Senegalese "into Frenchmen"?

The French Technology of Nationalism in Senegal

Nancy Kwang Johnson, Ph.D.
University of Windsor
Department of Political Science
401 Sunset
1158 Chrysler Hall North
Windsor, ON N9A 7A2
nkwangjo@uwindsor.ca
(519) 253-3000, extension 2356

Prepared for Presentation at the
Annual Meeting of the Canadian Political Science Association
Manitoba, Winnipeg, CANADA
June 3-5, 2004

THE FRENCH TECHNOLOGY OF NATIONALISM IN SÉNÉGAL

Le paysage socio-culturel du Sénégal est marqué par la prédominance de cinq grands groupes ethniques: Wolof, Sereer, Haal Pulaaren (Peul, Tukulëër), Joola, Manding. ...l'appartenance à un groupe ethnique donné est généralement révélée par des critères tels que la langue maternelle, la localité d'origine, le nom patronymique. Au Sénégal, c'est la langue qui tend de plus en plus à être le facteur le plus pertinent d'identification ethnique.[2]

[The socio-cultural landscape of Senegal is marked by the predominance of five large ethnic groups: Wolof, Serer, Haalpulaar[3] (Peuhl and Toucouleur), Joola, Manding….[4] [M]embership in an ethnic group is generally revealed by some criteria such as the mother tongue, the place of origin, the family name. In Sénégal, it's the language that tends more and more to be the most significant factor of ethnic identification.]

Je pense en français; je m'exprime mieux en français que dans ma langue maternelle.

[I think in French; I express myself better in French than in my mother tongue.]

Léopold Sédar Senghor[5]

INTRODUCTION

As the two quotations suggest, language is at the nexus of one's ethnic, and arguably national identity in Sénégal. The first quotation suggests that one's mother tongue, in the context of other criteria, is the defining marker of one's ethnicity in Sénégal. The second quotation underscores the fact that Léopold Sédar Senghor, the Republic of Sénégal's first president (1960-1981), felt more comfortable expressing himself in the French language rather than in his mother tongue, Serer—one of Sénégal's six national languages.[6] As the first African and Black intellectual to be nominated to the *Académie Française* (1983)[7], Senghor would subsequently become one of the leading advocates of the French language throughout the French colonial period in Sénégal (1891-1960), and most notably during Sénégal's post-independence period (1960 to present).[8]

The Republic of Sénégal gained its independence from France on April 4, 1960. After independence, Senghor, like many of the leaders of West African nation-states who were

members of the French Community,[9] remained closely affiliated with the former colonizer. Senghor established his allegiance to the former colonial language, French, in the first article of the new republic's constitution (1960).[10] For example, Senghor noted that "*...la langue officielle est le français, les langues nationales sont le diola, le malinké, le pular, le serer, le soninké, et le wolof...*" (the official language is French, the national languages are Diola, Manding, Pulaar, Serer, Soninké, and Wolof). The French language is the official language of the republic, and therefore, the language of instruction. Consequently, official state addresses are delivered in French, and legislation is codified in French.

In contemporary Sénégal, Wolof,[11] the most dominant of the six national African languages, is the de facto lingua franca. Approximately 80%[12] of the Senegalese population of 10, 317, 100[13] (2003) speak Wolof compared to about 15-20 % of the population who not only speak French, but are also literate in the Romanized alphabet. On the other hand, about 22%[14] of Sénégal's populations speak Pulaar as their native tongue juxtaposed to the 13% who speak Serer, and the Diola-speaking population (5%). Lastly, the Manding and Soninké speakers comprise, respectively, about 4% and 1% of the Senegalese population.[15]

Wolofization,[16] the promoting of Wolof as a first language among non-Wolof ethnic groups, is increasingly becoming more of an ethnic and national phenomenon. Specifically, the number of Wolof speakers is double the number of ethnic Wolofs (80% vs. 43.7%).[17] Fiona McLaughlin notes that Senegalese who do not belong to the Wolof ethnic group are increasingly identifying as ethnic Wolofs because they speak the Wolof language.[18] Hence, non-Wolof ethnic groups are confounding ethnic and linguistic Wolofization processes.

The current Wolof linguistic phenomenon in Sénégal is even more striking in the context of Senghor's decision (1960) never to officially designate Wolof as the lingua franca. Makhtar

Diouf proposes that Senghor's formulation: "*les langues nationales sont le diola, le malinké, le pular, le serer, le soninké, et le wolof*," was designed to avoid giving the impression that one language, Wolof, was pre-eminent over the other languages. Furthermore, Senghor's recognition of French in Article 1 of the constitution suggested that the French language could serve as a linguistic unifier. Despite Senghor's diplomatic efforts, Wolof was and is spoken in designated official-language zones, such as administrative and governmental offices.

So why did Senghor elect to officially downplay the rising importance of the Wolof language as the lingua franca? The rationale that it was more practical to keep French as the official language, and more neutral to provide an alphabetical listing of all six national languages is plausible. This article, however, argues that the intertwined and often complicated relationship between language, ethnicity, and national identity needs to be explored further in the context of *francisation* and Wolofization processes.

In particular, I shall argue that the current Wolofization process in Sénégal is a function not only of how the French colonial administration envisioned its *mission civilisatrice* (civilizing mission) in Sénégal, one of its oldest colonies, but also how the colonized populations in Sénégal responded to French assimilation policies. In short, I shall argue that the French employed a technology of nationalism in the Four Communes of Sénégal (Saint-Louis, Dakar, Gorée, and Rufisque). Consequently, Senegambian[19] ethnic and mixed racial[20] populations undermined this technology, and promoted the speaking of Wolof at the expense of Francophony during the colonial period (1891-1960).

PRÉLUDE: "PEASANTS INTO FRENCHMEN"?[21]

In Eugen Weber's text, *Peasants into Frenchmen*,[22] Weber convincingly delineates the process by which the French peasants were integrated into France's national citizenry by the Parisian urbanites during the Third Republic (1870-1940). He argues that the French peasants were not viewed as compatriots of the Parisian urbanites because the peasants' mother tongues encompassed non-French languages such as Italian or Catalon or regional dialects (*patois*). Weber emphasizes the striking fact that the French language, at the beginning of the Third Republic, was a foreign language for about a quarter of France's population.[23]

According to the Parisian urbanites, their rural counterparts were less cultured or "civilized" because the peasants were not familiar with the ways of the city, Paris, and more importantly did not speak the "Frenchmen's French"[24] of the *île de Paris*. In this regard, one's degree of Frenchness (or *francité*) and civility (*civilité*) was not only equated with but also contingent upon one's command of French. The conflation of Frenchness with civility further engendered the linkage between speaking French and possessing French citizenship.

Weber focuses on the secular[25] and republican campaign undertaken by the French state, most notably secularization of the primary educational system and the promotion of the French language within the confines of that newly designated State site—the classroom. Parisian urbanites "created" Frenchmen out of the peasants by means of a compulsory, standardized primary school system. Standardization in the French instructional system suggested that at 12 noon, independent of location, students everywhere in France would be reading the same texts, following the same lesson plan, and speaking the language. Schools were the vehicles intended to *franciser* (Frenchify) the peasantry en masse, and the Third Republican classroom became the secular, civic site of Francophony. In this manner, the speaking of regional dialects (*patois*) was circumvented.

Weber's model illustrates that the French state believed that the rural masses could "learn to be French."[26] This grand-scale, nation-wide "civilizing experiment" for the rural masses proceeded from two assumptions. First, compulsory and free primary school was the appropriate vehicle for the acculturation and grooming of nascent citizens. Secondly, a proper Frenchmen or Frenchwoman could be produced with exposure to the French metropolitan educational system, French language, and French culture.

This process of "creating Frenchmen" is the goal of what I term the technology of nationalism. The technology of nationalism revolves around two very different axes.. The first axis (of this technology) entails acquiring French citizenship by having French blood (*jus sanguinis*) or being born on French soil (*jus soli*). At a later juncture, we shall see how colonized populations in Sénégal responded to the lure of citizenship offered by *jus soli*. The second axis involves affiliation with the French metropolitan educational system. From the simplest primary school class to the lecture hall of a *grande école* (prestigious university-level colleges with competitive entrance examinations), assimilation entailed exposure to the French metropolitan school system. The assimilation process, mediated by the French language and valorization of French civilization, was achieved at a heavy price, namely the loss of traditional culture and non-French mother tongues. In this way national identity became equated with national language; linguistic nationalism.

SENEGALESE "INTO FRENCHMEN"?

AXIS ONE: ACQUIRING FRENCH CITIZENSHIP

> "Nous sommes vis-à-vis de ces peuplades, dans la même situation que vis-à-vis de nos paysans. Nous leur devons l'instruction comme nous la devons à ces derniers..."[27]
>
> Admiral Vallon,[28] Governor of Sénégal (1889)

> [With regard to these populations, we are, in the same situation as with our peasants. We owe them instruction just as we owe the latter.]

Anticipating Eugen Weber's *francisation* model almost a century later, Admiral Vallon implies that the *francisation* of the Senegambian population runs parallel to that of the French peasantry. To what extent did the French intend to "make" Senegambian populations into Black Frenchmen? For an answer, we can look at how the French employed their technology of nationalism in Sénégal.

During the Third Republic, the French colonial state practiced assimilation policies in its most zealous form beginning with the creation of the Four Communes (*les quatre communes*), Saint-Louis, Gorée, Rufisque, and Dakar, as French overseas territories. [See Map of Quatre Communes.][29] On August 1, 1872, a decree bestowed on Saint-Louis and Gorée the "same municipal prerogatives and rights as French communes."[30] Rufisque in 1880 and Dakar in 1887 later joined them. The *communes de plein exercice*[31] status meant that the inhabitants of the empowered Four Communes, *originaires*, were not only comparable to their metropolitan counterparts, French citizens, but were also entitled to send a deputy[32] from Sénégal to the *Assemblée nationale* in France, vote in French elections, fight in the French army, and be adjudicated by the French civil code. In short, the *originaires* were French extraterritorial citizens.

In the passage below, Marie Louise Potin Gueye, Senghor's niece, describes what it was like to be an *originaire*.

> …J'ai donc vécu la période coloniale comme une Africaine, à ce moment-là même les Français assimilés des quatres communes étaient des gens privilégiés…Dakar, Saint Louis, Gorée et Rufisque étaient des citoyens Français, on leur avait donné un statut particulier, donc rien ne me différenciait d'une jeune Française en France, que de petites discriminations mais ce n'était rien ça…
>
> Marie Louise Potin Gueye (Métisse)[33]

> […During the colonial period, therefore, I lived as an African woman; at a time, when even the assimilated French of the Four Communes were privileged people…[P]eople from Dakar, Saint-Louis, Gorée and Rufisque were French citizens, they had been given a special status; therefore nothing differentiated me from a young French woman in France, except some discrimination; but that was nothing.] —Marie Louise Potin Gueye

Marie believes that she was a privileged member of the French empire, a French citizen (*citoyen*) or Black Frenchwomen who was comparable to her (white) French female counterparts in the métropole, with the exception of some discrimination. Marie can imagine herself belonging to the white French citizenry.

The act of bestowing upon *originaires* the same political rights as their French counterparts in the métropole meant that the French colonial administration viewed the Senegambian population in the rural hinterland as being less assimilable than their urban counterparts in the Four Communes. Consequently, Senegambians living beyond the Four Communes were designated as French subjects (*sujets* or *indigènes*). French subjects fell under the *Code de l'indigénat* (Native Code), less directly, the "arbitrary power of the French colonial administration, which most often relied on traditional chiefs—ethnic leaders or Muslim holy men (*marabouts*)—to establish its domination."[34]

As a consequence of the notable difference between being a French citizen or subject, it became quite commonplace for pregnant Senegambian women to migrate, during the ninth month of their pregnancy, to one of the Four Communes. Before the mother embarked on her journey, she was situated beyond the ideologically circumscribed urban mappings of the Four Communes. However it is arguable that the mother's migration from beyond the idea of France, the rural hinterland of Senegambia, to French soil, the Four Communes, represents the ideological distance between the colony and the métropole. Once the Senegambian mother

reached the designated commune, however, the newborn became a Frenchman or Frenchwoman; endowed with the same political rights as his or her French counterpart.

The mother's migration from the hinterland to the Four Communes was a self-sacrificing act. According to Senegambian folklore, the mother tongue was transmitted to the newborn through the mother's milk. Her journey, therefore, entitled her newborn to French citizenship, access to the French metropolitan instructional system, and exposure to the French language. Her journey, however, would not change her status as a French subject. She would not be part of the newborn's (French) imagined community.[35]

Here, it is interesting to note how the establishment of the Four Communes as French soil had the effect, in some cases, of creating an "us (French citizens or *citoyen; originaire*) vs. them (French subjects or *sujets; indigène*) dichotomy within the Senegambian region at large whereby *originaires* (anyone from one of the Four Communes) had more in common, in a juridical and administrative sense, with their counterparts in France, than they had with their own family members in the Senegambian region.

In this regard, the construction of the Four Communes is significant for a number of reasons. First, the process of designating four urban settings as French soil, subsequently categorized as zones of Francophony, emulated, to a certain extent, Paris. Like Paris, the Four Communes in Sénégal represented locales where the French language was to be spoken and French culture valorized. Strategically speaking, the dissemination of the French technology of nationalism began with the successful transmission of the ideology of language hierarchy, which could be projected onto new geographic configurations like the Four Communes.

AXIS TWO: EXPOSURE TO THE METROPOLITAN SCHOOL SYSTEM
FRÈRES DE PLOËRMEL (1841-1904)

The concept of extraterritorial Black Frenchmen was complemented by the intra-colonial specificity of pre-existing Senegambian populations and their respective kinship structures. The pre-colonial *ethnie*-scape was transformed, in a racial and socio-political sense, with the advent of European contact. The European presence (Portuguese, Spanish, and Dutch) between the period from 1444 to 1659,[36] contact with the French (1659-1817), and the comparatively momentary and fleeting interludes with the British in Saint-Louis (1758-1778, and 1809-1817) and Gorée (1759-1763, 1779-1783, 1800-1817) engendered a mixed racial population that emerged as a result of slaving, inter-racial marriage and concubinage.

After regaining possession of the colony from the British (1817), the French government attempted to promote French civilization in the instructional system. The métropole during this time period was in the midst of pedagogical warfare: mutual instruction (*enseignement mutual*), in which the most advanced student served as the monitor and was in charge of instructing his fellow students, versus religious instruction (*enseignement religieux*), instruction by the brotherhoods and sisterhoods, which had no intermediaries. Under the direction of *Frere* Jean Dard,[37] mutual instruction, whereby the monitor directly received his lesson from the teacher, was initially used to replace the Koranic form of education operating in the colony. The Koranic schools were intended to craft good Muslims (*bon musulmans*) out of Senegambian boys who were sent at a young age (roughly 7-8 years old) to study the Koran under the direction of a master.

Once mutual education did not procure the desired results, good citizens (*bons citoyens*), the French colonial administration subsequently invited religious organizations established in France, such as the *Soeurs de l'Immaculée Conception* and the *Frères de Ploërmel*, to extend

their educational activities to Sénégal. The French colonial administration sought the assistance of religious brotherhoods and sisterhoods as a means of creating good or moral men (*les bons hommes*) rather than the polygamous, good Muslims (*les bons musulmans*) produced by the Koranic schools.

In Saint-Louis and Gorée, the communes with the largest white European populations, Jean Dard confronted varying degrees of spoken and written French, particularly within the racially mixed persons (*mulâtres*) and Senegambian ethnic group communities. As political and economic intermediaries,[38] the *originaires* had essentially become linguistic and cultural arbiters of the Wolofs, who had the earliest contact with Europeans and exercised cultural hegemony over the other Senegambian ethnic groups.[39]

Furthermore, the communes of Saint-Louis and Gorée offered varying degrees of religiosity. Muslims and ethnic Wolofs predominantly populated Saint-Louis. Gorée's population, on the other hand, was comprised of a more Christian (Catholic) and Serer population.. In the following memoir,[40] a distinction is made within the community of *signares*,[41] women who engaged in sexual relations with the various colonizers, between the degrees of religiosity and one's command of French in both Gorée and Saint-Louis.

> Tout ce que j'ai dit des costumes [sic] des *signares* de Gorée peut se rapporter à celles de Saint-Louis. Ces dernières ne parlent pas si bien le français, mais elles sont plus portées à la religion que les premières.[42]
>
> [Everything that I have said about the customs of the signares of Gorée is in accord with those of Saint-Louis. The latter do not speak French as well, but they are more religious than the former.]

Here, the implication was that the *signares* Gorée spoke better French than their counterparts in Saint-Louis. Of the two communes, Gorée provided French Catholic missionaries with a bastion of good men (*bons hommes*) and good women (*bonnes femmes*).

Such were the circumstances under which the *Frères de Ploërmel* were expected, according to the French colonial government, to create good men and women. Their contract with the Overseas Ministry was precise—the French state would cover all costs of the school that would be free, and the *frères* were to use the same manuals, and the same pedagogical methods that they had used in their schools in France.[43] After their installation in Saint-Louis, the *Frères de Ploërmel* eventually opened schools in Gorée (1843), Dakar (1882), Rufisque (1888), and Ziguinchor (1901). By 1902, the *Frères de Ploërmel* had opened a total of 32 schools in the Senegambian region.[44] Between 1841 to 1904, the *Frères de Ploërmel* congregation, compared to the other congregations in the Senegambian region, supplied the majority (roughly 70-80%) of public schoolteachers.[45] In 1904, the *Frères de Ploërmel*, however, would return to the métropole literally a year before the separation of Church and State, whereas some of the other congregations such as *Immaculate Conception* remained in the Senegambian region.

SÉNÉGAL: FRANCE'S BLACK BRITTANY?

With the departure of the *Frères de Ploërmel* in 1904, the French technology of nationalism required new agents who would expose the *originaire* population in the Four Communes to the French metropolitan educational system. In the passage below, Malick Diop, a Senegalese monitor and a schoolteacher, recalls the techniques used in his class to suppress the local Senegambian vernaculars such as Wolof.

> Le symbole était utilisé dans les écoles pour obliger les enfants à parler Français, à ne plus parler le Wolof. C'était, en général, un morceau de bois ou bien une bôite qui circulait dans la classe. [A]lors ce morceau de bois appelé symbole était donné à celui qui, par mégarde, parlait sa propre langue. Alors si un camarade le surprend en train de

> parler Wolof, il lui donne le symbole jusqu'au moment où, lui aussi, il trouve un autre qui parle Wolof, il le lui remettait. Ainsi, il était souvent difficile de voir des enfants dans une classe parler le Wolof ou autre langue. Ils ne parlaient que le Français.
>
> Malick Diop[46]
>
> [The symbol was used in the schools to force children to speak French, not Wolof. Generally, it was, a piece of wood or even a box, which was passed around the class. The piece of wood called symbol, was given to whoever accidentally spoke his mother tongue. If a classmate catches someone speaking Wolof, he gives that person the symbol, which keeps it until the moment when, he in turn finds another person speaking Wolof. It was hard to catch children speaking Wolof or another language in class. They only spoke French.]

Here, it is especially noteworthy that, Malick, a Senegalese monitor and schoolteacher who enforced this French practice, rarely found Senegalese students speaking their mother tongues in the classroom. The symbol practice not only de-legitimized languages such as Wolof,[47] but also publicly humiliated anyone who spoke non-French languages in the confines of the classroom.

This practice of punishing students speaking non-French languages with a "symbol" was also used in the métropole—especially in the three departments of Lower Brittany,[48] where "Breton was hunted out of the schools."[49] Eugen Weber notes that:

> A favorite punishment, inherited from the Jesuits (who had ironically used it to enforce Latin on their French-speaking charges), was the token of shame to be displayed by the child caught using his native tongue. The token varied. It could be a cardboard ticket (Dorres, Pyrénées-Orientales), a wooden plank (Err and Palau, Pyrénées-Orientales), a bar or a stick (Angoustrine, Pyrénées-Orientales), a bar or a stick (Angoustrine, Pyrénées-Orientales), a peg (Cantal), a paper ribbon or metal object (Flanders), or a brick to be held out at arm's length (Corrèze). A child saddled with such a "symbol" kept it until he caught another child not speaking French, denounced him, and passed it on. The pupil left with the token at the end of the day received a punishment. In the country schools of Brittany the symbol of shame was a sabot.[50]

In this regard, the Senegambian region represented a sort of Black Brittany or "*Bretagne noire*"[51] for the *Frères*, and would explain why they consistently used the symbol practice from 1841 to 1904. The *Frères de Ploërmel* were staunch advocates of the *mission civilisatrice* that stemmed

from their belief that there were superior and inferior races and cultures. Moreover, their pedagogy was more Francocentric and direct than Dard's Afrocentric pedagogy; which promoted the teaching of indigenous languages and the art of translation. More importantly, the symbol practice, from the métropole, was introduced by the *Frères* in Sénégal, and was even continued, after their departure, by Senegalese schoolteachers and monitors.

In the context of the French technology of nationalism, exposure to the French metropolitan school system was also a means to an end--creating a Black French elite. For example, Malick Diop, a Senegalese schoolteacher and monitor, describes how Senegalese schoolteachers, from the Four Communes, were considered to be elites during the colonial period.

> [C]'était avant la création des écoles normales qui formaient les enseignants. Après l'école des ôtages, maintenant, il y a eu les frères catholiques qui dispensaient la langue française, alors c'était l'élite à l'époque. Il n'y avait qu'eux, comme on dit. [O]n avait divisé les Sénégalais en citoyens Français ceux qui sont nés dans les quatres communes Saint-Louis, Dakar, Gorée, Rufisque. Alors c'était l'élite. En générale, ce sont eux seuls qui fréquentaient l'école, les autres ne fréquentaient presque pas l'école. C'est pourquoi les premiers enseignants sont souvent des Dakarois, des Saint Louisiens, des Rufisquois ou des Goréens, sinon les autres n'avaient pas la chance d'aller à l'école.[52]
>
> It was before the creation of normal schools that educated teachers. Now after the school of captives,[53] there were the Catholic brotherhoods that disseminated the French language; they [the Catholic brotherhoods] were the elites of that era. As the saying goes, only the Catholic brotherhoods counted [before the creation of normal schools]. One had divided the Senegalese into French citizens those who were born in the Four Communes: Saint-Louis, Dakar, Goree, Rufisque. They [*originaires*] were the elite. In general, they [*originaires*] were the only ones who went to school, the others [non-*originaires*] hardly went to school. That's why the first schoolteachers were often Dakarois, Saint-Louisiens, Rufisquois or Goréens, because the others did not have the chance to go to school.

Implicit in Malick Diop's interview is the assumption that in order to attend William Ponty, the school where African elites were produced, one had to already be, a priori, French--namely an *originaire* or an *originaire's* descendant who lived beyond the Four Communes.[54] This umbrella of Frenchness also encompassed the descendants of local traditional elites, namely the sons of

Senegambian chiefs, who were meant to obtain a French education to fulfill the colonial demand for interpreters, religious judges, and non-commissioned officers in one of the French West African administrative circles.

While the *grandes écoles* served as breeding grounds for an African elite, the French language served as a social marker. Madicke Wade,[55] a schoolteacher and monitor, recounts the benefits of speaking the French language:

> C'était d'abord un privilège….L'individu qui parlait français quand il venait dans un village même si c'était un noir, un Serer, un Peuhl, quand il venait trouver sa communauté et qu'il parlait Français, sa communauté avait un complexe vis-à-vis de lui. Quand deux individus également se retrouvaient devant un toubab, l'un parlant français et l'autre ne le parlant pas, la considération allait vers celui qui parlait français.
>
> [First of all, it was a privilege (speaking French)…The individual who spoke French when he came to a village, even if he was a Black, a Serer, a Fulbe, when he came to find his community and he spoke French, the community had a complex towards him. When two individuals found themselves in front of a white person, and one spoke French and the other did not (speak French), the respect went towards the one who spoke French.]

Promoting the French language, or constructing Francophones in the Four Communes sought to eradicate one's traditional culture, mother tongue, and ethnic ties. This erasure process served to linguistically and culturally isolate the *originaires*, who spoke Wolof and lived within Wolof culture, from the rest of the Senegambian population in the hinterland. The boundaries of the Four Communes demarcated and validated the *originaries*' right to *civilité*, the French language and French citizenship.

THE ORIGINAIRES' RESPONSE TO THE FRENCH TECHNOLOGY OF NATIONALISM

Neither the *Frères de Ploërmel* nor the French colonial administration would have fathomed how the *originaires* would respond to the technology of nationalism. Jeff Marcson notes the demographical differences between Senegambian and European populations speaking the French and Wolof languages during the 18th and 19th centuries.

> ...[I]n the Saint Louis population in the 18th century there were relatively more blacks who spoke French and who were Christian than in the 19th century. Cases of Europeans speaking Wolof in the 18th century were also more numerous than in the 19th. This phenomenon explains why most of the population of Saint Louis, not to mention almost all of the population of the mainland, seemed untouched in the mid-19th century in culture and language by 200 years of the French presence. African-European contact was decreasing and the reason was the growth of the power of the habitants.[56]

It is important to note the actual power of the *originaires* as speakers of the Wolof language and arbiters of Wolof culture, coupled with the process of Islamization whereby Senegambian ethnic groups adopted Islam as a means of undermining the French colonial mission. Given the predominantly Wolof and Muslim population in Saint-Louis, there were latent traces of Wolofization and Islamization during the 18th century that became more apparent in the 19th century. More importantly, by the 19th century a form of *originaire* hegemony set in, and ultimately undermined the French technology of nationalism. That is to say, the *originaires*, a French- and Wolof-speaking population kept Wolof-speaking Senegambians from speaking French, thus perpetuating the subject status of the Senegambians while maintaining their own privileged citizenship.

According to the French, there were ultimately two types of *originaires*--Catholics and Muslims.[57] The communes of Rufisque and Dakar, known as the centers for the peanut economy and former Wolof, Serer, and Lebou territories,) [See "Map 2 Distribution of Native Wolof Speakers],[58] had a lower percentage of mixed racial persons, freed slaves, Christians (Serer), and a relatively higher percentage of Muslims. Unlike Saint-Louis and Gorée, the communes of Rufisque and Dakar had a more homogeneous *ethnie*-scape comprised primarily of the Lebou and Wolof ethnic groups. With regard to religion, Saint-Louis, Rufisque, and Dakar had predominantly Muslim populations.

In the context of the racial, ethnic, religious, and social characteristics of the populations inhabiting the Four Communes, French metropolitan and local governments projected another colonial taxonomy-- good men (*bons hommes*), good Muslims (*bons musulmans*), and good citizens (*bons citoyens*-- onto the *originaire*-scape. The term, good Muslim (*bon musulman*) was a reference to Muslim *originaires*. By definition, *bon musulman* was a reference to Muslims in good standing with the French, namely a Muslim who was from one of three ethnic groups—Lebou, Wolof, and Serer. On the other hand, Muslims from either the Toucouleur or Fulbe ethnic tribes were designated as *fanatiques*[59] (fanatics) because their ethnic groups had Islamic state-building tendencies.

Muslim o*riginaires* were precluded from the *bon citoyen* category because they would not renounce their personal statute (*statut personnel*), right to Muslim status,[60] yet "claimed French citizenship without submitting to French cultural and civil codes."[61] Governor Vallon, who supported the French assimilation project in Sénégal, viewed the spread of Islam with disfavor, as it infringed upon the process of assimilation. Governor Vallon believed that Islam and its civilization were a threat to French civilization and the French language.

Governor Vallon's rationale for such beliefs was that the "Senegalese remained polygamous Muslims, governed not by the French codes but by the Koran,"[62] despite the French presence. Because literacy in the French language was often equated with cultural assimilation, the fact that the *originaires* reverted back to Wolof after school hours suggests that complete assimilation to the French culture was effectively blocked. Hence, Vallon did not want to promote Islam within or beyond the Four Communes.

Madicke Wade,[63] for example, recounts what it was like to go to French and Koranic schools in the commune of Saint-Louis, and ultimately reaffirms Governor Vallon's concerns.

> Le lundi matin on se réveillait, à 8 heures on allait à l'école française…. Donc de 11h30 on allait à l'école coranique jusqu'à une heure et on venait manger. A 3 heures on allait à l'école, à 5 h nous quittions l'école française pour aller à l'école coranique. Le samedi et le dimanche nous allions carrément à l'école coranique. Alors, c'était comme ça. C'était l'alternance les jours ordinaires. Les jours fériés on allait seulement à l'école coranique.--Madicke Wade
>
> [On Mondays we would wake up at 8 a.m., and go to the French school. At 11:30 a.m., we would go to the Koranic until 1 p.m. and afterwards we would go to eat. At 3 p.m., we would go to the [French] school. At 5 p.m, we would leave the French school and go to the Koranic school. On Saturdays and Sundays we would only go to Koranic school. Well, that's how it [our schedule] was. It was our schedule for ordinary [week]days. On statutory holidays we only went to Koranic school].

Here, it is noteworthy how the French colonial administration not only accommodated the Muslim *originaires* in Saint-Louis, but also how these Muslim *originaires* reconciled their dual status; experiencing two conflicting, yet co-habitating notions of assimilation. In their efforts to co-opt Muslim religious leaders (marabouts) and their teachings in Koranic schools, the French subsequently established Franco-Arabic schools, *madrassas*, to ensure that the French language would be the vehicular language for Arabic- and Wolof-speaking populations.

The assimilation process in the Four Communes was neither complete nor was it monolithic. The main juridical difference between Christian and Muslim *originaires* was the French Civil Code. Muslim *originaires* simply rejected it. On one level, it appears that there were two competing narratives: accommodation or resistance. My interviews with *originaires*, however, suggested that there was also a middle category for *originaires* independent of their religious and/or ethnic background. For example, one of my interviewees, Annette Mbaye D'Erneville, referred to the French language as "*notre belle langue"* (our beautiful language).[64] Here, Annette's response suggests that *originaires* were able to use the French language for their own socio-political gain without losing their traditional, Muslim culture, and the Wolof

language.

These mixed racial and Senegambian populations continually sought strategies that had the effect of reducing their assimilative, socio-political, and ideological proximity to the colonizer's language and culture, and simultaneously resisted complete assimilation as exemplified by their efforts to exercise their personal statute (*statut personnel*) – right to Muslim status. The mixed racial and Senegambian *originaires* emerged as polygamous, good Muslims who represented the response to good moral men (pre-1905) or good citizens (post-1905). Unlike their metropolitan counterparts, good Muslims were not subject to the French Civil Code, and therefore, prevented its universal application throughout the French empire. These mixed racial, and ethnic populations managed to negotiate the terms of their full French citizenship—on their own terms.[65]

SENGHOR'S RECOGNITION OF THE FRENCH LANGUAGE

In the context of the *originaires*' response to the French technology of nationalism, it is important to re-examine Senghor's role in the *francisation* and Wolofization processes. Why did Senghor consciously choose not to designate Wolof as the lingua franca of Sénégal? Senghor's reluctance to recognize Wolof as the official lingua franca and the current Wolofization phenomenon are inherently intertwined. First, it is important to note that Senghor was not a Muslim and was not born in one of the Four Communes. Consequently, his political rivalry (for a seat in the National Assembly) with Lamine Guèye (a Muslim from one of the Four Communes) during the 1951-1957 period was fueled by his non-citizen, rather than his non-Muslim, status. Senghor's constituency was mainly comprised of Wolof Muslims from the protectorate, i.e., Mamadou Dia.[66]

Secondly, Senghor was not a member of the dominant ethnic group—the Wolof. Rather, he belonged to the Serer ethnic group; which is often referred to as the "big minority" in Sénégal because of its religious affiliation as Christians in a predominantly Muslim country. Furthermore, Africana scholars like G. Wesley Johnson[67] note that Senghor had to learn the Wolof language, and reportedly practiced Wolof one-half hour per day before beginning his presidential duties.

Senghor's status as a non-(French) citizen[68] and non-Wolof is significant. It was in Senghor's best interest to promote neutral language policies that were neither tied to one's place of birth or origin (which was the case with the *originaires*), nor tied to one's original or socially prescribed ethnic group (which was the case with the Wolofs). From the perspective of a non-citizen or subject, the colonial demarcation of the Four Communes had linguistic, cultural, and socio-political consequences that initially facilitated the ascendancy of the Wolof ethnic group, as early as the colonial period, and subsequently perpetuated the urbanized version of the Wolof language, namely Franco-Wolof,[69] during the post-independence period (1960 to present).

During the French colonial period (1891-1960), the citizen-subject distinction was the defining social marker, rather than one's membership to a particular ethnic group. As a result of possessing French citizenship, the *originaires* were affiliated with the French metropolitan instructional system, and were Francophones. The French notion of divide and conquer had the effect of promoting an inclusionary vs. exclusionary dichotomy whereby the *originaries* essentially lived in ethnic- and caste-free zones of Francophony.

The Wolof ethnic group, with one of the most rigid caste systems,[70] had much to gain from their relationship with the French. Specifically, the technology of nationalism, as employed in the Four Communes, enabled the Wolof *originaires* to essentially escape their caste.

The French language, rather than one's membership to an ethnic group, functioned as a unifying medium. While the Four Communes provided a caste-free environment for ethnic Wolofs, the Islamization process would ultimately provide a means of resistance to *francisation* because the Islamic faith was more egalitarian. As Muslims, the Wolof ethnic group was immune to the proselytizing[71] efforts of French Catholic missionaries like the *Frères de Ploërmel*.

CONCLUSION: WOLOF PEANUT "PEASANTS INTO" SENEGALESE?

The relationship, between speaking Wolof and being Wolof, became more tenuous in urban settings such as the Four Communes. In rural settings, however, the linkage, between ethnic Wolofs and the Wolof language, became more intertwined. In addition, Wolof ethnicity became wed to religious brotherhood membership in such a way that 'to be Wolof'[72] was 'necessarily to be Muslim.'[73] In the context of Sénégal's three main Sufi brotherhoods,[74] Mourides, Tijaniyya, and Qadiriyya, the Mouride brotherhood is not only the "most tightly organized and influential,"[75] but also the main proponent for Wolof peanut farmers who comprise its core. Furthermore, Wolof peanut farmers account for 60% of the peanut economy—90% of Sénégal's export value.[76]

Sheldon Gellar attributes the ascendancy of Islam in Sénégal to:

> …[T]he Muslim brotherhoods' ability to adapt to changing social conditions, the spread of Koranic primary schools, and Senegal's growing ties with the Islamic world….[77]

In addition, Lucy Behrman notes that "marabus discouraged their disciples from attending French schools whenever possible."[78] Here, it is noteworthy how marabouts in rural settings not only undermined the French "civilizing mission," by dissuading their followers from attending French schools, but also subverted the French technology of nationalism with their own counter-response; Koranic schools. While Muslim *orignaires* in Saint-Louis attended both French and Koranic schools, Wolof peanut peasants only attended Koranic schools. Hence, the Islamic faith

served as a trans-ethnic, unifying medium to the extent that Muslim *originaires* in the Four Communes were comparable to Muslim, Wolof peanut farmers in rural regions; thereby erasing the citizen-subject divide and "creating" Wolof peanut "peasants into" Senegalese.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Special thanks to Benedict R'O. G. Anderson for his invaluable feedback on an earlier draft of this article.

Over a thirteen-month period (April 1995-May 1996), I conducted thirty-three interviews with a wide range of Senegalese who had interacted with the French colonial administration. Special thanks to Fatou Sow, Mamadou Ndiaye (National Archives, Dakar), and Ngor Sene (Regional Archives, Saint-Louis) for their invaluable assistance in locating informants, and setting up interviews with them. My gratitude also extends to Mamadou Diouf for many stimulating conversations that helped shape my research.

NOTES

[1] The paper is a revised excerpt from my dissertation (Cornell, 2001), "Senegalese 'into Frenchmen'?: The Politics of Language, Culture, and Assimilation (1891-1960)," written under the direction of Martin Bernal (Chair), Benedict R'O.G. Anderson, Theodore J. Lowi, and Tukumbi Lumumba-Kasongo.

[2] Makhtar Diouf, *SÉNÉGAL LES ETHNIES ET LA NATION* (Paris: *Éditions L'Harmattan*, 1994), 17.

[3] The Fulbe (also referred to as Peul or Fulani) and Tukuloor (often referred to as Toucouleur) ethnic groups speak the Pulaar language. See Fiona McLaughlin, "Haalpulaar Identity as a Response to Wolofization," in *African Languages and Cultures* 8,2 (1995): 153-168. McLaughlin notes that there is a "...recent tendency among Pulaar speakers, including both Tukuloor and Fulbe, to reconfigure their identity as members of a single ethnic group" in response to the Wolofization process, whereby non-ethnic Wolofs identify as ethnic Wolofs because they speak the Wolof language--as one of their mother tongues (158).

[4] Makhtar Diouf makes reference to five, rather than six, ethnic groups: (1) Wolof; (2) Serer; (3) Haalpular; (4) Joola; and (5) Manding. The term "Haalpulaar" suggests that two ethnic groups--Tukuloor and Fulbe--may be referred to as one collective ethnic entity.

[5] Léopold Sédar Senghor, "*Le Français; Langue de Culture*," [originally cited in Revue, *Esprit*, novembre 1962] in *Léopold Sédar Senghor, Liberté1: Négritude et Humanisme* (Paris: *Le Seuil*, 1964), p. 361.

[6] There are six national languages in Sénégal: Diola, Manding, Pulaar, Serer, Soninké, and Wolof, yet Makhtar Diouf makes reference to the following ethnic groups (1) Wolof; (2) Serer; (3) Haalpular; (4) Joola; and (5) Manding. The Soninké ethnic group, however, group was not included in Diouf's listing of the "major groups" in Sénégal.

[7] See Melvin Dixon, *Léopold Sédar Senghor: The Collected Poetry* (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1998). Melvin Dixon notes that Senghor noted his agenda for the Academy: "I am going to work on what I call the 'crossbreeding' of the French language. As a result of colonization in each francophone territory, be it Quebec, Senegal, or Madagascar, we invented new words and new expressions to enrich the French language (xxi)."

[8] Senghor died in December 2001.

[9] The formal definition of the French Community (listed on the www.bartleby.com/65/fr/FrenchCom.html website), is as follows: "[The French Community] established in 1958 by the constitution of the Fifth French Republic, consisted of the following members: the French Republic, which included metropolitan France (continental France, Corsica, Algeria and the Sahara), the overseas territories (Comoro Islands, French Polynesia, the Territory of the Afars and the Issas, New Caledonia, Saint Pierre and Miquelon, the French Southern and Antarctic territories, and the Wallis and Futuna Islands), the overseas departments (French Guiana, Guadeloupe, Martinique, and Réunion), and six independent African republics (the Central African Republic, Chad, Congo (Brazzaville), Gabon, Malagasy Republic, and Senegal). The member states were self-governing but were represented through the institutions of the Community in matters of common interest: foreign policy, defence, economic and financial policy, policy on

strategic raw materials, supervision of courts, higher education, and communications" [*The Columbia Encyclopedia,* Sixth Edition, 2001.].

[10] *Loi constitutionnelle numéro* 63-22 du 8 mars 1963 *modifiée par les lois constitutionnelles numéro* 67-32 du 20 *juin* 1967, 68-04 du 14 mars 1968 et 70-15 du 26 f*évrier* 1970.

[11] Wolof is a reference to a both an ethnic group and a language..

[12] See Fiona McLaughlin, "Haalpulaar Identity as a Response to Wolofization," in *African Languages and Cultures* 8,2 (1995): 153-168.

[13] The population world website, www.populationworld.com/Senegal.php, notes that Sénégal's population (2003) is 10, 317, 100.

[14] Frederic C. Schaffer, *Democracy in Translation; Understanding Politics in an Unfamiliar Culture* (Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 1998), p. 16. Some of Schaffer's statistics are based on 1990 governmental documents, and therefore, the percentage of the Senegalese population speaking Pulaar, Serer, Diola, Manding, and Soninké may be slighter higher.

[15] Ibid.

[16] Several authors have addressed the Wolofization phenomenon. For socio-political, and historical accounts of the Wolofization process, see: (a) Donal B. Cruise O'Brien, *Saints & Politicians; Essays in the Organisation of a Senegalese Peasant Society* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1975); (b) Donal B. Cruise O'Brien's article, (translated by Christian Coulon of Centre d'Étude d'Afrique Noire de Bordeaux) "*Langue et nationalité au Sénégal: l'enjeu politique de la wolofisation,"* in *Année Africaine* 1979 (Paris: *Éditions A. Pedone*, 1980), 319-335; (c) Mamadou Diouf, *Histoire du Sénégal*; *Le modèle islamo-wolof et ses périphéries* (Paris: Maisonneuve & Larose, 2001), (d) Souleymane Bachir Diagne, "The Future of Tradition," pp. 269-290, in Momar Coumba Diop (ed.), *SENEGAL; Essays in Statecraft* (Dakar: CODESRIA, 1993); (e) Muriel Devey, *Le SÉNÉGAL* (Paris: *Éditions KARTHALA*, 2000, and (f) Makhtar Diouf, *SÉNÉGAL LES ETHNIES ET LA NATION* (Paris: *Éditions L'Harmattan*, 1994).

[17] McLaughlin, 153.

[18] Ibid.

[19] Boubacar Barry, *Senegambia and the Atlantic Slave Trade* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998). In the following excerpt, Boubacar Barry makes reference to "Senegambia" as a geographical, socio-political and economic unit that was intact before the French and British colonial conquest of Sénégal and Gambia, respectively. Barry notes that: "Senegambia, bordered by the Senegal River in the north, the Kolonté in the south, and the foothills of the Futa Jallon plateau to the east, has a natural geographical coherence...Senegambia deserves its reputation as both a terminus for incoming populations and a point of departure for migrants on the move. Here, influences from the medieval empire of Mali merged first with Islamic influences introduced by the trans-Saharan Trade, then with the Euopean impact of the Atlantic trading system. By the fifteenth century, Senegambia had acquired an identifiable form as a demographic, economic unit, as well as in all aspects of political organization. It kept that identity, broadly speaking, until the onset of colonial conquest in the late nineteenth century (3)." Hence, I shall use the term, "Senegambian," as a reference to pre-French and pre-British migrant and mixed racial populations that descended from and/or migrated to the Senegambian region.

[20] See George E. Brooks, "The Signares of Saint-Louis and Gorée: Women Entrepreneurs in Eighteenth-Century Senegal," Nancy J. Hafkin and Edna G. Bay (eds.), *Women in Africa: Studies in Social and Economic Change* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1976); and George E. Brooks, *Eurafricans in Western Africa; Commerce, Social Status, Gender, and Religious Observance from the Sixteenth to the Eighteenth Century* (Athens: Ohio University Press, 2003). It is noteworthy that the mixed racial population in the Four Communes would comprise the socio-political elite in the Four Communes.

[21] Eugen Weber, *Peasants into Frenchmen; The Modernization of Rural France, 1870-1914* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1974).

[22] Ibid.

[23] Ibid, p. 67.

[24] See Frantz Fanon, *Black Skin, White Mask*s, (Grove Press, Inc.: New York, 1967), especially his chapter entitled, "The Negro and Language," 17-40. In Fanon's text (20), he cites Léon-G. Damas, "Hoquet," in *Pigments*, in Léopold Sédar Senghor, ed., *Anthologie de la nouvelle poésie nègre et malgache* (Paris, *Presses Universitaires de France*, 1948), 15-17, in the following manner: "My mother wanting a son to keep in mind/if you do not know your history lesson/you will not go to mass on Sunday in your Sunday clothes/that child will be a disgrace to the family/that child will be our curse/shut up I told you you must speak French/ the French of France/the Frenchman's

French/French French." Fanon, includes this passage in his chapter on language to demonstrate how the speaking of Creole was de-legitimized vis-à-vis speaking "Frenchmen's French" of metropolitan France.

[25] In "Senegalese 'into Frenchmen'?: The Politics of Language, Culture, and Assimilation (1891-1960), Cornell University dissertation (2001), I counter-argue that Eugen Weber's solely secular and republican reading of the Third Republic could have been strengthened by addressing the style of the promotion of the French language by the Christian brotherhoods during the Restoration and July Monarchy periods. For example, had Weber considered the "how" (the manner or style of the promotion of the French language), the "by whom" (Christian brotherhoods), the "when" (the 1814-1848 period), as well as the "where" (rural regions--his foci), his argument would have followed the trajectory of political and religious ideologies that informed and shaped the Third Republic's nationalistic and secularized ideology.

In both the métropole and the colony, Weber provides a partial corrective. As a result of these omissions, Weber downplays the contributions of François Guizot, France's Minister of Interior in 1830, and the Minister of Public Instruction (1832-37), as well as the role of the Christian brotherhoods, namely the *Frères de Ploërmel*, and the manner in which they promoted the French language and the *mission civilisatrice*--well before the Third Republic in the rural regions of France. See Chapter Two: The Christian Promotion of the French Language (1815-1870).

[26] See W. Bryant Mumford, *Africans Learn to Be French* (New York: Negro Universities Press, 1970).

[27] Augustin Challamel, Éditeur, *Congrès Colonial International de Paris* (Paris: *Bibliothèque Des Annales Économiques*, 1889), 91.

[28] Governor Vallon was the governor of Senegal from 1889-1893.

[29]Michael Crowder, SENEGAL: A Study of French Assimilation Policy (London: METHUEN & CO LTD, 1967).

[30] See Mamadou Diouf, "The French Colonial Policy of Assimilation and the Civility of the Originaires of the Four Communes (Senegal): A Nineteenth Globalization Project in *Development and* Change, Vol. 29 (1998), 673.

[31] See Lord Hailey, *An African Survey (Revised 1956); A Study of Problems Arising in Africa South of the Sahara* (London: Oxford University Press, 1957). Lord Hailey notes that the "decision of 1833" gave the *originaires*, the same civil rights as were enjoyed by the citizens of metropolitan France (543)."

[32] It is noteworthy that the mixed racial population would emerge as a socio-political elite often referred to as a "mulattocracy." See G. Wesley Johnson, *The Emergence of Black Politics in Senegal; The Struggle for Power in the Four Communes, 1900-1920* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1971). G. Wesley Johnson notes that the deputy, sent to the National Assembly in Paris, came from the community of mixed racial *originaires* (1789-1914) until the election of Blaise Diagne; the first Black African deputy in Sénégal.

[33] This is my personal interview with Marie Louis Potin Gueye on December 21, 1995 (Dakar, SENEGAL). Marie is of mixed racial descent, and is related to Léopold Sédar Senghor on her mother's side. Senghor is her mother's cousin, and therefore, her uncle.

[34] See Mamadou Diouf, "The French Colonial Policy of Assimilation and the Civility of the Originaires of the Four Communes (Senegal): A Nineteenth Globalization Project in *Development and* Change, Vol. 29 (1998), 674.

[35] Benedict R'O.G. Anderson, *Imagined Communities; Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism* (London: Verso, 1991).

[36] In *Les colonies françaises; petite encyclopédie coloniale* (Paris: *Librairie Larousse*, 1902), Vol. I, Maxime Petit notes that by 1626, Sénégal was considered to be a true colony under the direction of *Compagnie Normande et de Rouen* (562).

[37] Jean Dard was a proponent of mutual instruction, yet favored conducting class in Wolof, rather than the French language. As a consequence, Dard wrote the *Dictionnaire francais-wolof et francais-bambara, suivi du Dictionnaire wolof-francais* (Paris: Imprimerie Royale, 1825). For a sense of Dard's correspondence with the various ministries and religious officials see Joseph Gaucher, *Les debuts de l'enseignement en Afrique francophone; Jean Dard et l'Ecole mutuelle de Saint-Louis du Senegal* (Paris, *Le Livre africain*, 1968).

[38] The *originaires*, as a result of acting on behalf of the French, and subsequently themselves throughout French and intermittent British occupation, not only served as trading intermediaries with the Moors on the mainland and the other Senegambian groups in the hinterland, but also functioned as bi-lingual and bi-cultural arbiters for the Moors, the Senegambian population (beyond the Four Communes), and the French colonial administration.

[39] See G. Wesley Johnson, *The Emergence of Black Politics in Senegal; The Struggle for Power in the Four Communes, 1900-1920* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1971). Johnson offers a thoughtful discussion about the various ethnic groups, Wolof, Lebou, Toucouleur, and Serer, became more or less urbanized as a result of their contact with the French. Of the groups, the Wolof ethnic group had the earliest contact with the French, and at a later juncture, Wolof-speaking zones (within and beyond the Four Communes) were subsequently synonymous with

the zones responsible for producing the bulk of peanuts. For an analysis of the impact of French imperialism on the Wolof ethnic groups see Donal B. Cruise O'Brien, *Saints & Politicians; Essays in the Organisation of a Senegalese Peasant Society* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1975).

[40] Abbe David Boilat, *Esquisses Senegalaises* (Paris: Editions Karthala, 1984).

[41] See George E. Brooks, "The Signares of Saint-Louis and Gorée: Women Entrepreneurs in Eighteenth-Century Senegal," Nancy J. Hafkin and Edna G. Bay (eds.), *Women in Africa: Studies in Social and Economic Change* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1976); and George E. Brooks, *Eurafricans in Western Africa; Commerce, Social Status, Gender, and Religious Observance from the Sixteenth to the Eighteenth Century* (Athens: Ohio University Press, 2003).

[42] Abbé David Boilat, *Esquisses Sénégalaises* (Paris: *Éditions Karthala*, 1984), 212.

[43] Denise Bouche, *L'enseignement dans les territoires français de L'Afrique occidentale de 1817 à 1920*; *mission civilisatrice ou formation d'une elite?, 2 tomes.* Diss. *These presentee devant l'Universite de Paris 1, le 8 juin 1974* (Lille: Service de Reproductions Des Theses, Universite Lille III, 14. See also Dominique Maingueneau, *Les livres d'ecole de la republique 1870-1914 (discourse et ideologie*), (Paris: Le Sycamore, 1979).

[44] Bouche, 14.

[45] Ibid., 13.

[46] This is an excerpt from my personal interview on December 27, 1995 (Saint-Louis, SENEGAL) with Malick Diop, a monitor and schoolteacher.

[47] For the French, the symbol practice employed in the classrooms coupled with the establishment of the Four Communes as zones of Francophony, was a hegemonic means of isolating, linguistically and culturally, the *originaires*, who were Wolof and French speakers, from their Wolof-speaking counterparts in the rural hinterland.

[48] Weber, p. 313.

[49] Ibid.

[50] Ibid.

[51] See Bouche, *L'enseignement dans les territoires français de L'Afrique occidentale de 1817 à 1920*. See also Pierre-Jakez, Helias, *Le cheval d'orgueil; memoires d'un breton du pays bigouden* (Paris: Plon, 1975). Interestingly enough, some of my interviewees not only recounted how they could commit to memory France's 89 departments at the expense of learning about the various regions of Senegal, but also remembered reciting the following phrase, "Our ancestors, the Gauls," a phrase their metropolitan counterparts also recited. See also Dominique Maingueneau, *Les livres d'ecole de la republicque 1870-1914 (discourse et ideologie*), (Paris: Le Sycamore, 1979) for a discussion of how Third Republican ideologies were represented in French textbooks in the metropole and throughout the French empire.

[52] This is an excerpt from my interview on December 27, 1995 in Saint-Louis, SENEGAL with Malick DIOP, who was a monitor and schoolteacher. Malick is responding to my question: "*Est-ce que les instituteurs étaient les premières élites autochtones*?" Were the schoolteachers the first native elites?.

[53] The *École des Otages* (school of captives) was established in 1847 in Saint-Louis. Between the 1857-1895, these schools opened in Podor, Sedhiou, Dagana, Bakel, Dakar, Louga, Rufisque and Matam. During the reorganization of the federal school system, a special section within William Ponty was reserved for the sons of chiefs.

[54] As a consequence of Blaise Diagne's politicking, the descendants of the *originaires* (post-1916) were also entitled to French citizenship, independent of the fact that they may have lived beyond the Four Communes.

[55] This is an excerpt from an interview I conducted with Madicke Wade, a monitor, schoolteacher, and school inspector on December 18, 1995 in Saint-Louis, SENEGAL. He is responding to my question—"Pourquoi les instituteurs sont-ils consideres comme les premiers cadres locaux?" How come the schoolteachers were considered to be the first local corps of elites?.

[56] Michael David Marcson, "European-African Interaction in the Pre-Colonial Period: St. Louis, Senegal," Princeton University, 1976 (unpublished dissertation), 276-277.

[57] The communes of Saint-Louis and Gorée had the following demographics—a higher percentage of Europeans, mixed racial persons (freed slaves, and Christians--Gorée). In the context of French classificatory measures, we note that the highest possible ranking for *les bons hommes* was accorded to the Catholic *originaires* who were drawn primarily from the *mulâtre* (mixed racial) community. The second ranking, however, was accorded to *gourmets*—a reference to freed slaves (of Senegambian descent) who were baptized in the Christian faith. It is questionable to what extent the Muslim student body, which attended French schools under the direction of *Frères de Ploërmel*, were considered *bons hommes*. The final ranking might be reserved for Black Christians, rather than Black Muslims, who lived beyond the Four Communes, yet were naturalized on French soil (*jus soli*).

[58] Schaeffer, p. 18.
[59] See Dave Robinson, "Ethnography and Customary Law in Senegal," in *Cahiers d'etudes africaines* (1992), 126, xxxii-2. See also Dave Robinson, *Paths of Accommodation; Muslim Societies and French Colonial Authorities in Senegal and Mauritania, 1880-1920* (Athens: Ohio University Press, 2000).
[60] Muslim *originaires* who did not renounce their personal statute had the right to religious adjudication by the Muslim tribunal, rather than the French Civil Code. For a more detailed analysis of the personal statute, see Mamadou Diouf , "The French Colonial Policy of Assimilation and the Civility of the Originaires of the Four Communes (Senegal): A Nineteenth Globalization Project in *Development and* Change, Vol. 29 (1998), 671-696.
[61] See Mamadou Diouf, 673.
[62] H. Oludare Idowu, "Assimilation in 19th Century Senegal," *Journal of African History* (1968), 252.
[63] This is an excerpt from my interview with Madicke Wade on December 18, 1995 in Saint-Louis, SENEGAL.
[64] This is an excerpt of my interview with Annette Mbaye D'Erneville on March 10, 1996 in Dakar, SENEGAL.
[65] See Mamadou Diouf , "The French Colonial Policy of Assimilation and the Civility of the Originaires of the Four Communes (Senegal): A Nineteenth Globalization Project in *Development and* Change, Vol. 29 (1998), 671-696.
[66] See Makhtar Diouf, 102.
[67] As told to the author by G. Wesley Johnson in Aix-en-Provence, FRANCE (summer 1996).
[68] Senghor was born in Dyilor near Joal. As he was from a wealthy family, Senghor attended a Catholic missionary school in Ngasobil under the direction of the *Pères du Saint-Esprit*. In 1923, Senghor attended the Libermann (founder of the *Frères de Ploërmel* brotherhood) seminary college in Dakar. In 1928, Senghor attended Louis-le-Grand, and subsequently attended a French university where he obtained his *licence de lettres*. In 1935, Senghor became the first Black African *agrégé de grammaire*.
[69] See Leigh Swigart, "Cultural Creolisation and Language Use in Post-Colonial Africa: The Case of Senegal," *Africa* 64 (2), 1994, 175-189.
[70] See Boubacar Barry, *Senegambia and the Atlantic Slave Trade* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998).
[71] In Donal B. Cruise O'Brien's *Saints & Politicians; Essays in the organization of a Senegalese peasant society* (London: Cambridge University Press, 1975), notes that "other tribes may have yielded more to the French in cultural terms, notably the 'pagan' tribes chosen for intensive Catholic missionary activity (the Diola and Serer) (5)."
[72] Ibid., p. 4.
[73] Ibid.
[74] In Lucy C. Behrman's, *Muslim Brotherhoods and Politics in Senegal* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1970), Behrman notes that "Islam as a whole has been called a brotherhood, and the word has been applied to the various Muslim sects (13)." Behrman adds that the "term brotherhood refers to the mystical Muslim orders (*tariqa*, plural *tariqas*) that spread throughout the Muslim world beginning in the twelfth century (13)."
[75] Sheldon Gellar, Senegal; *An African Nation Between Islam and the West* (Boulder: Westview Press, 1982), 88.
[76] Donal B. Cruise O'Brien's *Saints & Politicians; Essays in the organization of a Senegalese peasant society* (London: Cambridge University Press, 1975), 7.
[77] Gellar, 88.
[78] Behrman, 54.

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