Mohammed Bello at Sokoto. He put down many revolts and extended his power over all the territory north of the Niger-Benue junction. Both the Moors and El Kanemi of Bornu were persuaded to help the Hausas but both were defeated. In A.D. 1826 peace was made between Bornu and Sokoto.

The empire rapidly deteriorated after the death of Mohammed Bello, in A.D. 1837.



Hausaland after the Fulani Jihad

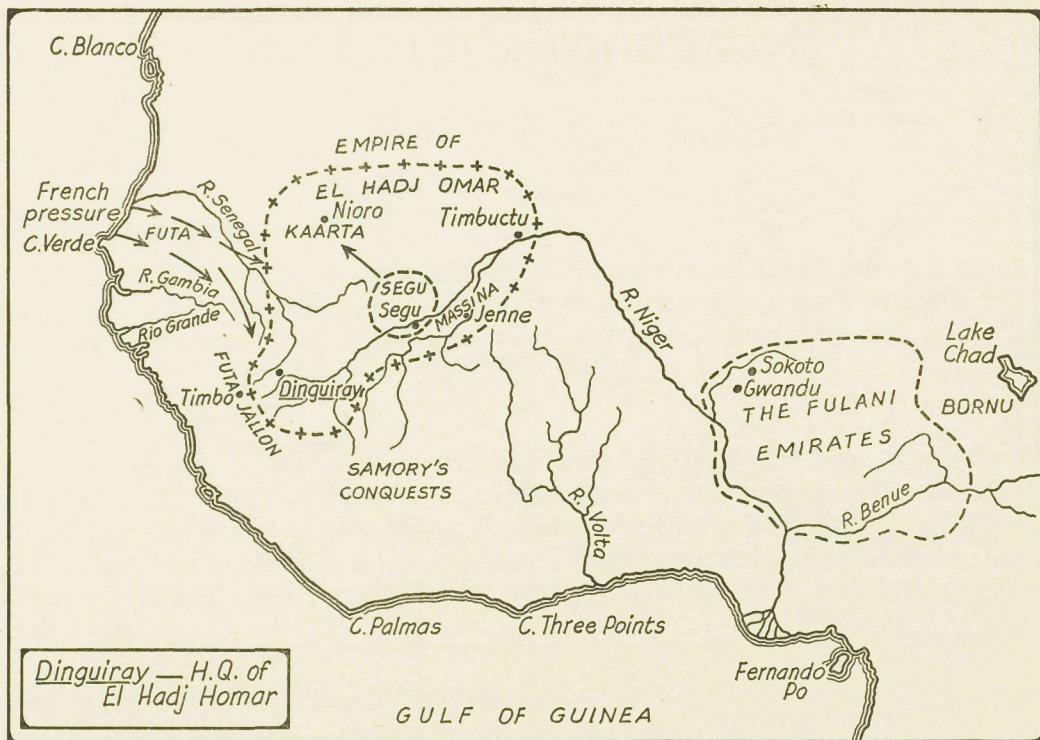
Both trade and agriculture were destroyed by excessive taxation. The peasants were enslaved and whole regions depopulated. When the British attacked at the end of the century the rural population welcomed them.

### NUPE

The kingdom of Nupe near the junction of the Kaduna and Niger rivers was one of the most interesting to be brought under Fulani rule. The people were famous as workers in stone, wood, ivory and glass. The state was founded by Tsoede (c. A.D. 1523–1531), a young chief having some connection with the ruler of Idah. Tsoede set up his dwelling at Nupeko and extended his power north and south. Under Etsu Ma'azu (A.D. 1778–95) the kingdom reached its zenith. Then in A.D. 1810 a Fulani itinerant preacher Mallam Dendo appeared in Nupe; Fulani and Hausas gathered around him. He appealed to the Emir of Gwandu for a flag and tried to seize the state. From then on the succession in Nupe was disputed until Masaba gained power in A.D. 1860. Bida became the capital. A period of peace followed in which the many crafts were revived. It was his successor Umaru who began attacks with firearms of the Royal Niger Company; finally the company deposed the ruler Abubakr and replaced him by its own nominee.

### MASSINA

Fulani pastoralists had long been settled in Massina under their ruler the Diallo. They were subject in turn to Mali, Songhai, the Moorish pashas, and finally the Bambaras of Segu. Most of these Fulani were pagans, but there were some Muslims. One of them, a scholar named Ahmadu, was inspired by the Shehu dan Fodio to



Later Sudanese Empires

declare a Holy War in Massina. When he received a flag from the Shehu many followers flocked to his banner. The Diallo appealed to his suzerain, the king of Segu, for help but he was defeated and Ahmadu won the whole of Massina, then Jenne and Timbuctu. His successors failed to hold his gains. Massina was captured by El Hadj Omar and remained subject until the arrival of the French.

#### FUTA JALLON AND EL HADJ OMAR

Pastoral Fulani had settled in Futa Jallon. Eventually they were converted to Islam. In A.D. 1725 various chiefs met at Timbo and appointed Alfa Ibrahim as Almany. The state became known for its fanatical faith, and began to convert its pagan neighbours. It remained independent until A.D. 1896 when the Almany accepted the protection of France.

In A.D. 1838 there arrived in Futa Jallon El Hadj Omar, a Tucolor who had made the pilgrimage to Mecca and had come under the influence of Mohammed Bello while in Sokoto. Followers flocked to him for teaching; they were organized on military lines and instructed in the use of firearms. The authorities of Futa Jallon began to fear his power. He moved to Dinguiray in A.D. 1848 and there proclaimed a jihad against the pagan peoples of the Sudan.

Within fifteen years he had captured Kaarta, Segu, Massina and Timbuctu. The captured people resented the plundering of his army and in A.D. 1864 he was killed trying to suppress a rising in Segu. His son struggled against frequent revolts. When the French advanced he fled to Hausaland where he died in A.D. 1898.

## 14 Exploration of Interior of West Africa by Europeans

### MEDIAEVAL KNOWLEDGE OF WEST AFRICA

Mediaeval knowledge of West Africa was based on the information in Ptolemy's map; Arab mapmakers collected more detailed knowledge from the trans-Saharan traders, but much confusion existed about the great river called "the Nile of the Negroes". Ibn Battuta spoke of it flowing eastwards; Leo Africanus, whose work was known in Europe, said that its direction was westerly. Most of the early explorers of the coast thought that the Senegal and Gambia were two estuaries of this river.

### PROGRESS FROM THE SIXTEENTH TO EIGHTEENTH CENTURIES

French and British explorers sailed up the Senegal and Gambia hoping to find the famous city of Timbuctu. In A.D. 1697 André Brue of the French Senegal Company travelled 120 miles beyond that point. In A.D. 1620 Richard Jobson reached Tenda on the Gambia. A century later Captain Stibbs, on a survey of the river, reached the conclusion that it could not be part of a great river. The French mapmakers Delisle and D'Anville had the same opinion. The African Association was founded in England in A.D. 1788 to encourage the exploration of the interior of West Africa.

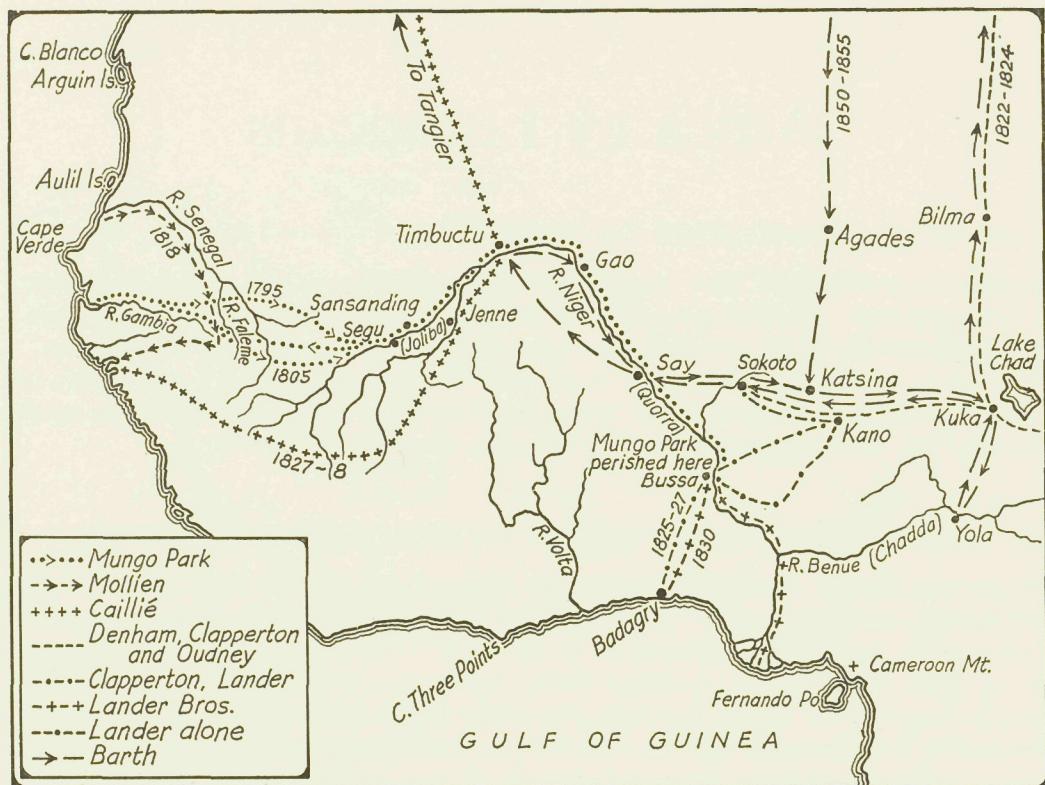
### PROBLEMS TO BE SOLVED

1. Where was the Niger and in which direction did it flow?
2. Where were the sources of the Niger, Senegal and Gambia?
3. Where was Timbuctu, and was it as large and wealthy as it was reputed?
4. Where was the mouth of the Niger?
5. Where was the great inland sea mentioned by Leo Africanus?

### EXPLORERS

Mungo Park offered his services to the African Association in A.D. 1795 and was accepted. In the years A.D. 1795-97 he journeyed through the region between the Gambia and the Senegal, crossed the Faleme and Bafing and reached the Joliba at Segu, but was too ill to go on to Timbuctu. However, he had proved that the Joliba was the so-called "Nile of the Negroes"; that it flowed in an easterly direction and that the Gambia and Senegal had no connection with it. In A.D. 1805 he set out again, this time intending to trace the course of the Joliba to its mouth. After great difficulties he reached Bamako and built a ship called the *Joliba* from native canoes. He sailed past Kabara, the port of Timbuctu, and Gao but perished in the rapids at Bussa. For years his fate was uncertain.

In A.D. 1818 Gaspard Mollien started out to explore the region of Senegambia.



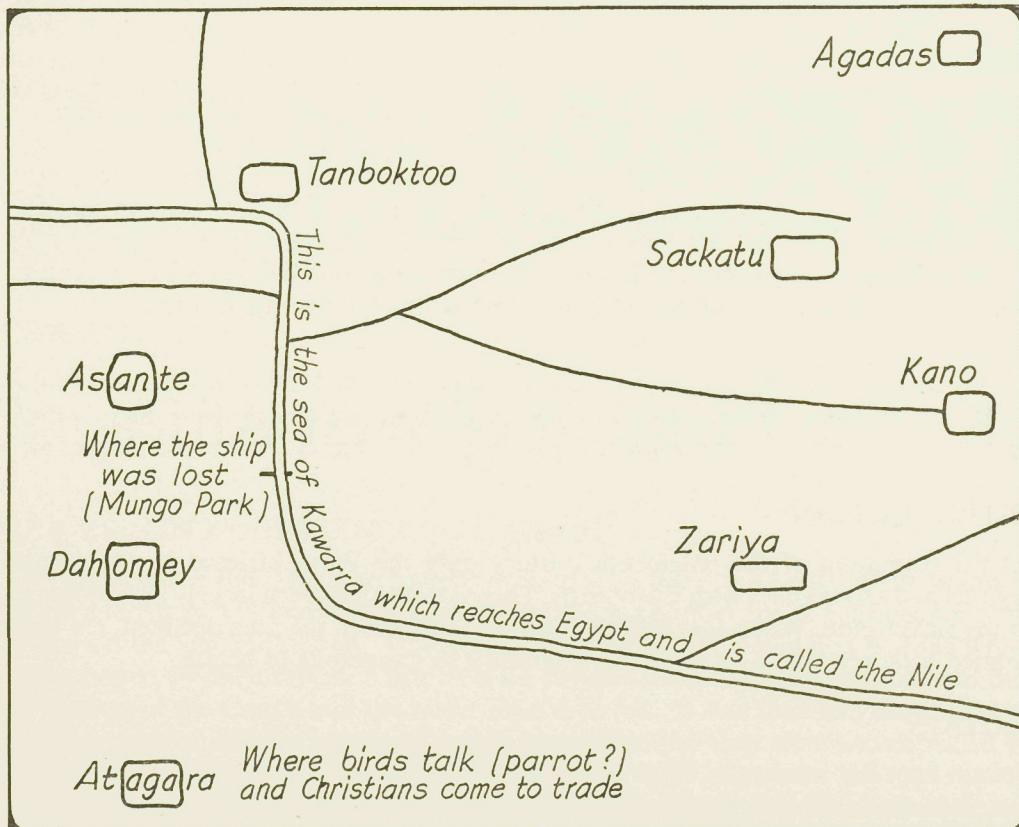
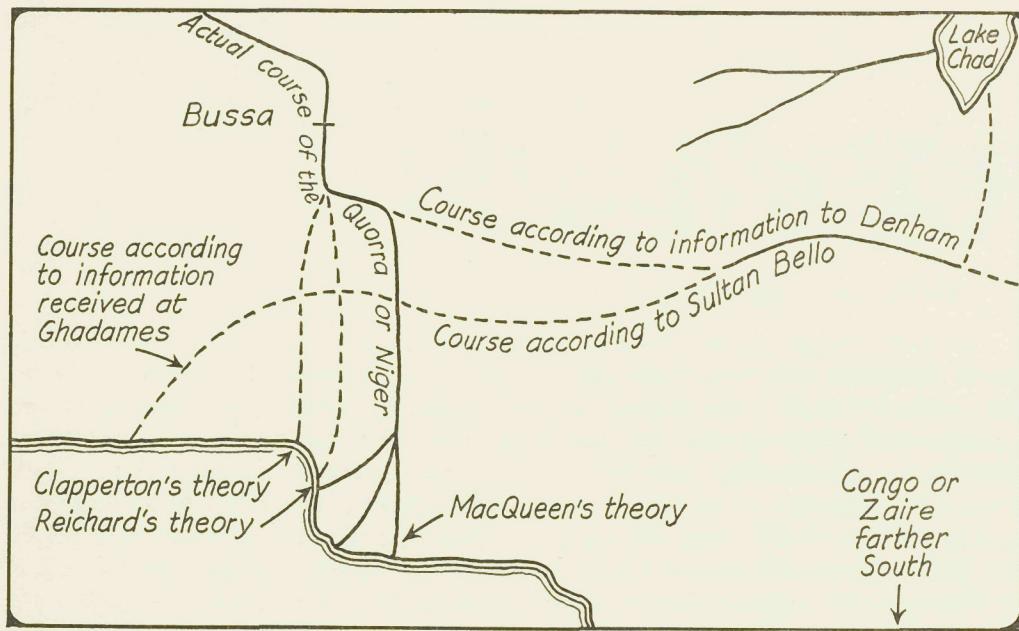
In spite of the hostility of the Fulani of Futa he found the sources of the Gambia and the Rio Grande and gained enough information to fix the source of the Bafing.

Rene Caillié, a young Frenchman, disguised himself as a Muslim trying to reach his parents in Alexandria. In A.D. 1828 he arrived at Timbuctu where he stayed some weeks. Then he set off with a caravan across the Sahara for Tangier. Thus some geographical problems of the Western Sudan were solved. It remained to find the inland sea and the mouth of the Niger.

### DISCOVERY OF LAKE CHAD

The British Government now decided to assist in the exploration of West Africa. In A.D. 1822 Denham, Clapperton and Oudney were sent from Tripoli to cross the desert and approach the Niger from the north. The party reached Lake Chad in A.D. 1823, probably being the first Europeans to see it. Clapperton explored Bornu and visited El Kanemi in his capital at Kuka. Then with Oudney he set off to visit Sokoto. Oudney died on the way but Clapperton visited Mohammed Bello, the Sultan of Sokoto, and established friendly relations with him. He collected local information concerning the course of the great river they called Quorra. The Quorra of the Hausa turned out to be the Joliba of Park and Mollien and the Niger of today. The information supplied by Sultan Bello was based not on exploration but was the traditional lore of the Arabs.

## THEORIES ABOUT THE MOUTH OF THE NIGER



Sultan Bello's Map

## THEORIES ABOUT THE MOUTH OF THE NIGER

1. Sultan Bello thought that it flowed eastward and joined the Nile.
2. Rennell thought that it disappeared somewhere underground in central Africa.
3. Reichard of Weimar said that it reached the Gulf of Guinea through a delta and that the Rio del Rey and the river Formosa were part of the delta.
4. Some thought that its outlet was the Zaire or Congo.
5. MacQueen, a West Indian planter, who had questioned his slaves, said that it flowed into the Bights of Benin and Biafra.

## SOLUTION OF THE PROBLEM

In A.D. 1825 Clapperton set out with his servant Lander to explore from the south. On the journey from Badagri to Bussa they discovered the fate of Mungo Park. When they reached Sokoto their reception was unfriendly. Clapperton died there and Lander set off alone to find the mouth of the Niger, but he was prevented from following the direction he wished. Finally, in company with his brother, he set off on another expedition in A.D. 1830 to trace the course of the Niger by sailing from Bussa to the mouth. The King of Yauri gave them a friendly reception and in A.D. 1830, after many difficulties, they reached the sea, thus solving the problem of the mouth of the Niger. Much detailed surveying and mapping remained to be done before the country was at all well known.

## BARTH

Barth was a member of the expedition led by Richardson which left England in A.D. 1850 to explore Hausaland and Bornu. Richardson died on the way and Barth carried on, assuming the leadership. In Bornu he explored Lake Chad and then went south to Yola. He returned to Kuka and then travelled by way of Sokoto and Say to Timbuctu. There his life was threatened. Finally he returned to Bornu before crossing the desert once more to Tripoli. His journeying took five years but he brought back a mass of information not only on the country but also its history.

# 15 The Partition of West Africa

## INTRODUCTION

At the beginning of the nineteenth century only the West Africans in the coastal regions had any contact with Europeans. Their contact had been largely as middlemen in the slave trade. When that ended, European interest in the area declined, for there seemed little reward to be gained in a country so dangerous to health.

## BRITAIN

Britain kept her interest in West Africa largely because of her determination to stop the slave trade. Ships patrolled the coast to intercept the slavers; merchants were encouraged to find other articles of trade; missionaries interested themselves in help-

ing freed slaves. The government steadily opposed any attempt to increase its influence further than the coastal areas.

### PORUGAL, HOLLAND AND DENMARK

These countries had formerly been Britain's rivals in the West African trade. After the suppression of the slave trade, Holland and Denmark sold their bases to Britain. Portugal continued the slave trade much longer but used her territories south of the equator.

### FRANCE

After the end of the wars in Europe (A.D. 1793-1815) Britain restored to France Gorée, St Louis, and Albreda. French merchants were supported by the government in establishing trading centres not only in Senegal but also along the Guinea Coast, the Ivory Coast and Dahomey. Under Faidherbe (A.D. 1854-65) French influence extended along the Senegal river and the plan of establishing a trade route to the Niger was developed. A halt occurred during the later years of the reign of Napoleon III, and for a few years after the Franco-Prussian War (A.D. 1870-71). In the last twenty years of the century the French government gave both explorers and administrators every encouragement to extend French power. There were three main lines of advance: (a) from North Africa across the Sahara to link up with French territory in West Africa (b) from the Senegal coast to the Niger valley and the region of the Niger bend (c) from the bases on the coast of West Africa inland to the Niger valley. In this way the French were able to confine Gambia to a narrow enclave in French territory and cut off Portuguese Guinea, Sierra Leone and Liberia from their hinterlands. They were nearly successful in doing the same to the Gold Coast; and only the vigorous action of the trading companies secured the hinterland of the Niger delta and Lagos for Britain.

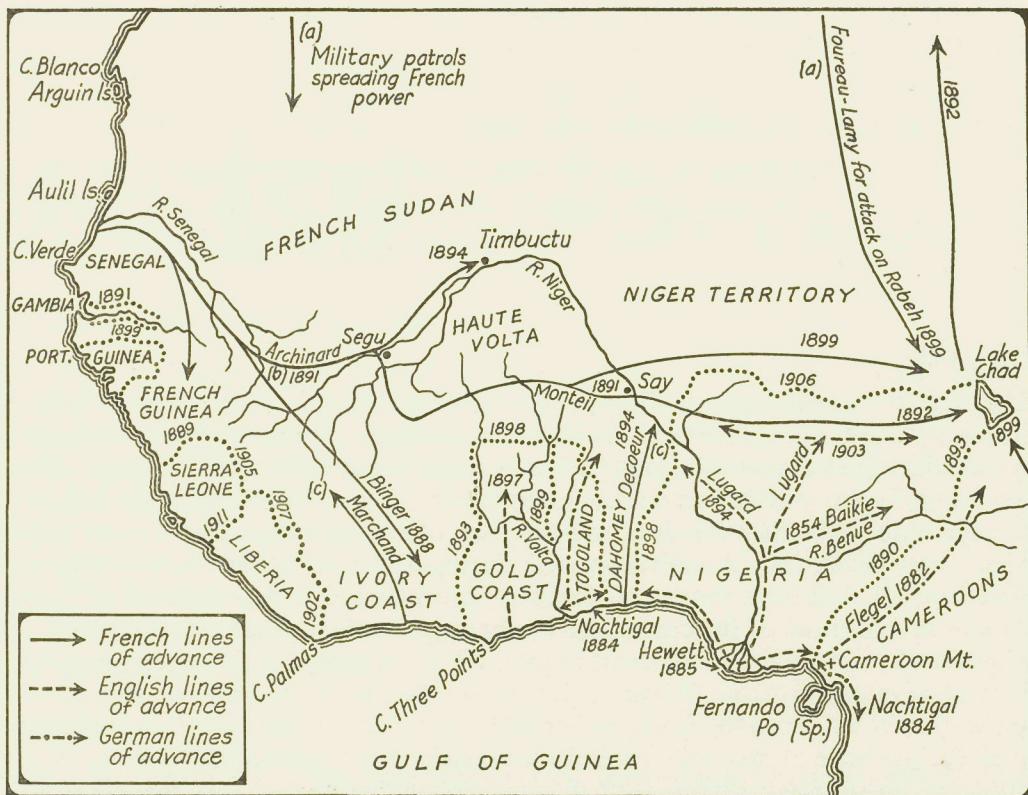
### GERMANY

It was not until A.D. 1884 that the German government decided to take colonies to supply both raw materials and markets for German industry. Almost overnight Nächtigal annexed the coast of Togoland and the Cameroons.

### THE BERLIN CONFERENCE A.D. 1884-85

Tension between the European nations grew as they tried to establish their claims to African territory. Germany took the lead in calling a conference of European powers to discuss the whole question. An agreement was signed at Berlin in A.D. 1885 which it was hoped would establish a principle for future action. One clause stipulated that navigation of the Congo and the Niger should be free. It was then laid down that no protectorates of African coast line would be valid unless they were accompanied by "effective occupation".

Immediately the agreement was signed the nations rushed to make treaties with coastal chiefs, in order to establish protectorate areas. Then another problem arose.



For a time it was assumed that a protectorate on the coast carried with it a sphere of influence in the hinterland. Within a short time France was challenging German power in the hinterland of Togoland and the Cameroons and British power inland from Lagos and the Niger delta. In A.D. 1890 another conference was called at Brussels where it was decided that effective occupation must apply to the interior of Africa as well as the coastline. Until the outbreak of the Great War in 1914 a series of disputes arose between France, Britain and Germany, Portugal and Britain, and between Germany and Britain over the frontiers of their relative spheres of influence. These disputes led to the establishment of boundary commissions to survey the territory and fix the boundaries. The frontiers settled took little account of tribal divisions; they were a compromise between the claims of the interested European parties.

### CONCLUSION

By the end of the century the greater part of West Africa had been partitioned between France, Britain, and Germany. The French had gained nearly three-quarters of the area but only about one-half of the population. British gains, though less than a quarter the size of the French, yet contained a population twice as dense. Portugal retained her Guinea settlement, Liberia remained independent and Germany acquired two colonies, Togoland and the Cameroons.

# Senegal

## FRENCH ADVANCE A.D. 1817-65

In A.D. 1817 Britain restored Gorée and St Louis to France. There were two main developments in the region in the next fifty years: (a) the encouragement of agriculture by providing new implements and by introducing the cultivation of groundnuts, (b) the extension of French influence along the Senegal valley. Military posts were established at Dagama, Bakel, and Sédiou on the Casamance. However, the Trarza and Brakna Moors were always hostile.

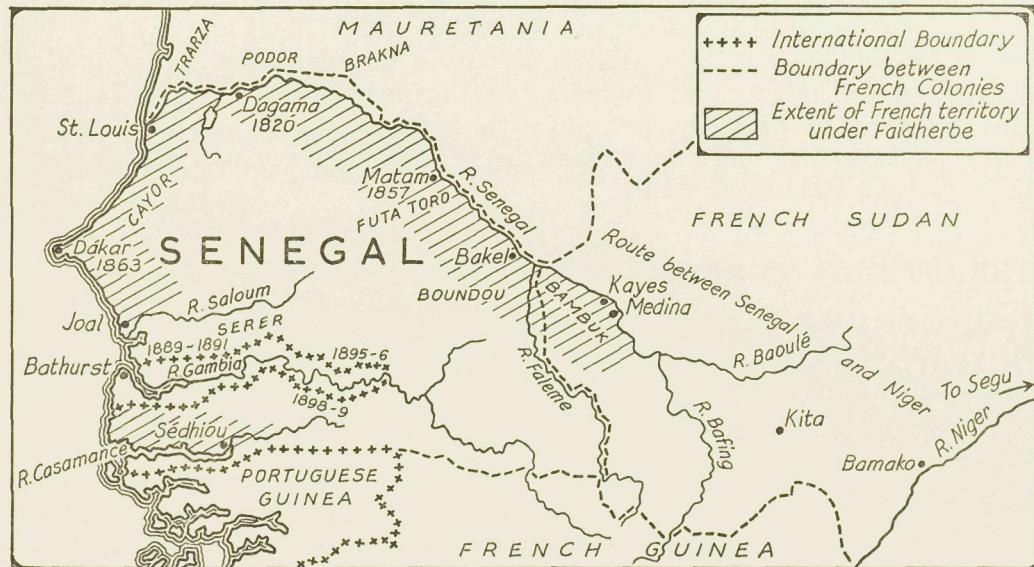
## FAIDHERBE A.D. 1854-65

Faidherbe determined to destroy the power of the Moors and make the country safe for trade. Within ten years he had defeated the Brakna and Trarza Moors and the chief of Podor. He constructed forts at Matam, Bakel and Medina. He occupied Dakar, later an important port, and Futa Toro. El Hadj Omar had no success in his attacks on the French. Faidherbe also encouraged exploration of Futa Jallon and the route between the Senegal and the Niger at Segu.

Peace and order were increased in Senegal by the organization of a body of mobile Senegalese troops. A school was set up for the sons of influential chiefs.

## FURTHER EXPANSION

A halt in expansion followed the disasters of the Franco-Prussian War (A.D. 1870-71). The government of the Third Republic once established encouraged colonial expansion in West Africa. During the 1880's the French occupied Cayor; the chiefs of



Saloum, Rip and Niom signed treaties of alliance and commerce. The Serers came under control in A.D. 1891, Casamance in A.D. 1893, and Baol in A.D. 1894. The boundaries of the province of Senegal were adjusted later. Once order was secure, expeditions pushed from Senegal to Segu, Timbuctu, Say and Lake Chad.

### THE ADMINISTRATION

The form of government set up in Senegal was applied to all the French colonies in West Africa. By A.D. 1824 a judicial administration enforced the French penal code. In A.D. 1840 the government included a governor resident in St Louis, assisted by an executive staff, and a non-elective legislative council. However, the French Assembly could pass laws which applied to the colony; in A.D. 1871 Senegal sent a representative to the French National Assembly. The following year St Louis, and Gorée were organized as communes and African residents as well as Europeans were regarded as citizens with the same duties. In A.D. 1895 the Government of French West Africa was set up under the Governor of Senegal; but in 1902 a separate office of Governor-General was established and the Governor of Senegal was subject to him, as were the governors of the other colonies. The Governor-General was to be resident in Dakar.

## 17

# French Sudan

### EARLY INTEREST

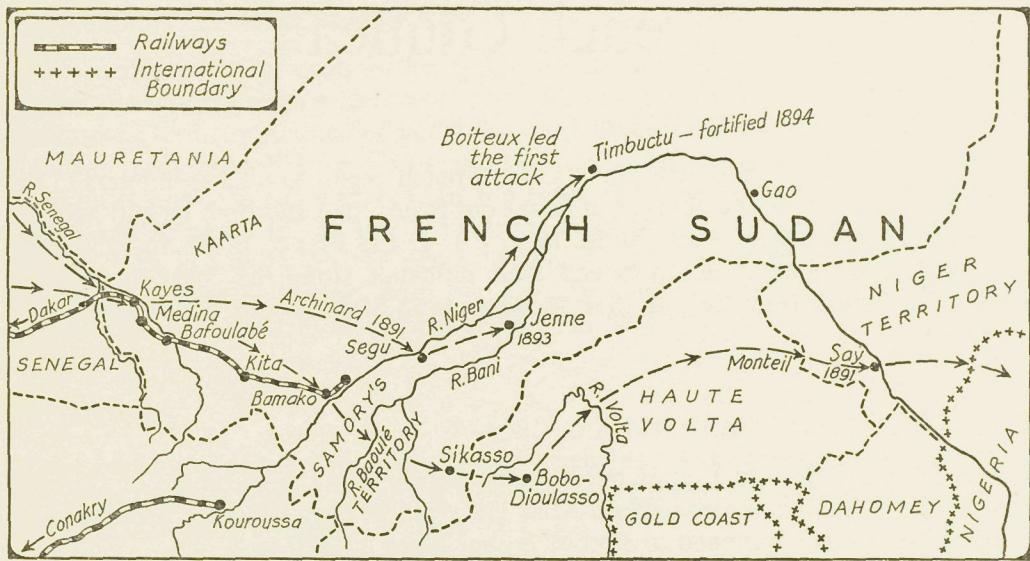
As early as the seventeenth century Frenchmen had visited the Sudan area, drawn thither by the search for gold and the stories of Timbuctu. In A.D. 1630 Paul Imbert was captured by natives and taken to the city; in A.D. 1697 André Brue carried out explorations. Expeditions were sent to Bambuk in A.D. 1730-31 and in A.D. 1756 in search for gold. In A.D. 1818 Mollien discovered the sources of the Gambia and Senegal; in A.D. 1828 Caillié, disguised as an Egyptian Muslim, reached Timbuctu. He insisted that the route from St Louis to the Niger was shorter and easier than that across the Sahara for trade. Faidherbe's aim in pacifying the interior of Senegal was to prepare the way for this route.

### THE OPENING UP OF THE ROUTE TO THE NIGER

Faidherbe sent out Lt. Mage and Dr. Quintin to explore the route to Bamako and start a line of military posts some 25 to 30 leagues apart between Medina and the Niger. Once the Niger was reached, navigation thereon could be developed. Posts were set up at Bafoulabé and Kita. Segu was reached in A.D. 1864. Once the French pushed into the upper reaches of the Senegal valley, they found themselves opposed by Ahmadu, the son of El Hadj Omar, and Samory, the notorious slave dealer holding the land between the Tinkisso and the upper Volta. His sixteen years' resistance, A.D. 1882-98, held up the French advance beyond the Segu. However, the railway line

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was begun in A.D. 1881. When a fort was built at Bamako in A.D. 1883, a telegraph line was also laid.

#### ADVANCE FROM THE NIGER TO LAKE CHAD

Ahmadu from his base in Kaarta tried to destroy French communications. By the Berlin Treaty of A.D. 1885 French suzerainty in the upper Niger valley was recognized by the European powers. Gallieni and his successor Archinard succeeded in driving Ahmadu from Kaarta and Massina and Samory from the banks of the Niger. After that French advance was rapid. In A.D. 1890 an Anglo-French agreement limited English influence south of the line from Say to Borrowa on Lake Chad. Early in A.D. 1894 the French occupied Timbuctu and fortified the city against the Tuaregs. The final struggle with Samory began in A.D. 1898. He was besieged in Bobo-Dioulasso which fell. Sikasso followed. Samory was captured and deported to the Congo where he died.

By A.D. 1891 Monteil had reached Say on the Niger. In 1900 an expedition from the Niger joined the Foureau-Lamy force from Tripoli near Lake Chad for an advance on Rabeh.

#### CONCLUSION

Peaceful development went side by side with expansion. In 1904 the railway had reached Koulikoro on the Niger and twenty years later the through line to Dakar was completed. In 1904 the colony was organized separately and under the name of French Sudan in 1920.

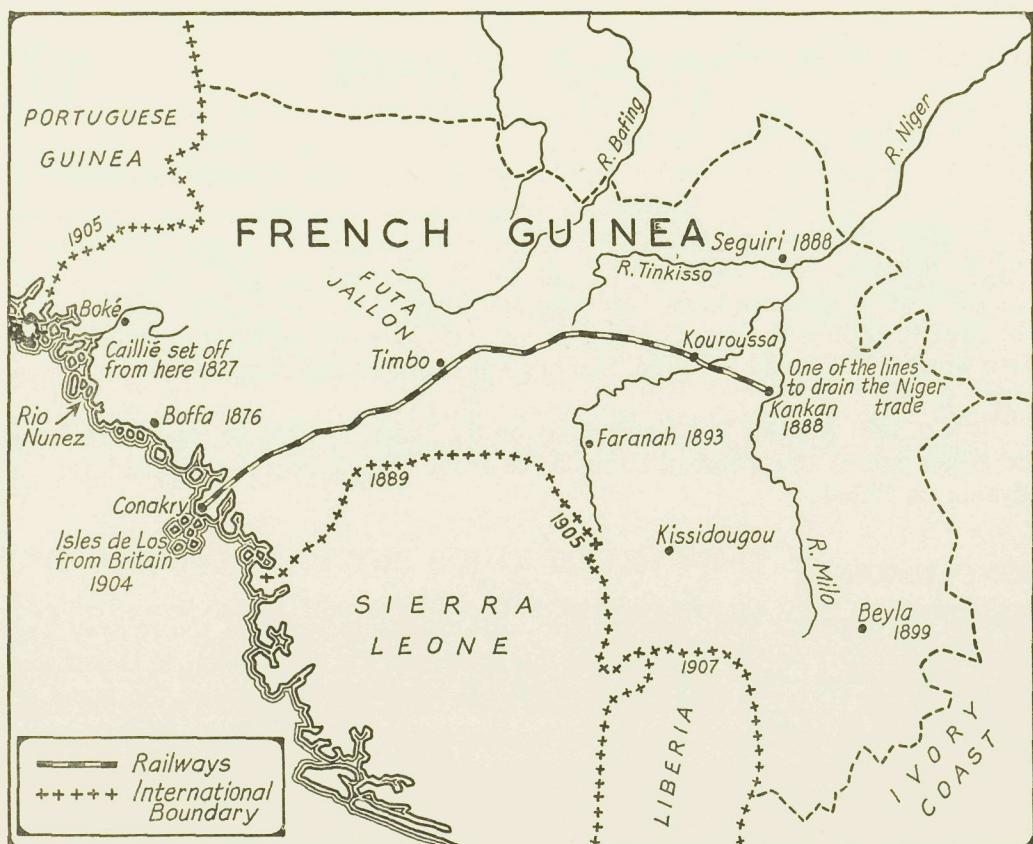
# French Guinea

## FRENCH GUINEA A.D. 1815-66

Soon after the end of the European War the French began to take an interest in the land near the Rio Nunez estuary. Caillié set out from Boké and both he and Mollien crossed the highlands of Futa Jallon. In A.D. 1849 the French made an agreement with local chiefs and began to extend their influence along the coast in order to prevent the British from uniting their settlements in Sierra Leone with those of the Gambia.

## EXCHANGE NEGOTIATIONS A.D. 1866-76

In A.D. 1866 Britain and France opened negotiations for the exchange of Gambia territory for French bases elsewhere. After ten years of discussion the proposal was dropped and France hastened to strengthen her bases in Guinea.



## EXPANSION TO THE INTERIOR

Advance did not make much further progress until the 1880's. Futa Jallon accepted a French protectorate and a railway concession was granted for a line to Timbo. By agreement Germany renounced her posts on the coast and in A.D. 1886 Britain and Portugal recognized France's possession of the coast. In A.D. 1887 the island of Toumba (Conakry) was annexed. In the following year forts were constructed at Siguiri and Kankan. In the 1890's Faranah, Kissidougou and Beyla were added to Guinea. The first work on the route to the Niger was started in A.D. 1895. One year later another agreement with the Almany placed Futa Jallon under French occupation and a resident was appointed to Timbo.

## FRONTIERS

At the beginning of the twentieth century agreements were reached fixing the frontiers with Sierra Leone, Portuguese Guinea, and Liberia. Britain handed over the islands of Los lying opposite Conakry.

## ADMINISTRATION

In A.D. 1891 this territory was given an administration separate from Senegal but it did not receive its present name until A.D. 1893. When the Government of French West Africa was created, French Guinea was one of the colonies under the Governor-General.

**19**

# The Ivory Coast

## THE IVORY COAST

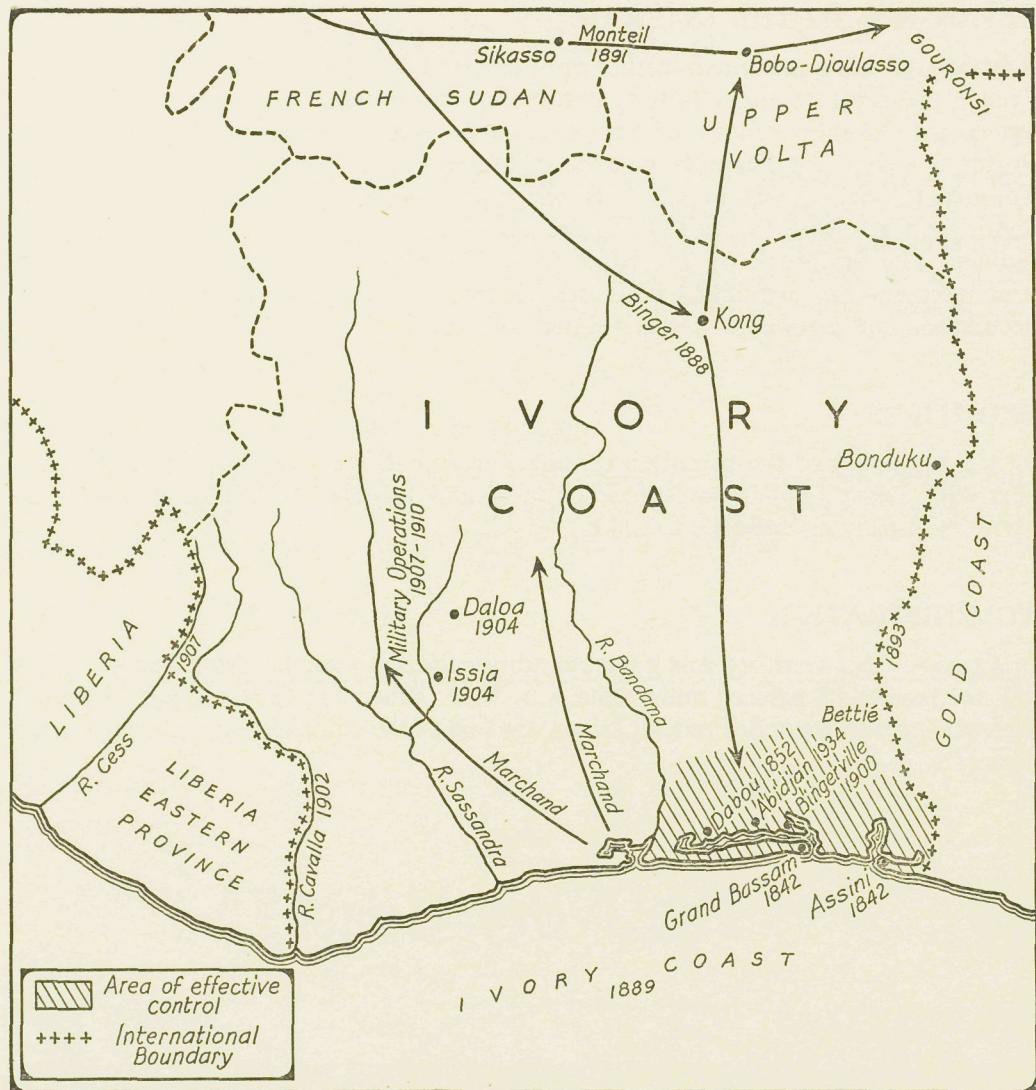
This coast did not attract merchants because of the heavy surf; but for a time Roman Catholic missionaries were established at Assini.

## FOUNDING THE COLONY A.D. 1830-71

Bouet-Willaumez laid the foundations of the colony by his cruises along the coast in A.D. 1830. In A.D. 1842 Assini and Grand Bassam were ceded by the coastal chiefs to France. Faidherbe built a fort at Dabou, a short distance inland.

## EXPANSION

After A.D. 1871 little was done except that Treich-Laplène made several journeys into the interior to Bettié, Bonduku and Kong. When the Berlin Treaty of A.D. 1885 stated that annexation of colonial territories could be recognized only if there were



effective occupation, Treich-Laplène made treaties with chiefs in the interior. The name Ivory Coast was given to the French-controlled area in A.D. 1889.

### THE HINTERLAND

The exploration of the hinterland of the Ivory Coast went hand in hand with that of French Sudan. For example, Binger reached the Ivory Coast by way of the Niger tributaries. Later he explored the Kong area, while Marchand, the resident at Sikasso, studied the valleys of the Banifing, Bani and Sassandra. Not until after the defeat of Samory was the interior brought under effective control. The last risings were quelled in 1910.

## ADMINISTRATION AND FRONTIERS

The Ivory Coast was proclaimed a colony in A.D. 1893 and its frontier with the Gold Coast fixed; but it was some years before the British evacuated Bonduku. The first capital was Grand Bassam. After a severe outbreak of yellow fever it was moved to Bingerville in 1900 and finally to Abidjan in 1934. The boundary between the Ivory Coast and Liberia was fixed in 1902 and in 1907 along the Cavalla river.

# 20

## Dahomey

### INTRODUCTION

The only contact which the people of Dahomey had with the Europeans for many years was through Whydah and the other slave ports. Portuguese, British and French all had bases there. During the wars in Europe (A.D. 1793-1815) French interests were guarded by the Marseilles firm of Régis. After the British Governor of the Gold Coast had visited the Dahomean king to persuade him to give up the slave trade, Ghezo made a treaty with the French. However, by A.D. 1863 combined British and French action had practically stopped the slave trade from Whydah as well as from Badagry and Lagos.

### ADVANCE ON THE COAST

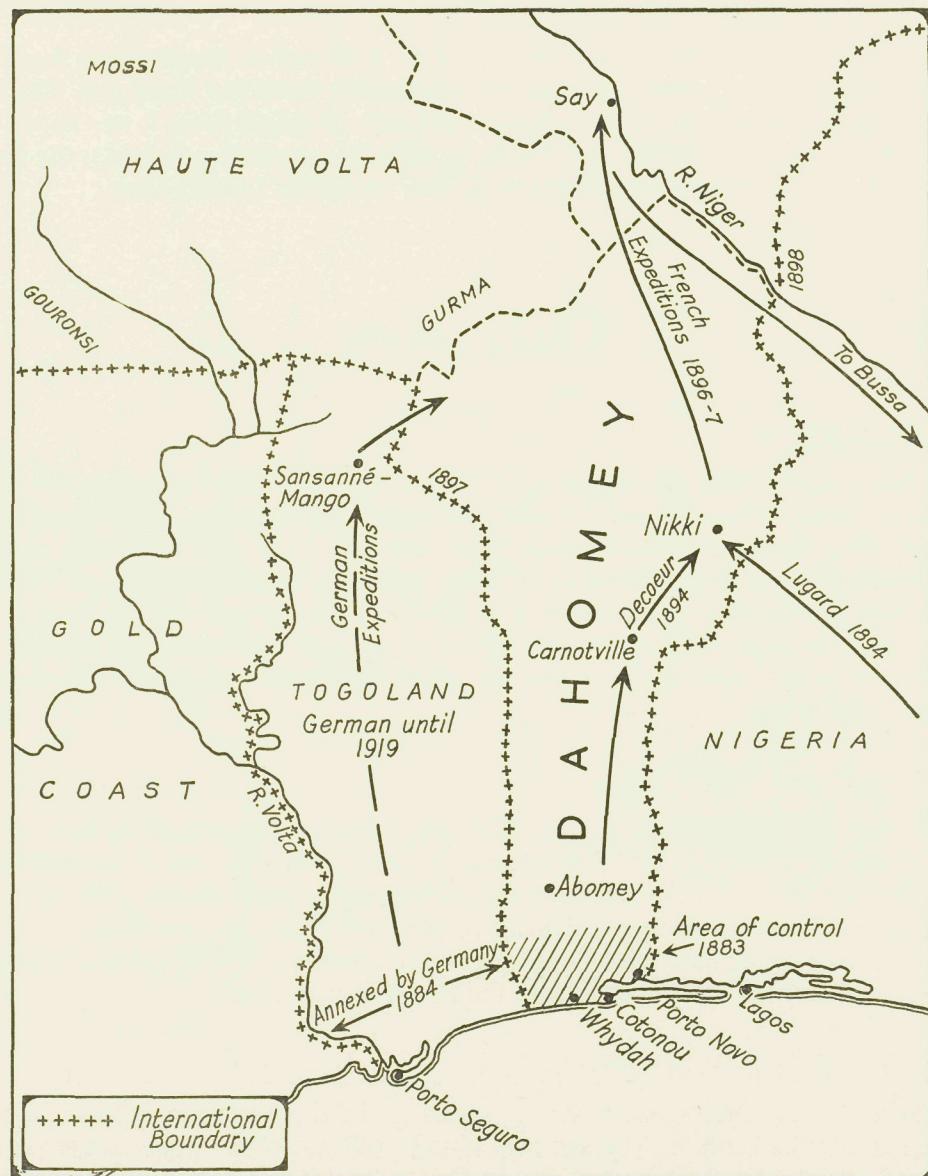
The French obtained various bases on the coast, but were unable to expand inland: A.D. 1864 Petit Popo; A.D. 1868 Agoué and Porto Seguro; A.D. 1875 Cotonou, and in A.D. 1882 Porto Novo. The French then proclaimed a protectorate over the whole coast, under the name of the Settlement of the Gulf of Guinea. An agreement with Germany over the frontier with Togoland was reached in A.D. 1888; discussions over the Nigerian frontier were opened with the British in A.D. 1889.

### THE STRUGGLE WITH BEHANZIN

Behanzin, the last Dahomean king, succeeded to the throne in A.D. 1889 and immediately attacked Cotonou. The struggle lasted until A.D. 1894 when Behanzin was captured and deported. Dahomey and its Dependencies was declared a French protectorate. It was bounded on the east by Nigeria and on the west by Togoland.

### PENETRATION TO THE NIGER

The French were anxious to push inland to the west bank of the Niger, particularly when they heard that two expeditions, one German under Grüner, and one British under Lugard, had left for Borgu. Two French missions went north. All these parties, German, British and French, tried to make treaties with the native chiefs and disputed the validity of the others. French missions in A.D. 1896 and 1897 proved a serious threat to the power of the Royal Niger Company around Bussa.

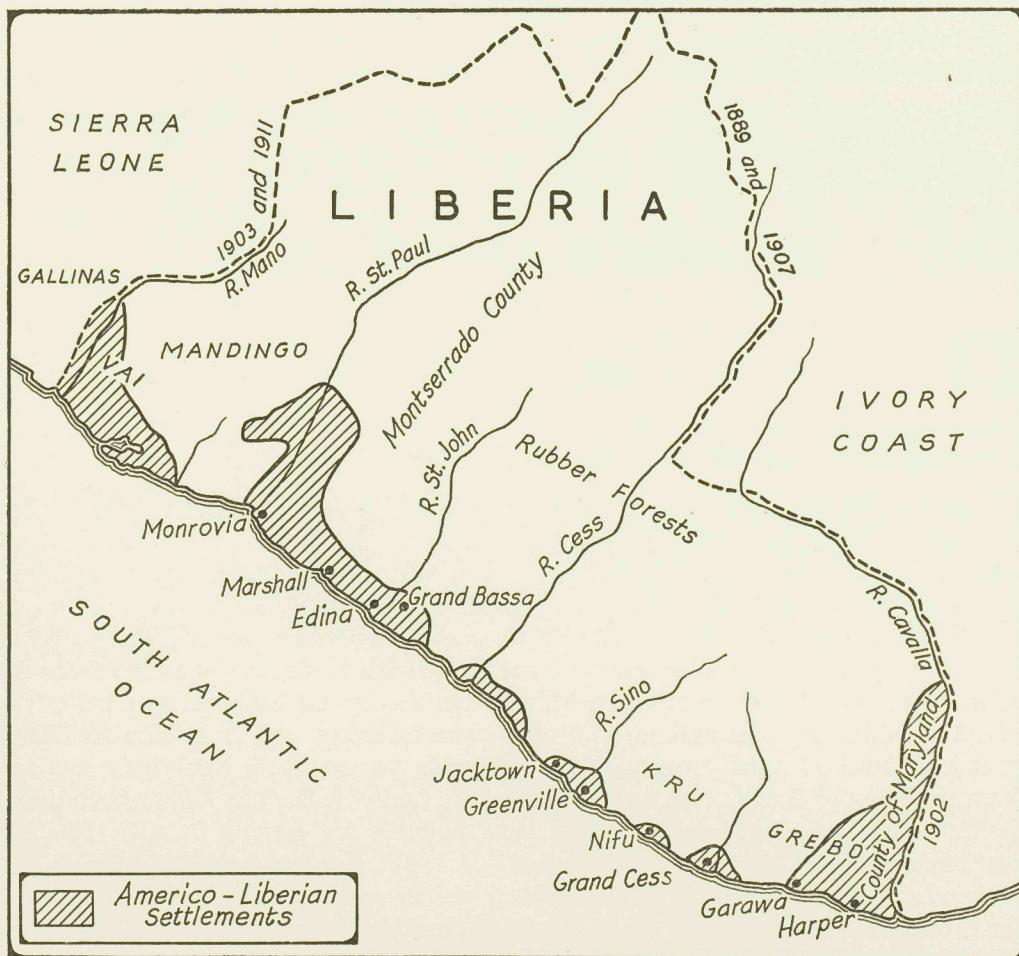


### FRONTIER SETTLEMENT

A Franco-German Convention fixed the frontier between Togoland and Dahomey further north in A.D. 1897. France secured Gurma and the Germans Sansanne-Mango. By A.D. 1898 France and Britain reached an agreement giving France access to the Niger through French Sudan, as well as part of Gouronsi territory and the whole of Mossi country. Britain kept control of the Niger north of Bussa.

## THE FOUNDING OF LIBERIA

After the Declaration of Independence some Americans freed their slaves. These freed Negroes had difficulty in making a living. In A.D. 1816 a society called the American Colonization Society was founded to restore freed slaves to Africa. The government agreed to provide transport. In A.D. 1820, the ship *Elizabeth* with 88 Negroes aboard reached Africa. Though fever carried off all the white officials and many Negroes, a settlement was made which became Monrovia. Between the first group of settlers and the end of the American Civil War (A.D. 1865) about 20,000 slaves were carried back to Africa. The half-castes among them soon died of fever and the states were settled progressively by more full-blooded Negroes.



## DEVELOPMENT OF THE CONSTITUTION

The United States government gave the colony some self-government in A.D. 1825, and increased it in A.D. 1838 when all the settlements except Maryland united. Until A.D. 1846, the American Colonial Society supported the colony. Then Britain and other powers began to ask the United States for an explanation of its status. In A.D. 1847, a new constitution was drawn up on the model of the American one giving Liberia complete independence. Most European countries recognized it in the next few years.

## INTERIOR EXPLORATION AND FRONTIERS

The infant colony suffered from attacks by the indigenous inhabitants and from civil wars in the interior. For many years there was no money to extend government inland, though Seymour and Ashe did try to explore the interior. In A.D. 1868 Benjamin Anderson set out on a long trek. As soon as Liberia started to expand, then difficulties occurred over the frontier with British and French possessions. Some questions were settled in 1903, but the final solution was not reached till 1907 with France and 1911 with England.

## DEVELOPMENT OF LIBERIA

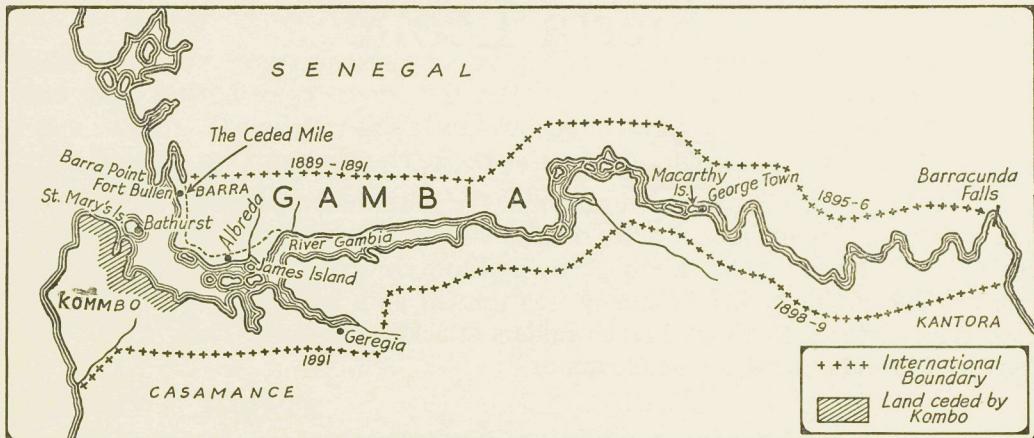
From its foundation, Liberia has suffered from lack of money. There was no capital to develop its mineral deposits, and its trade was less than that of the British and French colonies on either side. From 1912 the American government has provided some financial and technical help. The developments of plantations by the Firestone Rubber Company has really put the republic on its feet financially.

22

# The Gambia

## THE GROWTH OF THE COLONY A.D. 1815-70

The fort on James Island was Britain's oldest West African settlement. It had fallen into disuse but in A.D. 1815 Sir Charles Macarthy, the Governor of Sierra Leone, urged its re-occupation as a base for operations against slave traders. Captain Grant, who was sent to report on it, said that the buildings were in a state of serious disrepair and that the King of Barra was likely to prove a nuisance. Instead the island of Banjol, lying at the mouth of the river near the south bank, was acquired from the King of Kommo and renamed St Mary's. On this island Bathurst was built. The island of Macarthy was purchased by the government in A.D. 1823; in A.D. 1826 a stretch of land 30 miles long and one mile wide on the north bank was obtained from the King of Barra. This was known as the Ceded Mile. The King of Kommo handed over some land on the south bank suitable for grazing in A.D. 1840. An agreement with the French was reached in A.D. 1857 for the exchange of Alreda and Portendik. The whole extent of the Colony was 69 square miles. Negotiations with the French (A.D. 1866-76) for the exchange of Gambia for some French West African territory failed.



### THE PROTECTORATE

The French at Albreda urged on the local chiefs to attack the small settlements. Then serious tribal wars developed in the interior owing to the Muslim religious fanaticism of the Marabouts towards their less devout kinsman. In A.D. 1880 when the "Grab for Africa" was beginning, an expedition was sent to the upper Gambia to obtain accurate information as to its commercial value. Dr. Gouldsbury wrote an adverse report, so the French were allowed to establish themselves beyond the Barracunda Falls and in Futa Jallon. An Anglo-French Convention met in A.D. 1889 to discuss boundaries. A series of commissions, A.D. 1891-99, succeeded in delimiting them. The Gambia became a narrow state stretching 200 miles along the Gambia, but only a few miles wide. Its total area was only about 5,000 square miles.

### THE PACIFICATION OF THE PROTECTORATE

Many chiefs sought British protection from the inter-tribal wars. The government had to take action in the areas within the new boundaries. At this time two Marabout chiefs, Fodi Kabba and Fodi Silla, were causing trouble. After an attack in A.D. 1894 Fodi Silla fled to French territory. There he surrendered and was deported to St Louis where he died. Fodi Kabba also retired to French territory. In 1900 he instigated the murder of two British travelling commissioners. However, in a combined French and British attack his strongholds were destroyed and he himself killed. That ended the disorders.

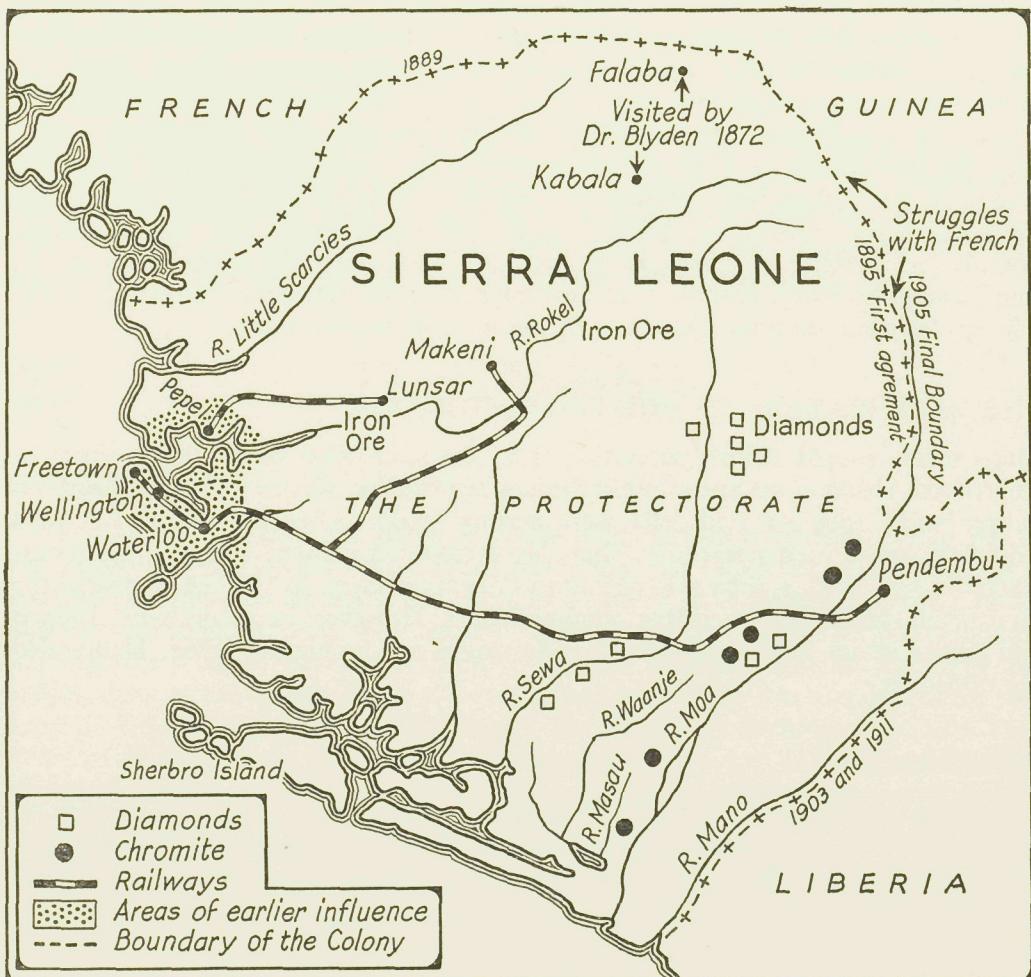
### GOVERNMENT

The colony is governed by the Governor and an executive and legislative council, on which, since 1953, more elected representatives have sat. The Protectorate was administered by a Senior Commissioner and four commissioners administering 35 districts by a system of indirect rule.

# Sierra Leone

## THE FOUNDATION

After the Mansfield Judgement of A.D. 1772 about 14,000 slaves in England were freed, but they had no means of livelihood. Dr. Smeathman proposed that they be sent to Africa. Twenty square miles of land were purchased from King Naimbana. The first settlement was destroyed partly by fever and partly by attacks from local peoples. The Sierra Leone Company was formed as a business undertaking. The freed slaves refused to work. French raiders attacked the town. Then in A.D. 1794 Zachary Macaulay went out as Governor.



### THE EXPANSION OF THE COLONY

Under Macaulay, Freetown was rebuilt and agriculture flourished. In the next twenty years there arrived freed slaves, 500 maroons from Jamaica, and disbanded West Indian soldiers. These latter settled in Wellington and Waterloo. In A.D. 1808 Sierra Leone became a Crown Colony. Freetown was the naval base for the anti-slave patrol. Slaves released from ships were settled on the land and given a maintenance grant. This policy was criticized severely by the government because of the expense. Sir Charles Macarthy (A.D. 1814-24) and his successors wished to expand inland to stop inter-tribal wars and thus encourage trade. This policy was condemned by Britain until the 1870's.

### THE PROTECTORATE

French expansion to the north and east alarmed the government. In A.D. 1872 Dr. Blyden was sent to explore in the regions of Falaba and Timbo. Nothing further was done until a collision occurred between French and British troops. By an Anglo-French agreement of A.D. 1895 Britain gained control of 26,000 square miles, which became the Protectorate in the following year. A revolt of the Mende chiefs broke out when the government tried to suppress the slave trade and levy a hut tax. The revolt was suppressed but hundreds of Sierra Leoneans perished.

### DEVELOPMENT IN THE TWENTIETH CENTURY

The Colony and Protectorate remained poor until the 1930's for internal trade was unsatisfactory. Then the deposits of iron ore and diamonds began to be developed by European mining companies.

In A.D. 1863 the Colony received a legislative and executive council. In 1922 a constitution provided for the election of African legislative councillors. In 1948 the number of unofficial members exceeded the official ones. In the Protectorate the system of indirect rule was followed. Local government passed more and more into the hands of tribal authorities under the supervision of British officials. Then in August 1958 the full ministerial government was introduced, followed in April 1961 by independence with the Commonwealth.

## 24 The Emergence of Modern Ghana

### THE SITUATION ON THE GOLD COAST IN A.D. 1800

During the eighteenth century two powerful federations had grown up in the territory now known as Ghana. The Fante confederation in the coastal areas faced the more powerful Ashanti union inland.

Along the coast were British, Dutch, and Danish forts and trading stations; the

native peoples in the vicinity of the forts were much influenced by the Europeans. Then the whole trade of the coast was upset in A.D. 1807 by the abolition of the slave trade by Great Britain.

### BRITISH POLICY IN THE NINETEENTH CENTURY

During the whole of the century British policy was wavering and inconsistent. The government did not wish to extend its power but could not withdraw altogether because of British merchants established there. The policy alternated between crown control and merchant control; between linking the Gold Coast to Sierra Leone and separating it from that colony. The home government did not want the expense of ruling and yet could not raise money locally by tariffs because of the competition from Danish and Dutch trading companies.

### THE GROWTH OF THE GOLD COAST PROTECTORATE

A Parliamentary Commission of A.D. 1821 abolished the Africa Company. The Gold Coast came under crown control and the Governor of Sierra Leone was responsible for the administration. Eight years later all garrisons were withdrawn and a committee of merchants was entrusted with the direction of affairs.

### CAPTAIN GEORGE MACLEAN

Maclean was the first president of this council and, in spite of the jealousy and opposition of the members, he managed to restore the confidence of the coastal peoples in the good faith of the British government. He used his influence for the abolition of barbarous customs and extended British jurisdiction by his reputation as a judge. A Parliamentary Select Committee in A.D. 1842 recommended that his work be carried on and that formal treaties be made to legalize British jurisdiction there. The following year the crown took over the settlements once more.

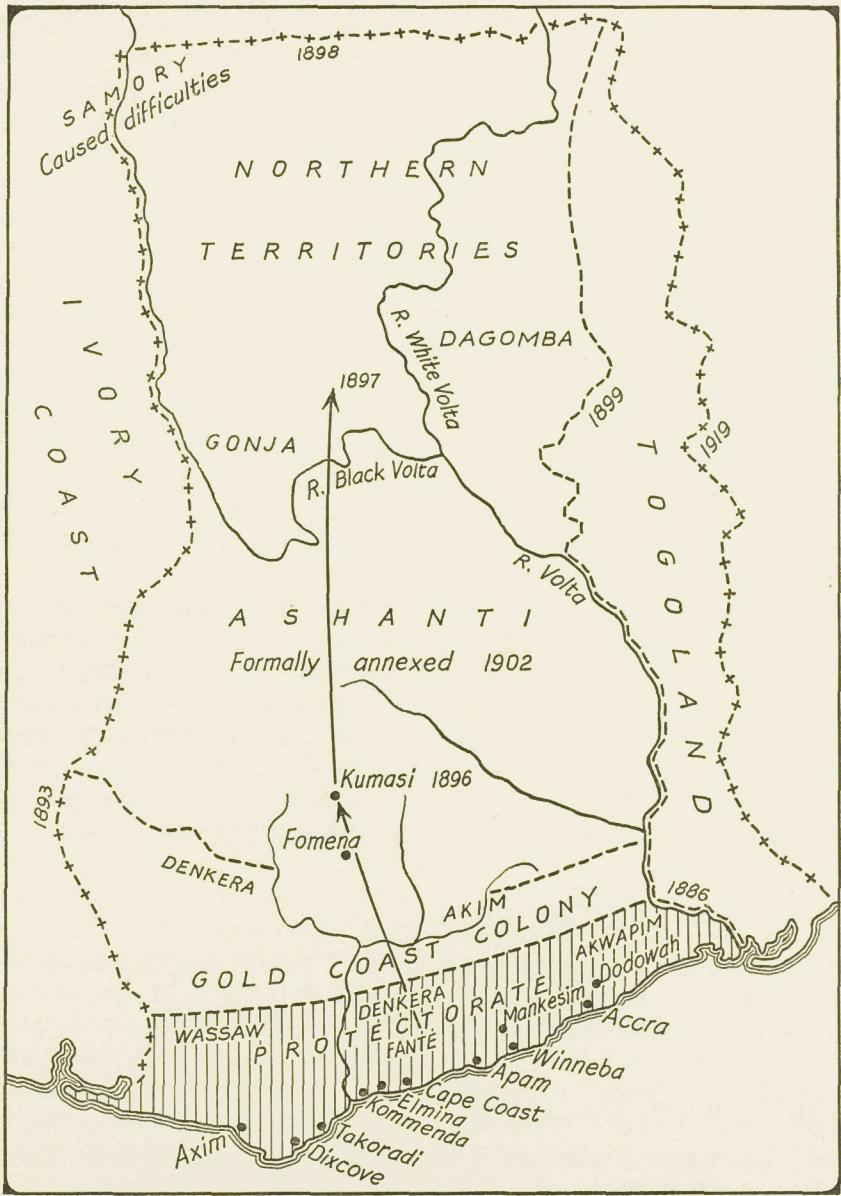
### THE "PROTECTORATE"

These treaties were known as "bonds" and introduced a period sometimes known as the "Protectorate", though the crown claimed no territorial sovereignty. In A.D. 1850 the Danish forts were purchased by the British. Relations with the coastal tribes were unhappy at this time. A premature attempt to raise money locally for schools, roads and hospitals by a poll tax failed miserably.

### THE MANKESSIM CONSTITUTION

In A.D. 1864 Colonel Ord's Commission of Investigation issued its report. The Fante thought that the British were preparing to withdraw. In A.D. 1871 some educated men and chiefs drew up a federal constitution to take over when this happened. The British administration chose to believe it was a conspiracy and arrested some of the leaders.

In A.D. 1874 the Gold Coast and Lagos were once more separated from Sierra



Extension of British Control in the Gold Coast

Leone. Together they formed the Gold Coast Colony. This time the British government claimed the right to exercise jurisdiction. The Fante chiefs protested against being treated as conquered tribes.

#### RELATIONS WITH THE ASHANTI

Between the Fante states on the coast and the Ashanti Confederacy there was hostility. This was increased when the Ashanti set out to conquer the people between themselves and the coast, partly to share in the profitable slave trade and partly to

get more guns and ammunition for their raids to the north. The coastal people thought that the British forts should defend them against attack. But Britain did not wish to be involved in expensive tribal wars. Yet in A.D. 1806 and 1823, British troops had to be used to strengthen the allies and to protect the forts. The Governor Sir Charles Macarthy was killed in one engagement. No real peace was made; negotiations dragged on; various crises occurred; accusations of bad faith came from both sides.

In the 1860's the situation became serious once more. In A.D. 1863, the Ashanti attacked the "Protectorate" when the British Governor refused to send back to Kumasi two fugitives from justice. The hostilities dragged on because the British on the Gold Coast could not take strong action. Then in A.D. 1867, a new Asantehene was enstooled with the backing of the war party. Relations were further complicated by the sale of Elmina by the Dutch to Britain. The people of Elmina did not want British rule. Furthermore, the Dutch had paid rent to the Ashanti for the land. The Ashanti decided on war in support of Elmina. The war continued until A.D. 1874, when Sir Garnet Wolseley was sent to subdue the Ashanti. He attacked and captured Kumasi, but the more important chiefs and the Asantehene had fled. Finally agreement was reached in the treaty of Fomena. This governed relations between the British and the Asantehene for twenty years.

Meanwhile civil war broke out among the Ashanti. The succession was not settled until "Premeh" was enstooled in A.D. 1888. Soon after the Ashanti were asked to accept a British resident. The request was so worded that it seemed like a prelude to annexation. In A.D. 1895 war broke out once more, and again Kumasi was taken. "Premeh" and the leading chiefs were deported to the Seychelles. This, the Ashanti regarded as a breach of faith. In 1900, when the British Governor demanded the sacred Golden Stool, resentment broke into open revolt. The Governor and his lady were besieged in the fort at Kumasi. When the war ended Ashanti-land was annexed.

### THE ORDERS-IN-COUNCIL 1902

Three Orders-in-Council concerned the affairs of the Colony, Ashanti-land and the Northern Territories. Ashanti territory, being formally annexed, was placed under a chief commissioner responsible to the Governor.

### THE NORTHERN TERRITORIES

The British government had been forced to organize the Northern Territories to protect the Ashanti peoples and traders from the attacks of Samory, the slave raider, and to restrain French advance from the Niger and German advance from Togoland. In A.D. 1889, 1893 and 1898 Anglo-French boundary commissions reached agreement on the boundaries of the Gold Coast with the Ivory Coast and the French Sudan.

### THE EASTERN BOUNDARY

In A.D. 1886 the boundary with German Togoland was defined to a distance of two and a half miles inland. When the Germans occupied territories further inland again, the British did the same until in A.D. 1899 the frontiers were finally agreed upon. These frontiers were drawn without reference to the tribes living in that area.

## THE EMERGENCE OF MODERN GHANA

As early as A.D. 1850 a legislative council had been established for the coastal areas to pass laws with the consent of the Governor. The Africans in the area were ignorant of British ideas of legislative councils so at first they had not power to elect members. In fact the early members were largely officials, but in time unofficial members, usually British residents, were appointed. Before A.D. 1890 some educated Africans received nomination.

Government other than central was administered directly by British district officers. However, the system when applied to the Ashanti areas proved very unpopular. The researches of Rattray, a government anthropologist, showed that the political, social and religious customs of the Ashantis were closely connected, so that it was impossible to separate administration from religion. This new understanding led to the introduction of a system of indirect rule. In 1924 "Prempeh" was brought back from exile and enstooled as Kumasihene. His successor in 1935 became Asantehene. An Ashanti Confederacy Council with certain governmental powers was set up. In 1943 all the lands at Kumasi which had been declared crown land when Ashanti was annexed were ceded to the Asantehene to support the dignity of the Golden Stool.

In the Northern Territories like Gonja, Dagomba and Mamprussi, the ruling aristocracy tended to lose its powers when the opportunities for fighting ended. In 1925 an investigation proved that the tribal chiefs still had a good deal of authority and indirect rule was set up there also. A tribal council of chiefs was established in the Northern Territories in 1946.

As the number of educated Africans grew, the demand for a greater share in the government increased. By a constitution in 1925 six of the 14 unofficial African members were to represent the provinces and three members were to be elected by the larger towns, Accra, Cape Coast and Sekondi. However, the official members still outnumbered the unofficial members by one. In fact, bills were rarely forced through against the opposition of all the unofficial members. In 1946 a new constitution abandoned the official majority and the number of elected African members exceeded the number of nominated ones. The executive machinery, however, was still controlled by the permanent officials. Further modification in 1954 granted the Gold Coast virtually full internal self government. This proved unsatisfactory and in 1956 a Round Table Conference was called. There still remained great differences of opinion. Finally, the British government suggested that a General Election be held in the Gold Coast and after that the home government would accept a motion calling for independence within the Commonwealth passed by a good majority of the newly elected assembly. After that motion had been made, in spite of opposition from the Ashantis and the Northern Territories, a constitution based on that of Great Britain was drawn up. On March 6th, 1957, the Gold Coast became the first African dominion of the Commonwealth, with the name of Ghana. Then, on July 1st, 1960, after a plebiscite on a proposed new constitution, it became a republic, still within the Commonwealth.

## 25 British Penetration of Nigeria

### BEGINNING OF INTEREST IN THE OIL RIVERS

British interest in the Oil Rivers and the coast of the Bight of Benin and Biafra was the result of the interest in the slave trade and to a lesser extent of the need for palm oil. Trade was carried on from hulks moored in the rivers since the local chiefs refused to allow agents to settle on land lest their own position as "middlemen" should be threatened.

With the abolition of the slave trade by Britain in A.D. 1807, the trade in palm oil was encouraged in the hope that it would replace that in slaves. The coast was patrolled by ships of the British navy to capture slavers slipping out of the lagoons and estuaries.

### PENETRATION INLAND

The discovery of the mouth of the Niger by the Lander brothers in A.D. 1830 opened a way for trade into the interior. One expedition was organized in A.D. 1832-34 by a private shipowner, MacGregor Laird, and another in A.D. 1841-42 by the British government to survey the possibilities of trade on the Niger and Chadda (Benue). The terrible loss of life due to fever discouraged further efforts until A.D. 1854 when Dr. Baikie led an expedition on which he demonstrated that the use of quinine prevented fever.

### THE NATIONAL AFRICA COMPANY

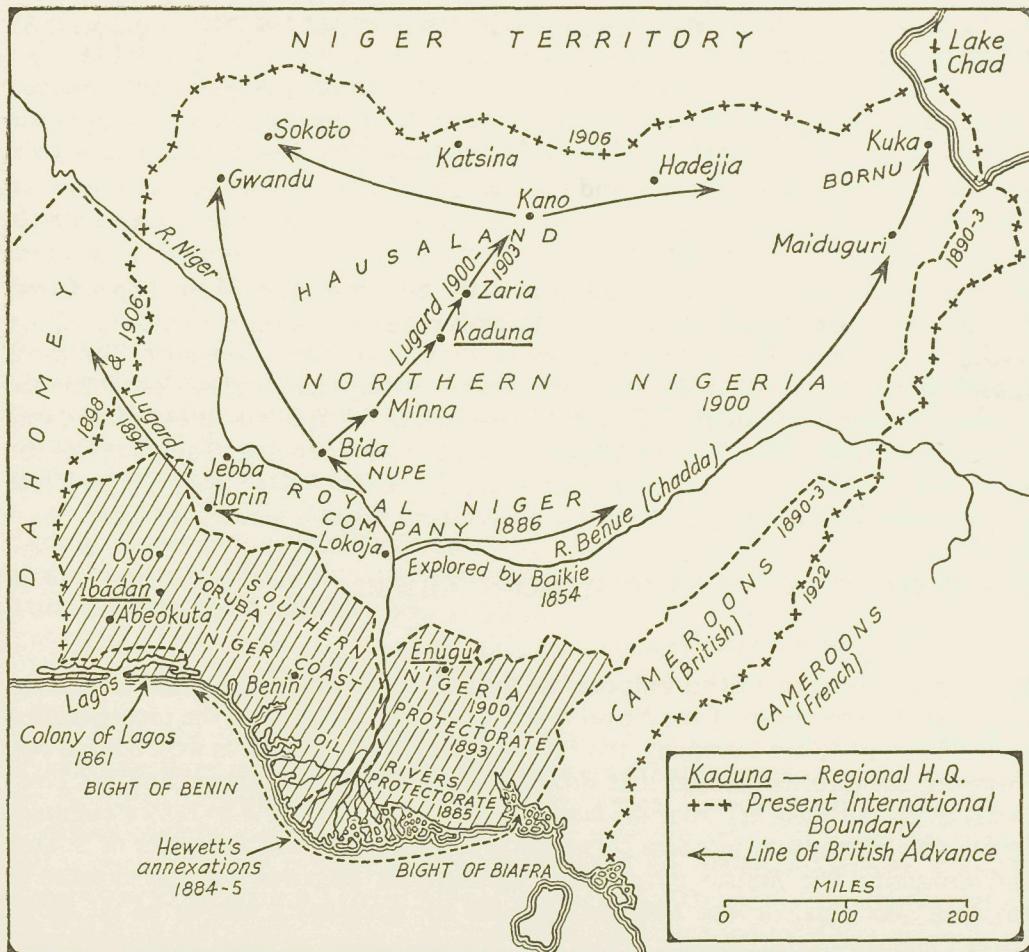
At first penetration of the Niger and the expansion of British influence on the Oil Rivers was left to individuals, such as John Beecroft. In A.D. 1849 he was made consul for the Bights of Benin and Biafra, to look after the interests of the British merchants trading along the coast from Dahomey to the Cameroons. By the 1850's some merchants were trading as far inland as Lokoja, Onitsha, and Abo. The trade was not very profitable owing to the continued hostility of the coastal tribes who saw their own trade threatened.

When George Taubmann Goldie visited the Oil Rivers in A.D. 1877 he realized that only strong organization could hope to combat local hostility and French rivalry. Owing to his efforts the various British Companies formed the United Africa Company in A.D. 1879. Three years later it was incorporated as the National Africa Company.

### PROTECTORATE OF SOUTHERN NIGERIA

#### (a) *The Oil Rivers Protectorate and the Niger Coast Protectorate*

Beecroft and later consuls had much influence with the local chiefs. The British government steadily refused to accept any responsibility. However, in A.D. 1884 Dr. Nächtigal annexed the Cameroon coast for Germany. Within a few months Consul



Growth of British Control in Nigeria

Hewett had made treaties with chiefs along the coast from Victoria to Lagos, so that in June A.D. 1885 a British Protectorate over the Oil Rivers was proclaimed. Until A.D. 1891, no real administration was established. Two years later the protectorate was extended to the hinterland and became the Niger Coast Protectorate.

#### (b) The Colony of Lagos

The port of Lagos continued during the first half of the nineteenth century to export increasing numbers of slaves. The civil wars of Yorubaland provided large numbers of captives for sale. The ruler of Lagos, Kosoko, refused British demands to stop the trade so the decision was taken to attack Lagos. In A.D. 1851 the town was captured; Kosoko was deposed and the rightful ruler, Akintoye, restored on condition that he abolished the traffic in slaves.

Both he and his son Dosumu tried to keep this promise but were too weak in the face of opposition from Portuguese traders and supporters of Kosoko. In A.D. 1861,

therefore, Dosumu was induced to sign an agreement for the annexation of Lagos to Britain in return for a pension.

For twenty years the port suffered from the internal wars between Ibadan, Abeokuta and the Fulani of Ilorin. In A.D. 1886 Ibadan and Abeokuta accepted the arbitration of the government at Lagos. At the same time Lagos became a colony separate from the Gold Coast.

#### *(c) The Protectorate of Southern Nigeria*

Once the British government had taken over the administration of the Niger Coast Protectorate, it was faced with the need to limit the power of the native rulers. They particularly resented the trade monopoly of the Royal Niger Company. The most difficult problem was the state of Benin where slavery and human sacrifice still continued. After the murder of Consul Philips in A.D. 1897, a strong expedition was sent against Benin. The town was captured and the king deposed. The power of the fetish leaders was also destroyed. In A.D. 1899, the charter of the Royal Niger Company was revoked and the Protectorate of Southern Nigeria created in 1900.

### THE PROTECTORATE OF NORTHERN NIGERIA

#### *(a) The Royal Niger Company*

The establishment of British influence in the Fulani emirates of the north was due largely to the enterprise of the Royal Niger Company. Soon after the incorporation of the National Africa Company, their French rivals in the delta area were bought out. However, the directors feared that French advance from the Senegal and the Ivory Coast might cut them off from the land north of Lokoja, so in A.D. 1885 a company agent, Mr. Thompson, was sent to secure trading treaties with the emirs of Sokoto and Gwandu. The British government was not yet prepared for the expense of governing the area. In A.D. 1886 they granted the company a charter as the Royal Niger Company to administer justice and maintain order in areas where they were authorized to do so by African chiefs.

#### *(b) The Protectorate of Northern Nigeria*

After the conquest of Dahomey the French made a great effort to push to the Niger, ignoring both agreements with Britain and treaties made between the Royal Niger Company and various chiefs. The British government was forced to assist in the defence of the Niger territories by raising the West African Frontier Force. Lugard was placed in command. This gave the government a direct interest in Nigeria. Finally in A.D. 1899 the charter of the Royal Niger Company was revoked and on the 1st January, 1900, the Protectorate of Northern Nigeria came into being. The Fulani emirates of Sokoto, Kano and Gwandu resented control and were not pacified until after the campaigns of Lugard 1900-03.

From the beginning a system of indirect rule was established. Firstly Lugard had not enough experienced administrators to control a large and densely populated area. Secondly, he had for some time believed in the advantages of indirect rule. In any case, an elaborate system of government existed in the larger Fulani emirates. Though it was, according to British standards, neither efficient nor honest, Lugard

retained the system, and appointed British Residents to help to increase the efficiency and check the worst abuses. The status of slavery was abolished, but Muslim law was maintained. The system of taxation was simplified; the emir's government handed over to the British authorities a fixed proportion of the revenue for the development of services, such as health, which they could not provide. The system worked fairly well though many Africans complain that it gave to the emirs greater powers than they had previously possessed. The greatest difficulty in the north was experienced in the pagan areas where no such government had existed and where firm control was necessary to suppress inhuman practices.

### UNION OF THE NORTHERN AND SOUTHERN PROTECTORATES

During the early part of the twentieth century the main problem was the development of communications from Lagos northwards. Slowly the railway was pushed forwards until in 1912 it reached Kano; by that time Lagos harbour had been deepened to receive ocean liners.

It was in 1912 that Lugard returned from Hong Kong to Nigeria where he was made governor of both the Northern and the Southern Protectorates to prepare the way for union. In 1914 that was completed and he became the first Governor-General, a title not used again until the 1950's.

### LATER PROGRESS

In 1914, for the first time, all parts of Nigeria were under a single administration, divided into three parts: the Colony of Nigeria (practically the old Colony of Lagos), the Northern Provinces and the Southern Provinces. The government was similar to earlier colonial governments. The governor was assisted by an executive council and a small advisory and deliberative body called the Nigerian Council. This was swept away in 1922 when a larger legislative council for the whole country was set up. On this body there were a certain number of unofficial elected members, though they were always outnumbered by the official and nominated ones. In 1929 the Northern Administration was reorganized to base it more closely on the customs of the people. In 1939 the Southern Provinces were divided into an Eastern and Western Region. During the Second World War Nigeria increased in prosperity. Educated Africans demanded a greater share in the government. As a result, after 1945, there were three constitutions in eight years.

The first change in 1947 set up a central Legislative Council for Nigeria and the Cameroons, and separate Houses of Assembly for the Northern, Western and Eastern Regions at Kaduna, Ibadan and Enugu respectively. In all of these there was an unofficial majority, as well as in the central council. Another constitution in 1951 proved unworkable. It was amended to provide greater regional authority. Between 1953 and 1954 negotiations took place both in Lagos and London which resulted in a new constitution. Lagos became Federal Territory, and the seat of the Federal Government. The Southern Cameroons was separated from the Eastern Region. There was to be a Governor-General at the head of the Federation and Governors in each of the regions. Each region has its own House of Assembly elected according to regulations (laid down by the Governors) which may differ for different

areas. In the Northern and Western Regions there are Houses of Chiefs. The relative powers of the central House of Representatives and those of the regional Houses of Assembly are laid down in the constitution. The Council of Ministers for the Federation is to be a policy-forming body. The Eastern and Western Regions became self-governing almost immediately; it was later agreed that the Northern Region should have self government in 1959 and the Federation in 1960.

## 26 Christianity in West Africa

### INTRODUCTION

The Portuguese were the first to introduce missionaries to West Africa. They converted a Woloff king and had some success in Temneland and Benin. By the nineteenth century, however, there were only a few Roman Catholic priests ministering to French officials in Senegal, and Portuguese in Cacheo and Bissau.

British missionary societies grew, partly because of the religious revival of the eighteenth century, and partly because of the interest in the abolition movement. American activity in the nineteenth century was confined to Liberia. The Basel Missionary Society of Switzerland was famous for the training school which provided recruits for other groups. German missionaries are found serving British and other societies until Germany developed political interest in Africa in the 1880's.

The work throughout was limited by the lack of suitable men, the high death rate of missionaries from fever, ignorance of native languages and in some parts to Muslim hostility.

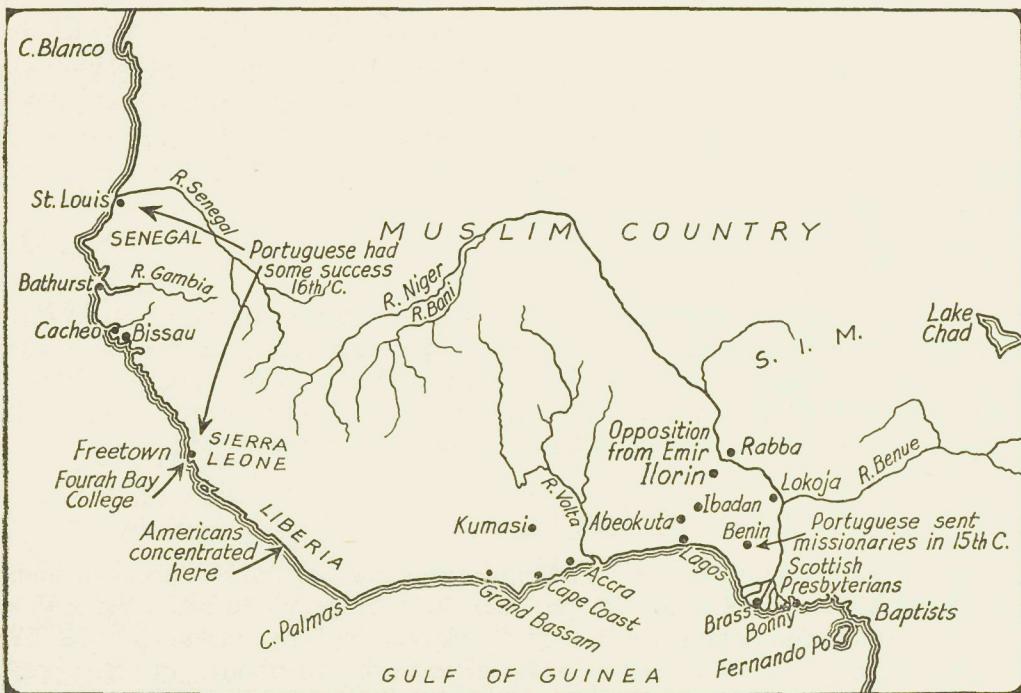
### THE ROMAN CATHOLICS

After several attempts the Roman Catholics started a mission in Senegambia staffed by the Fathers of the Holy Ghost. Later they extended their activities to the Ivory Coast, Gambia, and Sierra Leone. The Sisters of the Immaculate Conception began work with the women. Both groups were keen to train Africans for the religious life. As governmental interest in West Africa spread, so did their activities, and now Roman Catholic missions exist in all the West African states.

### PROTESTANT

#### (a) *The Church Missionary Society*

The Church Missionary Society, founded in 1799, began its work in Sierra Leone in 1804, but opposition by the natives inland limited its operations to the area round Freetown. It was particularly successful among the slaves returned from America who had already been converted, and among Africans rescued from the slave ships and settled there. The high death-rate among the European missionaries led to the founding, in 1827, of the Fourah Bay Institute to train African clergy.



Main Centres of Missionary Activity

Yorubas rescued from slave ships were settled in Sierra Leone. Later some returned to Yorubaland and asked for missionaries to be sent to them. This led to the founding of the mission station at Abeokuta in 1846. Later, others were established at Ibadan and Lagos; and in time, Lokoja (1865), Bonny (1864) and Brass (1867) were set up.

#### *Samuel Crowther*

One of the first students at the Fourah Bay Institute was Samuel Crowther. He had been captured as a boy by Fulani slavers and sold to the Portuguese. He was rescued by H.M.S. *Myrmidon* when crossing the Atlantic and freed in Sierra Leone. There he was placed under the care of a mission schoolmaster. After conversion, he showed such promise as a student that he was sent to Fourah Bay. He worked in various mission schools. In 1841 he took part in the Niger expedition. Two years later he took Holy Orders. He was the first African Anglican clergyman. In 1846 he assisted in the founding of the mission to the Yorubas and then began preaching in the Niger Territories. He became the first Bishop of the Niger Territories (1864).

#### *(b) The Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Society*

The Wesleyans were amongst the earliest workers in Sierra Leone, having establishments there in 1811. A station was founded in Gambia at Bathurst in 1821 and ten years later at Macarthy's Island further up the river. They were particularly good at teaching technical skills to freed slaves. The Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Society also established a centre at Abeokuta and one at Lagos.

### *Thomas Freeman*

One of the most outstanding workers for the Wesleyans was Thomas Birch Freeman of mixed African and English parentage. He was born and educated in England, but went to work among the Fante near Cape Coast in 1837. He did much to establish the centres at Kumasi (1839) and Abeokuta (1848). Freeman worked in West Africa until his death in 1890.

### OTHER GROUPS

The Baptists started work at Fernando Po in 1841 among Negroes released from slave ships by the anti-slave patrol. When the Spaniards took over the island once more, they transferred to the Cameroons. Scottish Presbyterians worked in Calabar under great difficulties. At first the Americans devoted their attention to Liberia, but after the First Great War, the Sudan Interior Mission began work.

### THE INFLUENCE OF THE MISSIONS

The spread of Christianity helped the administrators to stamp out barbarous customs. The missionaries soon realized that they must help the people to better living standards. Mission schools taught not only "book learning" but technical skills like building and carpentry. Practical help was given in the distribution of better seeds and the introduction of new crops (e.g. cocoa). Medical services were also provided. The demand for schools and medicines soon outstripped the limited resources of the missions. The governments were forced to supply them on a much larger scale.

The early colonial governments were able to use Africans trained in the mission schools in many ways. In time these and other educated Africans were behind the formation of political parties demanding a greater share in the government.

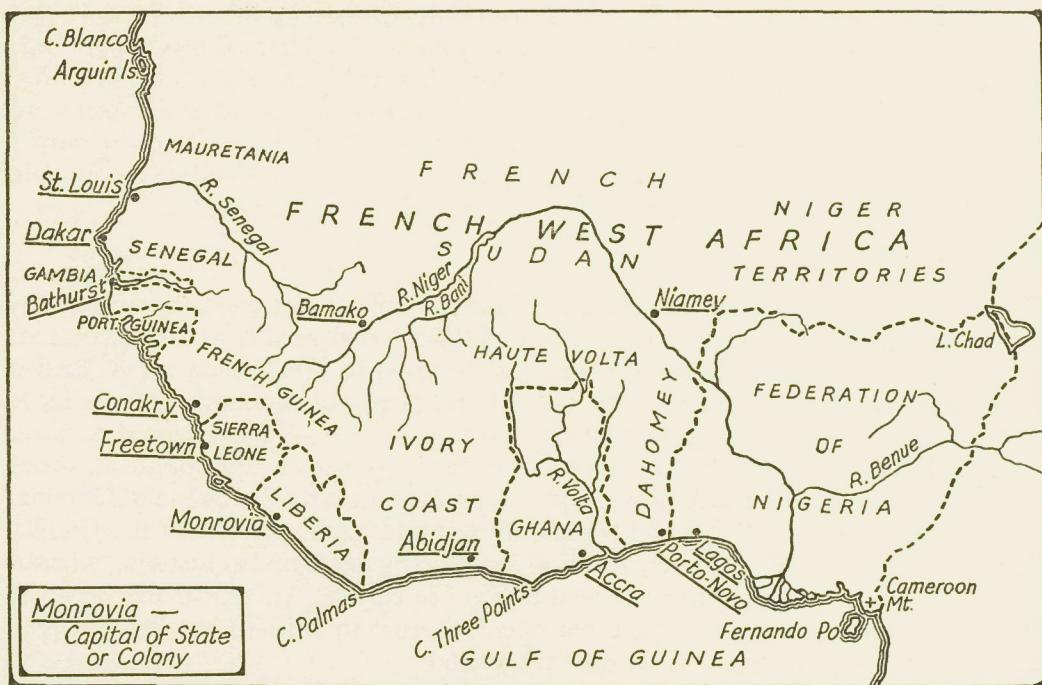
## **27** West Africa Today—Political Divisions

### INTRODUCTION

During the period of over 1,000 years during which we have traced the history of West Africa, changes as great as any in the world have taken place in the political divisions. In early times the greater part of the region was inhabited by small groups and independent tribes. From time to time great empires arose in the open country of the north. Now the greater part of West Africa forms part either of the French community or the British Commonwealth of Nations.

### THE FRENCH PARTS

Nearly three-quarters of the total area of West Africa is under French control,



Political Divisions of West Africa

though less than half the population dwell there. Seven territories (Senegal, French Guinea, French Sudan, Niger Territory, the Ivory Coast, Dahomey and Mauretania) formed the Federation of French West Africa. In 1922 the former Haute Volta was divided between Niger Territory, French Sudan and the Ivory Coast. Until after the last war the federation had a Governor-General and under him a Governor in each colony. The French states had no body with powers comparable to the legislative councils in the British territories. The only exception was Senegal with its council elected by "native citizens", distinguished from "native subjects" by their adoption of French culture. Of the 80,509 Africans who were "citizens" before the war 78,373 belonged to Senegal. In fact the whole basis of French colonial policy was to foster French culture at the expense of African customs, institutions and language.

After 1944 two different policies emerged; one tended to foster the growth of self-governing units in French West Africa. The governor-general became the "High Commissioner" and colonial councils with a higher proportion of elected members received wider powers. Yet when the 1946 constitution of France was announced, it created a French Union composed of France and overseas territories which had representation in the French parliament. There were 17 deputies and 22 senators for French West Africa.

However, French colonialism received a severe set-back with the growth of nationalistic movements everywhere. A crisis in Algiers and France brought General de Gaulle to power in 1958 and within a few months he announced a new constitution both for France and her overseas territories. By this constitution a federal community was to be established, composed of France and autonomous overseas territories. By a referendum held on September 28th, 1958, these territories voted either

for federation with France or independence. Only Guinea in French West Africa voted immediately for independence, and a republic was proclaimed on October 2nd, 1958. The other states became autonomous republics within the French Community, but since this status did not really satisfy them, other devices and associations were tried. By the end of 1960 all of them had received "international sovereignty". French Sudan is now known as the Mali Republic and Upper Volta as the Voltaic Republic. All but Mali have remained closely associated with France.

### THE BRITISH PARTS

The British territories in West Africa are four, occupying just over one-fifth of the total area, but a much greater proportion of the mineral wealth so far discovered. However, the population is nearly twice as dense as in the French areas. British policy has been directed towards the ultimate political and economic independence of the territories but the progress came far too slowly to satisfy the educated African. Independence was to be obtained by the transfer by stages of more political, social and economic power to the Africans in the legislative and executive councils. Gambia, Sierra Leone, the Gold Coast and Nigeria were separate units moving at their individual speeds towards the goal. In education the government aimed at fostering African culture, customs, and languages as well as English culture. The result has been the creation of an educated African, often openly hostile to Britain, but less divorced than his French counterpart from his background.

After the Second World War nationalist movements gained greater impetus. Successive attempts to modify existing institutions in the four colonies failed to satisfy their aspirations. Finally the Gold Coast became the first African dominion in 1957 with the name of Ghana; Nigeria followed in 1960 and Sierra Leone in 1961. Ghana went a step further in 1961 by adopting a republican constitution.

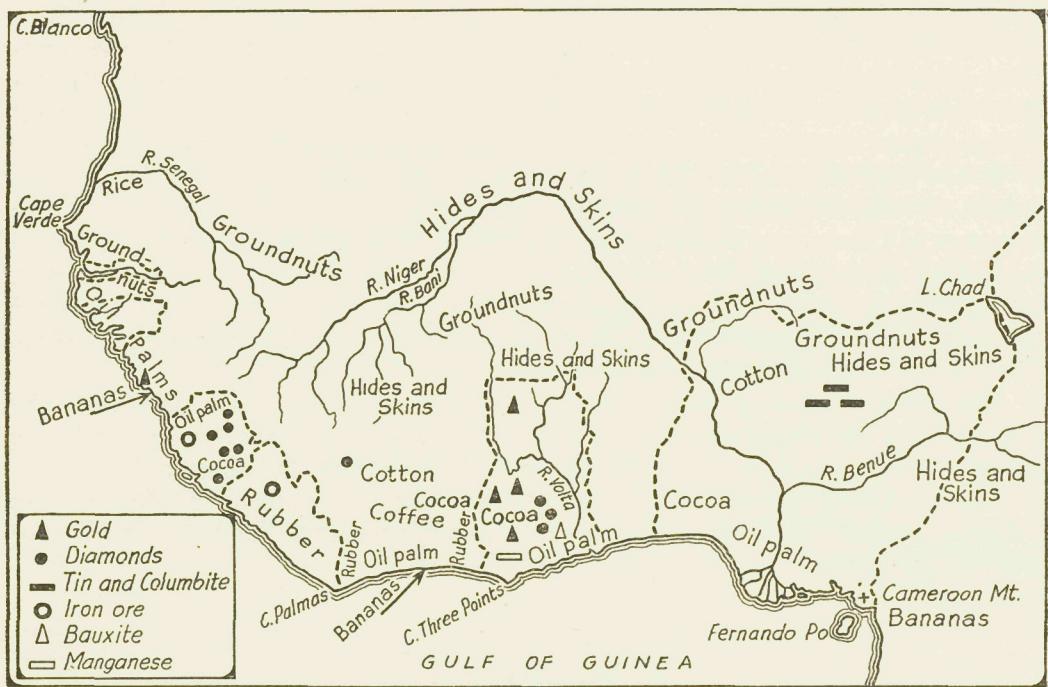
Liberia, the first independent state in West Africa, has now over a hundred years of self government behind it.

Generally the states of West Africa now look southwards and across the sea to Europe and America for their contact with the world. The Muslim areas still keep their cultural bond at least with Egypt and the Middle East. There is also an increasing tendency to sympathize with the Asian outlook.

## Economic Development

For centuries the main exports of West Africa were gold, slaves, ivory, and kola nuts. The Carthaginians, the Romans, and after them the Arabs, sought these commodities. When the Europeans first came to West Africa it was largely for the same products. The Portuguese traded for a time in malagueta pepper and from the sixteenth century palm oil was exported from the Niger delta. It was not until the slave trade was abolished that other articles of trade were discovered.

Today, though agriculture is still the basis of West African life and most of the crops are still grown for home consumption, a greater variety is exported. There are several factors which hinder increased production, apart from climatic difficulties. Lack of animal manure, particularly in the tsetse fly areas, limits soil enrichment. Social practices exist which regulate men's and women's labour in the fields. Communal ownership leads to conservative agriculture. New crops can only be developed



Products of West Africa

if they fit into the farming calendar. Other products are only economic if bulk methods of transport are handy. This is particularly the case with ground-nuts and cotton, and to a lesser extent with cocoa. Other crops are better produced in plantations, but in British areas Europeans cannot own lands and few Africans as yet have both the capital and technical skill to establish them. During the Second World War, shortages of certain foods led to some development of mechanized farming, notably ground-nuts in Senegal and rice in French Sudan and Sokoto in Nigeria. Continued research is leading to the introduction of new strains more suited to the climate.

Nowadays West Africa produces more than half the world's supply of cocoa, in spite of diseases like swollen shoot and black pod. Oil palms are indigenous to the swampy parts of the coastal regions and today 40 per cent of the world's supply of palm oil and well over 60 per cent of the palm kernels come from West Africa. Ground-nuts are produced in significant quantities and form well over 90 per cent of the exports of both Senegal and Gambia and over half of those of Portuguese Guinea. Rice exported from Nigeria, Sierra Leone and the Gambia is being developed more extensively in Senegal. In French territories citrus fruits and bananas are grown for export and on a smaller but increasing scale in Ghana and Nigeria. Liberia has benefited by the activities of the Firestone Rubber Company to develop rubber plantations and export rubber. Coffee, tobacco and ginger are the other agricultural crops for export, and, of course, kola nuts.

There are large numbers of livestock, particularly in the area free from the tsetse fly. The hides and skins which once crossed the desert as "Morocco leather" are now brought by road and rail to the sea.

West Africa is well supplied with mineral deposits. Gold was and still is important

Tin was worked in the Jos plateau before the Europeans came; iron has long been used in West Africa for hoes, matchets and cooking vessels. These and other minerals form a considerable part of the total exports of French Guinea, Sierra Leone, Ghana and Nigeria. They are important to the West African states because they represent a large capital investment; royalties contribute a significant part of the revenue.

A new and valuable commodity is diamonds. West Africa leads South Africa in weight of output though not in value, since hers are largely industrial grade. There are areas in Ghana and Sierra Leone where larger ones are found, and there are an increasing number from the Ivory Coast. Other mineral exports include columbite (required in the manufacture of steel) manganese, bauxite and chrome ore. Intensive prospecting for oil has gone on for some years in southern Nigeria and in 1958 some was exported for examination purposes.

The great problem in the economic development of West Africa is power. The only coal and that of a poor quality is at Enugu in Nigeria. Schemes for hydro-electric power are being developed, notably on the Volta river and the Konkouré river.

These valuable exports are producing capital for development in West African countries. Those which acquired self-government first were those which had the greatest resources.

## Questions

### SECTION 1. *The Geography and its influence on History*

1. Find out what are the chief exports of West Africa today.
2. Answer these questions:
  - (a) What are the chief difficulties in crossing the desert?
  - (b) How are goods landed on that part of the coast where there is heavy surf?
  - (c) How have malaria and yellow fever been conquered?
  - (d) Can anything be done about the tsetse fly?
  - (e) What methods of transport are used in the forest areas today?

### SECTION 2. *The Peoples of West Africa*

1. Find out the traditions of the origin of any West African tribe (your own if you live in West Africa).
2. Which people of West Africa have short fuzzy hair?
3. Which people of West Africa have fairly straight hair?
4. Can you name one group of people in West Africa who are short and one group who are tall?

### SECTION 3. *The Empires of Western Sudan*

1. Which of the exports of the Sudanese empires are still exported from that part of the country?
2. Use a map to find out who controls the area occupied by the Sudanese empires today. Find out the parts into which it is now divided.
3. If you have an encyclopaedia, find out who were the Almoravids.

4. The people in Audoghast traded in salt. Where would you expect it to come from? From what other place was salt obtained?
5. Where is the nearest area to Kumbi Saleh from which gold is obtained today? Where are the other gold areas?
6. Make a chart for the following empires showing the date of origin, the chief rulers, and the date of collapse: Ghana, Mali, Songhai, Hausaland, and Bornu.
7. Make a list of the peoples in the Sudanese empires.

**SECTION 4. *The Mossi-Dagomba states***

1. Use your map to find out to which states the Mossi-Dagomba states belong today.
2. To which group of people would you expect the race of "red" horse-men to have belonged?

**SECTION 5. *The Spread of Islam in West Africa***

1. What town other than Mecca is connected with Mohammed and why?
2. Make a simple time chart showing when Islam came to West Africa.
3. Write down three ways in which Islam influenced the life of the people of Western Sudan.

**SECTION 6. *West African trade with North Africa***

1. How are goods exported from West Africa today?
2. In what ways can you cross the desert today?
3. On a modern map look up the trans-Saharan routes today and compare them with the earlier ones.

**SECTION 7. *Exploration of the Coast of West Africa***

1. Find out what kind of boat the Carthaginians used and draw it.
2. Find out what kind of boat the early explorers from Europe used and draw it.
3. Besides the compass do you know what modern aids to navigation there are:
  - (a) for sea?
  - (b) for air?
4. What real difficulties were felt by sailors exploring the West African coast? Your geography book will help you to answer this question.

**SECTION 8. *The Portuguese in West Africa A.D. 1420-1600***

1. On our map we have distinguished between Upper and Lower Guinea. Actually there were special names for nearly every section of the coast. Can you find out what they were?
2. Using a modern map find out which of the Portuguese trading posts are still in use today. Why are many of them not in use?
3. Can you find out why the Portuguese lost interest in West Africa?

**SECTION 9. *Europeans on the coast of West Africa to A.D. 1800***

1. On a map of the Senegal and Gambia put in the names of the chief tribes.
2. From your geography books find out the chief features of the rivers Senegal and Gambia. How far are they navigable?

3. Which of the Gold Coast forts shown on the map on page 32 are still well known either as ports or large towns?
4. Describe the main features of the coast of Nigeria. (You can do this by looking at a detailed map.) In what ways does it differ from the Ivory Coast or the Gold Coast? Why was that important in its history?

#### SECTION 10. *Slavery and the Slave Trade in West Africa*

1. Can you name any person well known in history who was sold as a slave?
2. Can you name any town in your own country where there was a slave market?
3. Why did the Europeans take West Africans as slaves to the West Indies?
4. Do you know of any influence that the Negro population has had on America?

#### SECTION 11. *The Abolition of the Slave Trade*

1. Look at a detailed map of the coast of West Africa and explain why the slave trade continued much longer from Nigeria.
2. What effect did the slave trade have on West African peoples and states? Write down as many points as you can.
3. Make a list of the most important events in the abolition of the slave trade and slavery in West Africa.

#### SECTION 12. *The Forest and Coastal States*

1. What development enabled the forest states to become powerful?
2. Prepare a brief time chart showing the rise of the forest and coastal states from the Volta to the Niger.
3. Find out and write a brief account of the traditions of the origin of any one of them.

#### SECTION 13. *The Later Empires of the Sudan*

1. Write a description of the Fulani (Their habits and appearance).
2. Write a brief sketch of Usman dan Fodio. Then make a list of points to show his importance in the Western Sudan.
3. Make a list with dates of as many famous West Africans of the nineteenth century as you can.
4. Make a time chart of the rise and fall of the Sudanese empires of the nineteenth century.

#### SECTION 14. *Exploration of interior of West Africa by Europeans*

1. Can you suggest any reasons why the West Africans had not explored their own country?
2. How many names do you know for the Niger?
3. What difficulties did the European explorers meet?
4. Write an account of the journey of any one of the explorers of the nineteenth century.

#### SECTION 15. *The Partition of West Africa*

1. Make a list of all the countries which had bases in West Africa at the beginning of the nineteenth century and at the end.

2. Start making a list of the Europeans who tried to gain territory in West Africa for their country. Continue the list as you read the pages following.

SECTIONS 16, 17, 18, 19, 20. *The French Colonies*

1. What tribes and peoples opposed the French advance?
2. Make a list of the institutions of French colonial government and keep it to compare with the British.
3. Find out more about the work of Faidherbe and write an account of his service in West Africa.
4. Make a list of the chief French explorers of this period and add it to the list you made for section 14.
5. Prepare a time chart for the advance of the French into West Africa using one column for each area thus:

	Senegal	French Sudan	French Guinea	Ivory Coast	Dahomey
1800					
1810					
etc.					

SECTION 21. *Liberia*

1. Find out the following dates:
  - (a) When did some Americans first free their slaves?
  - (b) When did the U.S.A. declare the slave trade illegal?
  - (c) When did the U.S.A. agree on the right to search?
  - (d) When was slavery declared illegal in the U.S.A.?
2. Which President of the U.S.A. gave his name to the capital of Liberia?
3. What difficulties did the early settlers have to face?

SECTIONS 22 and 23. *The Gambia and Sierra Leone*

1. What two types of government exist in these two colonies? How are they each ruled? What institutions of government exist? Compare them with the French institutions.
2. Why has the Gambia always remained a poor colony?
3. In what way did Sierra Leone differ from the other British colonies in West Africa?
4. Prepare a time chart for the British colonies in West Africa in the same way as for the French colonies.

SECTION 24. *The Emergence of Modern Ghana*

1. Name the chief tribes of Ghana.
2. In what ways do the Northern Territories differ from the rest of the country?

3. Why has it been possible for Ghana to become the first of the African dominions of the Commonwealth?
4. Write an account of the work of Maclean.
5. Make a brief time chart giving the changes in the government of the Gold Coast and Ghana.

**SECTION 25. *British Penetration of Nigeria***

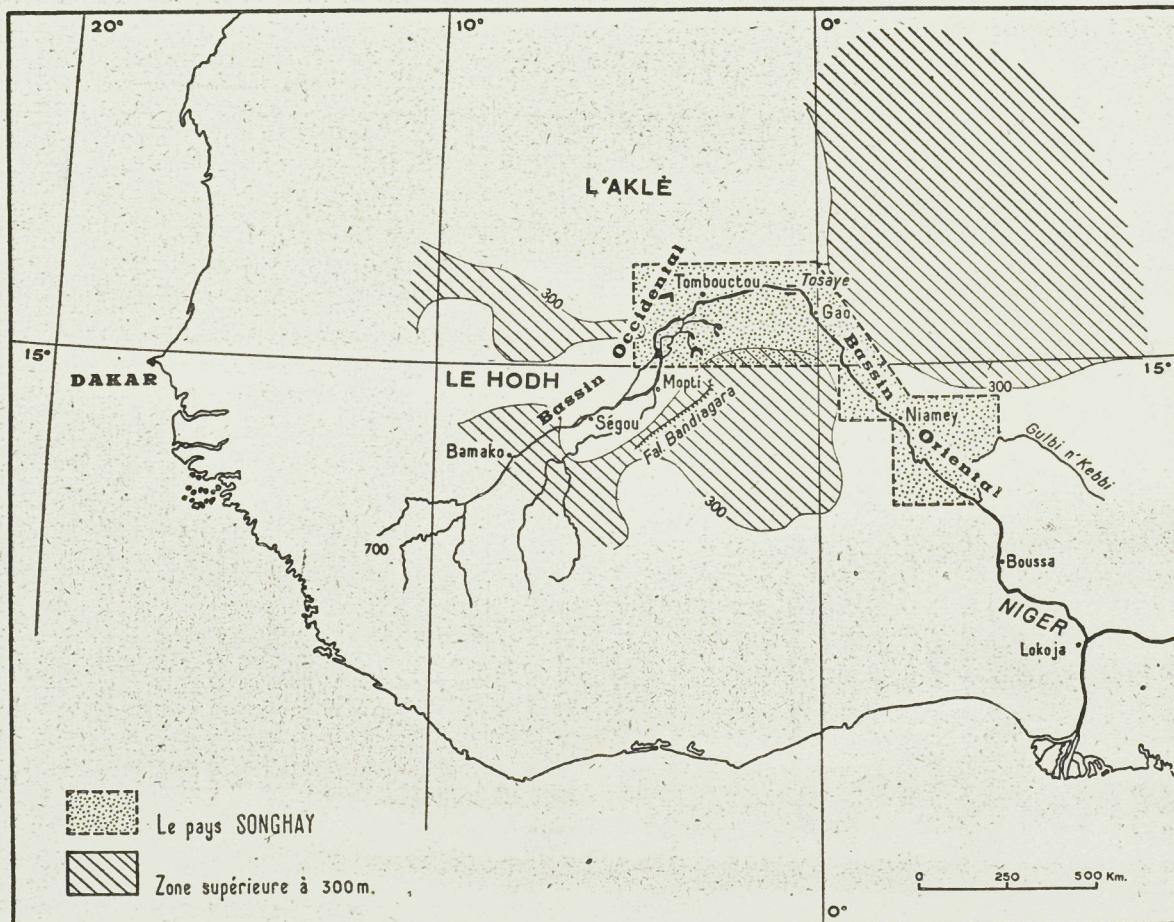
1. Find out how the slave trade was carried on in the rivers of the Niger delta.
2. Find out more about the Niger expeditions of A.D. 1832-34 and A.D. 1841-42.  
What was the purpose of these expeditions?
3. Find out more about John Beecroft and write a short account of his work.
4. Make a time line showing the development of British government in Nigeria.
5. Write a short account of the Royal Niger Company.

**SECTION 26. *Christianity in West Africa***

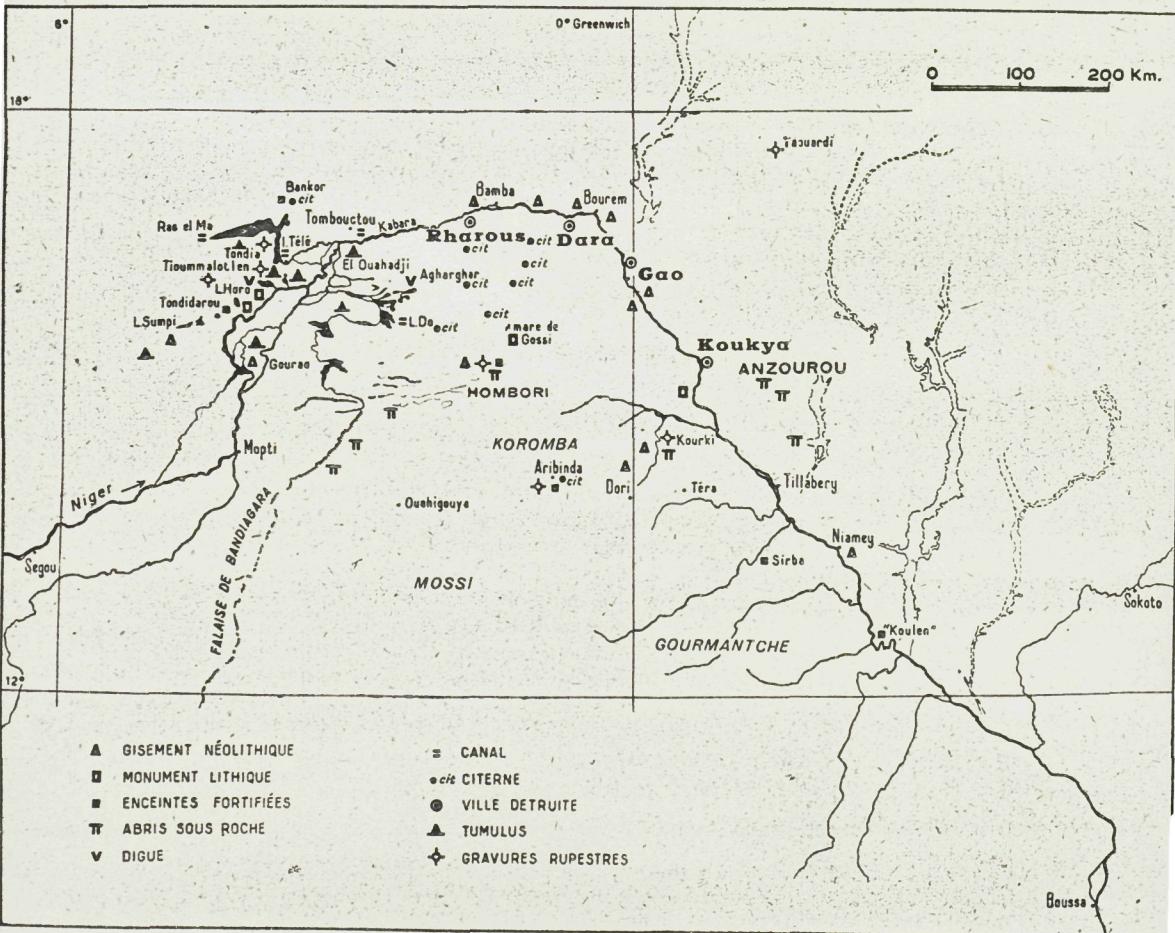
1. Make a list of the main missionary groups in West Africa and under each, the name of their main mission stations.
2. Find out more about
  - (a) Bishop Crowther.
  - (b) Thomas Freeman.Write a short account of the work and importance of each.

**SECTION 27. *West Africa Today***

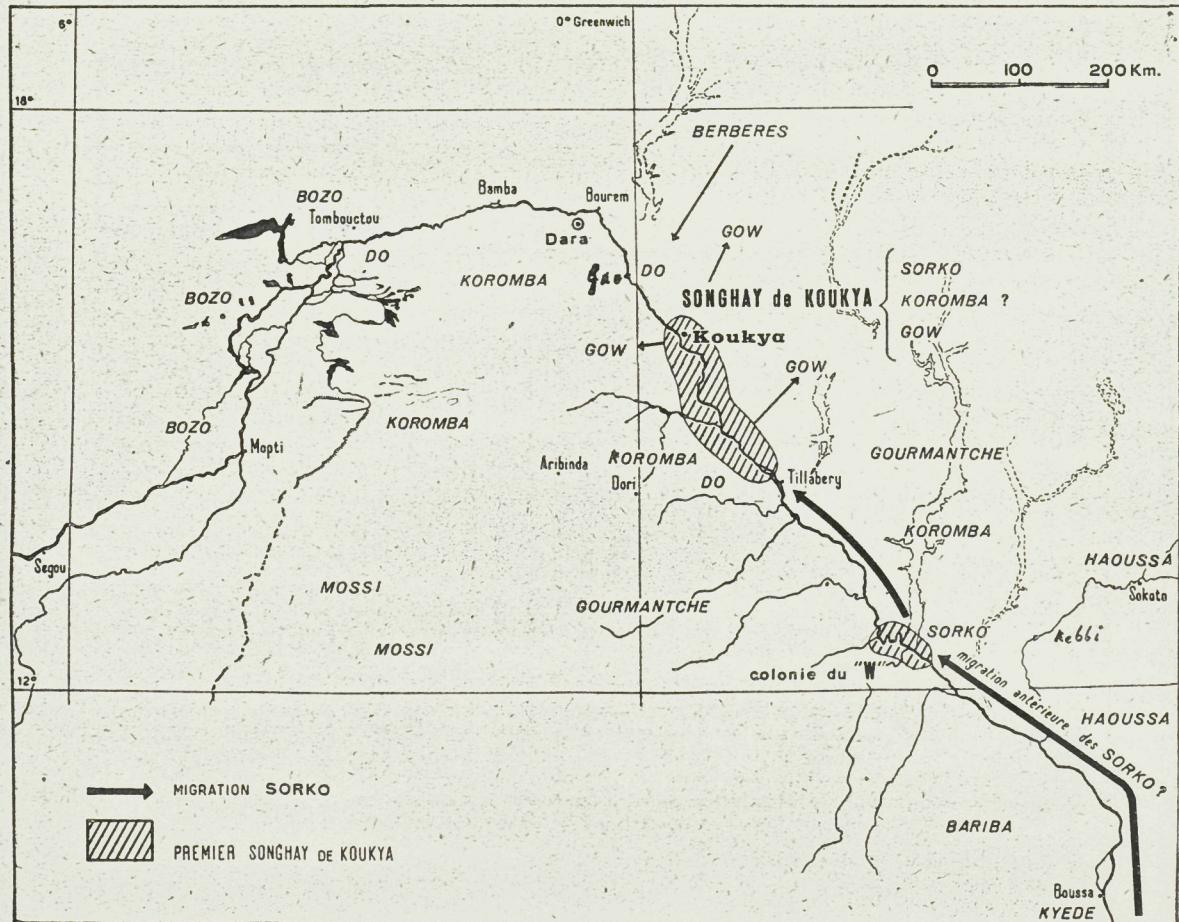
1. Make a complete list of all the political divisions of West Africa today.
2. Draw two maps of West Africa side by side. In No. 1 put in the mediaeval trade routes; in No. 2 put in the modern trade routes. Indicate in each case the method of transport.
3. Make a list of the mediaeval exports side by side with a list of the modern ones.  
What differences do you notice?



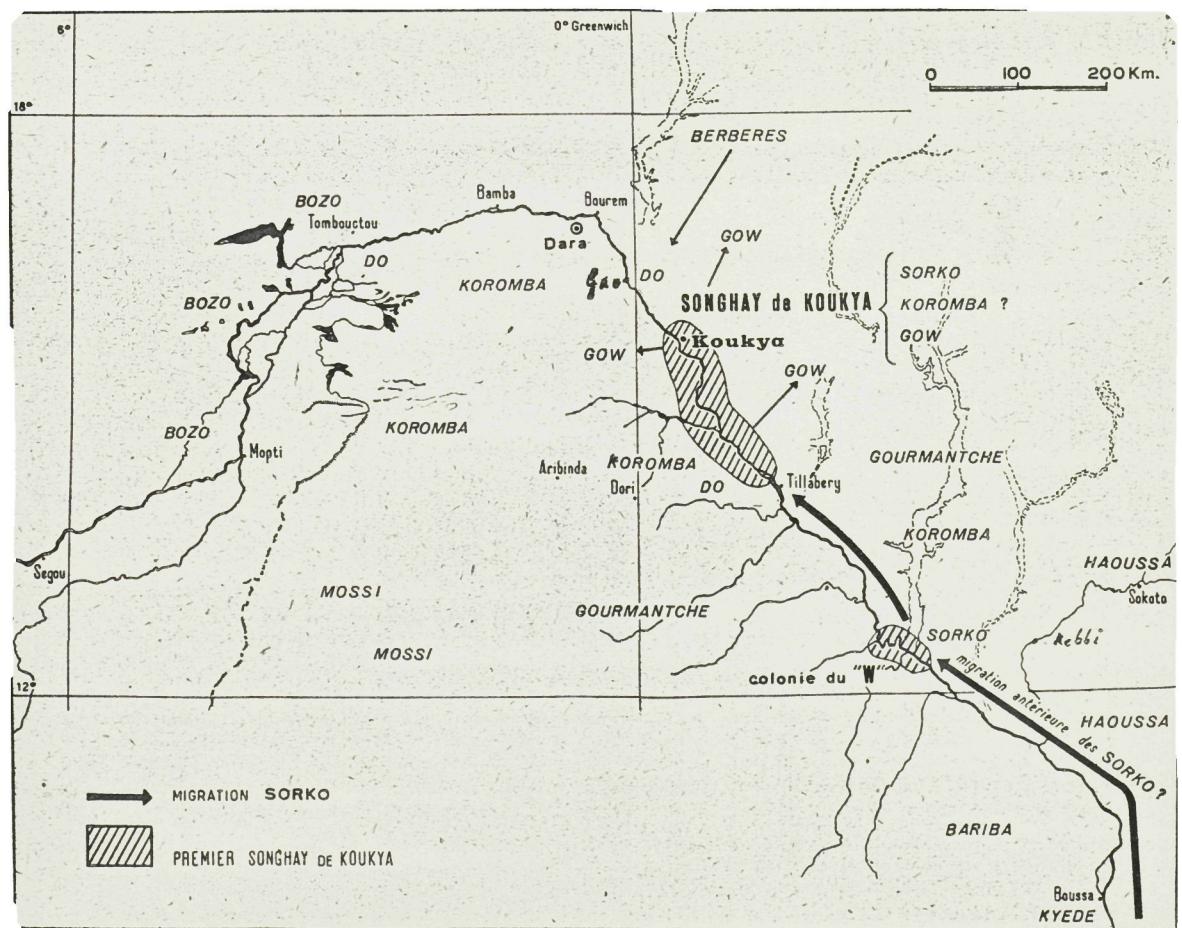
Carte I : Le Niger et le Pays Songhay



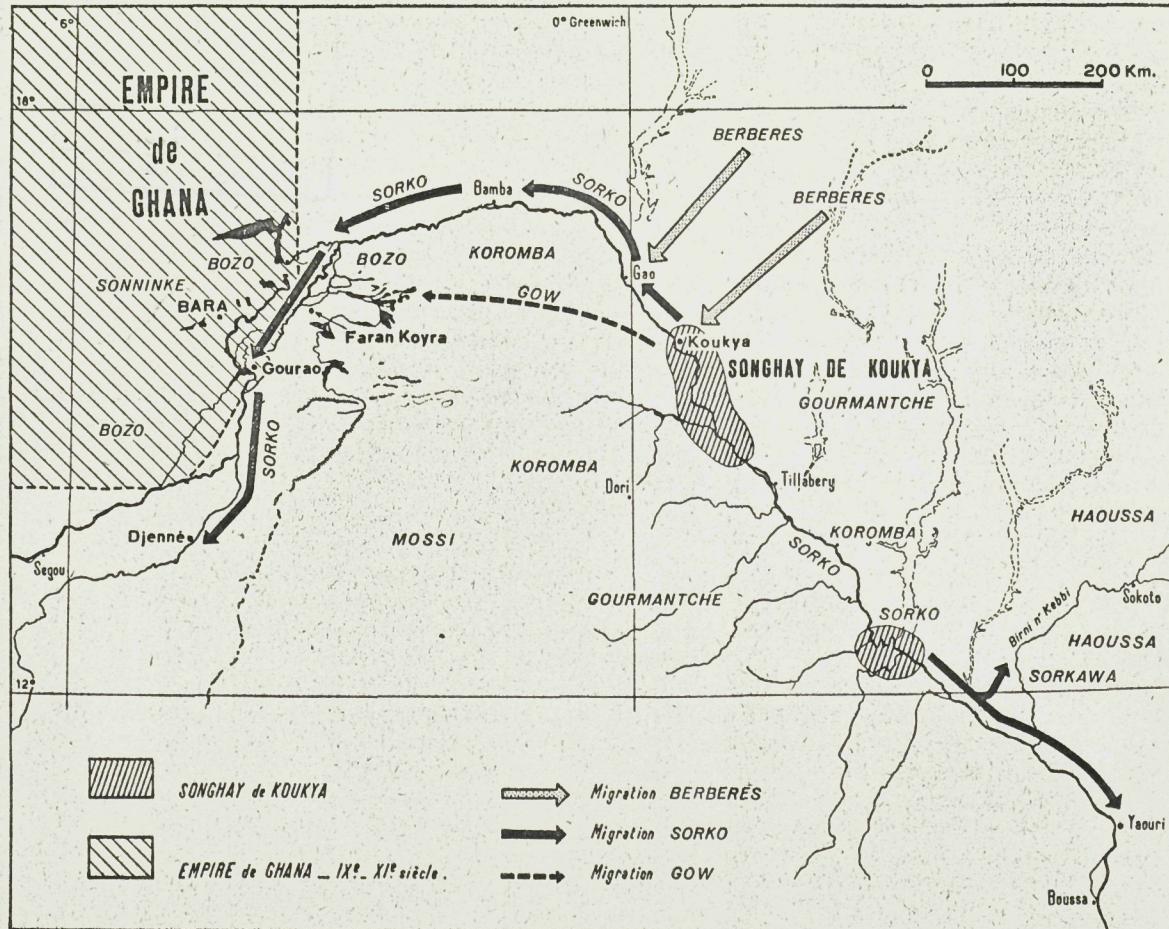
Carte IV : « Les hommes d'avant »



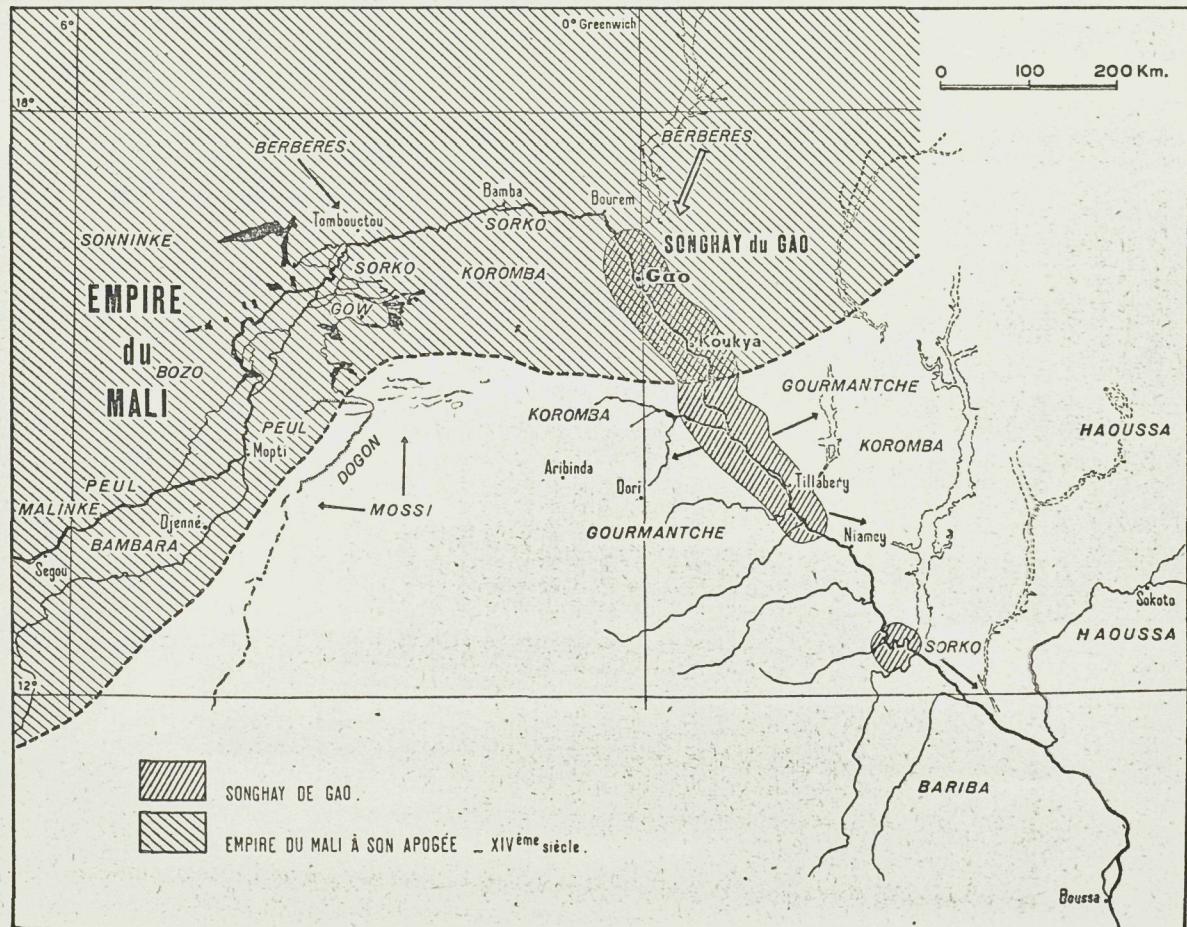
Carte V : Le Songhay de Koukya (v<sup>e</sup> siècle ?)



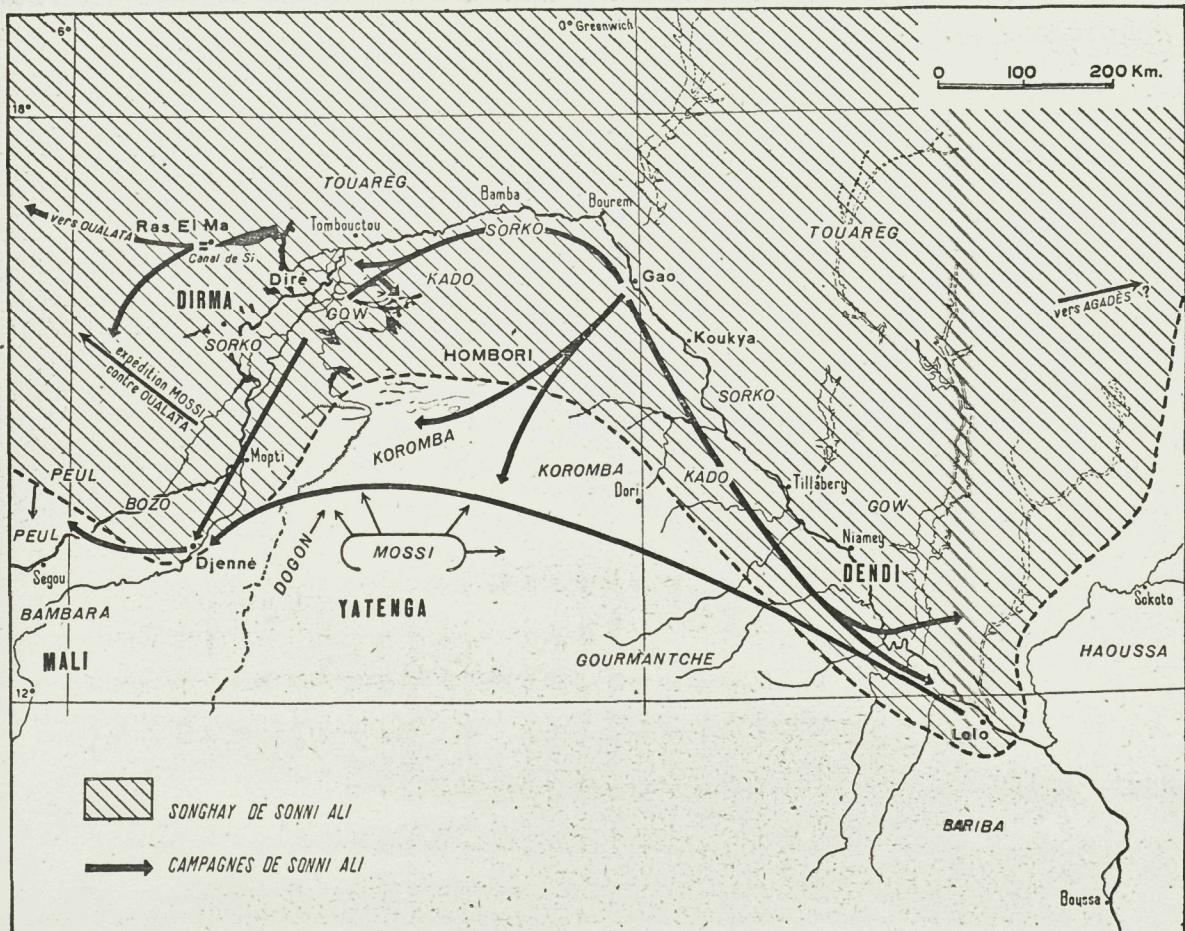
Carte V : Le Songhay de Koukya (vi<sup>e</sup> siècle ?)



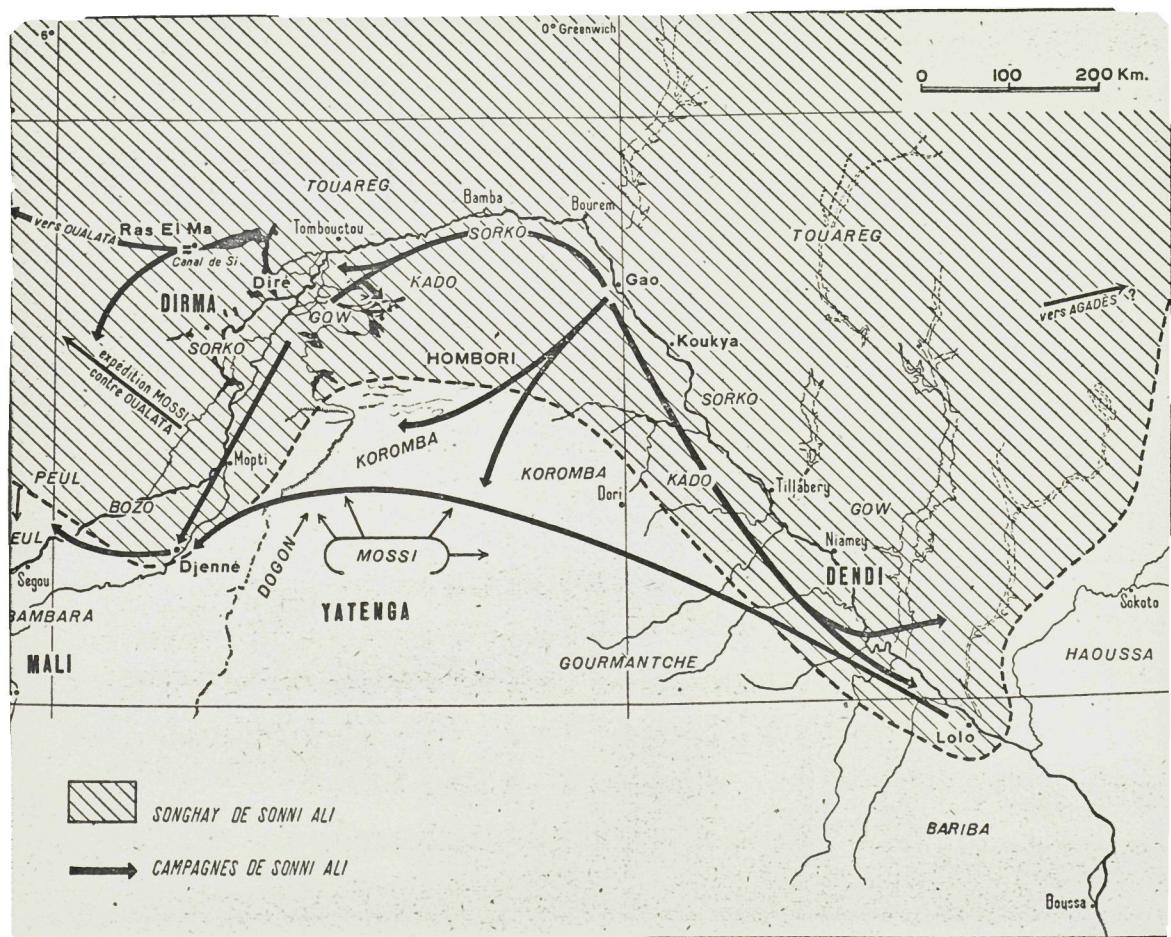
Carte VI : Le Songhay des Za de Koukyá (vii<sup>e</sup>-xi<sup>e</sup> siècle)



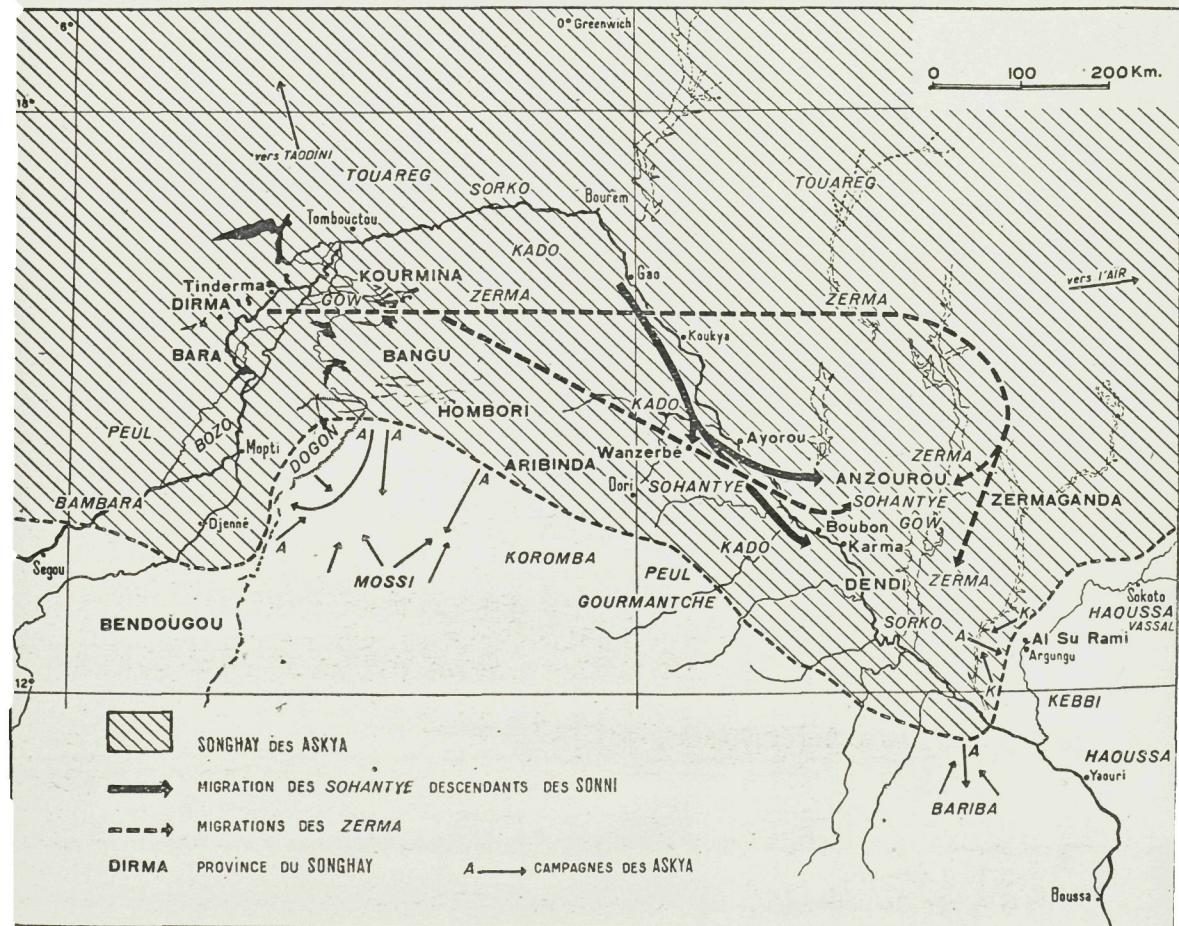
Carte VII : Le Songhay des Za de Gao (XIV<sup>e</sup> siècle)  
(vassal du Mali)



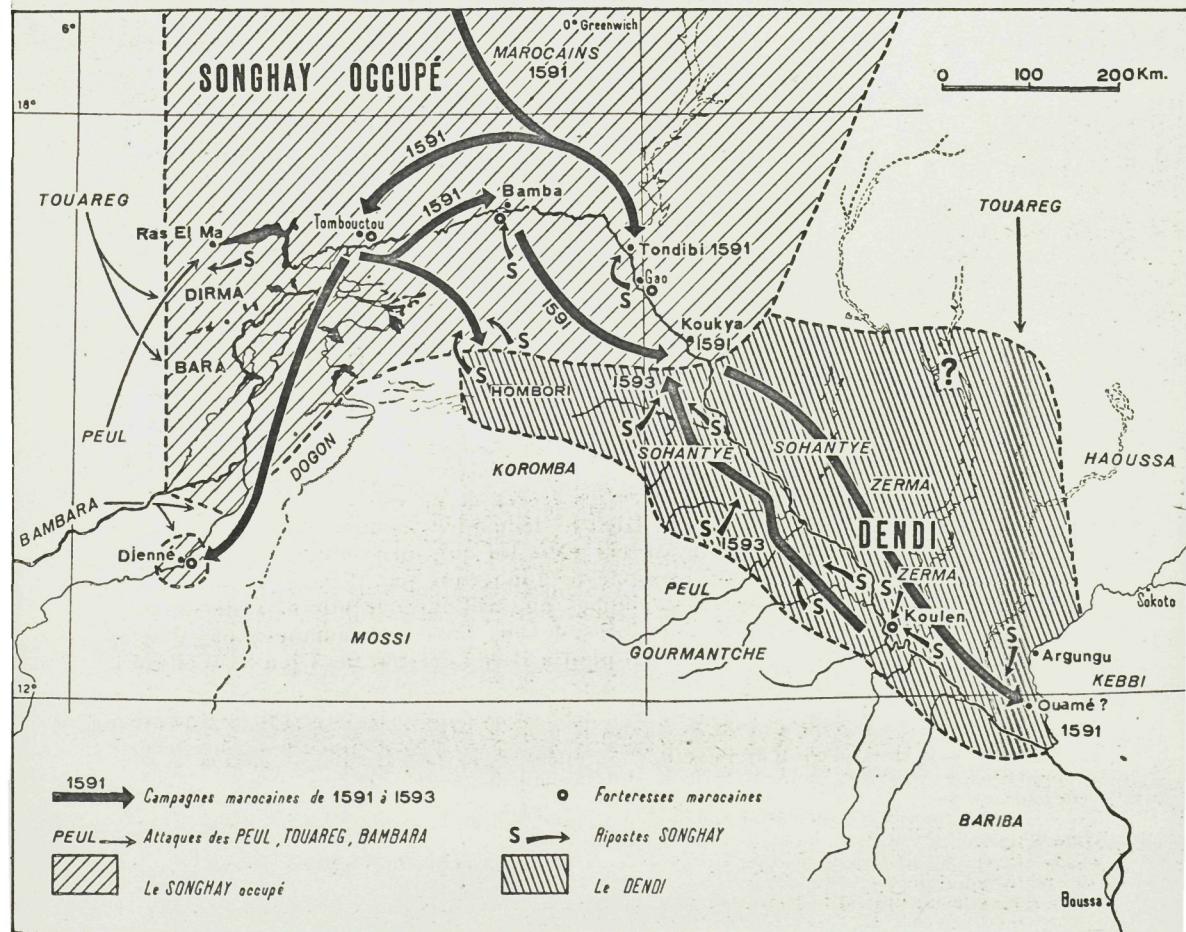
Carte VIII : Le Songhay de Sonni Ali (1490)



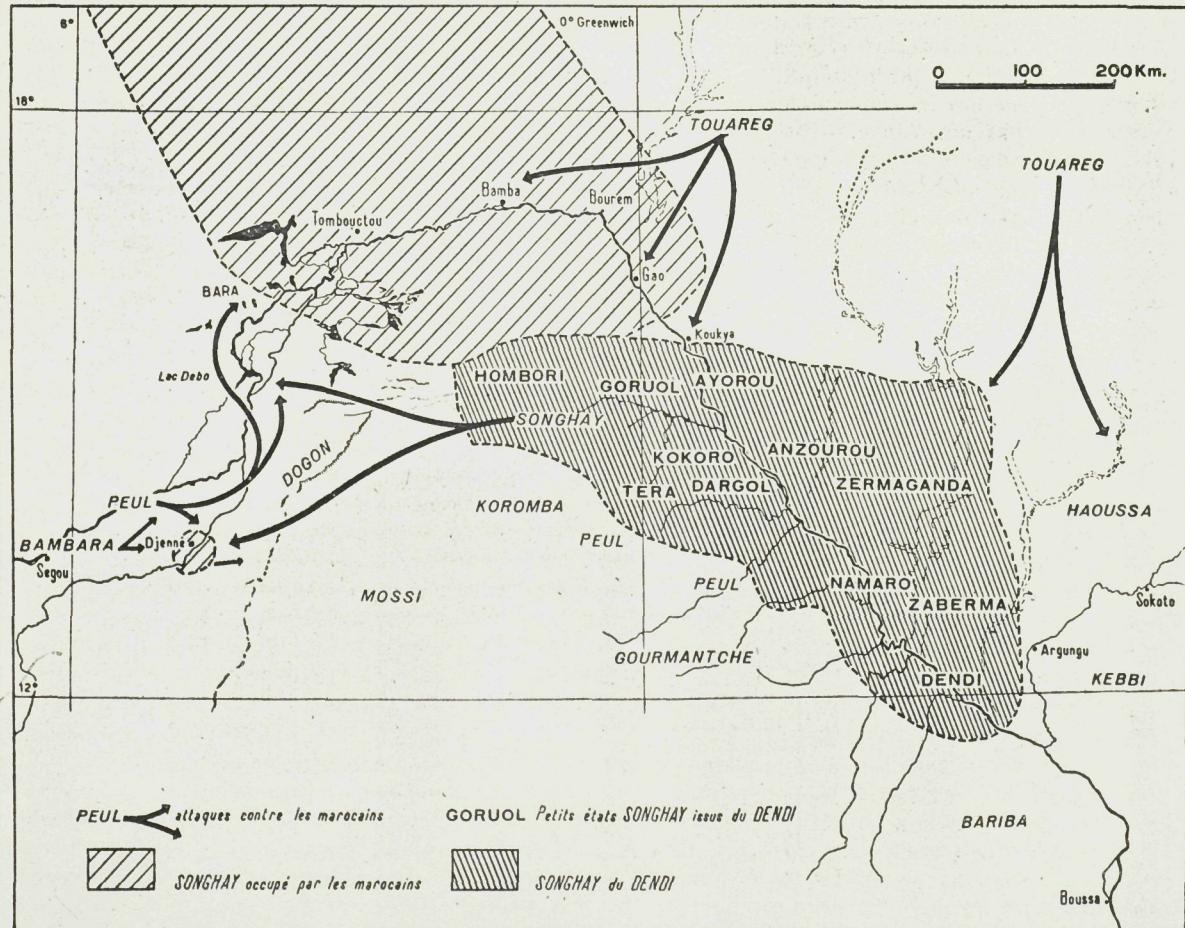
Carte VIII : Le Songhay de Sonni Ali (1490)



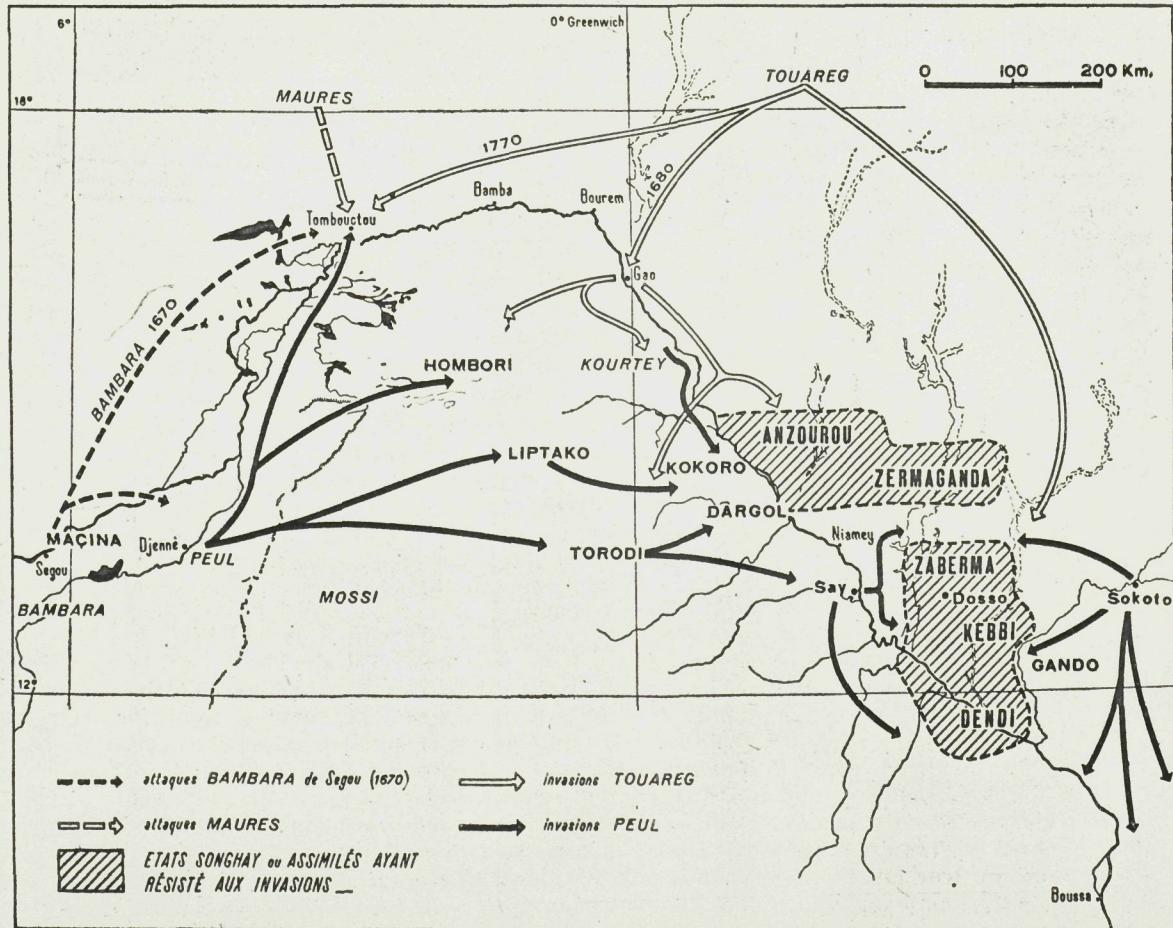
### Carte IX : Le Songhay des Askya (xvi<sup>e</sup> siècle)



Carte X : Le Songhay coupé en deux, guerres marocaines (1591-1600)



Carte XI : Le Songhay en 1660  
(Songhay du Nord occupé par les Marocains, Songhay du Dendi morcelé, voir p. 221)



Carte XII : Les grandes invasions (XVII<sup>e</sup>-XIX<sup>e</sup> siècle)

Fig. 4. Les invasions et migrations (17<sup>e</sup>-19<sup>e</sup> C.)

Djermas - Dendis - Peuls - Touaregs

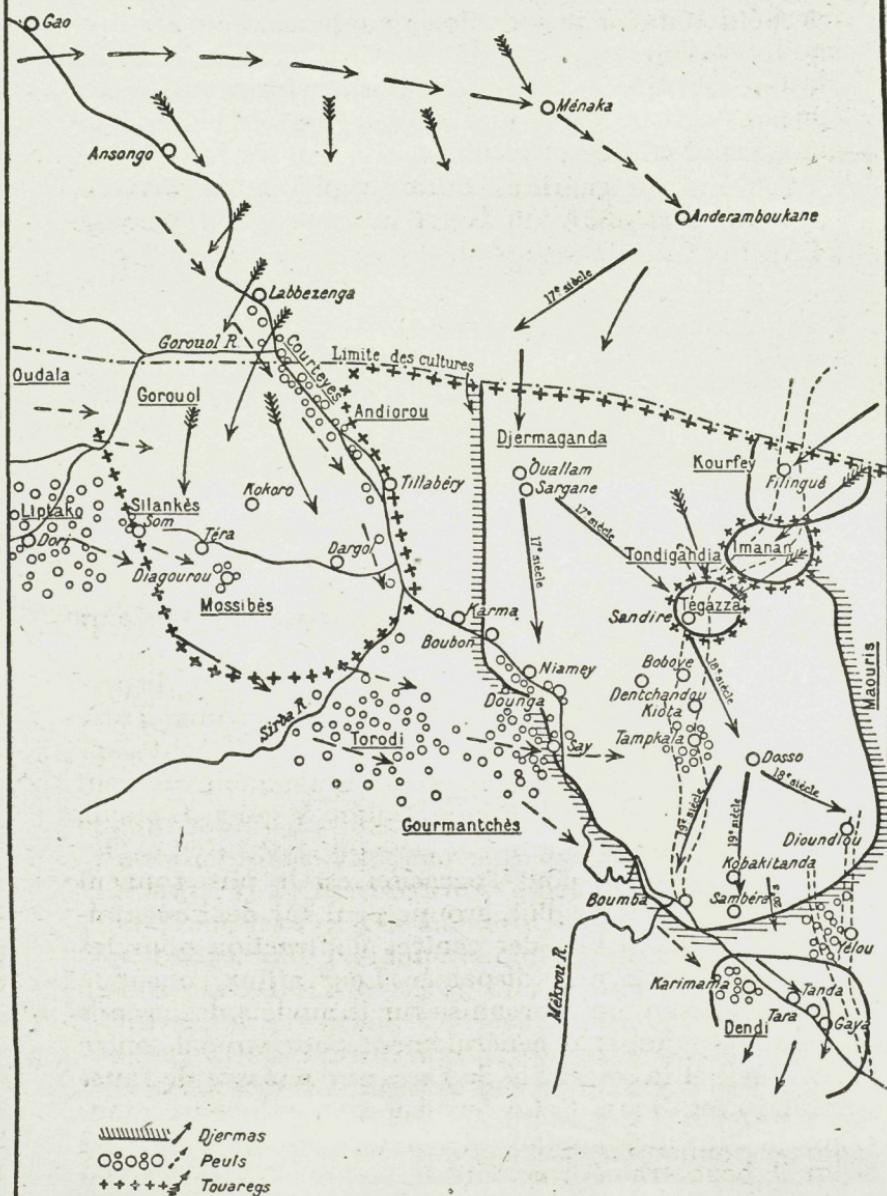


Fig. 11. Les mouvements de populations. 7<sup>e</sup> Siècle

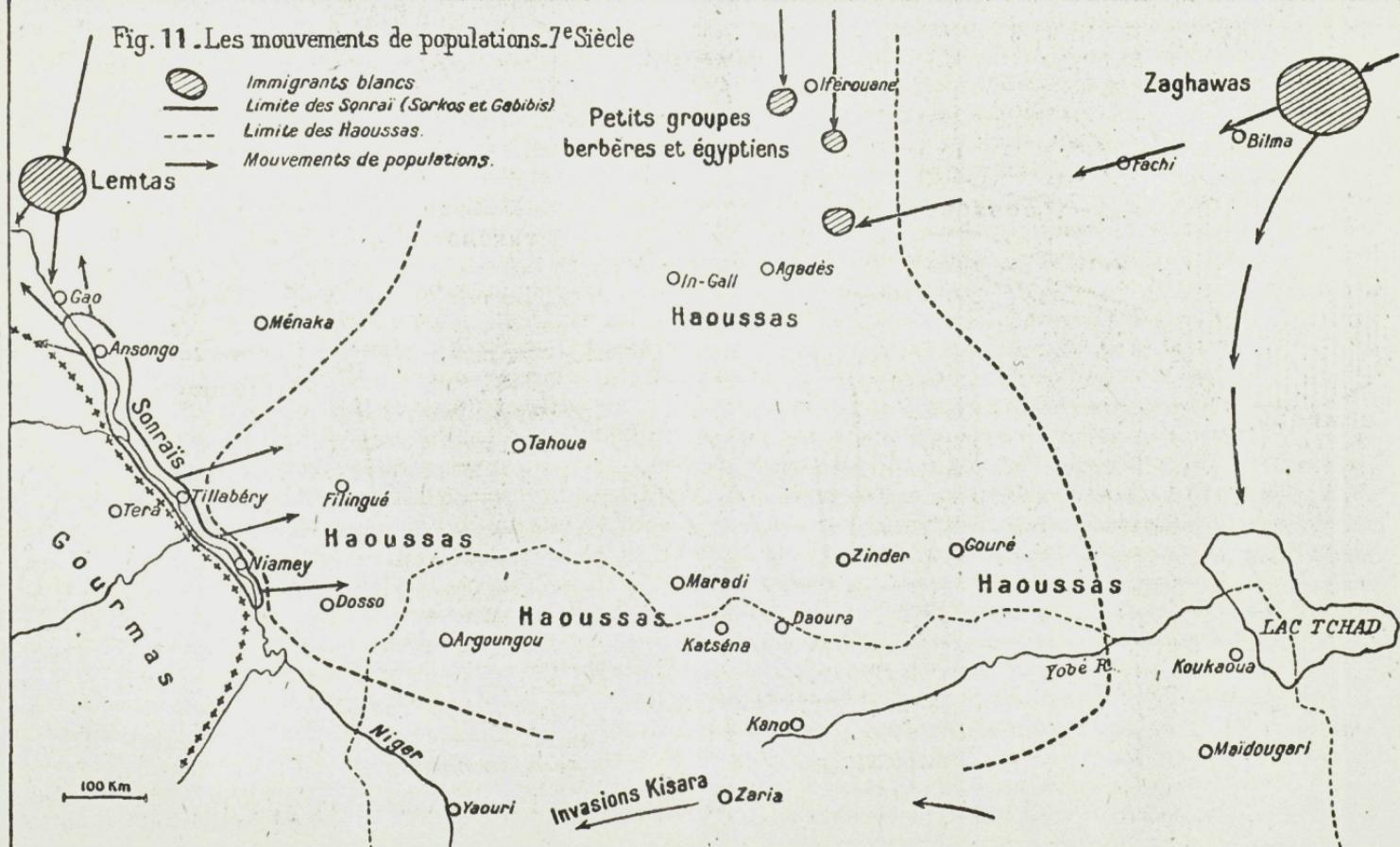


Fig. 12. Les mouvements de populations. 11<sup>e</sup> Siècle

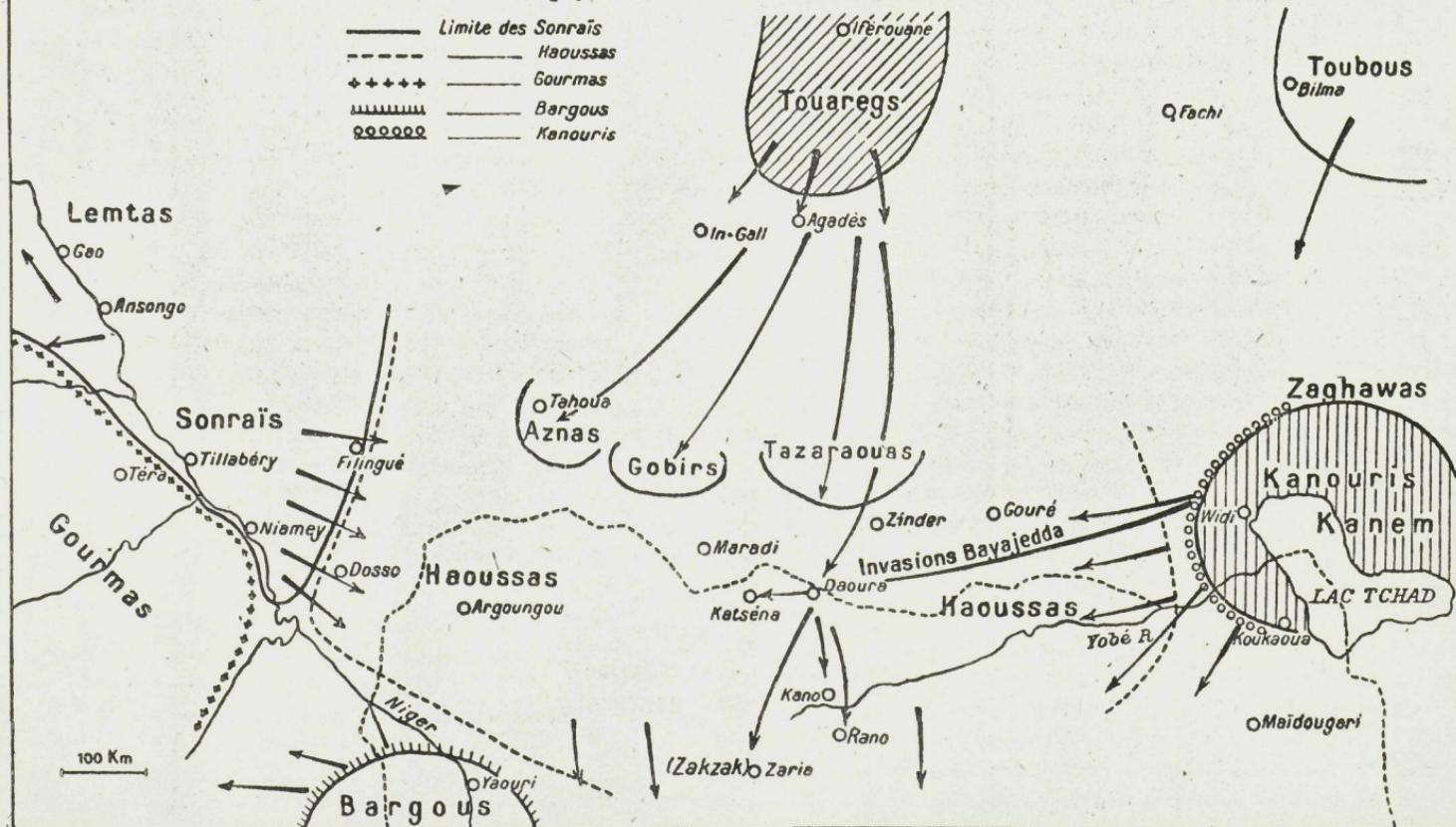


Fig. 13. Les mouvements de populations. 14<sup>e</sup> Siècle

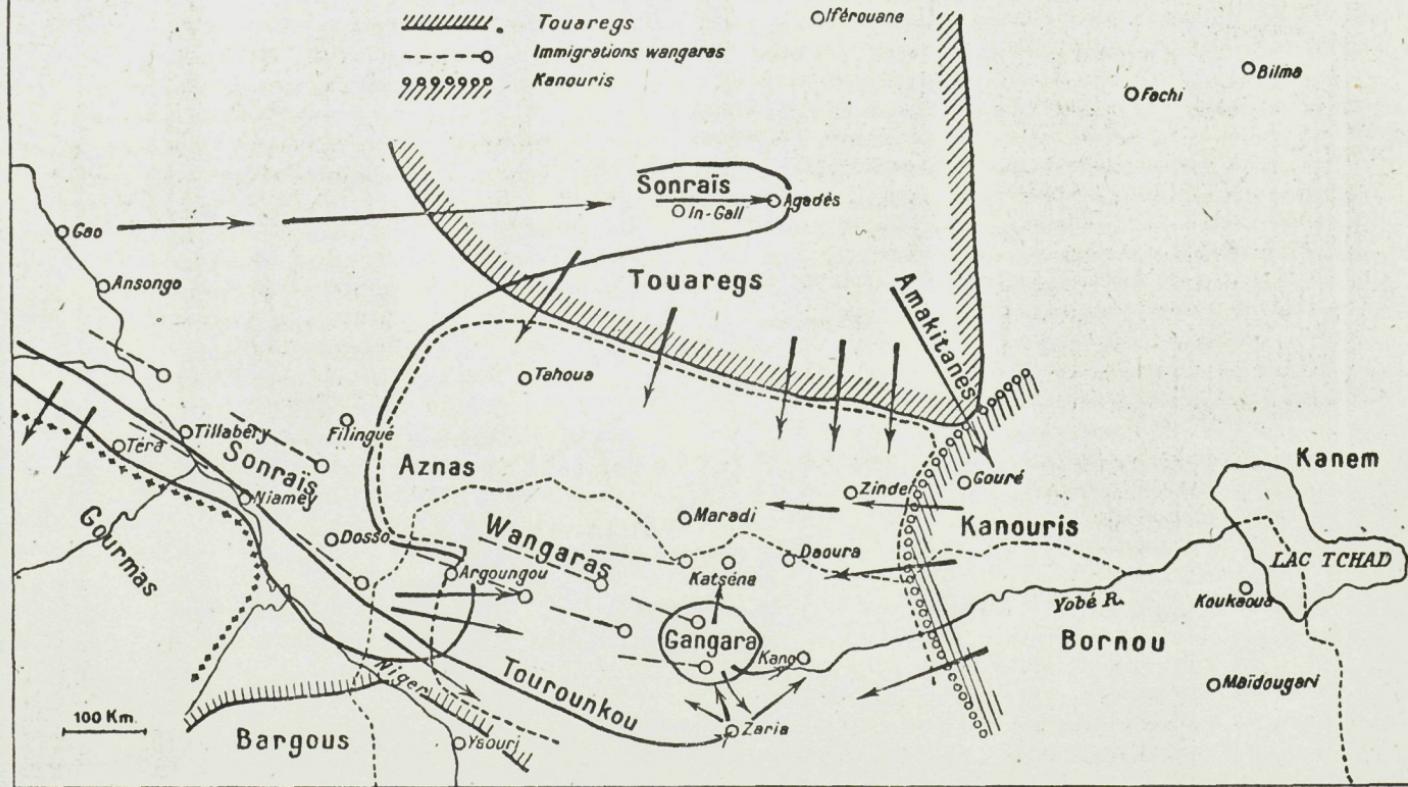


Fig. 14. Les mouvements de populations. 17 et 18<sup>e</sup> Siècle

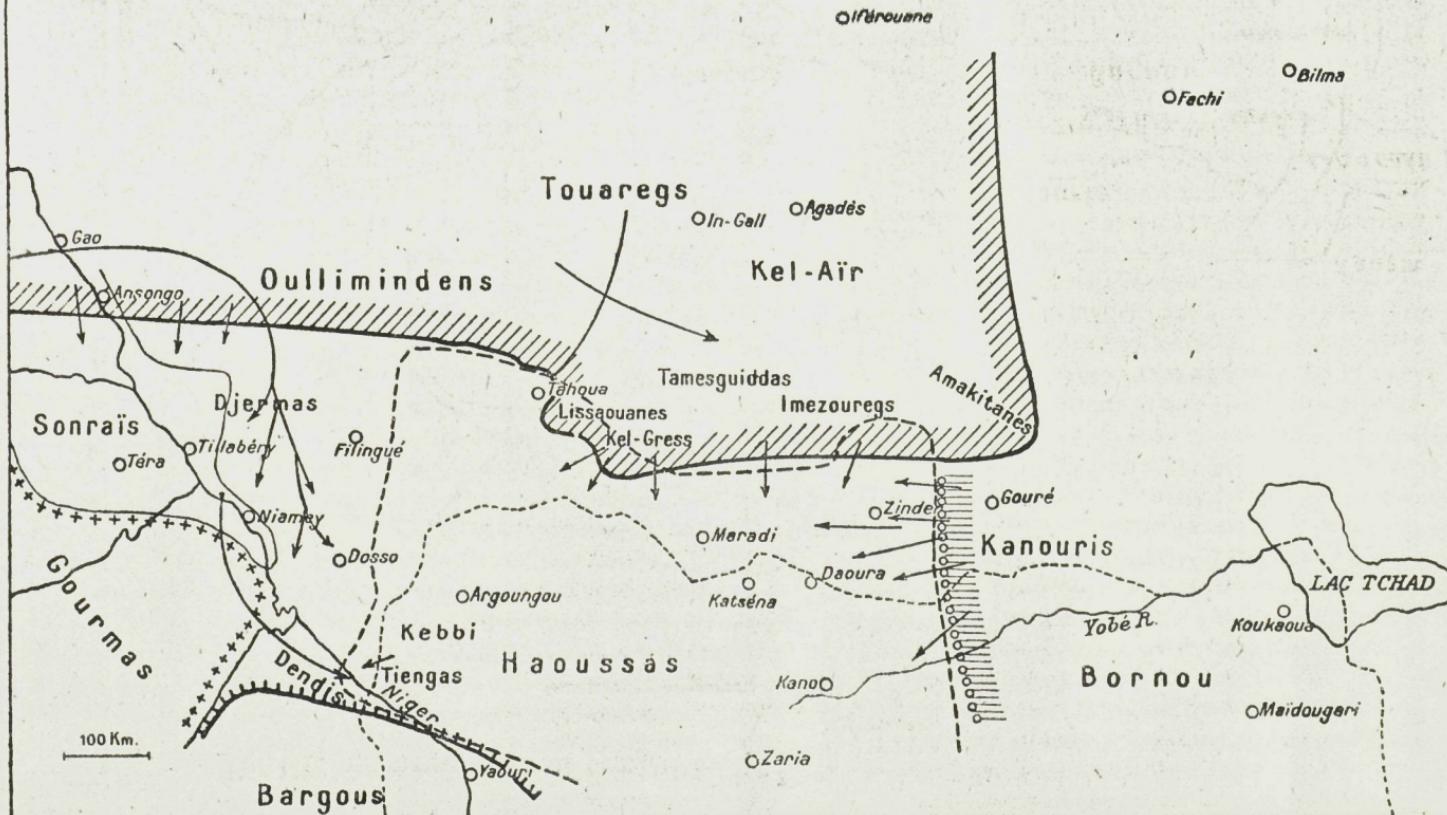


Fig. 15. Les mouvements de populations. 19<sup>e</sup> Siècle

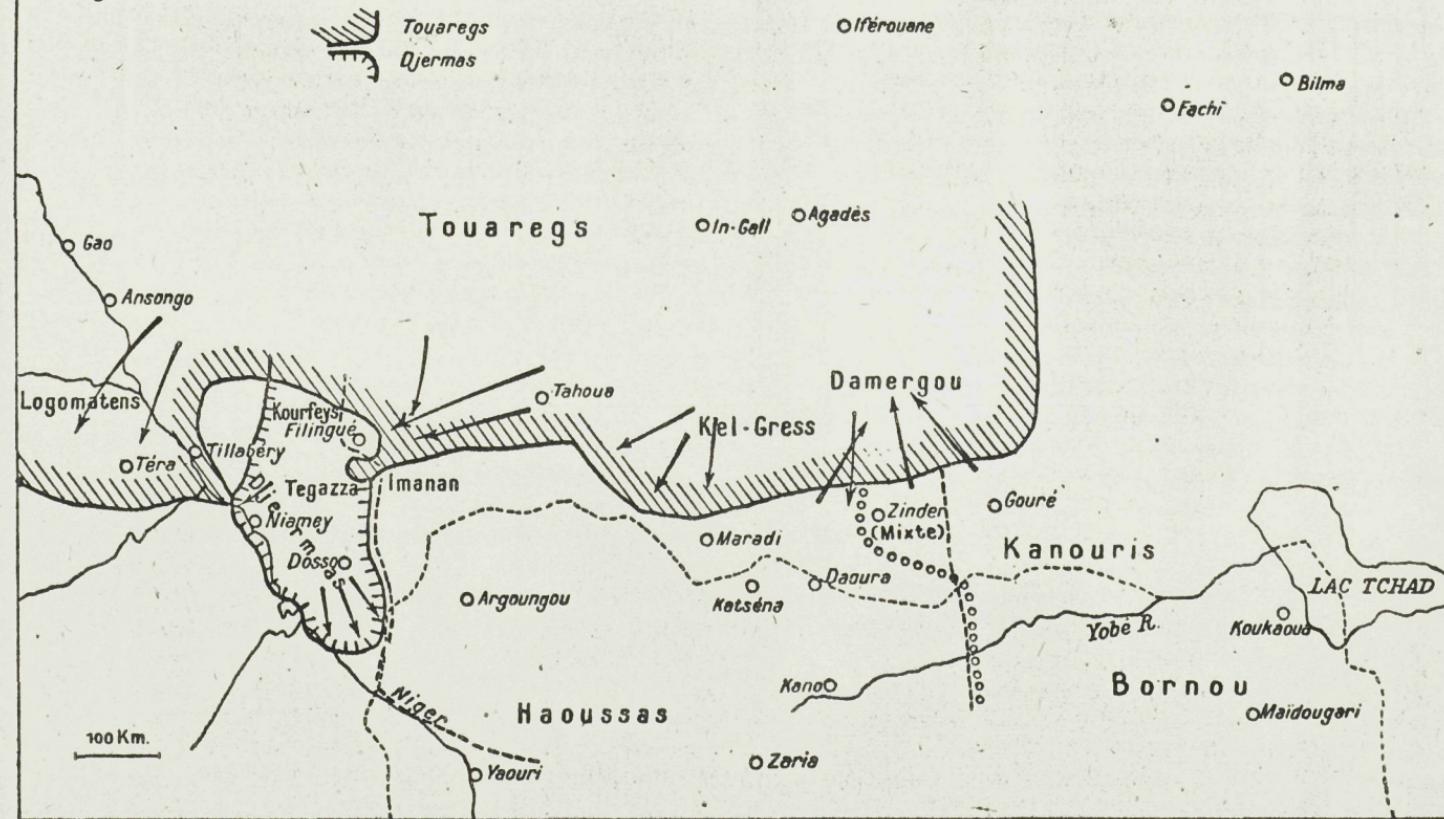


Fig. 16 - Les Etats - An 1000

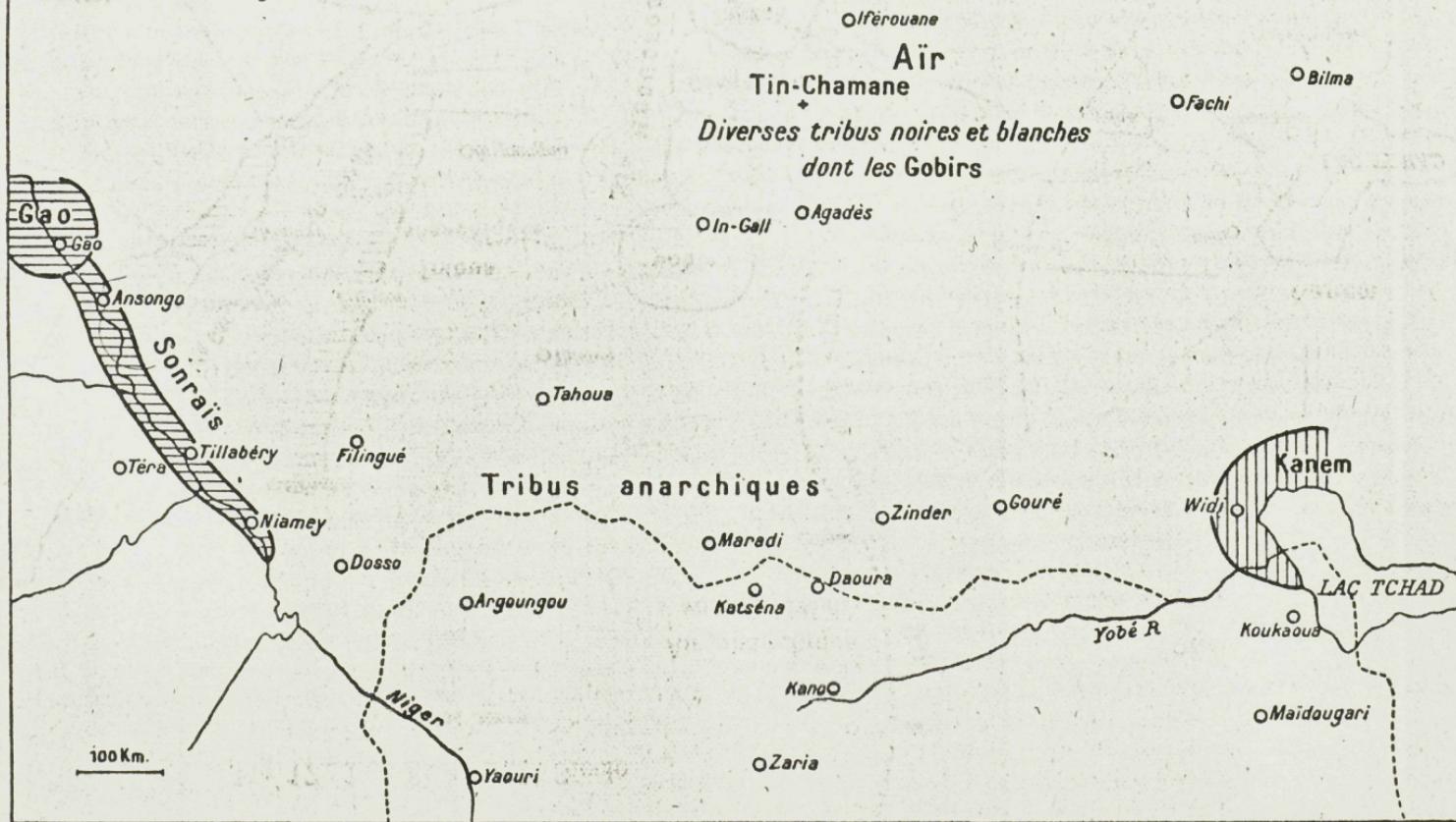
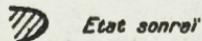


Fig. 17. - Les Etats - 13<sup>e</sup> Siècle



Etat sonrai

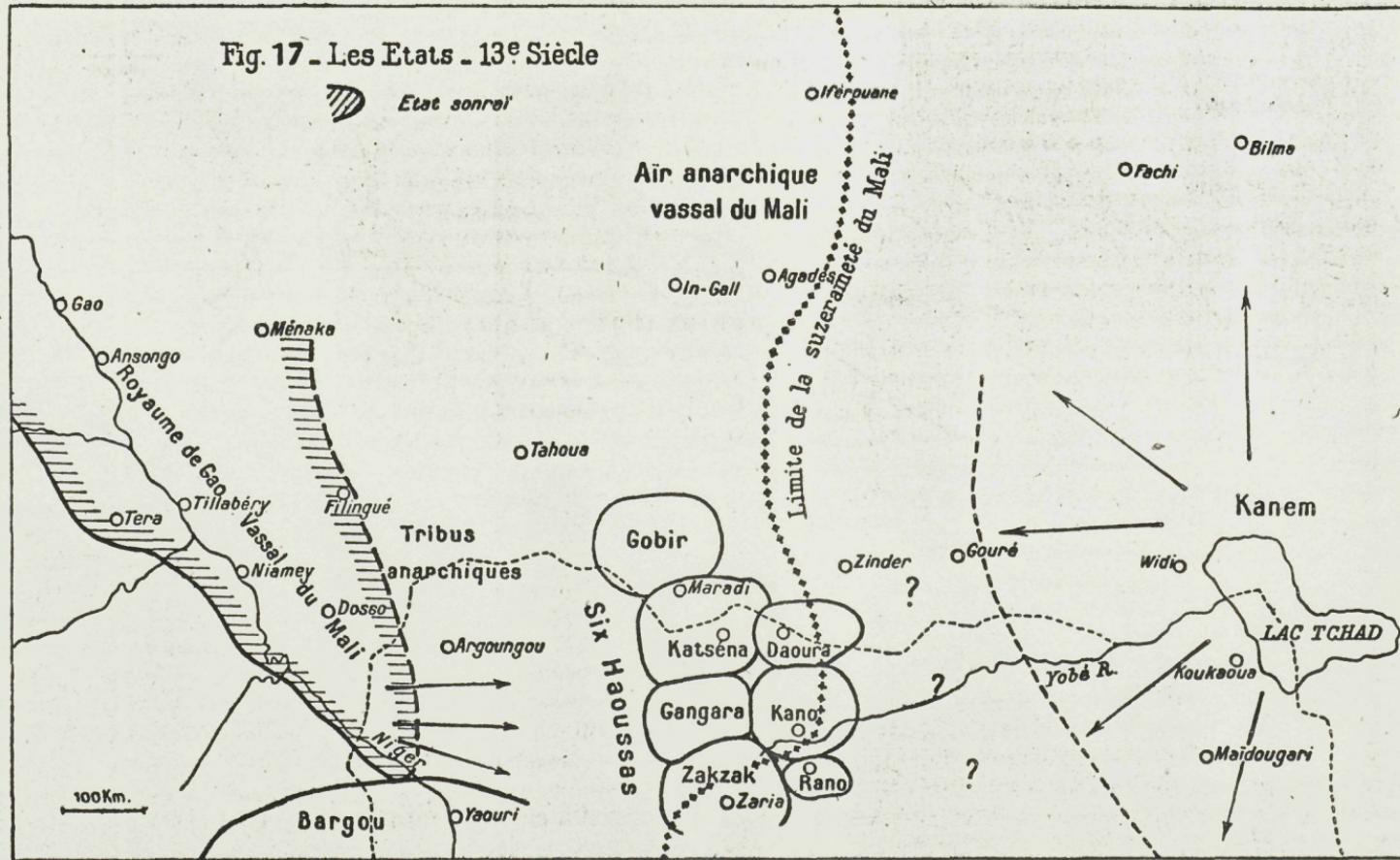
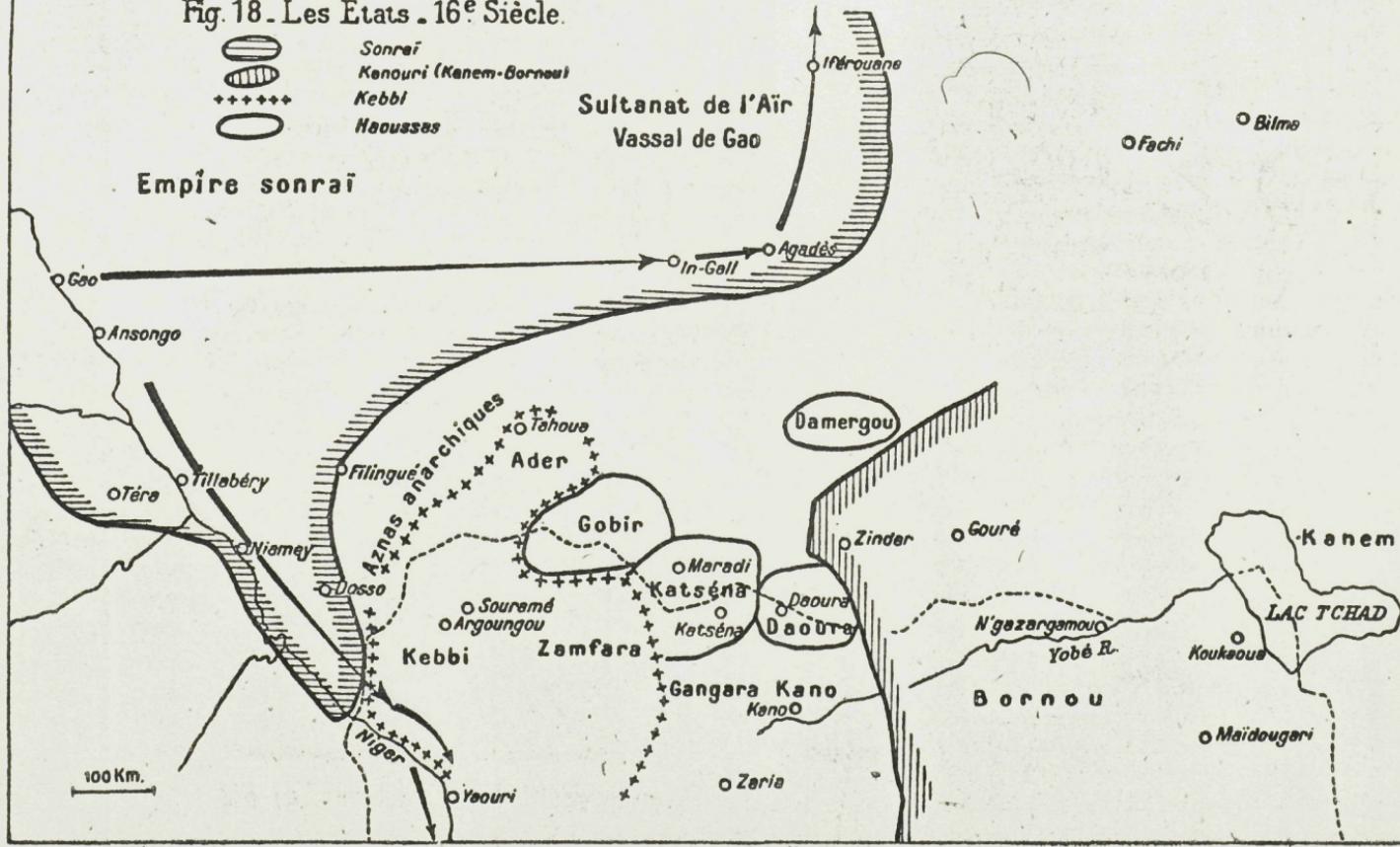
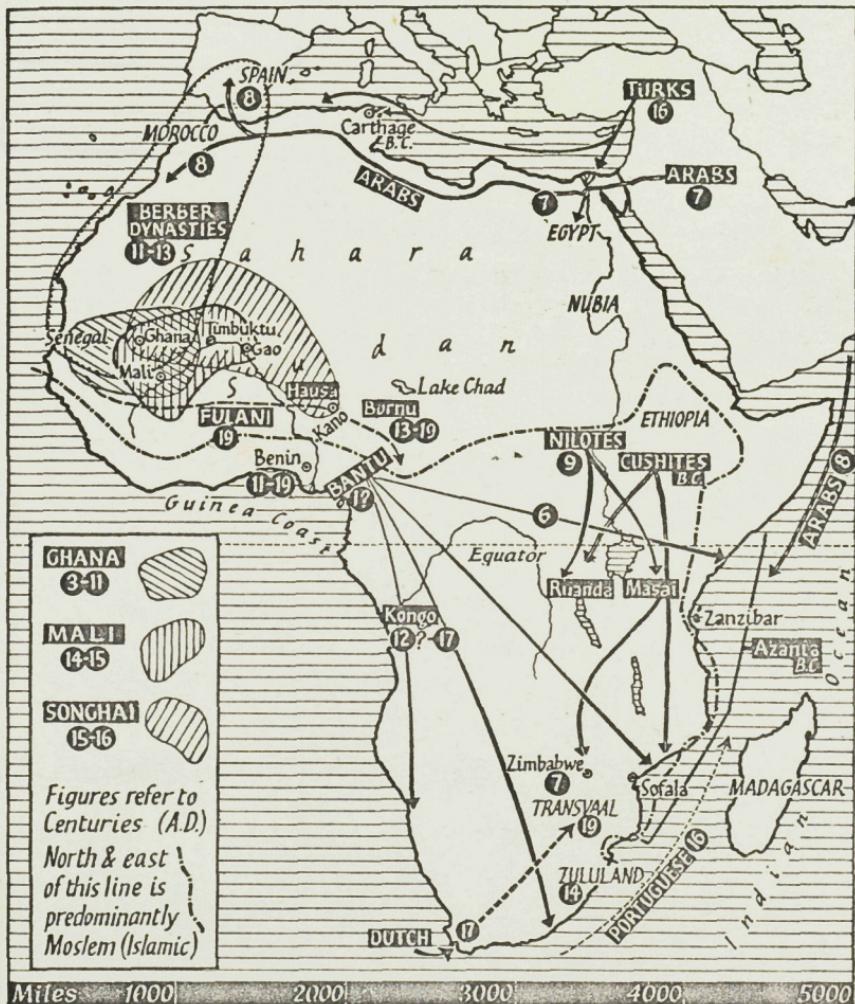
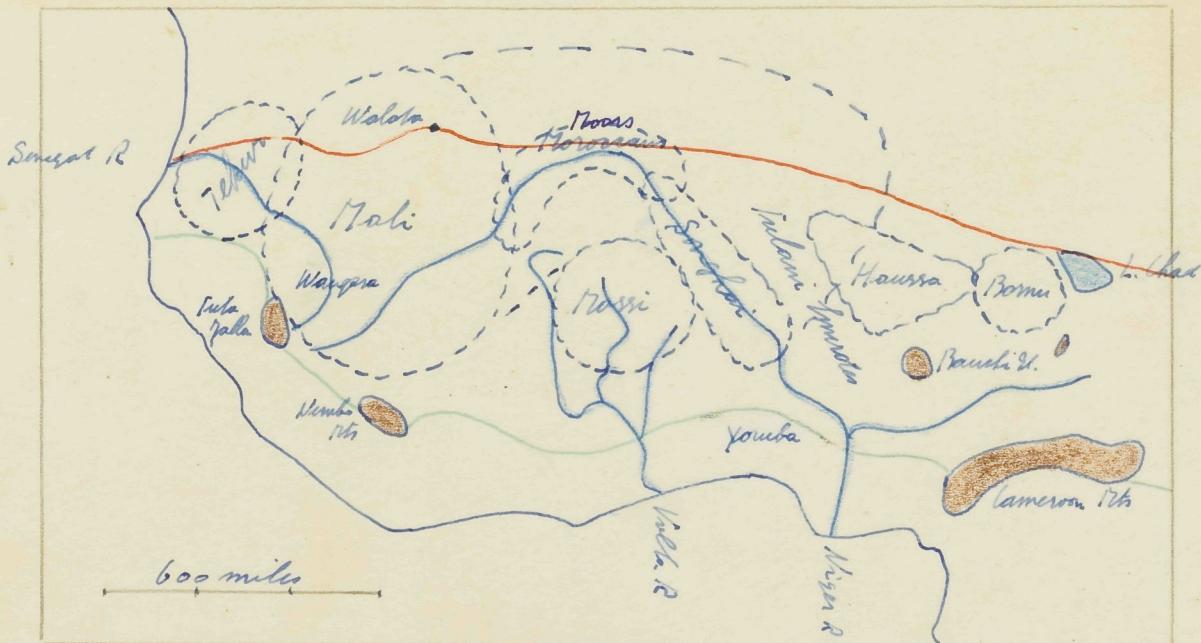


Fig. 18. Les Etats. 16<sup>e</sup> Siècle.







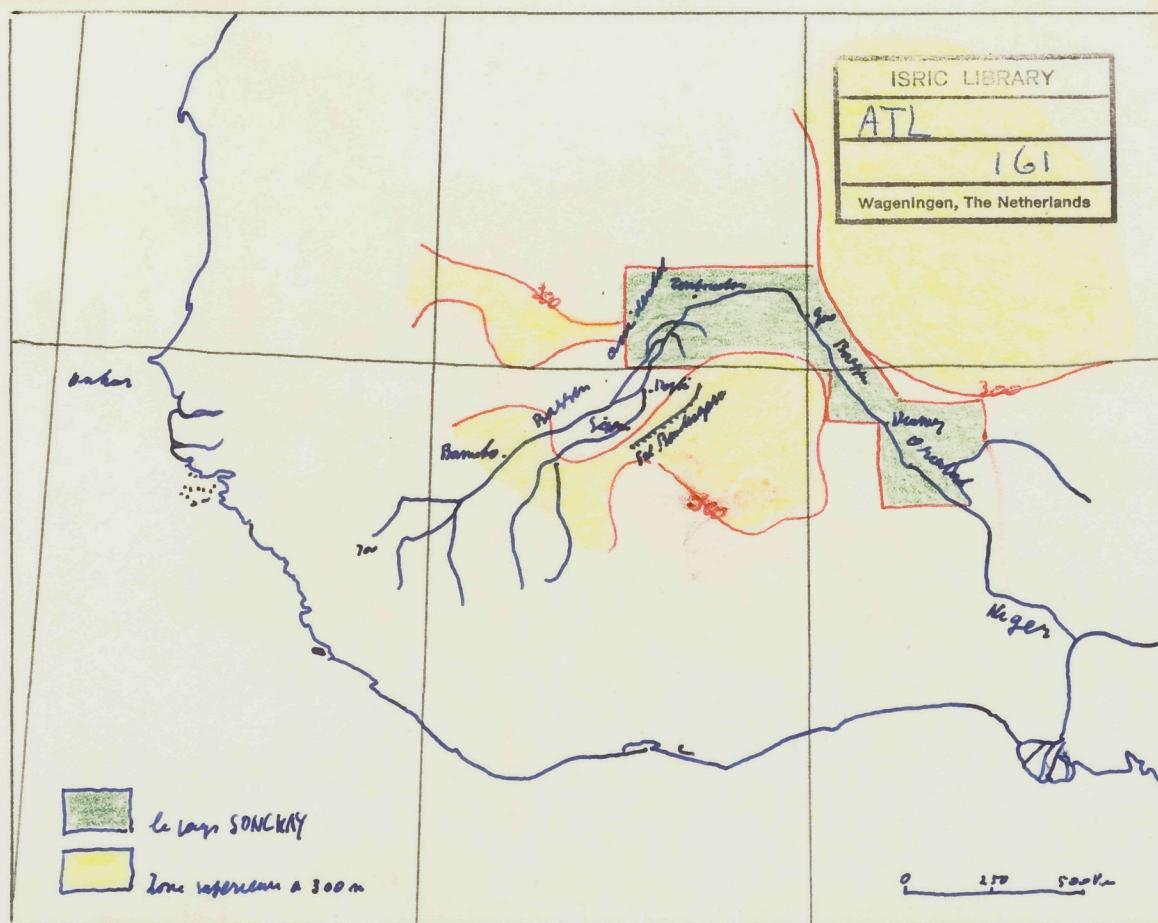
- limit of desert
- limit of forest
- land above 3000 ft

Moors (1590-1780) - secured salt mines at Taghaza  
& Indian trade / minkbeers (Moors)

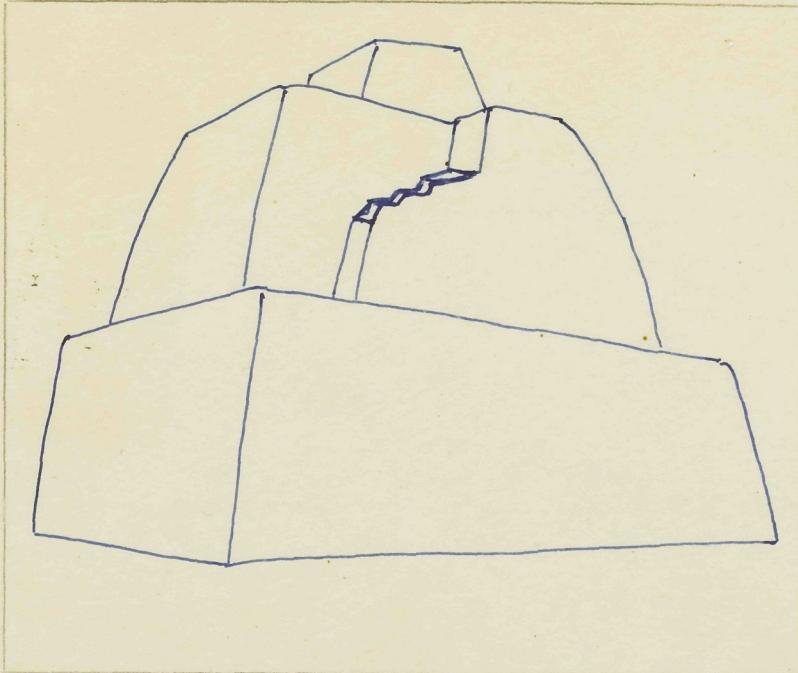
Wangara - gold grew in the sand like carrots/wool

R. Niger: "Nile of the Negroes"!





le Niger et le pays Sonckay



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161

Wageningen, The Netherlands

Songhay - royal tomb / clay pyramid  
+ wattle (Middle Niger)

Ht ~ 10 yds

