

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

CULTIVATING CATHOLICISM:
GENDER, VOCATION, AND MISSIONIZATION IN COLONIAL SENEGAL
(CA. 1860-1930)

A DISSERTATION SUBMITTED TO
THE FACULTY OF THE DIVISION OF THE SOCIAL SCIENCES
IN CANDIDACY FOR THE DEGREE OF
DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

DEPARTMENT OF ANTHROPOLOGY

BY

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CHICAGO, ILLINOIS

JUNE 2022

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DEDICATIONS

To my parents,
Kathy & Dominic

With special thanks to Haeden

And deepest gratitude to Sister Clotilde

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Archival and Other Abbreviations

ANS-- Archives Nationales du Sénégal

AGS-- Archives Générales de la Congrégation du Saint-Esprit

ASSJC-- Archives des Soeurs de Saint-Joseph de Cluny

CSSp-- Congrégation de Saint-Esprit sous la protection du cœur immaculé de Marie (designating archival permissions)

DHHM-- Daughters of the Holy Heart of Mary / Filles du Saint-Coeur de Marie

FSCM-- Archives des Filles du Saint Cœur de Marie

NHAP-- Ngasobil Historical Archaeology Project

SPEM-- Archives de la Congrégation du Saint-Esprit at the Maison Spiritaine Stage Pastoral et Missionnaire

Spiritans-- Congregation of the Holy Spirit and the Immaculate Heart of Mary

SSJC-- Sisters of Saint Joseph of Cluny / Sœurs de Saint-Joseph de Cluny

ARN-- “Annales Religieuses de Ngasobil”

JN-- “Journal de Ngazobil”

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My Thanks

Innumerable colleagues, advisors, friends, and family have made this dissertation possible in every way meaning of the word. I have been honored and grateful to receive advice, feedback, and support throughout this process.

I would like to thank the members of my dissertation committee at The University of Chicago. Without François Richard's generosity I would never have gone to Senegal, found my project in Ngasobil, or had the resources to carry it out. Through her guidance and provocative feedback, Shannon Dawdy encouraged me to approach my materials in a way that is uniquely my own and made this dissertation immeasurably better by pushing me to continue critiquing and clarifying my work. I also benefited greatly from the support and insight of Kathleen Morrison whose ability to see past the early clutter of my research design propelled this project forward and broadened scope of what I now find to be my expertise. There are many other faculty members at the University of Chicago and beyond who have provided constructive feedback and invaluable guidance over the years, my thanks extend to them as well.

I also owe a great debt to the student and faculty members of the Interdisciplinary Archaeology Workshop, the African Studies Workshop, and the France and Francophone World Workshop at the University of Chicago where several of the earliest drafts of the chapters that follow were first presented and much improved upon. For their thorough and thoughtful reads as peer reviewers and friends, I would especially like to thank Kelsey Rooney, Deirdre Lyons, Gregory Valdespino, Matthew Knisley, and Hannah McElgunn.

I would also like to thank Anne Ch'ien for being a constant source of institutional knowledge, support, and problem-solving in my journey through the program; I am so grateful to have overlapped with her tenure in the department. Reflecting on the past years of planning,

research, and writing I truly appreciate the collaborative nature of this scholarly endeavor and the community I have been a part of in Chicago.

In Ngasobil, I am forever indebted to the kindness of the Daughters of the Holy Heart of Mary, Community of Saint Joseph, who not only welcomed us to conduct research on their land, but also into their household, sharing their hospitality, history, and mission with us. I am particularly grateful to Sister Marie-Clotilde Dione, who took wonderful care of us, and to Sister Marie-Marthe Seck, who facilitated my research into their congregation. At the Mother House in Dakar, I am thankful for having been welcomed by Mother Superior Marie Diouf.

At the Institut Fondamental d’Afrique Noire Archaeology Laboratory at the Université Cheikh Anta Diop in Dakar, my gratitude goes to Ibrahima Thiaw for welcoming me to work in partnership with the IFAN lab, and for all of his assistance (and patience) in helping me to obtain the necessary permits to carry out this project. I would also like to thank Adama Harouna Athié for his assistance with all matters practical at IFAN.

This dissertation turned out to be an intensely archival project, facilitated by the expansive expertise and generosity of Father Roger Tabard at the Archives Générales de la Congrégation du Saint-Esprit (Chevilly-Larue, France), Sister Marie-Elisabeth Sané at the Archives des Soeurs de Saint-Joseph de Cluny (Paris, France), Sister Lydie Sagne at the Archives des Filles du Saint Coeur de Marie (Dakar, Senegal), Father Armel Duteil at the Archives de la Congrégation du Saint-Esprit at the Maison Spiritaine Stage Pastoral et Missionnaire (Dakar, Senegal), and Sister Marie Félicité Diene at the Communauté de Saint Joseph des Filles du Saint-Coeur de Marie (Ngasobil, Senegal).

My Senegalese colleagues have been invaluable to my research and deeply appreciated on a personal level, providing not only their on-the-ground assistance and cultural insight, but

their friendship. I thank Aida Boye, Hadi Diatta, and Sidy Ndour especially for their kindness, friendship, and willingness to help me troubleshoot all manner of questions from “what’s that plant and what is it used for,” to “which bus do I take home from the archives,” and “could you help me buy some religious wax cloth at the market... and then recommend a seamstress?” I, of course, also learned a great deal about Senegambian archaeology from working with Senegalese team members of the Siin Landscape Archaeology Project from 2014 to 2016, of which Hadi, Sidy, and Aida were a part, along with many others.

With deepest gratitude, I would like to thank my field team for all their hard work. Without E. Youssouf Touré, the Ngasobil Historical Archaeology Project would never have completed as much excavation as we did, and I thank him for the time and intellectual energy he dedicated to this project. And of course, Haeden E. Stewart, who was not only my right hand in the field, but is so in life and who I do not think I can ever sufficiently thank for his dedication, insight, and copious feedback which enabled me to see this project through to fruition.

Finally, a heartfelt thanks to my family and friends without whom none of this would have been a possibility.

Acknowledgements

This dissertation was made possible through generous funding from the following bodies:

The Wenner-Gren Foundation for Anthropological Research

The Social Sciences Division at the University of Chicago

The Leiffer Fellowship Fund

The François Furet Travel Grant, France Chicago Center

The Center for International Social Science Research at The University of Chicago

The Marion R. and Adolph J. Lichtstern Fund

Précis

Cultivating Catholicism: Gender, Vocation, and Missionization in Colonial Senegal (ca. 1860-1930)

This dissertation examines the daily life of women and girls at the St. Joseph Mission in Ngasobil (Senegal; 1863-1930), in an effort to better understand colonial missionization as an intimate lived historical experience, not simply part of a global process. Critically, not only was St. Joseph's host to French missionary women and men, but it was also the hub of the first sub-Saharan order of religious sisters. These women were among the first Africans to access and commit to Catholic religious vocation, and they became an integral part of the Church's mission to Senegambia. Their contributions to that project are the crux of my inquiry.

My approach is unique in that I focus on vocation rather than solely conversion as the primary means of understanding missionization. Missionization then emerges as a collaborative effort in which Africans and Europeans were both actively and productively involved in the building of community—perhaps most especially from the point of view of women's labors, here understood as the sisters' ministry (that is, the outwardly visible, community-based deployment of their vocation). I identify vocation as both a diverse suite of practices and a potent analytic through which to think about Senegambian and French women involved in the missionary project. To parse vocation, this dissertation brings together archaeological, documentary, and oral archives from the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, with an emphasis on the interstices of mundane and sacred practices engaged in by the women and girls of St. Joseph's. I offer the argument that through an assemblage of seemingly non-religious practices bound up in vocation and nineteenth-century Franco-Catholic ideals of womanhood (including laundering, cooking, sewing/tailoring, teaching, nursing), the women and girls of Ngasobil forged a cohesive

and vibrant Catholic community. In framing St. Joseph's missionary project as one of community-building, the agency of Senegambian converts—particularly women and girls—is taken seriously. Viewed through the lens of vocation, their actions are not reduced to a binary of indigenous resistance against missionary (framed as colonial) hegemony, but understood as creative, productive, and invested in fostering a uniquely Senegalese Catholic community in Ngasobil, and across Senegal's littoral regions (where the majority of Catholics still live today, despite being a small minority in Senegal, where only about 5% of the population identifies as Christian).

The overall significance of this research is twofold. First, it complicates the missionary-missionized relationship (resisting a tidy dichotomy) and the place of missionization within the larger context of modern colonialism. Instead, my research illuminates the murkiness of these categories in Senegal and suggests it is more productive to think about St. Joseph's as a place of cultivation—of Catholicism and community—arguing that the community-building aspect was foundational to the entrenchment of Catholicism as practice and belief. Second, this dissertation brings to the fore the role(s) of women in missionization, not simply as secondary support staff for male missionaries on the one hand or passive targets of evangelization on the other, but as particularly situated and creative agents in their own right. As central actors in Senegambian missionization, these women—through their labor, faith, and social (re)production—crafted a Franco-Senegalese concept of Catholicism as feminine practice and community.

KEYWORDS: Senegal, Missionization, Women, Religion, French Colonialism, Vocation, Historical Archaeology

Chapter One

Introduction: Cultivating Catholicism



Figure 1.1. The road into Ngasobil, and one of the local Patas or Green monkeys, both of which live in the forest preserve surrounding much of the village. Photograph by author, 2016.

Saint Joseph de Ngasobil

Although Senegal is a primarily Muslim country, a small but vibrant Catholic community thrives along the southern stretch of its Atlantic coastline—the Petite Côte, running south from Dakar towards the Saloum Delta and The Gambia beyond. About three hours’ drive from the capital, just before you reach the bustling town of Joal, there is a small, gated turn-off bearing a sign that reads: “*Séminaire St Joseph de Ngasobil.*” During the day, this access road is watched

over by a gatekeeper, who inquires as to your purpose in entering the now sleepy hamlet (fig. 1.1).



Figure 1.2. a) Junior Seminary of Saint Joseph (Ngasobil, Senegal); b) quadrangle of the former Mission of St. Joseph (Ngasobil, Senegal). Photographs by author, 2014.

Back in the nineteenth century, Ngasobil was founded as the site of a large Catholic mission, and the junior seminary was one of its core educational institutions. In addition to its history as a hub of the early Catholic mission to Senegal, those familiar with Ngasobil associate the site with Senegal's first president, Léopold Sédar Senghor. One of the founders of the *Négritude* philosophy and movement,¹ Senghor looms large in Senegalese history, politics, literature, and culture in ways that exceed his twenty-year tenure as the president of independent Senegal (1960-1980). As a boy, he attended a prominent boarding school run by the Spiritan Fathers, the aforementioned junior seminary in Ngasobil. A placard next to the turn-off commemorates this renowned slice of local history. About half a kilometer down the turn-off, a

¹ *Négritude* was a literary movement that started in France in the 1930s amongst Black Caribbean and African writers, headed by the trio of Senghor, Aimé Césaire, and Léon Damas. The *Négritude* philosophy asserted a unifying identity for Black people worldwide, bringing together Africa with the African Diaspora. As a revolt against French colonialism and racism, *Négritude* celebrated Blackness and affirmed a reclaiming of Black identity and culture in contrast to colonial calls for assimilation.

small cluster of houses appears and the road ends at a mid-century church attached to the vestiges of the nineteenth-century mission, now dedicated to the use of the school. The original buildings are oriented around a large quadrangle facing west towards low cliffs overlooking the beach below (fig. 1.2). Additional historical plaques mark the importance of this place and the Spiritan missionaries who founded it in the history of the Catholic Church in Senegal.



Figure 1.3. a) Ngasobil crossroads; b) road towards the Convent of Saint Joseph. Photographs by author, 2016.

However, just before the road ends, you might be tempted to explore another—much smaller—turn-off to your right, down a dusty road that gradually turns into a dirt pathway littered with broken glass, old pottery, roof tiles, and seashells (fig. 1.3). If you were to do so, you would discover a lesser-known story not only about Ngasobil or Senegal, but missionization as a whole. After about 250 meters, you would come upon the edge of a high cinderblock wall, and eventually a pair of stone columns on either side of a large carriage gate, behind which rises a gigantic baobab tree shading the convent community of St. Joseph, inhabited by the Daughters of the Holy Heart of Mary (DHHM) (fig. 1.4). These women are the religious descendants of the very first West African Catholic nuns, who founded the order in 1858. Their role within the Senegalese Catholic community has been integral to its emergence and survival over the past 160

years—if less visible than that of the clergy and even European nuns in histories of missionization in French West Africa. Yet, they, their faith, and their labor were—and remain—a cornerstone of that community. Focused on the conversion and education of girls and women, the work (both devotional and lay) of DHHM sisters was a central element of Catholic evangelization in colonial Senegal. The presence and centrality of indigenous African religious personnel in mid nineteenth-century Senegal complicates understandings of missionization as a strictly European activity, creating a unique historical context in comparison to the majority of contemporary Catholic missionary projects.² The Catholic missionary project in colonial Senegal is best understood through the concept of vocation as a complicating vector interceding in the stereotypical narrative of Europeans converting indigenous populations without involving them in the active (even creative) (re)production of local Catholic leadership and community.



Figure 1.4. Entry courtyard to the Daughters of the Holy Heart of Mary Convent of Saint Joseph in Ngasobil (Senegal). Photograph by author, 2017.

² It should be noted that in 1849 the Spiritans established an indigenous order on the island of Reunion, the Daughters of Mary, founded by Father Frédéric Le Vasseur. The DHHM were the second such order founded by the congregation worldwide.

Missionization and colonialism are closely intertwined historical processes—both as they unfolded and as they have been studied and understood by historians, anthropologists, and archaeologists (Ajayi 2008; Benoist 1987, 2008; Comaroff 1991; Comaroff and Comaroff 1986, 1991, 1997; Daughton 2006; Elbourne 2003; Engel 2015; Foster 2013; Hefner 1993; Keane 2007; Larsson 1991; Lightfoot 2005; Lowry 2015; McNaspy 1986; Perry 2003; Sharkey 2013; Shorter 2006; Stewart 2018; Stornig 2013; White and Daughton 2012). Historically, missionary projects have often followed close on the heels of colonial expansion, and missions in many cases served as the first major settlement forays into regions targeted by colonial ambitions. Missions have been seen as spaces through which Europeans strove to suppress and rework the social structures and cultural traditions of indigenous communities. Even in contexts of antagonism between colonial administrators and missionaries, the social work of missionization tends to fit into the broader program of colonization as a socio-political project (Foster 2013), in addition to one of economic exploitation. However, colonization—strictly speaking—is a political pursuit and process, and it’s aims are broadly tethered to political and economic gain for the metropole. On the other hand—even if scholars critique the ultimate outcome—missionization is a religious (and potentially social) endeavor with the intended end goal being spiritual conversion and the saving of souls. In the nineteenth century a distinction between missionary activities and goals versus politics was promoted by the highest levels of Catholic leadership. In the French imperial context, the nineteenth century saw increasing tension between colonial and missionary administration; as such, their activities and goals cannot simply be mapped onto one another or figured as natural bedfellows. That said, both fundamentally impacted the lives of indigenous communities—materially, spiritually, politically, socially, etc.

The historical archaeology presented here goes beyond a general consideration of the relationship between colonization and missionization by focusing on the role women, and more specifically Senegambian women, played in the Catholic missionary apparatus in French West Africa. I ask how their daily practices and labor both propelled the missionary endeavor in Senegal and contributed to the perceived links between conversion and colonizing projects through the so-called ‘civilizing mission’ (*mission civilisatrice*) of the French Empire from the mid-nineteenth century into the interwar years (ca. 1850-1930). By focusing on the West African Daughters of the Holy Heart of Mary and the lay women and girls living at the Mission of St. Joseph (Ngasobil, Senegal), my research brings to the fore the feminine Senegalese experience of Catholicism in pre-war French West Africa. I consider their experiences and efforts through the lenses of conversion, vocation, proselytization, education, and domestic labor at the first major mission settlement in Senegal, the Mission of St. Joseph, which became the administrative, spiritual, and affective heart of the Catholic Church in Senegal, and continues to occupy a prominent place in the imaginary of the Senegalese Catholic community today.

However, the Mission of St. Joseph and the women, men, and children who lived there are not merely of interest because this was the first permanent mission settlement in Senegal or because the DHHM were the first sub-Saharan order of Catholic nuns, or even because it became an iconic place in the Senegalese Catholic imaginary. Rather, the Mission of St. Joseph and the Daughters of the Holy Heart of Mary were harbingers of a sea change in missionization and represent a significant adjustment in the relationship between metropole and colony (from the religious standpoint) that took place in the nineteenth century. This shift towards greater indigenous involvement in missionization coincides with the reframing of colonialism pivoting around the mid-century point. The first half of the nineteenth century saw a shift away from

early-modern colonization (largely in the Americas and dependent on the transatlantic slave trade and plantation economies), towards modern colonization and the expansion of imperial empires reliant on new technologies, new configurations of labor and resource extraction, evolving imperial goals and logics, and the emergence of new colonial places and spaces—including that of St. Joseph’s Mission. In the French context, West Africa presented an opportunity to pivot focus away from the Old Regime Caribbean colonies and plantation agriculture towards decentralized modes of agricultural resource extraction (peanuts, gum arabic) that relied on Senegambian peasant farmers rather than European-controlled plantations. This model of colonization also sought to bring African territories and people into the fold of the empire (not necessarily with the rights of citizens³) in a way that differed from previous approaches in North America, with very little effort put into any form of settler colonialism.⁴ Just as the context of the French Empire shifted in the nineteenth century, so too did Catholic missionization. Conversion was meant to be encouraged as a spiritual change, independent of cultural reeducation or the suppress of local mores. Strategies previously championed in the Americas were traded in for a style of missionization that refrained from forced resettlement, baptisms, or barracks-like

³ Technically adult, male residents born the Four Communes (Saint-Louis, Gorée Island, Dakar, Rufisque) were legally endowed with the rights of French citizenship, whereas residents beyond these urban hubs were colonial subjects. Yet, even within the Four Communes, these rights (which included voting for representation in the French legislature and electing officials to local municipal government) were not widely exercised by African residents who retained personal status (access to traditional or Islamic law as opposed to French civil law). The status and rights afforded to and exercised by *originaires* (who were themselves a diverse population) fluctuated over the nineteenth and early twentieth century, although the divide between the Four Communes and the rest of French West Africa (which included Senegal) maintained its significance throughout the period. See Conklin 1997, Diouf 1998, Foster 2013, and Wilder 2005.

⁴ Or even North Africa, as was the case in Algeria which France invaded and colonized beginning in 1830, with the idea that it would become a settler colony that was truly part of France.

communal living and instead opened up vocation to African converts. Vocation is chiefly understood as a commitment (stemming from what was regarded as a religious calling) to the Catholic Church through personal discipline (celibacy, poverty, charity, prayer) and service (proselytization, works of mercy, nursing, education). This less rigid and more inclusive approach to missionization also reflects the overall religious context in Senegambia during the nineteenth century. This is a particularly dynamic period for considering conversion as a social process because it saw the ramping up of widespread proselytization by Muslim religious and political leaders and their successful conversion of wide swathes of the West Africa population (Frederiks 2009; Foster 2013; Klein 1968) The nineteenth century in Senegambia was, therefore, a time of multiple potential conversions; regardless of creed these efforts required the full engagements of converts with their newly embraced spiritual affiliation. Conversion is considered not simply as a moment in which new beliefs are embraced, but as a process that—in practice—takes place on both the celestial and terrestrial planes of human life.

In the context of Catholic missionization, the nineteenth-century reframing meant a reconsideration of how evangelization was carried out (and by whom), how conversion might be evaluated or regarded as true, and—perhaps most significantly—in whose hands lay the responsibility for the future of the local Catholic community. Missionization—and missionary orders themselves—were revamped in the nineteenth century with an eye towards the greater integration of indigenous populations into the Church hierarchy through the extension of vocation as way of life, the education of converts, and an effort at attending to (and an ethos of respect towards) the cultural contexts of converts—even if in reality these goals did not always pan out. At Ngasobil, we see the very beginnings of these theoretical shifts coming into play much earlier than seen in other parts of Africa, and to a great extent, worldwide. As such, we

also see early negotiations of how Catholicism intersected with race and gender in the modern colonial context.

In light of the reframing of modern missionization as it emerged in the nineteenth century, this dissertation asks two core questions. The first is broadly historical in nature: What were the roles, experiences, impacts, and unique tactics of women in the Catholic mission to French Senegal between 1860 and 1930? This tackles part of a larger issue in the field, regarding the roles of gender and race in Catholic (and French) missionization. It asks how women, as a particularly situated population (contrasted to their masculine counterparts and the Catholic Church administration more abstractly), focused on different missionization outcomes, perhaps mobilized different (gendered) strategies, and oriented their lives towards particular social goals and modes of community building which they determined to be of importance. That is, if we consider the qualitatively different lives, interests, and approaches of West African and French women within Catholic missionization, what more do we learn about that larger project, how are canonical historical narratives of missionization brought into clearer focus or even troubled? This is not to simply point out a gap in the literature that leaves religious sisters out of the story of missionization, rather it is to take seriously the subject position of women missionaries as authors of a unique form of missionization shot through with their specifically situated perspective. The DHHM and SSJC did not simply contribute to a predetermined program of missionization in Senegal; they created and cultivated a mode of missionization that made sense for themselves and for the women and children they sought to serve.

The second question is more anthropological in nature: What does attention to everyday lived life at the Mission of St. Joseph reveal about approaches to, and theories of, missionization and community that impacted the changing relationship between missionization and French

colonialism in the nineteenth and early twentieth century? Phrased more broadly, how does thinking wholistically about the lived material world (encompassing bodily comportment, situatedness and practices, accoutrement and self-presentation, foodways, landscape, and the role of non-humans and objects) illuminate the lived life of missionization as a social process and experience?

Both driving questions can be addressed through historical archaeology modes of inquiry, launching from site-specific questions: 1) Through which archaeological and historical traces can we interrogate how conversion was cultivated, lived, and understood to be real at the Mission of St. Joseph? In addition to examining the veracity of conversion from the historical missionary point of view, this dissertation also delves into how conversion (and vocation) might be seen by the researcher through the lens of archaeological, archival, and oral sources. 2) Did (or how did) these traces of lived life differ between social contexts at the mission, specifically the convent and the converts' village of Saint-Joseph? 3) Archaeologically, what gendered spaces and material practices testify to the ways in which women envisioned, experienced, and shaped both conversion and vocation? Finally, 4) How does thinking spatially and materially illuminate the lived experience and structure of convent life—the central node of feminine vocation and ministry at the Mission of St. Joseph?

A focus on the everyday experience of missionization brings analysis beyond Church tenets regarding missionization (and Church expectations of women's vocation) and towards an understanding of how missionization worked on-the-ground. This approach gets at how missionization was experienced and mobilized by missionaries and missionized alike, within the wider milieu of colonialism and the range of social, political, and economic negotiations, confrontations, changes, and resistances that it involved. Explicit attention to women and girls

works to trouble overwhelmingly masculine mainstream histories of both colonialism and missionization, which often neglect both the experiences and meaningful contributions of non-white, non-masculine actors. By focusing on these elided aspects of French involvement in West Africa, this dissertation reveals and articulates the dynamic and powerful role women played in missionization and in the shaping of colonial society and argues that their unique labors (defying binary classifications of religious vs. secular) were integral to the emergence of a Catholic-Senegalese community.

Locating the Mission of St. Joseph in Space and Time

Geography

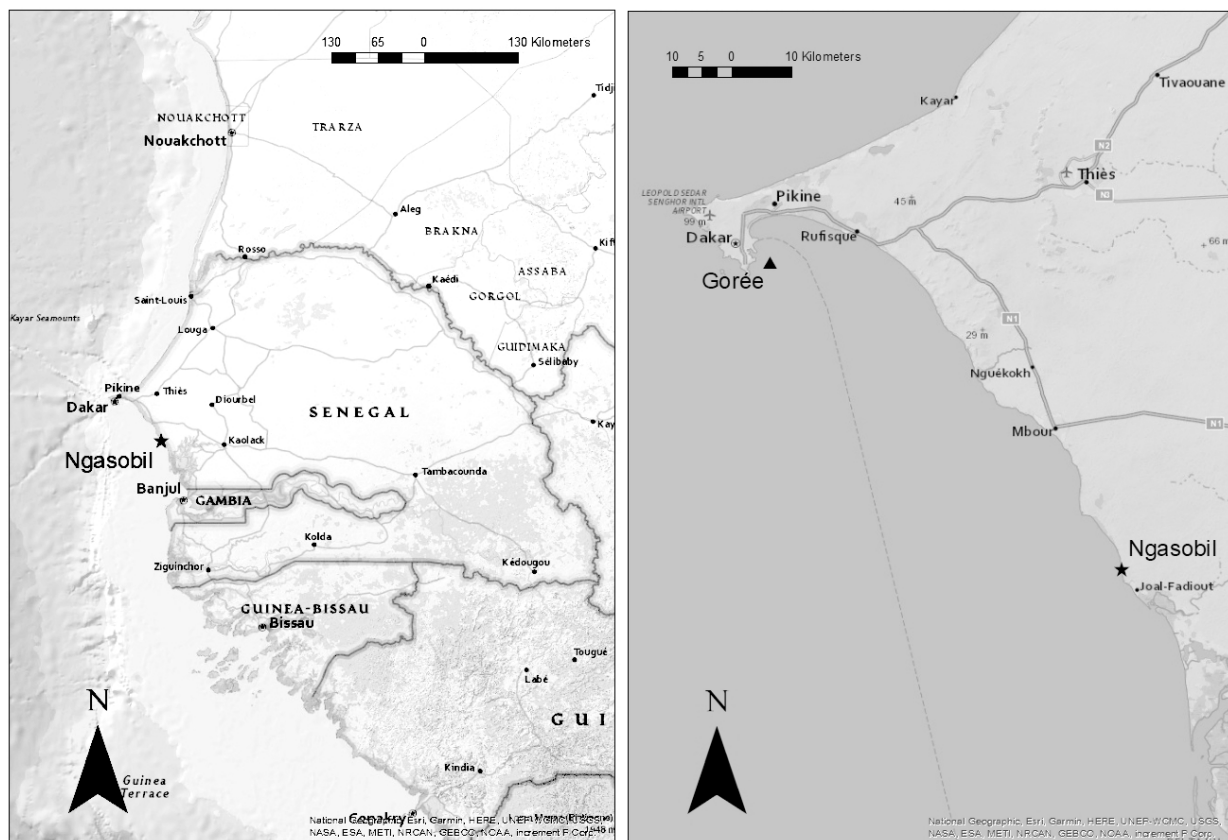


Figure 1.5. a) Map of Senegal with Ngasobil marked by a star (map by Haeden Stewart); b) detail of Senegal's Petite Côte with Ngasobil marked by a star (map by Haeden Stewart).

Ngasobil is located in the far south of the Thiès region of Senegal, in the Department of Mbour, directly adjacent to the modern-day Siin-Saloum region, on the littoral edge of Senegal's Sahel environment. More colloquially, Ngasobil is located on the Petite Côte—that is the stretch of Senegalese coast extending southward from the Cap-Vert peninsula (Dakar) to the Siin-Saloum delta, just north of the Gambian border. Ngasobil is situated directly on the coast (the convent is located approximately 235 meters from the shore) (fig. 1.5). The center of Ngasobil is approximately three kilometers north of Joal-Fadiouth's center, and just under thirty kilometers south of Mbour. Unpaved paths and roads dating from the nineteenth and early twentieth century lead from Ngasobil to neighboring Joal, Mbodiène, and Ndianda. During the time of the mission there was a dock on the beach near the convent used as a departure point for regular sea travel up and down the coast.

On a regional scale, Ngasobil is located in the Senegalo-Mauritanian Sedimentary Basin, a geologically defined area that stretches along the West African coast from about 10° to 21° N. While a coastal environment, it may also be described as the littoral edge of the West African Sahel environment. As such, the area around Ngasobil hosts both woody savannah and saltmarsh, alongside land that has been cleared and irrigated for agricultural use. The wooded/uncultivated land that remains around Ngasobil today represents a last vestige of the Soudano-Sahelian zone on the Petite Côte (Diatta et al. 2009).

Climatically, Ngasobil is situated in a dry tropical zone, caught between two sets of weather systems, one from the ocean side (the South Atlantic High or St. Helena anticyclone and the Azores High anticyclone) and the other from the continental side (the Libyan anticyclone and the Saharan depression). These combine to create a local climate influenced by three annual winds (the Atlantic trade winds, the monsoon winds, and the harmattan winds) resulting in a long

dry season and a short but intense rainy season that lasts from July until October (documented as 552.3 mm per annum; Diatta et al. 2009:2). According to anecdotal observations by missionaries in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, they observed an increasingly dry environment around Ngasobil, linked to the disappearance of spring waters formerly abundant across the mission property (Boilat 1853; *Bulletin de La Communauté [SSJC]* 1899; Chapelain 1872c; “Plan de La Mission de S. Joseph de Ngasobil” 1900; Valot 1926a; Valot 1931b).

Historical Context

The site was chosen because missionary scouts judged it to be an optimum environment for both settlement and large-scale intensive agriculture, on the practical sides of things (“*Annales Religieuses: Ngasobil*” 1930; *Aperçu Historique sur la Mission de Saint-Joseph de Ngasobil* 1875; Kobès 1849; Noel 1963). Spiritually, missionaries deemed Ngasobil to be an optimum location for the cultivation not only of cash crops, but of conversion and vocation. As such, the Daughters of the Holy Heart of Mary (DHHM) established their Mother House in Ngasobil shortly after the mission’s founding in 1863.⁵

At that time, St. Joseph’s was located on an isolated stretch of the Petite Côte, technically within the boundaries of the Kingdom of Siin, but also within territory newly ‘subdued’ by French military conquest in the late 1850s-early 1860s (Barry 1998; Klein 1968). Over the course of its history, the St. Joseph’s Mission sought to maintain self-sufficiency and as much independence from outside forces as possible while straddling regional Senegambian and French colonial politics and interests.

⁵ As will be elucidated in Chapter 1, this was actually the second (or permanent) founding of the mission, after a brief and unsuccessful attempt in 1849. The DHHM arrived in Ngasobil in 1864.

The French had been active along the West African coast from the sixteenth century onwards, as were many European trading operations involved in the transatlantic slave trade (Barry 1998; Benoist & Camara 2003; Brooks 2003; Mark 2002; Searing 1993). The French built their first fort in the region at the mouth of the Senegal River in 1659; in 1677 they took possession of Gorée Island. The eighteenth century saw Senegambian colonial footholds passed back and forth several times between the French and the British. After the French Revolution and ensuing Napoleonic wars, Gorée and Saint-Louis were ceded back to France in 1817, enabling France to begin the gradual process of expanding its economic and military influence across West Africa (Barry 1998; Brooks 2003; Klein 1968; Searing 1993). During the 1880s ‘Scramble for Africa’ amongst European nations, France consolidated its African holdings, embarking on formal imperial colonization; Senegal sat at the center of France’s West African empire until decolonization and independence in 1960.

Due to European involvement in the transatlantic slave trade at coastal forts and factories, the Senegambian coast had attracted itinerant missionary work from the mid-fifteenth century onwards. Visiting priests would sporadically attend to the religious needs of the *métis* Eurafrican populations that emerged in places where Portuguese and later French traders set up households with West African women and established themselves in coastal towns and villages, such as Rufisque and Joal, in addition to the major colonial centers of Saint-Louis and Gorée (Barry 1998; Boilat 1853; Brooks 2003; Diouf 2001; Gallais 1851; Mark 2002). Formal missionization in Senegambia did not occur until the nineteenth century, but due to the growth of coastal colonial centers, by that time Saint-Louis and Gorée already boasted significant African and *métis* Catholic communities (Benoist and Camara 2003; Brooks 1976; D.H. Jones 1980; H. Jones 2013; Foster 2013).

In the first half of the nineteenth century, the Catholic mission to Senegambia was a small operation, concentrated mainly on Saint-Louis and Gorée, the two historical French trade and administrative centers of the colony, where they tended mainly to French nationals and the free *métis* population. Only a handful of missionaries were present at any given point, and often only for short sojourns. The missionary field was populated by: the Congregation of the Holy Ghost and the Holy Heart of Mary (Spiritans), charged with the direction of the missionary projects across the French Empire (Benoist 1987); the Brothers of Christian Instruction (also: the Brothers of Ploërmel), charged with the education of boys in the colony (Benoist 1987; Diouf 2001; Jones 1980); and the Sisters of Saint Joseph of Cluny (SSJC), charged with the education of girls, running hospitals, and otherwise assisting male missionaries (Curtis 2010a; Diouf 2001; Foster 2013; Martindale 1953). At mid-century, the Sisters of the Immaculate Conception of Castres (also known as the *Soeurs bleues*, or Blue Sisters) were assigned to territories within the colony that were not served by the SSJC, such as Dakar (vs. Gorée or Saint-Louis) (Foster 2013; Lecuir-Nemo 1999). Towards mid-century, missionary numbers in Senegal began to slowly increase, because at this point ecclesiastic leadership turned its eye towards making a concerted effort at evangelization beyond colonial centers.

The relationship between missionaries, military officials, and administrators was in flux over the course of the nineteenth century (reliant on varying local situations and personalities), with an overall trend towards increasing antagonism stemming from the *laïcité* movement and culminating in the Law on Associations (1901) and the Law of Separation (1905) (Benoist 1987; Conklin 1997; Foster 2013).⁶ Prior to this breakdown in Church-State relations, however,

⁶ *Laïcité* translates as ‘secularism’ and here refers to the anti-clerical secular movement in France, which grew over the late nineteenth century and resulted in a series of laws enforcing secularism in government, government services (e.g., hospitals), and public education. The first

missionaries and colonial officials had a relatively neutral, if not amicable, relationship. Founded in 1703, the Spiritans first arrived in Senegal in 1778 with a mandate from the crown (*Il y a 150 ans... les fils de Libermann* 1998); however, in 1792 all French religious orders were dissolved by the Republican revolutionary government. In 1815, with the return of the monarchy under the *Restauration*, the Spiritans were reestablished and recommitted to their mission in Senegal (D.H. Jones, 1980). However, they had difficulties maintaining a sufficient presence, particularly after the 1830 July Revolution, when their seminary in Paris was sacked. Fortuitously, the order was revitalized by a merger with the recently founded Congregation of the Holy Heart of Mary in 1848. The merged orders continued to operate under the mandate held by the original Spiritans, made possible through the influx of new personnel (Benoist 1987, 2008; Boilat 1853; Koren 1958, 1983).⁷

While formally the French government and the Apostolic Vicariate of the Two Guineas and Senegambia were to some degree liaised, this relationship would become less formulated in religious terms, as well as less official over the course of the nineteenth century (Benoist 1987),

of three laws passed is known as the Law on Associations (1901), which required religious orders to obtain legal governmental authorization, and most religious orders in France ended up being suppressed (it jeopardized but did not ultimately suppress the standing of the Spiritans). The law of 7 July 1904 prohibited members of religious congregations from teaching in France. Finally, the 1905 Law of Separation officially broke all ties between Church and State in France, and although the extension of *laïcité* to the colonies had been a subject of debate and argued as not meant to apply to missionary services, by 1903 the Ministry of the Colonies was pushed to enforce *laïcité*, and the laws were subsequently (officially) applied in the colonies—albeit unevenly, incoherently, on a delayed timeline, and amidst varied pushback from both French colonial officials and as well as West Africans (especially parents of school-aged children attending Catholic schools) (Foster 2013).

⁷ In 1848 the failing Congregation of the Holy Ghost (founded by Claude Poullart des Places in 1703) merged with the Congregation of the Holy Heart of Mary (founded by François-Marie Libermann in 1842). The newly combined Congregation of the Holy Heart of Mary and the Holy Ghost maintained the official name of the older order for administrative purposes and continued to be referred to as the Spiritan Fathers.

until the 1905 final rupture of Church and State. J.D.Y. Peel (2000) argues that during this period of nineteenth-century imperial expansion, the work of missions was increasingly couched in secular terms by colonial states across the globe, who saw missionary work—at best—as contributing to the civilizing mission. At worst, they were seen as interfering and giving cause for colonial unrest by making incursions into the local populations. With the laws of 1901 and 1905, religious involvement in any public state institutions was banned, and missionaries were expelled from schools and hospitals funded by the French state, where they had previously been seen as indispensable and a valued source of (cheap) colonial labor (Benoist 1987, 2008; Foster 2013). At St. Joseph's this resulted in the gradual winding down of mission operations due to a lack of funding in the early twentieth century (“Annales Religieuses: Ngasobil” 1930; Jalabert 1910; Jeuland 1928; Kunemann 1890; Grimault 1928; Tranquilli and Esvan 1910;). Overall, the level of financial, administrative, and military support received by missionary enterprises over the course of the nineteenth century in French West Africa was often subject to local personalities and relationships between missionary orders and the government, individual missionaries and military commanders in the field (later civilian administrators), colonial outposts and local rulers, etc. All of these sets of individuals gradually lost their abilities to influence funding as colonization became more and more formalized in the twentieth century and relations between the Apostolic Prefecture and French government frayed (Benoist 1987; Conklin 1997; Delavignette 1964; Foster 2013; D.H. Jones 1980). Still, in the mid-nineteenth century—where this story begins—the Spiritans tended to have positive and supportive relationships with French military commanders, the metropolitan government, and colonial administrators (“Annales Religieuses: Ngasobil” 1930; Pinet-Laprade 1863a, c; Thomas 1867).

In terms of the mission's relationship with local Senegambian leadership, this too varied over the course of the mission's history. In 1851, for example, all missionary activity along the Petite Côte was suspended due to tensions with the *Bur* (king of) Siin, Ama Diouf Faye, who wrote to the French colonial government saying he could no longer guarantee protection for missionaries in his territory (Barry 1998; Gallais 1851; Klein 1968). Over the following decades the Spiritans sent regular emissaries to meet with local chiefs and rulers in the kingdoms of Siin, Saloum, Boal, and Ndiéghem, all of which were adjacent to their hub at the St. Joseph Mission in Ngasobil ("Annales Religieuses: Ngasobil" 1930; Jouga 1863; Renoux 1877d). They made gifts of cloth, horses, and other items, and engaged in trade as well ("Annales Religieuses: Ngasobil: 1930: 62, 122; Renoux 1877f). Priests who made these trips sought to curry favor with Senegambian leaders in order to maintain the secure position of the mission, as well as to make inroads with their religious goal of evangelization amongst populations that had not yet converted to Islam.

Islam had been spreading (though both proselytization and political conquest), particularly in the Wolof kingdoms, since about the same time Europeans emerged on the scene in the fifteenth century, ramping up with Berber marabout Nasir Al Din's mid seventeenth-century *jihad* in the Senegal River valley (Barry 1998; Brooks 2003). The eighteenth century saw further Muslim revolutions against older non-Muslim (or 'traditional') regimes in the region and increasing conversions to Islam (Barry 1998). Conversions accelerated over the course of the nineteenth century as a result of both continuing proselytization and numerous *jihads* launched by various leaders (Barry 1998; Frederiks 2009; Klein 1968), and thus stemming from both faith-based and political impetuses. While the kingdoms with which the Spiritans of St. Joseph had the most contact—Siin and Saloum—were sites of religio-political wars, overall, these two polities

proved to be resistant to Islamic military/political incursions, and the dominant ethnic group—the Sereer—equally resistant to Islamic proselytization until well into the twentieth century (Barry 1998; Gastellu 1997; Gravrand 1961; Klein 1968). Broadly speaking, the majority of Sereer living in Siin and Saloum continued to practice traditional religion during the period in question (Gastellu 1997; Gravrand 1961, 1990; Richard 2007). By the second half of the nineteenth century, Muslims were regarded by missionaries as highly unlikely to succumb to conversion efforts (and French colonial administrators frankly preferred that Muslim populations be left in peace by missionaries) (Foster 2013; Frederiks 2009); however, the Sereer populations of Siin and Saloum were considered to be prime targets for Catholic evangelization efforts (Foster 2013; Klein 1968). The mission also benefited from ongoing armed conflict throughout Senegambia in the second half of the nineteenth century, as refugees—mainly Sereer—from afflicted areas in the interior often fled towards coast. Most of the individuals who settled in Ngasobil sought out St. Joseph’s Mission as a place of succor from war, famine, and/or enslavement (Barry 1998; Klein 1968). Located on the coast of Siin, the St. Joseph Mission was optimally placed to spearhead efforts at local and more broadly regional missionization, which began to penetrate into the interior at the end of the nineteenth century and increasingly through the twentieth (Gravrand 1961; Foster 2013), following the expansion and consolidation of French political influence and control over through the colony (Conklin 1997; Klein 1968).

Studies of Mission

Anthropology and History of Missions in Africa

Since the 1990s, anthropological and historical scholarship on missions in Africa has investigated the relationship between missionization and colonization. A robust body of

scholarship argues that in many ways missionaries were ultimately agents of colonialization (whether official or unofficial, liaised with the politics of colonization or not) and the so-called ‘civilizing’ projects. Following this train of thought, missionaries have been linked to the project of modernity⁸ and the drawing of converts into global colonial economies, even while it is acknowledged that missionary projects often operated outside of (or in opposition to) colonial governance (Comaroff 1991; Comaroff & Comaroff 1986, 1991, 1997; Mattia 2017; Meyer 1997). Historical ethnographies have examined both how missionaries navigated their ministry in the field and how conversion operated (and was mobilized) amongst indigenous communities (socially, politically, economically) (Delius and Rüter 2013; Frederiks 2009; Harries 1997; Hovland 2007; Landau 1995; Moss 1999, Peel 2000; Pels 1999; Thomson 2012; Tjelle 2014).

Notably, the majority of this scholarship has been based on research in Protestant missions, whereas the historical and ongoing role of Catholicism in Africa has been less studied from the anthropological perspective. While historical studies of Catholic missions have been produced (Curtis 2010a; Hodgson 2005; Isichei 1970; Green 2003; Martinez d'Alós-Moner 2015; Searing 2006; Shorter 2006; White & Daughton 2012), Protestant endeavors (mainly studied in Southern and East Africa) remain prevalent in anthropology. Specific to Senegal—a majority Muslim country where Christian evangelization of any denomination has never been a widespread success—Catholics are small minority (5%; Diouf 2001: 132) whose history is often passed over in national narratives. This is largely mirrored in academic works, although a small and relatively recent body of scholarship handling French imperial history does explicitly grapple with Catholicism (Daughton 2006; Foster 2012, 2013, 2019; White 2004; White and

⁸ Related, there is a body of research dedicated to missionaries as producers of scientific and social scientific knowledge (Harries 2007; Harries and Maxwell 2012).

Daughton 2012), as do works written by French Catholic priests on the history of the church in Senegal (Benoist 1987, 2008; Gravrand 1961).⁹

In terms of gender, canonical histories and anthropologies of Catholic missionization in Africa tend to focus on male missionaries and their activities (Benoist 1987, 2008; Lowry 2015; Gravrand 1961; Martínez d'Alós-Moner 2015; Shorter 2006; Pels 1999), even though women missionaries were integral to the functioning of the missionary apparatus (Clancy-Smith 2012; Larsson 1991; Martin 2002; Stornig 2013), just as in the Protestant context (Bowie et al. 1993; Huber & Lutkehaus 1999). As Katharina Stornig (2013) and Birgitta Larsson (1991) argue in their works on women missionaries and converts in Africa (Tanzania and Togo, respectively), most scholarship and archival accounts report on the assignments and activities of missionary sisters (staffing hospitals, running orphanages, providing education and domestic training to young girls and women, working as maids and cooks for male missionaries), but generally fail to consider their contributions to the propagation of Catholicism in Africa and their relationships with (potential) converts (but see: Clancy-Smith 2012; Curtis 2010a, 2010b; Martin 2002).¹⁰

A growing body of French-language history dedicated to women missionaries in Africa has been produced by Geneviève Lecuir-Nemo (1985, 1998, 1999, 2009), H el ene Baillot (2010), and Isabelle Denis (2010) (see also French language publications by: Curtis 2010b, Foster 2010). However, as Sarah Curtis (2016) points out, scholarship overwhelmingly favors men's orders, whether published in French or English. Furthermore, research has focused on missionary women from Europe deployed to the colonies, rather than on their African counterparts—

⁹ See also Aylward Shorter (2006) on the White Fathers elsewhere in French Africa.

¹⁰ Barbara Mann Wall (2015) published research on Catholic missionary sisters in Africa in relation to medical missions, but her work does not treat the pre-war period.

whether religious or lay, with whom they worked closely.¹¹ Senegambian religious sisters, therefore, have been rendered largely invisible in the historiography of the French Empire—even the portions of that history dedicated to missionization. This neglect is particularly egregious in Senegal because nineteenth-century Catholic missionization became premised upon the cultivation of vocation amongst the indigenous population and the foundation of specifically indigenous orders. Eliding these orders, and their role in cultivating Catholic communities elides one of the defining mechanisms of nineteenth-century colonialism. More importantly, it misses the unique changes brought to missionization and the experience of conversion through the existence of autochthonous vocations. That is, the cultivation of vocation was not simply a sly strategy of enfolding Senegambian women into the hegemony of colonialism, it was an opening up of Catholicism that rendered it ultimately more inclusive and more deeply woven into the fabric of what became the Senegalese-Catholic community. It is due to vocation (and those who pursued it) that this community developed in the way that it did.

While the St. Joseph Mission makes passing appearances in regional historiography (Barry 1998; Benoist 1987; Foster 2013; Gastellu 1997; Gravrand 1961; Klein 1968), such references are brief and concentrate on the (male) missionaries rather than the African converts with whom they lived, worked, taught, and worshipped.¹² The presence of the DHHM community in Ngasobil is egregiously neglected, as are their labors dedicated to the propagation

¹¹ In the German and British contexts, Larsson (1991) and Stornig (2013) have written exemplary histories of female involvement in Catholic missionization and attended to the involvement and experiences of female converts in colonial Tanzania and Togo, respectively. However, both of those case studies post-date the Senegambian case study and the establishment of the DHHM, which—as the first African congregation of Catholic nuns by a matter of decades—represents a watershed moment in missionization as a practice.

¹² Notable ethnographic and historical works on the experiences of female African converts elsewhere (and later) have been written by Dorothy L. Hodgson (2005) and Phyllis M. Martin (2009).

and preservation of Catholicism in Senegal over the past 160 years, from the very beginning of modern missionization in the region.

The Archaeology of Missionization

Anthropological and historical studies of missionization in Africa focus on archival documents, oral history, and ethnography. These have generated knowledge concerning the project of conversion and the relationship between missionaries, neophytes, colonial governments, and economies. For example, Peter Pels (1999) found that Uluguru converts in colonial Tanzania made sense and use of Catholicism by inserting aspects of it into a preexisting spiritual and social framework of initiation. On the material side of things, Jean and John Comaroff (1991, 1997) argue that Non-Conformist missionaries imported not only Christianity, but—perhaps more ultimately impactful—Western consumption practices to converts in South Africa. Despite attention to the entanglement of material goods to missionization, the material approach of archaeology has been largely left out of African mission studies until recently. To date, archaeologies of mission in Africa have come predominantly from southern Africa, mapping onto tendencies in anthropological scholarship (Ashley 2008, 2018; Crossland 2013; Esterhuysen et al. 2019; King 2018; King and McGranaghan 2018; Klatzow 2018; Reid et al. 1997; Sekgarametso 2001; Swanepoel 2018). Prior to the research presented in this dissertation, archaeology had not been deployed specifically to study missionization in Senegal (other than a preliminary study at Ngasobil: Richard 2017). In contrast to the state of mission-based archaeology in Africa, archaeological investigations of missionization have been more common in North America, especially across the Spanish mission system (Barker et al. 1995; Allen 1998, 2010; Costello 1989; Fox 1991; Graham 1998; Hoover and Costello 1985; Lightfoot 2005; Lycett 2004, 2005; McEwan 1993; Milanich 1999; Minnesota Historical Records Survey Project

1941; Panich 2010, 2014; Panich and Schneider 2014; Reitz et al. 2010; Saunders 1993; Scurlock and Fox 1977; Silliman 2001; Smith et al. 2012; Walter 2007; Weisman 1992).

Landscape and place-making are dominant themes in the Africanist archaeology of missionization, as is the question of (re)making (or identifying) the Christian home (Ashley 2008, 2018; Crossland 2006, 2013, 2014; Esterhuysen et al. 2019; King 2018; Reid et al. 1997; Swanepoel 2018), which also crops up in other mission contexts worldwide (Lydon 2009a, 2009b; Middleton 2013; Perry 2003). Overall, the focus of these archaeologies of mission is on conversion as social process. Studies interrogate how missionary imaginaries mobilized the landscape in order to communicate and instill Euro-Christian values and mores in potential converts (Ashley 2018; Crossland 2006; Esterhuysen et al. 2019; King 2018; Swanepoel 2018; for a salient non-archaeological treatment see Hovland 2007), and how African communities both responded to and resisted such moves (Crossland 2013; King 2018; Reid et al. 1997). As in historical and anthropological scholarship, these southern African archaeological studies¹³ focus on Protestant missionization projects, which in some ways operated similarly to Catholic enterprises (e.g. the creation of mission complexes, Christian villages, large agricultural projects)—but in many ways were quite different from Catholic missionization, beyond questions of creed or belief (e.g. celibate missionaries divided into different households by gender, recruitment of African vocations to religious orders, teaching Latin in addition to European languages).¹⁴ By focusing on vocation and its role in West African Catholic

¹³ West African cases are notably absent from current archaeological scholarship, particularly that treating the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.

¹⁴ This is not meant to minimize or elide the differences between different Protestant approaches by the numerous sects and nationalities of missionaries active in south Africa; however, there a distinctive difference between Protestant and Catholic approaches that pivots around the vows of celibacy taken by Catholic priests, brothers, and nuns, as well as the unique socio-religious

missionization—rather than simply looking at conversion—this dissertation is able to get some of the less obvious but nonetheless unique aspects of Catholic missionization in colonial Senegal. Not only does my research tackle a lesser studied form of missionization in Africa (Catholic), but it also approaches Catholic missionization from the point of view of vocation, which has not been addressed in prior studies.

In the Catholic context, Clist et al. (2015) investigated early modern Portuguese missionization (which began in the fifteenth century) in the Kingdom of Kongo at Ngongo Mbata (sixteenth through eighteenth centuries). Their work at this Central African site concentrates on the layout of mission settlements and the architectural technologies mobilized in mission construction, finding that European knowhow was integral to church design and construction, but also that it was transmitted to and likely executed by expert local craftsmen. Also investigating this period, in Ethiopia, Fernández et al. (2017) published a detailed survey of Jesuit mission sites from the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, in which they examine the mobilization of a cosmopolitan architectural design (with European, Mughal, and Ethiopian influences) by Jesuits to create a visual lexicon of Catholicism and royal power, which fluoresced particularly in Gondar. Both projects focus on early modern Catholic missionization, which brings into relief the archaeological neglect of nineteenth-century Catholic sites and experiences in Africa. Overall, the paucity of archaeological research on Catholic missionization in Africa belies the historical scope of this religious, social, and political endeavor that continues to reverberate across the continent, eliding not only the impact of Catholic missionization in the past, but the material heritage of Catholic Africans. This blind spot also hampers broader

position and roles of celibate women in the Catholic context, and of course the historically pivotal schism between Catholicism and Protestantism during the Reformation.

understandings of missionization as a global project pursued across a diversity of denominations and missionary organizations/orders.

Frameworks: Vocation and Conversion in the Everyday

Missionization is often viewed as one of the most pervasive forms of colonization (Clements 2013; Comaroff 1986; Middleton 2013; Keane 2007; Lightfoot 2005; McNaspy 1987; Peel 2000; Pels 1999). The mission, as a place specifically structured to produce behavioral and moral change, represents a space of tense intimacy, in which metropolitan ideas, values, and goals confronted colonial realities (Barry 1998; Burns 1999; Daughton 2006; Foster 2013; Lightfoot 2005; Lydon 2014; McNaspy 1987; Peel 2000; Pels 1999). The mission context is generally regarded as one of heightened social and cultural stakes, in which religious conversion and civilizing emerged as interrelated end goals, and the practices of everyday life were themselves objects of education, policing, and coercion, as well as resistance, rejection, adaptation, and compromise. Everyday practices were particularly potent at a mission; the political and social processes of conversion foregrounded proper behavior and belonging (or not), most easily evaluated through visible material practices. These quotidian activities emerged among targeted practices of proof from the missionary point of view (Larsson 1991; Lightfoot 2005; Stornig 2013), rendering domestic spaces as sites of potential conflict within the mission community (and, on a larger scale, across the broadly conceived Senegalese Catholic community as a whole). Embodied consumption (food and drink production, preparation, consumption) was a major concern in the colonization of consciousness, as were other intimate practices such as dress, household organization, and cleanliness (Burke 1996; Comaroff and Comaroff 1991, 1997; Dietler 2010; Hendrickson 1996; Lightfoot 2005; Middleton 2013; Perry 2003; Shah

1999). Mundane choices and everyday secular practices were implicated as tangible signs of conversion (sometimes synonymous with ‘civilizing’). This is to say that although the primary goal of missionization was to bring about and evince spiritual change—i.e., strictly religious conversion—other aspects of life, many of them material (e.g., clothing, vernacular architecture) and mundane (e.g., household hygiene and domestic practices) also became tied up in understandings of conversion in the colonial context, partially because conversion, it turns out, was difficult for missionaries to assess, to see, to verify. Missionaries did not go to Africa merely to speak the Gospel and leave evangelization at that; they went in order to spread the Word of God and to ensure that it was understood, embraced, and adhered to (in the long-term) by converts. Missionary writings (from Ngasobil and elsewhere) are riddled with the anxious tension of seeing and believing the authenticity and orthodoxy of converts’ thought—and practice—as newly recruited Christians (Comaroff and Comaroff 1991, 1997; Peel 2000). In some cases, missionaries viewed certain European material practices as reliably indicative of progress in conversion, but these visible metrics were often undermined by the ‘misuse’ of spaces (Lightfoot 2005; Perry 2003) and objects (Comaroff and Comaroff 1997). All the same, in the struggle to see conversion taking root,¹⁵ material practices in the privacy of the family home were a potential form of ‘proof’ considered by nineteenth and early twentieth-century missionaries in general, and specifically in Senegal (Foster 2013). This state of affairs when it came to missionaries’ struggle to ascertain conversion demands a serious investigation of daily life and practices as they were linked to missionization and its end goal—conversion. The same goes for vocation—entering into the religious, celibate life of an order or congregation in the

¹⁵ The phrase “taking root” appears repeatedly in the missionary archives from St. Joseph’s Mission in Ngasobil.

Catholic Church—which not only permeated both religious and secular practices, but in fact drew a wide range of seemingly non-religious practices under the umbrella of religious practice as service (Stornig 2013). In fact, because this dissertation argues that Catholic vocation—as practiced—thoroughly blurred the lines between religious and mundane practices, an archaeology of vocation is very much an archaeology of everyday life, just as much as it might be categorized as an archaeology of religion.

Examining the mundane everyday practices undertaken and experienced by the women and girls living in the various communities at the Mission of St. Joseph provides a tangible entry point for: 1) understanding how vocation worked as part of lived religious life, and not simply as doctrine and official prescriptions for an abstract idealized religious life; 2) how conversion occurred (and what it was understood to be), and 3) how Catholicism and Catholic community were cultivated in the uniquely colonial setting of the mission as a place, through the cumulative embodied movements, practices, and dwelling of mission residents. Philosophical and anthropological frameworks that rely on dualisms of sacred/profane, ritual/everyday, or belief/practice compartmentalize the human experience as a handy heuristic, but by creating divisions also elide the ways in which human life is hardly reducible to sets of dichotomies (Asad 1993; Comaroff 1991). While this study makes some use of heuristic binaries from time to time, one of its goals is to illuminate the interconnectedness of such artificial categories in order to better understand conversion and vocation. A nuanced approach insists on the blurring of such divisions and the consideration of how these supposed ‘opposites’ might be entangled and even productive of one another—for example, by drawing on Pierre Bourdieu’s emphasis on relational rather than binary analysis (Bourdieu 1977; Maton 2012). By combining documentary, material,

and ethnographic lines of evidence, the relationship between everyday practice (material actions) and religion (belief) can be illuminated.

Bourdieu's theory of practice attempts to bridge the gap between structure and agency through the concept of *habitus*, which allows him to explain how individuals both have agency and yet live lives shaped by social structures (Bourdieu 1977; Dietler and Herbich 1998; Hastorf 2012; Pezzarossi, Kennedy, Law 2012). Missions as institutions were explicitly intended to exert a new religious-social structure on the lives of neophytes as part of the immediate conversion process and the establishment of a self-reproducing Catholic community; yet it is an indefensible position to make the claim that (potential) converts lacked agency and did not impact their own processes of conversion and pursuits of vocation. Indeed, the crux of this dissertation is to examine the active role(s) that both African and French women and girls played in the missionization of Senegal and in shaping their communities. The concept of *habitus* presents as a useful means of thinking about agency and structure when it comes to conversion, vocation, and missionization as a whole:

Habitus is akin to a disposition and goes beyond mere habit: It expresses first the result of an organizing action, with a meaning close to that of words such as structure; it also designates a way of being, a habitual state... and, in particular, a predisposition, tendency, propensity, or inclination." (Bourdieu 1977: 214)

In setting up a 'mathematical' equation for practice ($[(\text{habitus})(\text{capital})] + \text{field} = \text{practice}$), Bourdieu's insistence on relational thinking is succinctly articulated: "one's practice results from relations between one's dispositions (*habitus*) and one's position in a field (*capital*), within the current state of play of that social arena (*field*)" (Maton 2012: 50). In the context of conversion, everyday practices were often been regarded by missionaries as indexing the process (Kruczek-Aaron 2015; Lightfoot 2005; Martin 2002; Perry 2003), because they were viewed as an embodiment of the spiritual. Archaeological artifacts—being the waste generated by everyday

life (shucked oyster shells, broken pots, buttons lost in the laundry)—are the material traces of past practices. Working with the framework of *habitus*, practice is not merely the mechanics of daily life, but the product of myriad social relationships, knowledges, and choices—and the beliefs that help to structure them. Bourdieu’s insistence on relationality, context, history, improvisation, and the ongoing encounters between *habitus*, capital, and field defines practice as something materially, socially, and temporally mediated. This approach highlights the complexity of the agency/structure dualism, resisting any urge to characterize the mission as a place of mere dogmatic domination and cultural oppression, or the everyday as something entirely structured by mission strictures and voided of non-Euro-Catholic cultural content.

Furthermore, one can think about these concepts on multiple scales (individual, group, institutional). At the mission an array of different people circulated and attempted to achieve various personal but also common goals (to live vocation, to achieve conversion for others or for themselves, to attain material self-sufficiency for the community). In this uniquely colonial location of the French Catholic mission in Senegambia (a ‘field’ to which basically no one was entirely native or familiar), some sets of people had more power in terms of impacting how convent life operated, others less; some had more visible inputs, others more subtle or hidden. Each of these individuals and groups carried out a range of practices particular to their lives at to St. Joseph’s, perhaps also the Senegambian mission, and even to the burgeoning Catholic community of Senegal as a whole. Because of the dynamism created by the diverse mixings, negotiations, meldings, resistances, oppressions, and creative adjustments carried out and experienced in mission life, one might argue that social structures were changing more rapidly than might normally be encountered as the specific community in Ngasobil emerged and the broader Catholic community in Senegal established itself, both amongst the lay and religious

populations.¹⁶ It is also the case that while many archaeologies of mission draw on practice theory to emphasize the agency of neophytes in terms of resistance against colonialism (as a dichotomous relationship), the mobilization of practice theory in relation to vocation in this dissertation examines the social reproduction of the Catholic community by converts (including the DHHM) as an act of creative agency.

In order to explore how (and why) conversion and religious vocation at St. Joseph's were practiced it is necessary to establish why the 'everyday' is a productive frame for thinking through vocation as it relates to conversion. The everyday has been criticized as an opaque analytic—what is it, where is it, what does it look like, and who lives it? What at first appears to be a commonsense category, through critical engagement, becomes fraught—too big but too small, entirely obvious and yet wildly elusive to define, both oppressive and liberating (Felski 2000; Highmore 2002; Upton 2002). So why use it all? Generally agreed upon is the idea that the everyday encompasses a largely mundane continuum of activities that unfold with a particular rhythm (Felski 2000) (often described as cyclical vs. linear; Lefebvre [1961] 2014) over the course of days, weeks, months, years, lifetimes (see Felski's discussion of Simone de Beauvoir: Felski 2000). As such, it encompasses daily material practices traceable through the archaeology of the St. Joseph's convent and converts' village, most of which fall under the general category of domestic practices, which contribute to social reproduction.

The conservative aspect of habitus as an internalized and embodied 'structuring structure' has been criticized as being merely reproductive (a conservative move) rather than actively engaging in production (de Certeau 1984; Sheringham 2015). De Certeau's critique reveals a

¹⁶ In his discussion on the impact of French colonialism in Algeria, Bourdieu found that the colonial milieu had a destabilizing (or accelerating) effect on the generally conservative adaptations of *habitus* (Bourdieu 1977; Maton 2012: 59).

common gendering and valuing of production (masculine) as a liberating and superior pursuit in comparison to reproduction (feminine), a conservative activity that resists change and occurs in cyclical time. The devaluing (and making invisible) of women's labor throughout history is well-established, and such theoretical moves implicitly reinforce gender hierarchies through the gendering of analytical terms and categories. This is distinctly the case when it comes to the gendered service roles bundled up in feminine religious vocation. All of these seemingly mundane or at least secular activities were integral to the daily life of mission inhabitants—both religious and lay, adult and child or adolescent.

In the 1958 *Avant-propos* to *Critique de la vie quotidienne* (*Critique of Everyday Life*), Henri Lefebvre argued that the everyday has been theorized as the residue of human activities once specialized 'higher' pursuits such as philosophy, art, or religion have been defined and removed from the sphere of activities under consideration—part of the compartmentalization and alienation wrought by the ever-advance of Capital (Lefebvre 1991; Sheringham 2006). In the second volume, Lefebvre presents a rehabilitation of that residue by suggesting that rather than being merely unclassifiable debris, it is the “nourishing soil” of those so-called higher activities, and thus the potential site of resistance to Capital (Lefebvre 1980 [1962]: 46; Sheringham 2006: 141). Lefebvre's nourishing ground provides a potential metaphor for the relationship between vocation and everyday practices—more abstractly the spiritual and the secular—that critiques both external characterizations of Catholicism as monolithic and/or internal missionary tenets that characterize conversion as solely spiritual (and neither cultural nor social in its scope). If mission practices classed as everyday can be seen as the generative field from which the higher goal of religious conversion emerges, then the dichotomy between spiritual and secular is not only blurred, but the co-constitutive relationship between the two revealed. Once this is

established, the logic that links the instillation of Western domestic practices in convent students to their ability to create proper Catholic homes, and thus families, and the successful reproduction of this nascent Catholic community makes sense.

The interconnected frameworks of the everyday and practice theory are particularly useful in the context of St. Joseph's (and more broadly nineteenth and early twentieth-century Catholic missionization) for three reasons. First, the restructuring of everyday practices (foodways, dress, architecture) has been a key component of community-scale conversion efforts since at least the sixteenth century. Therefore, whether or not the enfolding of mundane practices into a concept of Catholicism was intended by missionaries or not, their focus on how converts dressed, ate, and were housed became part how they evaluated converts' understanding of Christianity and spiritual sincerity. Second, the consideration of everyday practice is uniquely attuned for understanding the role of women in colonial missionization because of their prominent roles as arbiters of domestic life, the setting in which so many of these everyday practices take place. While stereotypically assigning women to domestic contexts is not appropriate, archival and historical ethnographic evidence support this link in the context of St. Joseph's.

Finally, everyday practice is a potent means of studying nineteenth and early twentieth-century colonial missionization because this period saw a reframing of evangelization, conversion, and religious stewardship in the Catholic Church. This change resulted in African men and women being encouraged not only to convert but to become agents of missionization themselves through the opening up of vocation to them. In the Senegambian context, women were integrated earlier and more formally into the missionary apparatus through the foundation of the Daughters of the Holy Heart of Mary (DHHM). As religious sisters, the domestic tasks

(everyday practices) which generally fell to women and girls took on a vocational meaning both within the confines of the convent and externally in the broader context of the mission and beyond. This entanglement of religious vocation and domesticity in turn linked everyday practices to a concept of Catholicism that was not merely a spiritual or ritual affair, but one also rooted in the materiality of everyday life. The investigation of everyday practices is a useful theoretical frame for studying missionization in colonial Senegal because of the way in which vocation drew mundane practices into itself, ultimately weaving religiosity through the fabric of everyday life. When this critical fact of African vocation is identified as a defining element of missionization in Senegambia, the role of DHHM sisters is no longer merely liminal but central to that project. Vocation in turn—understood as including both religious activities and domestic labors—is uniquely visible in the archaeological record of missionization in colonial Senegal because of its entanglement in the everyday.

Until recently, the tangible material terrain of missionization in Africa has been largely neglected in favor of documentary tenets of evangelization or accessed through documentary evidence that favors the viewpoints and experiences of European missionaries. However, historical archaeology—with its creative melding of documentary and material evidence—is able to tap into the lived experiences of mission residents who are underrepresented in official records and mainstream colonial histories.

Research: Methods and Data

Historical archaeology integrates excavation with archival research to locate productive nodes of tension between varied past perspectives—both in terms of the types of evidence analyzed and the situatedness of those sources. In doing so, historical archaeology produces

holistic narratives about the past from a point of view that is both materially and textually oriented (Beaudry et al. 1991; Brumfiel 2003; Wilkie 2006). Tacking between and melding methods across disciplinary fields, this dissertation mobilizes archaeological, historical, and anthropological modes of research and analysis. Combining lines of material, documentary, and oral evidence allows for an investigation of mission-based practices from viewpoints differing in materiality, authorship, scale, and temporality—lending salient and multi-vocal details to a narrative that emphasizes silenced histories (Trouillot 1995). In this case, that silenced history is that of the women and girls of the St. Joseph Mission in Ngasobil. In the context of St. Joseph, historical archaeology provides a rich method through which to expand our knowledge of missionization (and its relationship to colonialism) and vocation (as a calling, a practice, a gendered pursuit, and a creative force).

Archaeological Sites and Evidence

My team and I surveyed and excavated two sites within the grounds of the former Mission of St. Joseph (originally 1,000 hectares): 1) the Convent of St. Joseph and 2) the converts' village, called Saint-Joseph. Both sites currently lie within the bounds of the Petite Côte village of Ngasobil. Today, Ngasobil is a tiny hamlet consisting of the Catholic boys' boarding school originally run by the Spiritan mission, the Convent Community of St. Joseph (DHHM), the Community of the Little Brothers of St. Joseph,¹⁷ a small cluster of private Senegalese residences, a handful of vacation homes visited largely by French ex-pats, and a forest preserve (Réserve de Ngazobil). In this dissertation, I use 'Ngasobil' to refer to the part of

¹⁷ Male companion order to the DHHM, founded later in the nineteenth century; also referred to as the Missionary Brothers of Saint Joseph.

the original land grant that formed the mission's administrative center and is now the location of the contemporary village of Ngasobil.¹⁸



Figure 1.6. Aerial view of Ngasobil, labeled with the village, convent, and central mission sites. Map by author, 2017.

The convent and the village sites are both located to the north of the old mission center, more or less adjacent to one another—the edge of the village site just abutting the convent enclosure to its south (fig. 1.6). The Saint-Joseph village site was inhabited from 1863 until about 1880; the bulk of Catholic villagers relocated closer to the mission center in 1876. Since

¹⁸ Nearly all of the 1,000 hectares of original mission land was ceded back to the French colonial government and otherwise sold off in the last quarter of the nineteenth century and early twentieth century.

then, the Saint-Joseph has been entirely demolished, with only sub-surface archaeological traces of the settlement left behind. The convent has been inhabited continuously by the DHHM since 1864, with various architectural additions and remodels over the years; the original 1860s dormitory structure is still standing, as is a later nineteenth-century structure (fig. 1.7). The overall domestic layout of the property has been more or less preserved since the late 1860s, according to archaeological, cartographic, and oral history evidence.



Figure 1. 7. Postcard: Sénégal: Orphelinat de filles- Noviciat des Soeurs Indigènes. Author's personal collection.

Archaeological evidence includes landscape data, stratigraphic data from excavation, and artifact analysis (ceramics, glass containers, metal objects, beads, architectural materials, sundry small personal objects).¹⁹ Each site first underwent surface survey, then sub-surface testing

¹⁹ At the time of writing, faunal analysis (being carried out by Kevin C. MacDonald and Sacha Cummins at University College London) is still underway. Archaeobotanical and faunal analysis relating to foodways at the mission will be published at a later date.

(fifty-one 30x30 cm shovel test pits), and finally the excavation of thirteen 1x1 m units across both sites (fig. 1.8). Subsequently, I identified all recovered artifacts, which I then analyzed for chronology and functionality as a way to tie past material practices to their archaeological traces. In doing this analysis I delved into how religious vocation and conversion were intimately embroiled in so-called secular ‘everyday’ practices at the mission.

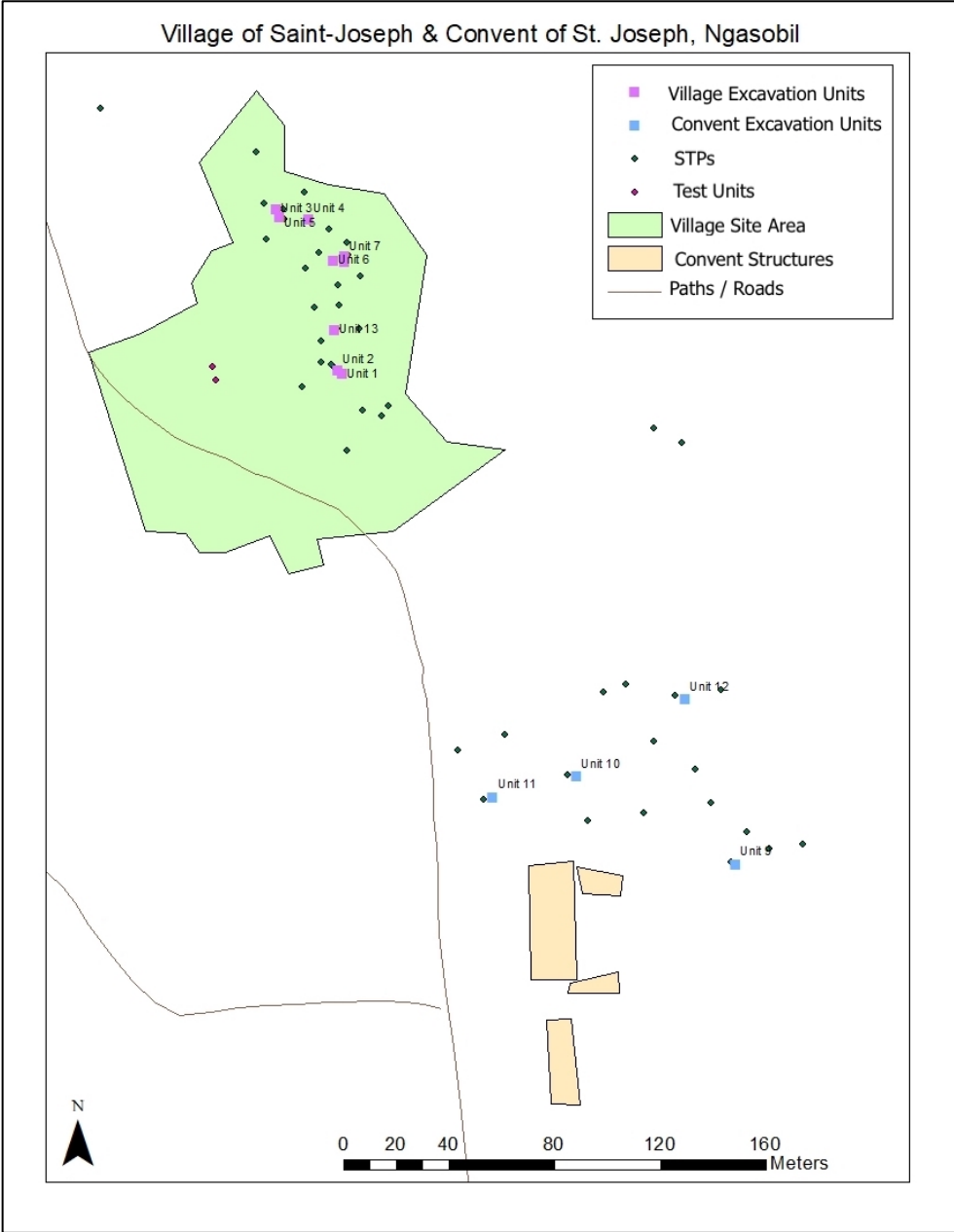


Figure 1.8. Archaeological Map of the Village of Saint-Joseph and the Convent of St. Joseph in Ngasobil (Map by author).

Documentary Sources of Evidence

Historical archaeology deploys a two-fold approach to texts and other archival objects (maps, photographs, prints, etc.). First, an archaeological one in which documents are considered not only in terms of their content, but as objects moving through the world themselves to be interpreted alongside artefacts (as opposed to ranking the validity of one over the other) (Beaudry 1988; Little 1992; Wilkie 2006). Second—and overlapping with the first—is an historical ethnographic approach, in which documents and other archival items are read alongside the author’s worldview (Stoler 2009). They are considered as traces or fragments of a whole that can be read anthropologically to produce narratives about (and understandings of) the past in ways that exceed a straightforward ‘data mining’ of historical documents (Comaroff and Comaroff 1992). As Laurie Wilkie states:

[Historical archaeology] “has been influenced by the practice of history, the field is distinctive in its approach to historiography. Essential to historiography is the role of the ‘historical imagination’, which the writer draws upon to make meaningful interpretive connections between source materials, or evidence. In documentary archaeology, a central aim is for our historical imagination to be guided by both our anthropological perspective and our attention to materiality” (Wilkie 2006, 15-16).

That is, historical archaeologists do not rely solely on certain sets of prescribed documents to support their research, rather this documentary approach to archaeology promotes a particular way of thinking about documents and what type of documentary evidence might be useful to a given project.

Overall, missionary archives encompass a range of document types, each implying a targeted audience and involved in particular modes of dissemination (Comaroff and Comaroff 1992, 1997; Daughton 2006; Harries and Maxwell 2012; Pels 1999; Whiteman 1986). Whether part of a Catholic missionary order or a Protestant mission society, field protocol demanded

regular reports to central offices in formal missives (Comaroff and Comaroff 1997; Daughton 2006; Peel 2000; Shorter 2006; Stornig 2013). At the St. Joseph Mission this meant that official documentation was submitted on a regular basis by both Spiritans and SSJC sisters to their central mother houses in France; in later years DHHM sisters reported back to the Spiritan leadership within the Apostolic Vicariate of Senegambia as their ecclesiastical governing unit. Letters sent to central offices were often edited for inclusion in missionary publications, rendering many communications as always potentially public and invariably destined to the central archives. In addition to documents associated with the institutional archive (Steedman 2002; Stoler 2009), letters written to friends and family, personal diaries, academic publications (ethnographic observations, grammars and dictionaries, scientific treatises on botany or entomology, compilations of oral histories, tracts on tropical medicine, etc.), and articles for inclusion in missionary magazines, bulletins, and almanacs were produced by the missionary complex (Daughton 2006; Harries and Maxwell 2012).

Documents relating missionary ideology, day-to-day operations at the convent, and personal reflections by nuns, priests, and brothers at the St. Joseph Mission point to how missionaries sought to ‘see’ conversion in the field and vocation in themselves and others, how missionaries saw themselves within the colonial milieu, and how various sets of mission residents related to one another socially and religiously. Letters, photographs, requests for medical supplies and educational materials, memoires, circulars, records of agricultural yields, recipes, and documentation regarding converts’ progress with Catholicism inform the narrative of this dissertation. Objective types (annual reports, requests for supplies, personnel records, maps, photographs) provide a material framework alongside insight into how missionaries understood and ordered mission life. Subjective types (memoires, official and personal

correspondence) provide insight into public and private assessments of the mission and its residents, both lay and religious. These writings not only facilitated the identification of individual mission residents, their material world, and the practices integral to their daily lives; these documents also shed light on their worldviews and motivations, notably illuminating how mission residents viewed their impact on converts or the progress of the mission.

Still, the textual archives left behind by missionaries tend to exclude the point-of-view of converts, even though some information about their lives can be gleaned from European accounts. For the average neophyte at St. Joseph's, the archaeological record is the only way to directly access their experiences of missionization, colonialism, conversion, and possibly vocation. It is also the case that pre-war documentation written by DHHM sisters is scarce; thus, the archaeology of the convent is critical to gaining insight into how early African vocations were cultivated, lived within the convent walls, and mobilized as part of a public ministry.

Five archives were consulted as a part of this research: Archives Générales de la Congrégation du Saint-Esprit (Chevilly-Larue, France), Archives des Soeurs de Saint-Joseph de Cluny (Paris, France), Archives de la Congrégation du Saint-Esprit at the Maison Spiritaine Stage Pastoral et Missionnaire (Dakar, Senegal), Archives des Filles du Saint Coeur de Marie (Dakar, Senegal), and Archives Nationales du Sénégal (Dakar, Senegal). In adhering to the concept of conducting an ethnography in the archives, emphasis has been placed on qualitative personal accounts and descriptions of missionary life and the endeavor in Ngasobil over quantitative statistical analyses of annual reports, budgets, school records, etc. Historical fiction vignettes are included in each chapter, based on individuals encountered in the archives (whether through their own voice or that of others) and archaeological traces from the convent and village sites. These vignettes are used to provoke key questions addressed in each chapter. They also

explore the methodological and analytic potential of alternative narrative forms and archival engagements, serving to evoke the intimacy of archival documents mobilized in the story of the women and girls of the St. Joseph Mission.

Oral and Ethnographic Sources of Evidence

This dissertation also draws on oral history interviews and participant observation with the DHHM conducted during my field seasons in 2016 and 2017 in Ngasobil (during which time I lived at the DHHM Community of St. Joseph convent) and an archival research trip in 2018 when I spent time at the DHHM mother house in Dakar (Mamelles). I conducted interviews with sisters in Ngasobil covering the history of the community in Ngasobil and congregation as a whole, botanical and horticultural knowledge, building techniques, as well as personal stories about becoming religious sisters and the types of work various sisters had engaged in over the years (nursing, teaching, administration of the congregation, cooking). I also spoke briefly with administrators/teachers from the Junior Seminary on the history of the mission. Oral history is often the best way to get at non-material narratives about the past in cases where archival documentation is either unavailable or, in this case, was not written by most of the individuals in whose history this dissertation takes an interest (DeCorse 1996; Wilkie 2006).

In terms of participant observation, my team and I lived as part of the convent community in Ngasobil for several months during which we attended prayer in the convent chapel, weekly mass at the village church, festivities around the Feast of St. Joseph, a funeral gathering for a deceased DHHM sister, and sundry informal encounters and gatherings with the DHHM sisters and the girls currently enrolled in their hospitality education and sacrament prep program. In Dakar, I joined the Mamelles community for mass and meals during my research period, where I was able to engage in informal conversations about the DHHM as an institution and, again,

learned a bit about the personal stories of a few DHHM administrators working at the mother house. While much of what I learned through this admittedly limited ethnographic work is not explicitly drawn upon in this dissertation, these experiences and personal connections were invaluable to my understanding of vocation and the role of the DHHM in Senegal, both in the past and today.

Chapter Synopses

The following chapters each explore the central position of this dissertation: that the conversion of women and girls and the subsequent vocational work of some of those women, both spiritual and secular in nature, was integral to the missionary project through their commitment to the conversion and education of girls and women. As such, links can also be found to the larger project of colonization and the so-called ‘Civilizing Mission,’ propagated by European colonial powers. Beyond these connections, however, this dissertation parses conversion and vocation as two processes and practices that cultivated the creation of small, but robust and quite unique Senegalese Catholic Church and community.

2. Growing an African Church: African Sisters and the Expansion of the Mission to Senegal

Chapter 2 argues that modern missionization in Senegambia was intimately and intrinsically dependent on the religious labor of African women. By establishing how the foundation of the DHHM and the St. Joseph Mission were fundamentally linked (each necessitating and impacting the advent of the other between 1849 and 1864), this chapter explores the critical role of women not only to the material support of the mission, but to the religious work of evangelization as well. The establishment of this first sub-Saharan order of

nuns redefined who was allowed to pursue a religious vocation, where conversion was sought, and through what means a Catholic community might emerge and reproduce itself. Why were these female African vocations suddenly of interest to the missionary project? In the context of a radical paradigm shift within the Catholic mission to West Africa in which missionaries began to invoke the need for an indigenous clergy, the need for specifically African female religious personnel emerged as a requisite condition of possibility for any success to be had in evangelization and the entrenchment of a Catholic community in Senegal.

3. 'A Rich and Fertile Plot': Thinking Between Text, Landscape, and Practice in the Missionary Place

Chapter 3 explores how the location of Ngasobil was identified as conducive to missionary goals of conversion and African vocation, and how local practices of missionization, in turn, produced Ngasobil as a place that anchored the entire missionary endeavor in Senegambia. This chapter illuminates the material and spiritual importance of the mission *place* to the act of missionization and to the cultivation of faith and religious discipline. Spatial data was analyzed alongside archival documents to produce a holistic interpretation that elucidates: 1) why Ngasobil was a critical location for the Mission of St. Joseph, including the DHHM community; 2) how the landscape was designed and constructed by and around material-spatial relationships; and 3) how that landscape was thought of as a technology for conversion and— even more significantly—vocation.

4. 'They Come from All Sides': The Women and Girls of the St. Joseph Mission

Chapter 4 introduces the women and girls of Ngasobil—both religious and lay, living at both the convent and in the village, Senegambian and French. It asks: 1) where did residents live prior to their arrival on the Petite Côte and how did they arrive at the mission; 2) what types of

socio-economic, religious, and racial/ethnic backgrounds did various sets of residents have; and 3) how did these people come to be part of the larger St. Joseph's Mission complex and religious project? This discussion includes unpacking the role of so-called 'domestic slavery' and its entanglement with the Catholic mission to Senegambia, as well as the varied social relationships and associated tensions that emerged between and within the diverse sets of people living at the mission. Experiences of displacement and trauma are considered as a potential driver for cohesion and the cultivation of a new, mission-based community.

5. The *Horarium*: Spaces & Rhythms at the Convent of St. Joseph

Chapter 5 explores how religious vocation was defined, cultivated, and regulated by professed sisters and novices at St. Joseph's. Through an analysis of the convent *horarium* (the daily and weekly schedule), this chapter demonstrates the ways in which vocation—despite being conceptualized as a strictly religious pursuit—blurred the line between sacred and secular activities, both of which were bound up in the practice of feminine vocation. While the overlapping of these categories is not a new anthropological insight, textual evidence articulates a perceived dichotomy from the missionary point of view. By thinking alongside the emic categorizations of convent time (ritual, mundane), everyday practices are shown as having been tightly interwoven into a specifically feminine form of vocation. Because of this entanglement of the everyday and ritual (in time, space, and practice) at the convent, everyday practices were in fact made sacred through vocation. This sacralization and (re)valuing of the everyday, in turn, linked certain sets of archaeologically visible practices (educational, domestic, hygienic, alimentary) to the less tangible spiritual practice of Catholicism at St. Joseph's.

6. African Habits: Vocation and Daily Life at the Convent of St. Joseph

Chapter 6 continues to investigate the material ways through which feminine vocation was lived and conversion pursued at the Convent of St. Joseph, asking: 1) what was the relationship between vocation and labor; 2) what was the materiality of vocation; and 3) how was vocation generative of conversion? Although vocation is a spiritual calling, its practice is manifested materially—especially in the context of missionary work, which perforce resists the complete cloistering of sisters from the outside world and, in fact, is predicated upon community outreach and service. Senegambian and French sisters tended to the local community as nurses, catechists, teachers (of academics, domestic sciences, and hygiene) and cultural mediators. While defined as an African order, the DHHM occupied an ambiguous intersection between Senegambian and Euro-Christian social spheres. The archaeological record reflects their position as bridging African and European social, domestic, and religious understandings and practices. Archaeological objects linked to embodied practice such as those associated with foodways, hygiene, and personal adornment reconstruct the use of different convent spaces and the ways in which the women and girls who lived there represented and ordered themselves, as well how their ministry connected them to one another and to the outside world.

7. ‘At the Place of the Stone Spring’: Conversion and Daily Life in the Village of Saint-Joseph

Chapter 7 examines the material terrain of missionization and conversion for the first generation of neophytes in the village of Saint-Joseph at Ngasobil (1863-1880). The village served as an experimental incubator of a nascent Senegalese Catholicism and a staging ground for evolving theories of conversion on the part of Spiritan missionaries. This chapter asks how missionaries (and converts) theorized, saw, and performed conversion, and how that changed

over time in Ngasobil. Archaeological and archival traces testify to participation in a way of life propagated by missionaries alongside spiritual behaviors, but also one in which West African practices, materials, and other elements of both religious and mundane daily life were maintained. The perceived failure of the early mission village—and the persistence of non-Catholic practices by its inhabitants—drove Spiritan missionaries to reimagine and subsequently restructure their approach to ‘seeing’ conversion in a new Christian village established in 1876.

Chapter Two

Growing an African Church: Indigenous Sisters & the Expansion of the Mission to Senegal

August 26, 1860

Mother Rosalie Chapelain carefully folded one freshly starched white wimple, and then a second, placing them both in a basket on top of two deep blue veils.

Two years ago, she had guided her young protégés—Louise de Saint-Jean and Thérèse Sagna—into the pirogue on Gorée. It had been a moment of great joy and excitement, but also of trepidation—for all three of them—even though she was supposed to be calm and sure in her leadership of the new religious congregation they were about to establish for African women. The voyage between Gorée and Dakar, though relatively short, was often choppy and not suited to conversation. They had passed the time in silence. Rosalie remembered oscillating between sea sickness and her best efforts at the prayerful contemplation of her task to help mold Louise and Thérèse from mere Catholics into fellow religious sisters, dedicated to a life of prayer, poverty, and chastity, but also service in the form of a specifically missionary vocation. It was a straightforward but daunting task, and the past two years had not been easy for either herself or her charges.

She turned to the other items on her desk, making sure she had two of each, and checking each item against the document that Monseigneur Kobès, the order's co-founder, had given her in preparation for the ceremony of profession:

Scapulars

Medallion pendants of the Holy Heart of Mary

Rings (to signify their consecration to God)

Printed copies of the Rule of Saint Augustine

Candles

Cautiously arranging the items so as not to crush the white and blue coifs, Rosalie let her mind wander once more. This time to her own ceremony of profession nearly 10 years ago in Bièvre. She had taken her vows just months before being deployed to the convent of Sainte-Marie on Gorée to embark on her vocation dedicated to female education and the conversion of African women and children. Despite the tensions she now experienced between her role as Mother Superior of the Daughters of the Holy Heart of Mary and her membership as a sister in the Congregation of Saint Joseph of Cluny, she planned to make her perpetual vows in a few months at the community of Sainte-Marie under the supervision of Mother Thècle. Rosalie hoped her example would provide her spiritual daughters with the encouragement they needed in order to commit long-term to their own vocation. So far, the path had been bumpy—her novices had experienced doubts, had withstood push-back from parents who felt abandoned by their daughters' retreat from family life and obligations, and had struggled to understand fully what it means to consecrate one's life to the work of God. Today's very first ceremony of profession would be a triumph for the entire little community—the newly professed Sisters Marie and Josephine (as they were now known), the novices, postulates, and Mother Rosalie herself as their Superior and Director of the Novitiate.

Shaking these proud thoughts from her mind, Rosalie stepped out of her office, crossed the small courtyard, entered into the convent chapel. It was almost time. She paused a moment to let her eyes adjust and then made her way up towards the altar where she deposited her sacred cargo, as Monseigneur Kobès had directed. Before leaving to gather Sisters Marie and Joséphine, Rosalie knelt at the statue of the Virgin Mary to pray for them, the shining hopes of this young

congregation which aspired to bring the light of Christ to the women and children of Senegambia. She begged that her daughters might attain holy perfection someday, and that today the Virgin Mary would bless them with the courage to reply, “Monseigneur and my father in Jesus Christ, I very humbly ask for the favor to be permitted to make my religious profession in the Congregation of the Daughters of the Holy Heart of Mary,” when Monseigneur would ask each of them in turn: “My daughter in Jesus Christ, what ask you of the bounty of our Lord?”¹

Mother Rosalie experienced ongoing anxieties about the African congregation of Catholic nuns she helped to found in Senegal. She (and a couple of other SSJC sisters who assisted her) shepherded these first African sisters—some of them first-generation Catholics—for nearly twenty years, through early days with the novitiate in Dakar to their first true mother house in Ngasobil at the Mission of Saint Joseph. Those women—a shared community of French and Senegambian sisters working towards the entrenchment of the Catholic church in West Africa—were mavericks of the modern colonial missionary endeavor.

The very existence of the DHHM marked a significant and game-changing paradigm shift in nineteenth-century French missionization. *Ancien régime* missionization had focused on the deployment of French missionaries to colonial territories and their minimal evangelization of indigenous populations alongside ministering to military personnel and colonists (where applicable). When the Revolutionary government suppressed the Catholic Church in the 1790s, missionary activity in the colonies was, of course, suspended. However, Napoleon Bonaparte

¹ Historical fiction vignette is based the following archival sources: Chapelain 1868a; Kobès 1862a, b; “Resignements concernant Mère Rosalie Chapelain d’après les Archives de la Congregation de Saint Joseph de Cluny,” n.d.

reinstated Catholicism in France in 1801, and by the first third of the nineteenth century, a new wave of missionization-minded orders (such as the Sisters of Saint Joseph of Cluny and the Sisters of the Immaculate Conception of Castres) began to emerge. They focused not only on the cultivation of Catholic communities in places like West Africa, but—led by the founder of the Sisters of Saint Joseph of Cluny—began to move towards the cultivation of an indigenous clergy to lead those prospective new communities. This was a radical new idea at the time that challenged colonial racial ideologies (Curtis 2010a: 203) and traditional church hierarchies in the missionary field. All the same, this idea was generally framed not as a correction in favor of racial equality in the Church, but as a practical solution to a suite of missionary problems. Calls for an indigenous clergy tapped into European anxieties and difficulties with everyday life (and health) in the African missionary field and with African languages (Curtin 1964). However, this shift also revealed a growing recognition that cultural difference played a significant role in the way European missionaries were received by indigenous populations. Catholic proselytization beyond coastal colonial entrepôts in West Africa up to this point had been largely unsuccessful, in part because previous generations of missionaries had been largely itinerant and failed to make concrete inroads with Senegambian populations, especially those without pre-existing European ties, such as Eurafrican families.

In the 1820s, Anne-Marie Javouhey, founder of the Sisters of Saint Joseph of Cluny (SSJC)² spearheaded a revolutionary initiative to ordain West African priests after she spent two years traveling around Senegambia setting up convent missions. She proposed a boarding school in France for African students (male and female) where they would receive academic and religious education, and be encouraged to consider entering into the religious life. Even though

² Founded in 1807 in Cluny, France.

she managed to recruit a few dozen male and female students, the scheme was an overall failure. Just as European missionaries fared poorly in the foreign climate of tropical Africa, Senegalese students did not react well to the French climate, and most became ill and died or had to be sent back to Senegal before finishing their studies. However, three survivors became the first Senegalese priests in history: David Boilat, Arsène Fridoil, and Jean-Pierre Moussa—all of whom returned to Senegal in the 1840s to pursue their vocations (Curtis 2010a; D.H. Jones 1980). After this semi-successful failure, Javouhey's focus shifted towards the foundation of an indigenous seminary in West Africa as the best course of action. Although she pursued this project throughout the 1840s, it eventually fell to the Congregation of the Holy Heart of Mary and the Holy Spirit (Spiritans) to make her vision a reality. Given the gendered hierarchies of the Catholic Church (and the contentious run-ins Javouhey had on a regular basis with Church leadership over the entire course of her career), it is unsurprising that the torch was taken up by the masculine order tasked with administering the French colonies in Africa. However, it would fall to one of Javouhey's congregations to lead a perhaps even more novel missionary endeavor: the extension of access to religious vocation for African women achieved through the foundation of that first African order of Catholic sisters, the Daughters of the Holy Heart of Mary in 1858. Their foundation responded not only to the need for indigenous religious personnel, but to the importance of women in West African social reproduction (Brooks 1976, 2003; Hinchman 2006; H. Jones 2013; Mark 2002; Osborn 2011; Thiaw 2005), tapping into feminine labor and the domestic sphere as key sites for the cultivation of a Catholic community in Senegambia.

In this context of a new and growing desire to cultivate an indigenous clergy in West Africa, the founding of two establishments emerged as mutually integral to the reinvigoration of the Catholic mission to Senegal in the mid-nineteenth century: 1) the Mission of St. Joseph in

Ngasobil as the site of the first African seminary and novitiate; 2) the DHHM, the first sub-Saharan congregation of Catholic nuns. Between 1850 and 1864, these two endeavors co-constitutively provided both inspiration and concrete conditions of possibility for each other.³ Furthermore, these intimately linked founding events gave birth to the central hub—literally and figuratively—of the community and tradition of Senegalese Catholicism from the 1860s until the interwar period. In an exploration of the impact African women have had on the (re)production of the Catholic Church in Senegal, it is essential to first establish the unique conditions under which their participation was inaugurated, and the ways in which they were positioned to play a unique role in the missionization of their country.

Aloyse Kobès & A New Era for the Mission to Senegal

In February 1849, the young and recently consecrated titular Bishop of Modon, Monseigneur Aloyse Kobès arrived in Senegal (*Aperçu Historique* 1875). At only twenty-nine years of age, Kobès had been deployed by the Spiritan Superior General François-Marie-Paul Libermann to serve as the new coadjutor to the Apostolic Vicar of the Two Guineas and Senegambia, Monseigneur Jean-Rémi Bessieux. This was Kobès' first missionary post, and he arrived in Senegal full of enthusiasm for his new endeavor. He immediately set about familiarizing himself with the territories of the vicariate in Senegambia.

This included a tour of coastal Senegal, with an eye towards identifying possible locations for rural mission stations further afield from the established French colonial centers in

³ Contemporary DHHM literature draws a direct connection between their congregation and the Mission of Saint Joseph in Ngasobil: “The history of this congregation is directly tied to that of Ngasobil. It is a fitting title that the Community of St. Joseph in Ngasobil is considered by all Daughters of the Holy Heart of Mary as the ‘cradle of our institute.’” “Ngazobil, berceau des Filles du Saint Coeur de Marie,” June 30, 2006, FSCM.

Saint-Louis and Gorée, as well as the nascent town of Dakar, where Kobès' administration was based (Noel 1963). During his tour, Kobès visited a site about six kilometers north of Joal, a long-time regional center of trade on the Petite Côte. The site had been previously identified by Bessieux in 1848 as a beautiful and well-positioned terrain adjacent to the mission in Joal. After his own visit, Kobès described the area as a deserted locale, covered in brush and sprinkled with gigantic baobab trees (Kobès 1849). One of its most attractive features were the two fresh springs (ARN 1930; *Aperçu Historique* 1875; Boilat 1853; Noel 1963). For this reason, the area was called 'ngas o bil,' meaning 'spring' (or 'fountain') 'from stone' in Serer (ARN 1930; Noel 1963; Cimbault 1903a). Despite the colonial assertion that the land was unused and deserted, an early history notes that residents of Joal tended fields close-by to Ngasobil; therefore, the claim that the land was entirely vacant or devoid of human use is questionable (*Aperçu Historique* 1875). However, it is clear that in the mid-nineteenth century there was not an actual settlement at Ngasobil, although the land was known and named by locals (for example, one of the watering holes was called 'Elephant Springs').

By the time Kobès returned to Dakar, he had identified a few locations for missionary expansion, including the uninhabited Ngasobil area. While other plans for missionary expansion targeted pre-existing towns (Mbour, Ndiangol, Joal, Sainte-Marie), Kobès identified Ngasobil for a very particular missionary project—the foundation of the long-desired indigenous seminary to train an African clergy in order to best carry out the evangelization of West Africa. It was this desire that would come to inextricably link the foundation of the Mission of St. Joseph in Ngasobil and that of the DHHM.

Bumpy Beginnings

Because Kobès hoped to finally establish a successful indigenous seminary in Ngasobil, the establishment of the St. Joseph Mission there became his pet project, and eventually the crowning achievement of his tenure in Senegal (1849-1872). However, the foundation of St. Joseph's was bumpy—especially in its early years. In fact, the first instantiation of the mission, founded in 1850, would only last about one year before Spiritan missionaries were forced to abandon their posts and relocate to Dakar. All the same, this early experience proved formative for both Kobès and the Catholic mission to Senegal.

In early 1848, Father Louis-Marie Gallais, Father Stanislas Arragon, and Brother Claude Bret set out to establish the Mission of Joal (Gallais 1851). Their task was to establish a mission in the historically Luso-African, and thus nominally Christian, town (in name if not strictly in practice) (Boilat 1853; Brooks 2003). Their reception was mixed. While the chief and other Luso-African descendant elites of Joal were to some degree willing to accept the missionaries (themselves seen as descendants of the Portuguese *padres*), the welcome was less than warm (*Aperçu Historique* 1875). The Spiritans were not allowed, for example, to settle within the limits of the town, but forced to set themselves up at some distance. Further, residents of Joal were initially told not to trade with the missionaries—although later on, once a stock of *eau-de-vie* was procured, the missionaries were able to trade for both goods and labor to support the nascent mission (*Aperçu Historique* 1875; Gallais 1851). Towards the end of the missionaries' sojourn, Gallais succeeded in converting and baptizing two elderly women who were not of the Luso-African descent class. This caused an uproar, as the local leadership class saw Christianity as a core element of their class identity, not something to be shared with others (Gallais 1851). Overall, the Spiritans' time in Joal was fraught both materially and politically, with both

missionaries and townspeople alike frustrated by the other's attitudes regarding religion and social mores. The entire episode reads as a colonial misunderstanding between the missionaries' strictly spiritual understanding of religion as belief and the Luso-Africans' broader understanding of Catholicism as a cultural identifier with significant political and social implications.⁴

In late February of 1850, Kobès sent Father Denis August Chevalier along with Fathers Warlop, Allard, and Duboin, as well as the students from the Spiritan school in Dakar to establish the adjacent Mission of St. Joseph in Ngasobil (Chevalier 1850a; Kobès 1850). The goal was twofold: 1) to serve as a safe and conducive location for the education of young men and boys who might prove to be the first generation of priests ordained in Africa; and 2) to provide additional missionary presence, support, and evangelization along the Petite Côte. Upon their arrival, these transplants from Dakar began to construct houses, classrooms, and a chapel, using mainly local architectural technologies. In the Kingdom of Sine at that time, the Bur (king) forbade Europeans from constructing masonry structures, the rule being that a bullet must be able to pass through any construction (*Aperçu Historique* 1875).⁵ Chevalier's letters and journal

⁴ Much of Gallais' (1851) fifty-page memoir from this period reads as a judgment against the "Chrétiens de Joal." It includes descriptions of drunkenness, nakedness, and polygamy, as well as a false pretension of Catholicism and the profanation of holy days (e.g. Easter which, as it was celebrated locally, he described as an orgy). The "so-called" Christians of Joal, who according to Gallais retained hardly any true ties to Christianity other than claiming Catholicism as integral to their identity and as exclusionary to their neighbors, maintained their heritage as descended from interracial unions between Portuguese traders and local women from the seventeenth century (Boilat 1853; Brooks 2003; Mark 2002). For this community being Catholic was mainly a socio-cultural attribute (vs. religious belief) which signified their Portuguese merchant ancestry (Mark 2002), hence the push-back to Gallais and Arragon's desire to evangelize beyond their social class.

⁵ The first mission buildings were expediently built out of palm fronds; structures made of wooden planks were added later on, including a chapel decorated with an elaborate seashell mosaic.

are full of lists for tools required both for construction and for agricultural development of the land. Early documentation includes almost endless material requests, ranging from tools (hammers, knives, saws, planes, scissors, axes, plumb bobs, pocket knives) to clothing items (hats, shoes, undershirts) to school supplies (pens), to religious objects (rosaries, wine, wheat flour for the Eucharist, incense) and—always seemingly most pressing—provisions (both from France and from elsewhere in Senegambia: coffee, tea, dried figs, rice, beans, potatoes, manioc, mangos, papayas, bananas, guavas) and medication (garlic and quinine capsules, cognac, absinthe) (Chevalier 1850a). From the earliest, most optimistic days—before disease, locust invasions, fires, and local violence reared their ugly heads—Chevalier’s writings already revealed a precarious situation at the first St. Joseph’s mission.

All the same, the mission was envisioned as well on its way, and Kobès crafted a formal statement of rules for the school, the junior seminary (as a necessary precursor to an indigenous seminary proper), and the Spiritan community in Ngasobil. He stated that the main purpose of the mission was “the most agreeable and important of work: the education of children;” to this end he had two educative goals. The first was “to form in spirit, in heart, and in character those who aid the European missionaries, as priests, teachers, or laborers at the mission,”—the emphasis being on the creation of an African clergy and lay catechists. The second goal was twofold and focused on the material life of the community and the colony at large: 1) “to inspire the natives with the taste for and love of work, and to impart to them agricultural, professional, and industrial knowledge that can be useful to them;” and 2) “to create some resources in the

Aperçu Historique sur la Mission de Saint-Joseph de Ngasobil: Depuis sa première fondation jusqu’à la mort de Mgr Kobès, 11 Octobre 1872 (Ngazobil, Senegal: Vicariat Apostolic de la Sénégalie, 1875), 3i1.9b1, AGS.

“Annales Religieuses: Saint-Joseph de Ngasobil” (ca. 1930), Ngasobil, SPEM.

countryside for the maintenance of missionary communities in order to rely less heavily on funding from the Congregation of the Propagande Fide” (Vatican missionary administration). In order to achieve these goals, the Spiritans would provide their students with “a Christian and social education to the fullness of their moral, intellectual, and physical capacities.” The educative program would thus cover religious instruction, standard academic studies (French, Latin, local African languages, mathematics, geography, church history, drawing, natural history), and instruction in manual work (agriculture, tailoring, shoemaking, furniture making, etc.). Each day of the week had a strict schedule that revolved around prayer, instruction, work, meals, and physical exercise (often long walks or hikes led by the priests) (Kobès 1850). Thus, early on we see the importance of daily rhythm and education through that structure at St. Joseph’s, as well as the framing of St. Joseph’s as an institution meant to be helpful not only to the Catholic missionization of Senegal through the cultivation of African vocations, but to—to some degree, in terms of the colonial tradition of *mise en valeur*⁶—to the colony of Senegal as a French territory as well. At the same time, first and foremost, St. Joseph’s was meant to be the central incubator for home-grown Senegalese Catholicism. However, the time was not yet ripe for a permanent missionary settlement on the Petite Côte, and less than two years after its foundation, St. Joseph’s was abandoned—as were the other missions in the area (two of which were violently destroyed due to hostility towards missionaries and more general warfare in the region).

Both St. Joseph’s in Ngasobil and the mission in Joal were shut down in October 1851. By that time, the deaths of several missionaries, the poor health of those who remained, growing violence in the area due to incursions by the Damel of Cayor’s forces throughout the region, and

⁶ Translated by Alice Conklin (1997) as “rational economic development.”

finally the Bur of Sine's demand that the missions be suppressed (claiming he could not guarantee their safety), mandated that all mission personnel retreat to Dakar, where they remained for the next twelve years (*Aperçu Historique* 1875; Gallais 1851).

While the political, environmental, and medical reasons for the 1851 abandonment of St. Joseph's loom large in any explanation of this early failure of the mission, there is a second plane on which St. Joseph's was less-than-successful between 1850 and 1851. There was a failure to make true inroads into the local populations around Joal and Ngasobil during this period. Missionaries had a difficult time accessing potential converts beyond the community of male Luso-African descendants in the area (who already saw themselves as Christian anyway and where disinclined to being evangelized), and St. Joseph's was insularly focused on the education of young male students who had been brought to Ngasobil from Dakar. This lack of local community engagement (also a result linguistic and health challenges faced by early missionaries) made a robust establishment of St. Joseph's unlikely in the early 1850s. In the aftermath, Kobès would identify an element yet missing from the missionary endeavor in Africa—indigenous sisters. When he decided to reboot the St. Joseph Mission over a decade later, this weakness—and others—would be addressed.

Why an African Congregation of Religious Sisters?

One of the key issues that arose at the first mission in Ngasobil—beyond the unstable political situation and the wide range of material difficulties—was conflict with the local Luso-African descendant community in Joal and an inability to forge connections and make inroads into broader local communities. At the time—and this presents a bit of a chicken-and-egg conundrum—the Church's difficulties with attracting neophytes were linked to the mission's

lack of African personnel. What does not appear to have been fully appreciated by Spiritans in Ngasobil at the time was that gender was likely playing a role as well—that is, male missionaries were unlikely to receive the kind of access to potential female neophytes required for wide-ranging religious conversion in West African communities. And in any case, there remained the linguistic challenges faced by French missionaries.

In the direct aftermath of the Spiritan retreat back to Dakar, Kobès began to work on an associated—but not previously pursued—endeavor. On March 1, 1852, Kobès wrote to Spiritan Superior General Libermann on the subject of African nuns:

This is a project I am working on, which I believe is very important, although it takes time and is difficult—but there are some candidates at the Sisters of Saint-Marie [the SSJC convent community on Gorée] including a *métisse* girl⁷ who is very capable, and very solid, with a character full of energy and action, who promises much. (Kobès 1852)

He went on to state that the convents of the French orders in Senegal (SSJC, SICC) were not truly prepared to accept indigenous women into their numbers. This appears to be largely based on the fact that there were no novitiate programs in the colony, since all French missionary sisters completed their training in France at centralized novitiates, prior to their deployment to the missionary field—although it is likely that racial ideologies and tensions played a role as well. There is one contemporary example of a Senegalese woman joining the SSJC in the 1850s.⁸ It seems her family had the means (and was willing) to send her to France to enter into the novitiate; she later returned to serve in Senegal (Chapelain 1862; Kobès 1861a; (“Soeur Liguori (Marie-Louise Labouret),” n.d.). In his letter on the possibilities of opening up avenues towards

⁷ Louise de Saint-Jean, daughter of a prominent merchant family on Gorée, educated at the convent school of the SSJC, recommended to Kobès by the Curate of Gorée, Father Emmanuel Barbier.

⁸ Sister Marie Liguori Labouret, who later would ask to leave the SSJC and join the indigenous DHHM.

religious vocation for African women, Kobès explicitly linked the proposed project to his commitment to establishing an African clergy in Senegambia.

The recognition of a necessity for African sisters tapped into five unmet needs in the Catholic mission to Senegambia. First, the mission was in critical need of personnel—across the board. European missionaries, both male and female, struggled in the West African climate and disease environments. Many died within a short time of arrival or were quickly decommissioned back to France. For example, the Apostolic Vicar who preceded Bessieux, Monseigneur Jean Benoit Truffet, died within six months of arriving in the Vicariate (Brasseur 1975). Chevalier was evacuated to France just as the first mission to Ngasobil was coming to end; he died shortly after in the spring of 1852 (*Aperçu Historique* 1875). A solid corps of African clergy and other religious personnel were seen to be the best remedy for this seemingly inescapable fact of European colonial life. Second, an indigenous clergy and associated congregation of nuns would lend the Church a corps of indigenous mediators to assist in the conversion of their fellow countrymen and women. Unlike earlier endeavors in the Americas, nineteenth-century missionary administration became interested in recruiting members of the indigenous population into the heart of the missionary project—as priests, brothers, and sisters. This is in part because of the need for personnel, but was also a strategy for more effective evangelization. Kobès and other proponents of an African clergy thought that indigenous priests would have more success in proselytizing. To this point, Kobès wrote to Libermann that—per his observations—one African priest could accomplish more in one year of missionary work than three European priests in three years. He said this in reference to Father Fridoil, one of the *métis* priests who had attended the Javouhey seminary in France and then returned to carry out his vocation in Senegal (Kobès 1849). Kobès chalked this up to an indigenous preference to deal with fellow Africans,

the agility with which African priests learned other local languages (in addition, of course, to being fluent in their own native tongues), and the fact that they were not operating in circumstances and environments that were foreign to them and so the basics of day-to-day life were less of a struggle since there was no ‘seasoning’ period as there was with European missionaries. This cultural aspect was central to the foundation of the DHHM. In a July 1862 report on the DHHM submitted to the Propagande Fide in Rome, Kobès wrote that “convinced of the indispensable need to serve the indigenous element... the bishop administrator of Senegambia [Bessieux] has provisionally authorized one of his missionaries [Kobès] to begin a novitiate of indigenous sisters” (Kobès 1862c). This socio-cultural need for indigenous personnel was later codified into the DHHM’s official “Rules and Constitutions”:

To better realize this special aim of the Congregation, we will only receive the Christian girls of this country who can better withstand the fatigues of the climate, and who, by their knowledge of indigenous languages and customs, can work more fruitfully to the salvation of poor and helpless souls among whom the Sisters are called to devote themselves (*Manuel des Règles & Constitutions* 1899).

The last three unmet needs in the 1850s revolve around issues of gender. Missionary apparatuses—once established—generally relied upon female labor to run smoothly. That is, nuns were responsible for both domestic labor within the mission (i.e., cooking, cleaning, laundering for male missionaries) and for various gendered works within the mission (i.e. staffing hospitals and orphanages, as well as girls’ schools) (Benoist 1987, 2008; Curtis 2010a, Foster 2013; P.M. Martin 2002; Stornig 2013). This ties into the need for personnel in general, but also taps into the gendered division of labor within Catholic missionization, in which nuns were required to fulfill a set of tasks and roles integral to a fully-fledged missionary project, liaised to the concept of colonial civilizing (Curtis 2010a, 2010b). The SSJC fulfilled these roles in the Prefecture of Saint-Louis (which included Saint-Louis in northern Senegal and Gorée

Island), while the SICC covered the Apostolic Vicariate of the Two Guineas and Senegambia (which, for our purposes, specifically included Dakar and extended southwards down the Petite Côte where Ngasobil is located). Because Kobès' plans for the Vicariate included a large-scale expansion of the missionary presence, this created even more of a personnel crisis, especially when it came to nuns—of whom there were far fewer in the region. In 1848, the Vicariate boasted seven priests and nine other male personnel (brothers, deacons, catechists) in Senegambia, but only four sisters. As the mission to Senegambia grew, so did the personnel, but the gender ratios remained uneven. In 1849, there were twenty-one male personnel, but only eight sisters (*Il y a 150 ans... les fils de Libermann* 1998). Thus, not only were more personnel needed by the Apostolic Vicariate, but specifically more *women* missionaries were required to ensure the smooth running of day-to-day operations and the successful expansion of missionary works (schools, hospitals, dispensaries, orphanages) (Curtis 2010b).

Fourth: one of the roles that would become of utmost importance to the ministry of the planned order of African nuns was that of mediation between European male missionaries and Africans of all genders, but especially women and children. These religious mediators became critical to the progress of the mission to Senegal—to its successes in achieving conversion and its geographic expansion over the course of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Not only were these women of the DHHM seen as being able to mediate successfully between Europeans and fellow West Africans (due to language skills, the understanding of cultural mores, etc.), but their gender critically granted them access to potential female neophytes and their children. Infiltration of the feminine domestic sphere and integration of Catholicism into family life was a central goal of missionization, for in this way Catholicism gained access to the very site of social reproduction (Fourmont 1958). Today, this aspect of the DHHM's ministry

continues to be articulated in official documentation (“Ngazobil, berceau des Filles du Saint Coeur de Marie” 2006), and it is a part of their history about which contemporary sisters are incredibly proud and mindful (“Vie Apostolique des Religieuses” 1970).

The DHHM’s importance as specifically *African* sisters was appreciated not only by priests who worked with them on the ground (with whom they had occasional disputes, often of a very obvious racial and sexist nature), but perhaps more so from the heights of church administration where their role as a key support to the mission in Senegambia was articulated. In an 1862 letter to Cardinal Alessandro Barnabo (director of the Propagande Fide), Spiritan Superior General Igance Schwindenhammer,⁹ declared that the DHHM was “an excellent and highly desirable work, no less important... than that of creating indigenous clergy” (Schwindenhammer 1862a). Afterwards, he wrote directly to the nascent community to show his full support of their endeavor and to bestow his blessings on each of their vocations (Schwindenhammer 1862b). Even more impressive (and encouraging), Cardinal Barnabo himself wrote glowingly his congratulations and support in January of 1863:

In the report you sent to the Congregation of the Propaganda Fide on the state of your mission, you mentioned the pious society of the indigenous virgins that you have founded under the name of the Daughters of the Holy Heart of Mary to work towards the conversion of African populations through prayer, works of penance, and mercy... The Sacred Congregation of the Propagande Fide was pleased to learn about this foundation and Our Most Holy Father the Pope—to whom I submitted your report in the audience he granted me last November 20th—has shared this happiness. I cannot congratulate you too much on the conception of this foundation... [a] society which I believe is called upon to render valuable services in the African regions (Barnabo 1863).

These letters amply testify to the importance placed upon the DHHM—from the very top of the missionary administration in both Rome and France. Furthermore, they highlight both the

⁹ Father Schwindenhammer replaced Father Libermann as General Superior in 1852, upon the death of the latter.

race and the gender of the DHHM, emphasizing the importance of these specifically African and female sisters to the missionary project in West Africa. That said, it should be noted that overall the DHHM were characterized by Church leaders—as was the case generally when it comes to missionary sisters—as support staff providing services that enabled male missionaries to successfully evangelize (Stornig 2013).

Finally, the founding of an indigenous order met a prickly administrative need of the Apostolic Vicariate: it provided a locally accessible novitiate for African women to join and in doing so completely changed the missionary field. This solved a question that had been needling French orders in Senegal for years by the time the DHHM was founded in 1858 (Kobès 1852). There were questions of jurisdiction (which French female order should sponsor such a project), questions of propriety (having a non-centralized, satellite novitiate for African postulants to the SSJC or SICC was an administratively problematic idea with the hierarchies of Catholic religious communities), as well as questions of how to organize the formation of African women into Catholic nuns. The first two were entirely valid administrative conundrums; the bureaucratic mass and inertia of Church organizations cannot be overstated when it comes to jurisdictions, approved novitiate programs, and the self-administration of religious women. The third was a typically racialized colonial attitude of the period, although it is worth noting that determining how to commence a novitiate amongst a population new to Catholicism is not necessarily a straightforward project. The founding of an independent indigenous order alleviated some of these issues and as a result also contributed to a changing idea of colonial conversion, one that included indigenous vocations and agency in the evangelizing process.

Kobès eventually made a unilateral choice when he collaborated with an SSJC sister to serve as the Mother Superior and Director of the Novitiate of the DHHM. The new,

independently founded novitiate in Dakar worked because it would be centralized to the new African congregation, rather than an overseas incarnation of the SSJC or SICC novitiate; instead it emerged as a liaised order with its own administration and program for the postulate and novitiate. Additionally, the appointed superior had already spent several years teaching Senegalese students at the convent school on Gorée, including some of the first DHHM sisters. Rather than an inexperienced director from France, she was able to bring her local field experience to the development of an appropriate postulate and novitiate program for (often recently converted) Senegalese women.

Founding the Daughters of the Holy Heart of Mary

At the very same time that Kobès was writing of his initial proposal to Libermann, Father Emmanuel Barbier, Curate of Gorée,¹⁰ was mentoring a young woman of the Gorée *signare* class in whom he felt he saw a religious vocation. This was the young *métisse* woman mentioned in Kobès letter: Louise de Saint-Jean, the daughter of a prominent and well-established island family. She had been educated at the convent school of the SSJC, and although she had her faults—including an oft-noted passion for dancing (Dugon 1959)—Barbier described her as very pure of heart, devoted to the Virgin Mary, and dedicated to the religious and academic instruction of children (*Notice sur Soeur Marie* 1871). Likewise, a young woman named Thérèse Sagna was identified as being desirous of entering in the religious life. However, neither of these women yet had any options available to them in Senegal, and they remained in limbo throughout the mid-1850s, staying intermittently with the SSJC with an indeterminate status somewhat akin

¹⁰ And as such, also the local priest tasked with attending to and supervising the SSJC community in Gorée.

to aspirant. In Louise's case, she sequestered herself at the Sainte-Marie convent (Gorée) against the wishes of her parents who strove to have her forcibly released from SSJC care—to no avail (*Notice sur Soeur Marie* 1871).

Meanwhile, from the administrative side of things, Kobès had been in talks first with the SICC and then with the SSJC, in order to secure the sponsorship of a female religious order, as well as a French Mother General and Director of the Novitiate to head up the new order (Kobès 1862c). Despite the historical partnership between the Spiritans and the SSJC, at first Kobès sought out the aid of the SICC as the order officially active in his jurisdiction, discussing possibilities for personnel and the organization of the new order with SICC Superior General Marie de Villeneuve in 1858. Their location in Dakar may have prompted this preference, as Kobès wanted to have the new order located there, as opposed to Gorée or Saint-Louis, where the SSJC operated. Due to difficulties coming to an agreement and locating proper leadership personnel among the SICC, Kobès turned to SSJC, where Sister Rosalie Chapelain was eager to expand her missionary vocation (Kobès 1858).

Sister Rosalie (née Jeanne Caroline Chapelain), joined the SSJC Community of Sainte-Marie on Gorée in 1851. Initially stationed as a nurse at the hospital, she quickly transitioned to teaching the young children's classes at the convent school ("Reseignements concernant Mère Rosalie" n.d.). Here she came to know Louise de Saint-Jean quite well, as Louise liked to help out with teaching and caring for the youngest students ("Origine des Religieuses Africaines du Saint-Coeur de Marie" n.d.). Based on her experience with religious education, her relationship with Louise, her desire to do more as a missionary, and a strong recommendation from Father Barbier, Sister Rosalie was selected by Kobès and Mother Rosalie Javouhey (SSJC Superior General) to serve as the first Superior General of the Daughters of the Holy Heart of Mary

(Chapelain 1868a). On May 15, 1858, newly designated Mother Rosalie (Chapelain) sailed with Louise and Thérèse from Gorée to Dakar, where they founded this first indigenous order of Catholic religious sisters in sub-Saharan Africa (Chapelain 1868a; “Origine des Religieuses Africaines du Saint-Coeur de Marie” n.d.).

Shortly after their arrival in Dakar, Louise and Thérèse each entered formally into the postulate of the DHHM, on May 24th and June 1st, respectively (Kobès 1862c).¹¹ Later on the postulate phase would be structured to last between six and twelve months, but Louise and Thérèse progressed from the postulant phase to that of the novitiate on July 9, 1858, taking the habit and their new names for the religious life—Sister Marie and Sister Joséphine, respectively (*Notice sur Soeur Marie* 1871; “Origine des Religieuses Africaines du Saint-Coeur de Marie” n.d.). Two years later they both professed their first vows on August 26, 1860, becoming the first two fully initiated members of the DHHM. According to letters Mother Rosalie wrote to Kobès, the two young sisters experienced trials in their journey to profession (Chapelain 1860b)—struggles to be obedient, temptations to return to their families, doubts regarding the importance of their work. To counter these emotional turbulences, Mother Rosalie wrote of her regular reminders that:

It takes a long time to understand the religious life, a life so different from the one they have led... Often, I repeated... to devote herself to this dear work, I persuaded her that her influence will do much for those souls who knew her in the [secular/outside] world (Chapelain 1860a).

After these first professions, a slow trickle of new postulants and novices began entering the nascent order. By September 1860, the novitiate included two new postulants and four novices,

¹¹ 24 May 1858 is recognized as the founding date for the DHHM.

following in the footsteps of Sisters Marie and Joséphine (Chapelain 1860c). The DHHM continued to encounter struggles, but also grew slowly but steadily over the following years.¹²

Changes in the Political Climate of the Petite Côte & Conditions of Possibility

Fortuitously, from the point of view of French missionaries, the political climate in the area around Ngasobil began to settle in the early 1860s, as result of the military conquest of Sine and Saloum by French colonial forces. In March 1859, General Louis Faidherbe—who would later become the colonial governor of Senegal and who was directly responsible for French colonial expansion in Senegambia—led a campaign that defeated Samba Labwe Faal, the Damel of Cayor, and annexed the Petite Côte region to French colony of Senegal (Barry 1998), in an effort to subdue the region in the aftermath of the ongoing warfare and unrest that had exploded there in the early 1850s. Following this annexation, it became possible for Kobès to think about resurrecting his failed project at Ngasobil. This time, however, he would have a more comprehensive plan for the mission—organizationally, materially, politically, and economically. The new Mission of St. Joseph in Ngasobil would be a much more ambitious project than that of 1850.

Around the same time, both Mother Rosalie and the local Spiritan superior in Dakar, Father Joseph Strub began to articulate a fundamental problem of the DHHM novitiate in Dakar (Chapelain 1868a). Its numbers were growing, slowly but surely; however, just as the DHHM novitiate was expanding, so too was Dakar itself. Dakar was burgeoning into a bustling colonial settlement, with a busy port and large government construction projects spurring along its development. This activity brought a great number of people to Dakar (mainly laborers), and it

¹² The varied motivations and backgrounds of DHHM sisters is explored in depth in Chapter 4.

happened that the DHHM convent was located in an area directly adjacent to a major construction site and workers' quarters. The atmosphere was no longer conducive to the contemplative aspects of the religious life. This combined with the fact that the novitiate was in need of serious renovations (both repairs and expansion), led Strub to suggest to the council of the Propagande Fide at the Vatican that the convent would have to be moved (Strub 1862b). The question remained: where to?

While Strub and Mother Rosalie were struggling over challenges facing the growing novitiate in Dakar, Kobès—soon to be promoted to Apostolic Vicar of Senegambia¹³—was revisiting his pet project of a mission in Ngasobil. In light of the recent changes in the political situation of the Petite Côte, Kobès began to percolate once again the idea of a large-scale missionary settlement housing both the indigenous seminary as well as scholastic and trade schools, and the agricultural training facility that he had envisioned back in 1850. While over a decade of delay had surely been frustrating, not only were the stars aligning in his favor in terms of the annexation of the Petite Côte by French forces, but by the early 1860s there were more African students in the Spiritan mission approaching the level of being ready to enter into seminarian studies (previous they had only had junior seminary students). More importantly, the mission to Senegal now boasted more personnel and among them were a handful of DHHM sisters, ready to embark on their mission to convert fellow West Africans and to assist European priests in doing so, per their mandate. The early instantiation of St. Joseph's mission had suffered from material lacks, local hostilities, regional unrest, insufficient permanent personnel, and a

¹³ In February 1863, the Apostolic Vicariate of The Two Guineas and Senegambia was split in two. Kobès as the coadjutor bishop (and regional specialist of Senegambia) became the Apostolic Vicar of Senegambia. This jurisdictional organization would remain in place, more or less, until the 1950s. Bessieux who had always focused on his ministry further south in Gabon retained his role as Apostolic Vicar of Two Guineas.

lack of strong engagement with the local communities. The fact that immediately after its closure Kobès wrote to Libermann with the idea to found an indigenous order of nuns supports this interpretation of the early failure of St. Joseph's. The reopening of the St. Joseph's project in the wake of the earliest deployment of DHHM sisters to the mission in Joal in 1863 illustrates that Kobès at that point recognized the importance of having a full company of missionaries in place (women, men, African, European) to support an endeavor as ambitious as his vision for Ngasobil (Chapelain 1868a).

The New (and Improved) Mission of St. Joseph in Ngasobil

In retrospect from the 1860s, the 1850 instantiation of St. Joseph's Mission revealed signs of having been a rush job. Despite the ongoing difficulties experienced by Gallais and Arragon in adjacent Joal, Chevalier along with his fellow seminary instructors and their entire complement of students were sent to build a settlement from scratch in an area locally recognized as being within the realm of common usage by inhabitants of Joal. Furthermore, both Spiritan teachers and their young students (these were all school-age boys in the junior seminary, not adult seminarians) showed up, en masse, before anything had been prepared. Plus, according to Chevalier's journal they were materially under-prepared for both their educative and agricultural endeavors (Chevalier 1850a). Their day-to-day existence reads quite precariously.

The second time around, Kobès planned the establishment of St. Joseph's much more cautiously, and with an eye firmly focused on self-sufficiency and longevity, as opposed to immediate settlement. In 1850, Chevalier had written letters requesting endless provisions from Dakar and from The Gambian mission (Chevalier 1850d, e, f). Upon returning to the project in

the early 1860s, Kobès sought to overcome material, financial, and personnel challenges with some preemptive planning measures.

First, Kobès took advantage of the fact that Ngasobil was located in newly annexed French colonial territory. He reached out to the colonial administration to apply for an official land grant that would entrust 1,000 hectares to the Apostolic Vicariate for the development of the Agricultural Colony of Saint Joseph. Kobès' request for land was given preliminary approval in January of 1863, at which point Governor Jean Bernard Jauréguiberry authorized Commandant Émile Pinet-Laprade to grant the Apostolic Vicariate an initial 300 hectares of land for the new mission station in Ngasobil (ARN 1930; Chasseloup-Laubat 1863; Jauréguiberry 1863). On May 2, 1863 an Imperial Decree in the name of Emperor Napoleon III officially granted the entire 1,000 hectares, with provisions made for paying indemnities to local chiefs for the seizure of property ("Cahier des charges" 1863). One of the means by which Kobès was able to convince the government to give him this land was by framing the mission as agricultural colony that would serve the development of the colony (*mise en valeur*). There is a tension inherent here (with which Kobès would struggle in subsequent years) between the mission as a purely religious endeavor and the mission as a business enterprise, but in many ways the business side of things was part of what enabled Kobès to realize St. Joseph's on the grand scale that he had imagined. It induced the imperial government to grant a large property to the Apostolic Vicariate and, in doing so, tacitly committed colonial military and administrative support to Kobès' project, in exchange for the mission's commitment to productive agricultural yields intended for export to metropolitan France.

In the 1860s, European markets were experiencing a severe cotton shortage due to the American Civil War and the blockade preventing cotton from being exported from the southern

Confederate states. Thus, cotton prices were at a premium and the idea that Senegal might be a potential location within the French empire to produce cotton (and thus benefit both French textile mills and French export profits) began to circulate. Previously Baron Jacques-François Roger, governor of Senegal in the 1820s, had directed French experiments in commercial cash-crop cotton cultivation in northern Senegal at Richard-Toll, in an effort to push Senegal's economy away from reliance of the recently abolished slave trade and towards agricultural productivity (Curtis 2010a; Klein 1968). However, the endeavor never really took off, ending when Roger returned to France in 1827. Instead, the colonial export economy in Senegal shifted towards peanut production (Klein 2009), and cotton was dropped until the 1860s crisis emerged. Despite Roger's failure, a Monsieur Drouet, who boasted fifteen years of experience living in Senegal, published a pamphlet entitled "*Des moyens de doter les possessions françaises en Afriques de la culture de coton*" ("On the Means to Equip French Possessions in Africa for Cotton Cultivation"), and in 1862 returned to Senegal, sponsored by the newspaper *Le Monde*, in order to investigate cultivation possibilities there (Noel 1963). In this context, Kobès' pitched the re-establishment of St. Joseph's Mission as an agricultural colony devoted to the production of cotton for export to France, alongside the religious mission of training an indigenous clergy and evangelizing the local communities along the Petite Côte. He even sought out investors to help finance the endeavor, attracting the interest of Antoine Herzog II, a wealthy industrialist from Alsace (who also happened to be a generous patron of the Church) (Kobès 1863f, h). Thus, the second founding of St. Joseph's Mission benefited from both state and private support—political, military, and financial (Chasseloup-Laubat 1963; Kobès 1863i).

Third on his list of better planning measures, Kobès decided to stagger the arrival of personnel and students in Ngasobil. Whereas in 1850 everyone had arrived at once, in 1863,

Kobès himself sailed to Joal with a small group of priests and brothers who then prepared to travel to the proposed site in Ngasobil where a team of local builders was enlisted to help erect provisional wattle and daub structures (ARN 1930). Then, Kobès orchestrated further collaboration between local laborers and missionary personnel to plan and build permanent mission structures out of masonry and hard lumber (Engel 1864). In addition to constructing a central Spiritan complex with the mission chapel, workshops, infirmary, and classrooms ready to welcome seminary students by 1867 (Renoux 1867a), Kobès also unrolled his plan to move the DHHM novitiate and mother house to Ngasobil (Chapelain 1863b). Construction began on a provisional convent in early 1864 (Chapelain 1864a; Risch 1864), with the first sisters able to move in on 23 May 1864 (Chapelain 1868a)). Thus, the DHHM were a visible presence and an integral cog in the design of St. Joseph's from the very beginnings of its second—and successful—foundation. Kobès' full integration of the DHHM into the 1863 re-founding the mission testifies to the importance of indigenous sisters to missionization in Senegambia in general, and to the project of St. Joseph's in particular as a site for the cultivation not only of faith and conversion, but of vocation.

The Merging of Missionary Projects

In the spring of 1864, one day shy of the sixth anniversary of their founding, the first DHHM sisters arrived in Ngasobil. There, they would carry out their prescribed ministry to:

...devote ourselves—through the example of a holy and humble life, through prayer, and through acts of spiritual charity—to the salvation of the poor Blacks of Africa, and to the development of the Christian life in the Missions (*Manuel Des Règles & Constitutions* 1899).

Due to conflicts between the SSJC administration and Kobès regarding Mother Rosalie's status, she would not arrive until February 1865 (Chapelain 1865a), but from that time until 1951 the

novitiate and the mother house of the DHHM were located in Ngasobil,¹⁴ and St. Joseph's became the heart of the Catholic mission to Senegal, despite its decentralized, rural location (Kiba 1964; "Ngazobil, berceau des Filles du Saint Coeur de Marie," 2006). By the end of the 1860s, Ngasobil would host not only the junior and senior seminaries (*petit séminaire* and *grand séminaire*) and the novitiate and mother house of the DHHM, but also that of the Brothers of Saint Joseph (African order for men founded in 1865), as well as the Vicariate press, craft workshops, primary schools for boys and girls, orphanages for boys and girls, extensive fields of cultivation for both cotton and subsistence crops (millet, maize, tropical fruit trees, European and West African vegetables, etc.), and a converts' village (Engel 1863; Kobès 1863a). Kobès, in fact, would make Ngasobil his unofficial seat as Apostolic Vicar of the new jurisdiction of Senegambia and spent much of the next ten years in Ngasobil (until his death in 1872) directly guiding its spiritual and material development. What is striking is that of all these elements that came to contribute to the central role St. Joseph's Mission came to occupy in the Catholic mission to Senegal, the DHHM were the first element to arrive after the initial group of founding Spiritan priests and brothers. It is also significant that this congregation of Senegambian women was proposed over a decade before their companion male order, and already well-established by the time the Brothers of Saint Joseph were founded in 1865.¹⁵ These chronological details testify to the importance placed upon the ministry of the DHHM, and to the order's integral role in the

¹⁴ In 1951 the novitiate was moved further up to the coast to Popenguine and the Mother House later relocated to Dakar (in the Mamelles neighborhood).

¹⁵ Furthermore, the male order would sputter out and be re-founded multiple times, failing to firmly establish itself for several decades. See Chapter 4.

re-establishment of St. Joseph's Mission and the reimagining of the mission to Senegambia in the mid-nineteenth century.¹⁶

The new St. Joseph's emphasized not only creating a milieu of religious education and training, but also cultivating the conversion of local populations—both those who chose to settle in a village on the mission's property, and those who lived within feasible travel-distance for parochial visits by Spiritan priests. Often the assistance of a DHHM sister would be enlisted by male missionaries to help mediate visits to nearby villages (“Rapport sur la Congrégation des Filles du Saint Coeur de Marie” 1967). DHHM sisters were also responsible for running a public infirmary at the edge of their property in Ngasobil (“Malades soignés et convertis dans la Mission,” 1877), and in their capacity as nurses they made regular visits to the sick and infirm in the village of Saint-Joseph (the converts' village established within the mission property) and other nearby settlements (Duboin and Renoux 1877). While visiting the sick, they would offer medical care, religious instruction, and emergency baptism (in case of a deathbed scenario) (*Bulletins des Communautés des Père du St-Esprit* 1866). As women, they were able to access the domestic sphere in a way often unavailable to male missionaries—by virtue of both gender and race—although at the same time their religious lifestyle (celibacy, uniform dress, etc.) marked them as incredibly unusual beings in the social framework of nineteenth-century Senegal; their positions as African women who were not native to the specific locality they served also set apart the earliest generations of DHHM (Chapter 4) (“La Chasteté religieuse” 1970). Through their material works, the sisters sought to gain access and acceptance to carry out

¹⁶ Even if Church leadership at the time imagined the DHHM largely as support staff, the facts of its founding and flourishing, and the scope of the vocational activities undertaken by sisters there (Chapter 5) testify to the critical role professed Senegambian women played in the expansion of the Catholic Church in Senegal.

their spiritual work of conversion, targeting women and children as a critical site of social (and spiritual) reproduction.¹⁷

The Congregation achieves its unique goal by assisting the [male] missionaries in charge of the evangelization of Africa through their care of the sick, the education of adult women, the education of girls in schools and orphanages, the care of the aged, that of small children in the mission nurse schools, and all other kinds of charitable works... (*Manuel Des Règles & Constitutions* 1899)

As St. Joseph's grew, so did the ministry of the DHHM. Eventually, sisters were deployed to neighboring villages, such as Saint-Benoit to the north, where their permanent presence was a boon to local missionization since priests were often in low supply and unable to maintain a permanent presence in villages beyond the mission center. On wider scale, the DHHM novitiate eventually produced missionary sisters who served the entire Apostolic Vicariate, in mission stations all along the Petite Côte. In the twentieth century when Spiritan missionary work began to extend its reach further inland, the DHHM joined their expansion into interior towns, such as Diohine.

Conclusion

The founding of the DHHM in the 1850s was part of a general trajectory in the Catholic Church's mission to West Africa, in which the recruitment and formation of African religious personnel (especially male clergy) was emphasized. This represented a new—and radical—tack in missionary evangelization, which in previous centuries had focused on the deployment of European missionaries to New World colonial milieus where conversion (but not necessarily

¹⁷ This continues to be expressed in contemporary DHHM documents: Marie Thérèse Diene, "Présence et place de la Congrégation des Filles du Saint Coeur de Marie à Ngasobil," October 11, 2006, FSCM.

religious vocation) was pursued on a grand scale (Allen 1998; Lightfoot 2005; McNaspy 1987; Sarreal 2013; Trigger 1965). This sea change represents a strategy specific to Catholic endeavors in Africa at this time, and one which was not repeated elsewhere on the continent until the late nineteenth-century—even in other areas administered by the Spiritans and SSJC. Furthermore, although religious sisters had previously been deployed to New World colonies (Burns 1999; Curtis 2010a; Dawdy 2008), the focus on recruiting specifically *missionary* sisters from amongst the indigenous colonial population was a new recognition of the importance not only of female labor to the work of missionization, but specifically of indigenous female labor and influence in the realm of conversion amongst West African cultures and communities. Thus, the coming together of the DHHM with the indigenous seminary in Ngasobil creates a nexus of traditionally well-guarded colonial and Church dichotomies: masculine/feminine religious labors, vocation/conversion, and European/African. The paradigm explored in this chapter shift allowed for conversion to lead to vocation, as opposed to vocation remaining exclusively in the domain of the (European) colonizer. Further, this shift opened up vocation not only to African men but to African women, creating space for collaborations that crossed both race and gender lines.¹⁸ Ultimately, the vocations of DHHM sisters led to further conversions amongst Senegambians.

While the binaries of male/female, European/African, and even vocation/conversion remained a potent means of organizing the Senegambian mission throughout its history, the successes that the missionary effort achieved were due largely to actions, events, and individuals that worked towards bringing these various binaries together productively. As a clear example,

¹⁸ As such, it also represented a new type of social opportunity for women in Senegambia, in a new colonial setting (the convent, the mission) where different life paths for women could be envisioned, breaking with traditional socio-political structures (further discussion in Chapters 4 and 5).

the chronology and archival documentation of the proposal and founding of the DHHM connects directly to the specific experience of failure at the first missionary endeavor at Ngasobil in 1850-1851. That failure was a learning experience and one of the (albeit several) lessons learned was that African women as religious and cultural mediators might help to forge a stronger mission (both specifically at Ngasobil and generally in the context of the wider Apostolic Vicariate of Senegambia). Over the following decade, the foundation (1858) and early years of recruitment (challenging, but fruitful) into the DHHM in turn created a condition of possibility for the second—and successful—founding of St. Joseph’s Mission in Ngasobil in 1863. Thus, we see that the effort to establish a viable missionary project in Senegambia relied not only upon the creation of an African clergy, but that the production of that indigenous clergy was itself reliant upon the labor of African women as religious personnel themselves. The DHHM (and the SSJC who assisted them not only at the beginning, but whenever their aid was requested)¹⁹ not only provided a new avenue for Catholic women in Senegambia to experience their faith as a vocation, but also opened up new domains for evangelization in the most intimate spaces of social life—the family and its domestic sphere. Within historical Senegambian sociality and practices of domesticity, African nuns provided vital access and the critical understanding of the potent role women could play in the dissemination of Catholicism.

Over the course of 1850-1864, the foundation of the St. Joseph Mission and that of the DHHM emerge as inextricably linked projects integral to Kobès reinvigoration of the regional mission to Senegambia. Their entangled history reveals the co-constitutive relationship between the two enterprises, which would remain intimately linked—through ups and downs—into the middling years of the twentieth century.

¹⁹ Well into the mid-twentieth century.

Chapter Three

The Missionary Place: Thinking Between Text, Landscape, and Practice in Ngasobil

May 23, 1864

Mother Marie stood up, balancing deftly on the bobbing tide. She grabbed Brother Amand's outreached hand, and stepped off the edge of the pirogue, her feet splashing into the shallow surf. As she made her way onto the dry sand, she heard her fellow sisters and the four young novices who accompanied them splashing out of the boat as well. Standing on the beach waiting for Mother Joséphine, Sister Elisabeth, and Sister Marthe to join her, she looked up and down the otherwise deserted shoreline, curious at her new surroundings. The journey from Joal was quite short, but the contrast between that bustling entrepot and the empty wilderness of Ngasobil was striking. The sky echoed with birdcalls rather than human voices, and the sweeping beach was bare in stark contrast to the crowded fishing port. Mother Marie thought to herself that to be a religious sister here would be quite different than her experiences in both Dakar and Joal.

Under the sinking sun, she followed the brothers across the beach, the hem of her blue and white habit drenched and now heavy with sand as she made her way. Two mission apprentices who had come down to meet the boat were already scrambling up the steep limestone escarpment on which the new Mission of St. Joseph was perched, but Brother Amand directed Mother Marie and the other sisters to keep following along the base of the low cliffs towards a path that led directly to the new convent of the Daughters of the Holy Heart of Mary. As she padded along barefoot, her feet sinking into the soft sand, Mother Marie was glad she had surreptitiously removed her sandals and stowed them in her bundle before disembarking—although it was against the rules to go barefoot outside the confines of the cloister.

Mother Rosalie had directed Mother Marie to leave her post as superior in Joal in order to establish the Community of St. Joseph in Ngasobil. This important task fell to her because Mother Rosalie had not yet received permission from her own superiors to leave Dakar. Although it was not a great distance north of Joal, Ngasobil felt resolutely remote, a fresh place for Mother Marie to live out her vocation and do the work of the Lord. And yet, something about this place felt oddly familiar.

Years ago, as a young girl living on Gorée Island, Mother Marie—then known as Louise de Saint Jean—had yearned to leave her home and join the Sisters of Saint Joseph of Cluny. She desperately wanted to commit herself to the religious life, as well as to the ministry of her fellow countrymen and women. One night, she had had a dream in which she found herself in a great big open place in the countryside, unlike any she had ever seen in real life. Despite the isolation of this unknown landscape, she had seen herself surrounded by other young people all dressed in white, and they were listening to her teach the catechism. She could not help but remember her strange dream now, as she walked up the path to the convent compound in the pink dusk light. Could this be the place of which she had dreamt so long ago?¹

What Mother Marie found at Ngasobil in the spring of 1864—and what she helped to build there—was a landscape purposefully sought out and mobilized for conversion and faithful living, which fostered the growth of new community of Catholic converts and a congregation of vocation-minded women. This parcel of land—chosen for its qualities of isolation and solitude—was ultimately transformed into a landscape of Catholic practice and belief, in a way that also

¹ Historical fiction vignette is based the following archival sources: Chapelain 1868a; “Fondation de la Congrégation des Filles du St Coeur de Marie, Dakar, le 24 Mai 1858.” n.d.; “Origine des Religieuses Africaines du Saint-Coeur de Marie.” n.d.

spoke to certain modes of Senegambian religious practices embedded in the landscape. By following the archival traces of those who designed, built, lived, and wrote at St. Joseph's, this chapter asks: How did Ngasobil become a paradigmatic site of Catholic missionization in Senegal? How did the DHHM help to shape this place, and how were they in turn shaped by it? What meanings became embedded in this place, Ngasobil, as it evolved from seemingly wild forest and beach into the iconic Mission of St. Joseph?—not only materially through Catholic practices, but textually, through the circulation of missionary writings that produced a potent narrative of St. Joseph's as a place central to the Senegalese Catholic Church. In short: what was the relationship between missionization and place in colonial Senegal?

Analyzing missionization through the lens of landscape interrogates the relationship between missionization and place, as well as the myriad relationships that were continually negotiated in the missionary milieu. These include relationships missionaries had with the environment, each other, neophytes, non-Christians, the colonial administration, and the French government. Through a consideration of the relationships, practices, and beliefs expressed and created through the material landscape of mission, this chapter explores the role of place, architecture, and landscape in producing and nurturing both conversion and religious vocation. Missionaries produced a wide array of documents in which they planned and recorded how the design and location of the mission could and would aid in the conversion of West Africans and the establishment of a self-reproducing Catholic community in Senegal. Mission leadership thought and wrote explicitly about how living in Ngasobil—as a specific location—served to cultivate religious vocations, and was superior in this regard to missions located in urban settings. At times, missionaries either gestured towards or deliberately articulated physical aspects of the mission (i.e., cloister walls, a separate dormitory for students, a standalone chapel)

that were integral to structuring daily religious life, and therefore critical to the success of the St. Joseph Mission. Designing and designating differentiated spaces within the convent (i.e., refectory, sisters' quarters, orphanage, student dormitories, dispensary, chapel, kitchen, laundry, orchards, contemplative garden, etc.) served to produce a spatial order that was supportive and integral to the DHHM and SSJC's religious life, as well as their public ministry of evangelization and education. This space also shaped the daily rhythms of their vocation. While this chapter focuses on perceptions and experiences of the environment in Ngasobil and the ways in which the missionary landscape was mobilized to produce vocation and conversion, Chapters 5, 6, and 7 delve into the daily life of religious and lay inhabitants at the mission.

At the Mission of St. Joseph, a concept of the mission as a place emerges in archival fragments and traces which point to the European missionaries' understanding of Ngasobil's built spaces and wider landscape as a means of producing conversion and vocation in African neophytes. From the missionary point of view, the built environment of the mission worked in concert with the natural landscape of Ngasobil to cultivate Catholicism. Ritual movements through the vast mission property combined with quotidian spatial designations to produce not only a Catholic missionary landscape in which conversion could take place, but to actively produce neophytes and religious vocations through the very experience of being in that place.

Conceptualizations of the Mission as a Place

The relationship between missionization and place—especially the nuclear household—has a long history in historical anthropology. Jean Comaroff and John Comaroff's examination of British Nonconformist missionization amongst the Tswana-speaking people of South Africa (1997) presents the architecture of mission stations as example, guide, and potentially even a

prosthetic for the religious and secular (or cultural) conversion of Tswana neophytes by Protestant missionaries. As one component of the material terrain on which missionization was staged in this framework, European architecture emerges as one of the modes through which missionaries sought to re-order the lives of indigenous people through spatial organization and spatially-oriented practices in the domestic sphere. As Zoë Crossland asserts, “Efforts to change belief are often tied to efforts at remaking place” (2013: 79); in the nineteenth-century African context, this was done mainly by example through the missionary home place and infiltration into the colonial landscape (through roads, gardens, agricultural fields, mission structures, churches) (Ashley 2018; Comaroff & Comaroff 1997; Hovland 2007), rather than through forced relocation into communal barrack-like mission housing as seen in the older Spanish Reductions of the Americas (Allen 1998; Lightfoot 2005; McNaspy 1987).

In archaeological, anthropological, and historical scholarship, African mission landscapes appear in as contested spaces in which both missionaries and colonial neophytes maneuvered to imbue the landscape with their own meanings and authority, coming into conflict most often when missionaries chose to settle in preexisting communities (Crossland 2013; Reid et al. 1997), as opposed to creating new outposts (Ashley 2008, 2018; Hovland 2007). At the same time, in more than one context, the mutual benefits of indigenous-missionary settlement collaboration can be read through the shared constructed landscape (Clist et al. 2015; Crossland 2013; P.M. Martin 2002; Reid et al. 1997). It may be concluded that place-making was understood on both sides as critical to the establishment and maintenance of power, as well as to the forging of appropriate social relationships.

Despite working to upend uncritical notions of European hegemony in the missionary landscape and seeking to explain how architecture and landscape were mobilized in the

missionary endeavor, many previous studies have simply shifted from an interpretation of missions as oppressive panopticon ‘total institutions’ (Foucault 1979; Hausmair et al. 2018) to missions as contested sites of resistance in the face of colonial oppression and acculturation. This chapter seeks to reinvigorate the study of missions by focusing on 1) how missionaries in Ngasobil thought about place in relation to religious experience; 2) how and towards what ends they designed mission spaces; 3) how being, living, and praying in Ngasobil cultivated Catholicism in both African and European residents of St. Joseph’s.

“A Rich and Fertile Plot”: Colonial and Missionary Views on Ngasobil

As a young and eager appointee to the Apostolic Vicariate in 1849, Mgr. Kobès immediately sought to familiarize himself with his new environs. This included traveling south from his administrative base in Dakar down the Petite Côte, scouting potential mission sites, including Ngasobil (Noel 1963). He observed what he ascertained to be an unoccupied but resource-rich landscape complete with freshwater springs, marking it a strong candidate for agricultural development. The site was close enough to Joal to allow for missionization of the Luso-African descendant community there (Boilat 1853; Brooks 2003), but also isolated enough so as to be its own independent settlement—the first such mission station in Senegal. Kobès confirmed Ngasobil as an ideal place for a major mission settlement, aiming to establish an indigenous seminary there—far from urban distractions. As early as June 1849, he wrote to Superior General Libermann, describing this ideal parcel of land: “a rich and fertile plot, well exposed, sparsely covered with trees and shrubs, near two springs of excellent fresh water” (Kobès 1849). Despite the forced abandonment of that initial foray in 1849 (Chapter 2), Kobès maintained his convictions about Ngasobil, and as soon as the political climate permitted, he set

about reestablishing the mission—this time with official permission and support from the colonial administration, made official by the Imperial Decree of 2 May 1863.

In a show of this support, on May 5, 1863, Interim Governor Émile Pinet-Laprade made an official visit to St. Joseph's Mission; he was quite impressed by the progress being made, in terms of the provisional structures that had already been erected and the clearing of land for cultivation (ARN 1930: 8). During his visit, he met with local chiefs to ramp up enthusiasm, telling them he attached great importance the mission's success, and imploring them to be supportive. Furthermore, he said that those who chose to support the mission would find themselves rewarded, whereas those who sought to undermine or cause trouble for the missionaries would find themselves answering to the governorship (ARN 1930: 10; Pinet-Laprade 1863b). Pinet-Laprade's visit and threatening statements to local leadership reflect the fragility of French colonial power in the recently annexed region (Barry 1998), as well as the political investment the colonial administration had in supporting a project such as St. Joseph's Mission. One-thousand hectares of land under French missionary control and development in the middle of a stretch of newly annexed property was a striking physical manifestation of French authority on the Petite Côte. Directly after his visit, Pinet-Laprade wrote to Kobès, reemphasizing his interest and optimism about the contributions both material and moral that St. Joseph's would make to the colony (Pinet-Laprade 1863c). In July, Monsieur Maritz, the director of the colonial engineer corps, visited to inspect the mission and to provide some guidance on construction projects (Kobès 1863f). While the local landscape of mission would be deployed to express religious values and encourage practices of conversion, within the larger regional landscape, the Mission of St. Joseph represented a French anchor in newly conquered territory—

one that would ultimately incorporate the resident indigenous population into the larger colonial project (Benoist 1987; Kobès 1863f).

If the colonial administration saw St. Joseph's as an important feature on the expanding map of French West Africa, Kobès appears to have chosen St. Joseph's location for reasons linked to the landscape as well as Ngasobil's geographic remoteness from colonial centers. Two key factors played into the selection of Ngasobil. First, early on, Spiritan missionaries identified the site as rich in resources and pleasantly situated. Second, although adjacent to Joal, Ngasobil was described as remote and isolated. To the first point, the description of landscape features, flora, and fauna testify to the location as appearing suitable for agricultural development. In the original set of goals Kobès laid out for St. Joseph's, the education of the local population in agricultural arts, craftsmanship, and industrial production following European models were central to the mission's purpose (Kobès 1850). He placed particular emphasis on agricultural education and development as a way to make Senegal more productive—both for the indigenous population and for future missionary expansion (and, one might infer, for French colonialism). A common aspect of colonial hubris and misunderstanding was the European perception that indigenous populations did not know how to make their land adequately productive and that European ingenuity, technology, and work ethic could improve the colonial landscape, generally for the benefit of the metropole (Aldrich 1996; Drayton 2005; Fairhead and Leach 1996). In the spirit of both self-sufficiency and the colonial tenet of *mise en valeur*—or 'rational economic development' per Alice Conklin's (1997) translation (Aldrich 1996; de Benoist 1987)—Kobès planned to impart to mission neophytes agricultural, professional, and industrial knowledge (Kobès 1850). The expansive arable land at Ngasobil was the ideal setting for this experiment in the industrial-scale agricultural development of the colony.

To the second point, missionaries often expressed the importance of separation from urban corruption, as well as that of proximity to non-Christian populations. The remote and unpopulated landscape of Ngasobil was not only free of urban corruption and full of productive potential, but was also regarded as something of a virgin landscape, one that could be inscribed with the structures, practices, and beliefs of Catholicism—a place in which Catholicism itself could be cultivated. Ultimately, this quality proved to be of utmost importance to the success of the mission.

A Place of Solitude and Tranquility: The Missionary Imaginary of Ngasobil

To understand why Ngasobil was such an attractive location from the missionary point of view, it is useful first to understand what elements were *undesirable* for a religious community—particularly in regards to the novitiate of the DHHM, one of the most critical aspects of the Mission of St. Joseph as a project and as a place. In the years following the congregation's founding, the early DHHM community suffered from their location in the burgeoning colonial center of Dakar. The unsuitability of their novitiate house came to a head in 1862, just as plans for reestablishing St. Joseph's in Ngasobil were beginning to gel. In February of 1862, Father Strub, the DHHM's Spiritan superior in Dakar, wrote to the President of the Propagation of the Faith, explaining that the DHHM convent in Dakar would have to be rebuilt, ideally in a new location. It was located in a bustling part of town, close to a major government construction project at the docks. Without explicitly stating that the influx of workers in the quarter had created an unsuitable social and spiritual atmosphere for the sisters, Strub declared, "It is not possible to leave them in this situation, and if some extraordinary help does not come to us, we shall be quite obliged to borrow funds from somewhere in order to cover the cost of this new

construction” (Strub 1862b) The noise, the profanity, and the urban secularism of Dakar made the original location of the DHHM convent and novitiate incompatible with the cultivation of the religious lifestyle. Mother Rosalie was more explicit in her criticism, as recounted in her autobiography:

In front of the [convent] house, there was an inn where all sorts of workers gathered. It was no longer possible to be in the chapel without overhearing blasphemies and other abominable things... all of this was happening right at our home. This state of affairs could not go on; I begged, then, of this Father [Strub] to speak of it to His Grandeur [Mgr. Kobès]. (Chapelain 1868a)

Mother Rosalie went on to describe another critical line of reasoning for the relocation:

I told this to His Grandeur [Mgr. Kobès]: “I think Saint Joseph’s, which is located far from Gorée and the other places the postulants come from, is the best place to train them for the religious life.” Because I already saw the necessity of distancing them from their families and acquaintances, and that there [at Saint Joseph’s], in the calm and the silence, they would better appreciate the grace of religious vocation, and to be faithful to it. I also hoped that they would make an effort to forget that which they wanted to leave behind, in taking their vows. (Chapelain 1868a)

Here, Mother Rosalie touches on an atmosphere of solitude in Ngasobil that made it a prime location for the cultivation of religious vocation (and conversion), identifying an innate quality of the location as being conducive to these delicate spiritual processes. This was not an aspect of Ngasobil that could be built or designed, but rather a natural attribute *found* in Ngasobil. She remarked on its suitability for the DHHM convent and novitiate frequently in correspondence with both her own superiors in the SSJC and Spiritan leadership. For example, in her letter of February 28, 1864 to Mother Marie de Jésus Bajard (SSJC central administration), Mother Rosalie notes that she knows she has already mentioned several times what a perfect place Ngasobil is for the DHHM mother house and novitiate, but must repeat: “It is a very favorable place for a Novitiate [*sic*]. Here [in Dakar], there are so many comings and goings that we are

not tranquil [at the convent]” (Chapelain 1864b) Thus, Ngasobil—specifically—appealed to Mother Rosalie as a place where the DHHM could thrive.

The idea of isolation in Ngasobil—enabled through the mobilization of natural features such as ravines and built structures such as cloister walls—is remarkably present in Mother Rosalie’s writing about postulants and novices. It also crops up in Spiritan writings regarding male apprentices and students at the junior and senior seminaries housed at St. Joseph’s (ARN 1930: 12-13). In her autobiography, Rosalie explained that not only was the convent in Dakar disrupted by its urban environment, but its inhabitants were personally distracted by proximity to their former, secular lives—i.e. their families. The separation of converts from their non-Christian families is a pattern seen throughout the history of the Catholic mission in Senegal.² Women and girls who came to join the DHHM were often discouraged from doing so by their families, or outright forbidden—this was even the case for the very first DHHM sister, Sister Marie de St-Jean (Dugon 1959; Kobès 1870b; *Notice sur Soeur Marie* 1871). Entrance into the celibate Catholic religious life broke familial bonds and traditional kin structures, as did the Christian focus on individuality—the importance of saving individual souls over a commitment to family (Benoist 1987; Gravrand 1961). Thus, when remaining in the same vicinity as their family members (many early DHHM sisters were from Gorée and Dakar), postulants, novices, and even professed sisters found themselves under pressure to leave the convent, or at the very least distracted by familial matters ((“Conseil du 4 Juillet” 1903; Kunemann 1907).

On February 15, 1863, Mother Rosalie wrote to Kobès, exclaiming that “the devil is furious with this Work [*sic*], he battles fiercely against certain sisters,” referring to a lack of

² This was increasingly seen across mission contexts in Africa in the late nineteenth century (for other examples see: Hodgson 2005; Larsson 1991; Stornig 2013).

conviction in some DHHM members, who struggled with their commitment to remain in the congregation (Chapelain 1863a). In her writings, Mother Rosalie draws a clear link (as does Strub) between the unfit environment of Dakar and the difficulty of fostering religious vocations there. In her letter of May 1, 1864 to SSJC superiors in Paris, Mother Rosalie explained, “for a novitiate, St. Joseph’s is a place more appropriate [than Dakar] for training in the religious life—far from the tumult of the outside world and, above all, from the families who are always troubling those who want to enter into the Novitiate” (Chapelain 1864c). She goes on to say that there are already four potential postulants waiting to join the novitiate in Ngasobil. Thus, Ngasobil emerges as a place that can actively encourage religious vocation by virtue of its distance from urban centers and unsupportive family members, as well as its tranquil environment conducive to the contemplative aspects of religious life. Overtime, the perceived holiness of the landscape comes to dominate descriptions of Ngasobil as it remains an isolated backwater while major colonial hubs grow (e.g., Dakar, Rufisque).

Mother Rosalie was far from the only missionary to have articulated ability of Ngasobil’s natural attributes to encourage and protect conversion and vocation—the core goals of missionization. In 1923, two SSJC sisters arrived to take up the direction of the DHHM novitiate,³ Mother Gonzague de la Sainte Vièrge Valot and Sister Marthe du Sacre-Coeur Quadrado (Valot 1923a). Mother Gonzague’s letters include mentions of the tranquility and solitude of Ngasobil as a positive characteristic, from both her own point of view and that of other sisters (Valot 1924a). On June 18, 1928, she wrote to Mother General Maria de St-Jean

³ The SSJC was repeatedly called back to Ngasobil by the Spiritans in order to take over the direction of the DHHM novitiate in times of low-enrollment or perceived lack of discipline on the part of DHHM leadership. After Mother Rosalie’s departure in 1875, this occurred again in 1892-1909, and then 1923-1957.

Lamure, reporting that SSJC sisters from Saint-Louis, including Provincial Mother General Rose de St-Jean Baptiste Mazonq, had visited the Convent of St. Joseph, and that they were “enchanted by our solitude” (Valot 1928a). Striking the proper balance between private, cloistered religious life and the worldly engagement inherent in missionary work is always something of a tension in Catholicism (“Conseil du 4 Juillet” 1903). It seems Ngasobil was a place where public ministry and private contemplation coexisted well.

In 1929, Spiritan Brother Amable wrote to Monseigneur Louis Le Hunsec about his first impressions of Ngasobil. He described it as very calm, and devoid of distractions for missionaries and students alike. At the same time, by the 1920s when the Mission of St. Joseph was well into its period of decline, this isolation—spun positively as tranquility—appears to have been a mixed blessing. Brother Amable remarked that he felt a little sorry for his young students because there were no available distractions or amusements (Amable 1929). Mother Gonzague complained of the great distance (six kilometers) to the closest non-mission store. Furthermore, during the rainy season it was impossible to leave the property, and the land was no longer considered to be the “rich and fertile plot” Kobès had once described (Valot 1924c, 1926c). On August 8, 1926, she wrote to Mother General Maria in Paris:

...it is too bad that the novitiate should be located in a place so devoid of resources, because here, more than any other place in Senegal, the land is sterile; however, one cannot have everything. Elsewhere, one would not enjoy this calm and this solitude, so well made for coming close to God. (Valot 1926c)

While Mother Rosalie made a clear link between Ngasobil as a place and the fostering of conversion, faith, and vocation, Mother Gonzague presented solitude as one of the features of Ngasobil that made up for its material shortcomings. In the early twentieth century when St. Joseph’s and the novitiate were well established, there was no need to present strong arguments as to *why* that specific location was vital (although still appreciated). Further, the early twentieth-

century colonial context of Senegal was quite different from that of the mid-nineteenth century. The isolation that was once such a useful aspect of the mission—envisioned as an outpost and even laboratory for conversion—now marked it as a backwater. In fact, much of the property was ceded back to the government in the 1870s after the cotton crops failed to take off, and by the interwar period, the narrative of the St. Joseph Mission was one of decline and material deterioration (“Communauté de Ngasobil” 1947; Valot 1928b, 1929a; Walther 1946). At the same time, God continued to be perceivable in the landscape (Valot 1926c). The tranquility of Ngasobil remained one of its key characteristics over the course of its history, as did its isolation from the rest of the colony; however, the relationship that residents and administrators of the mission have with the isolation changed. Yet, despite relegation to the fringes of Church operations in the early twentieth century, the vestiges and memory of St. Joseph’s have remained central to the origin story of Senegalese Catholicism, paradoxically rendering this frontier settlement-cum-backwater hamlet a centerpiece of Catholic heritage in Senegal (“Ngazobil, berceau des Filles du Saint Coeur de Marie,” 2006). The ways in which Ngasobil as a place with a particular landscape shaped both religious and daily life at the mission also shaped the larger emergence, traditions, and organization of the Catholic Church and community in Senegal. The missionary goal not only to evince conversions, but to create a new Catholic community (which in many ways was meant to valorize European mores and models both religious and cultural, as will be further discussed in Chapters 5 and 6) becomes clear in the design of the mission as a self-sufficient agricultural colony.

The Constructed Landscape of The St. Joseph Mission

The Mission of St. Joseph was initially founded as agricultural colony (or settlement), operated by the Spiritan Fathers. As such, it served two intrinsically different, and yet related, purposes: one religious, the other economic; both impacted the way in which space was designed and used in and around Ngasobil. The importance of establishing an economically viable agricultural colony focused on cotton cultivation is evident in the earliest known representation of St. Joseph's, a watercolor sketch map drawn by Father Louis-Philippe Walter in 1867 (Walter 1867). This image depicts neatly labeled mission buildings, the spatial relationships between different zones within the property, and dedicates a large area of map to portraying significant tracts of recently cleared land, dedicated to the cultivation of cotton. However, Walter's depiction does much more than impart basic spatial data, it provides rich fodder for thinking about the mission landscape, one in which relationships between people, places, and things were articulated.

The parcel of land that the 1863 instantiation of St. Joseph's Mission occupied consisted of 1,000 hectares along the Atlantic ocean, located about six kilometers north of Joal, on Senegal's Petite Côte ("Décret, 2 Mai 1863"). By the time the mission was founded in the mid-nineteenth century, Joal had been a well-established trade center since at least the sixteenth century (Boilat 1853; Brooks 2013; Klein 1968).

Ngasobil, translated as "the place of the stone spring" in Serer, was described as having been an unpopulated place when it was originally identified as the location for a new mission in 1848 (Chapter 2) (ARN 1930: 2; Noel 1963). This 'emptiness' of the landscape in Ngasobil and its relative isolation from other settlements was a key factor in its selection, in addition to the land having been identified as well-suited for the large-scale agricultural activity Kobès

envisioned (also enabled by the fact that the land was classified as uninhabited) (Kobès 1849, 1850, 1863a, b; Pinet-Laprade 1863c). When the Spiritans returned to Ngasobil in 1863, they rebuilt on a monumental scale with an eye towards the longevity and permanence of the newly state-sanctioned mission.



Figure 3.1. Louis Philippe Walter, “Croquis de Ngasobil,” 1867, 3i1.8b4 AGS. Courtesy of the Congrégation du Saint-Esprit (CSSp).

Shortly after the initial wave of masonry construction was completed, Father Louis-Philippe Walter produced his 1867 watercolor sketch map of the entire mission area, complete with a detailed key (fig. 3.1). The monumental scope of St. Joseph’s, including the wide array of specialized structures and work areas reflects the remoteness of the Ngasobil. Unlike mission stations located in established towns with the basic resources to support the mundane daily needs of missionaries, St. Joseph’s very existence was premised on the idea that it could and would be

a total, self-sufficient settlement. This required a great deal of investment in mission infrastructure—literally the building of a town and associated farming community from the ground up.

The Spiritan Quadrangle and Workshops

The Spiritan zone of the St. Joseph Mission—which included the priests and brothers’ quarters, the boys’ school, and eventually the church, seminary, and workshops oriented around a central quadrangle—was located on a bluff overlooking the Atlantic Ocean. Relatively low limestone cliffs extend down to a sandy beach, where tidal pools are visible at low tide. Further north the approach is free of rocks and pool features; this sandy disembarkment is where the dock was built in 1866. The mission buildings were oriented towards the west, providing a view over the main quadrangle and workshops, as well a sweeping ocean vista. A rectangular (12 x 9 meters) European-style, a one-and-a-half story structure made of stone and wood was erected by late July 1863, and later expanded to stand a full two stories tall (Kobès 1863g). It contained quarters for the Spiritan priests and brothers, refectory, dormitories for boys in residence (orphans, students, and seminarians), and classroom space. Prior to the construction of the chapel, one of the ground floor rooms was used for Mass (Kobès 1863i). Running east-west from the northern corner of the main mission structure, the original white-washed stone chapel (built in 1864), sacristy, and goat pen were built, forming the north boundary to this main quadrangle (Engel 1864). In 1885, the chapel was replaced by a larger stone church, richly decorated with murals, imported statues and depictions of ‘The Way of the Cross,’ and various ecclesiastic decorative objects (ARN 1930”; E. 1912; *Bulletin Général* 1868”; JN 1885; Renoux 1877d; Riehl 1875a). Extending east from the southern corner of the main mission building were the wash-house, kitchen outbuildings, and pig pens (conveniently located for easy access to kitchen

slops). These structures helped to frame the kitchen gardens to the south and the citrus orchard to the north (directly behind the quadrangle). A cemetery was installed to the east beyond the orchard. The infirmary was entirely separated from the main mission building, running east-west along the southern side of the quadrangle. Another cluster of work-related structures directly abutted the mission quadrangle to north. These were oriented so as to create a working courtyard that included stables, storage shed, metalworking shop, forge, furniture/woodworking workshop, and the mission shop. This area was likely built up in the early months of 1864 when the decision was made to move the workshops and craft training programs of the Apostolic Vicariate from Dakar to Ngasobil (ARN 1930: 99). A stone wall was built along the top of the cliffs in the early 1890s, somewhat limiting direct access to the beach, organizing the courtyard spaces, and also providing a measure of safety in a place primarily occupied by children living and learning at the mission (often upwards of one hundred in number) (ARN 1930: 159-160; Cimbault 1902a).

At some distance north along the beach, a large kiln was dug into the side of the cliffs leading down to the beach. Based on archival evidence indicating the type of construction and materials used for building at St Joseph's, this was a lime kiln rather than one associated with a ceramics workshop (ARN 1930: 99; Chapelain 1870c). According to Walter's map, the kiln was located directly west of the Convent of St. Joseph, just past a small cluster of structures built with local technologies (wattle and daub, thatched roofs), identified as workers' huts, possibly belonging to the non-Christian employees of the mission or simply additional workshop spaces during this period of intensive construction activity. The description and scale of this cluster

stands in contrast to the neophytes' village of Saint-Joseph, which is specifically described as such on the sketch.

Overall, the mission compound contained spaces for every possible activity to be pursued, both spiritual and mundane. Further structures and designated spaces across the property attended to the perceived needs of other mission residents—religious sisters, African neophytes, and non-converted settlers all inhabited distinct, prescribed spaces within the built environment. Through this spatial structure, the wilderness of Ngasobil was at least partially tamed and ordered, made 'civilized' and primed for the cultivation not just of cotton, but of Catholic converts and religious personnel.

The Convent of St. Joseph

The landscape in Ngasobil does not feature dramatic topographical changes in elevation, (aside from the steep descent down the cliffs to the beach below the mission quadrangle), but Situated atop low seaside cliffs, the Spiritan quadrangle does sit at a very slightly higher elevation than the DHHM convent, located just over one kilometer to the northeast (*Aperçue Historique* 1875). The location of the convent appears to have been selected because it was deemed an appropriate distance from the Spiritan quadrangle to ensure adequate privacy for the sisters, but close enough ensure the ease with which the priests could visit the joint DHHM and SSJC community (ARN 1930: 13; Martin 2002).⁴ This close-enough but far-away-enough requirement reflects the spatial negotiation between three somewhat opposing needs. First, within the gendered hierarchy of the Catholic church and the Catholic religious tenet of obedience, the sisters in residence at St. Joseph's Mission were subordinate to their male counterparts, serving as support staff and subject to their authority. Thus, sisters were expected

⁴ The convent property also contained a prized natural spring water supply.

to be available to the priests if/when needed to assist in their ministry (as well as for domestic tasks: cooking, cleaning, laundry), and the priests were expected to supervise the sisters (“Les Filles du Saint-Coeur de Marie- Chronologie” 1967; *Manuel des Règles & Constitutions* 1899; “Ngazobil, berceau des Filles du Saint Coeur de Marie” 2006; Riehl 1875e). Second, in order to fully live their religious vocation, the sisters needed regular access to a priest in order to make confession, attend Mass, and receive the Eucharist; thus, convenient access between convent and Spiritan housing was required for both administrative and spiritual purposes (*Manuel des Règles & Constitutions* 1899; Riehl 1875e; “Soeur Indigènes: Règlements” 1874). Third, some of the core values that shape Catholic religious life, such as chastity and contemplation, demanded spatial separation for the sisters, not only from male residents, but from the secular world in general in order to create an atmosphere conducive of convent life (“Conseil du 22 Mars 1892”; “Conseil 16 Mars 1893”). In this respect, the remoteness and isolation of Ngasobil from bustling colonial centers (and even the closest trading town) lent itself neatly to the pursuit of consecrated religious life. In the missionary field, these values (materialized in the cloister of traditional monastic communities) came into tension with missionary goals, resulting in ongoing negotiations as to how missionary sisters should and did operate in the world (Curtis 2010a). As one of the first major Spiritan missions in West Africa, St. Joseph’s represents one of the earliest negotiations of these spatially significant needs—both in terms of Ngasobil as a remote location and the placement of the convent within the mission settlement. By the end of the century, the particulars of how far a convent needed to be distanced were standardized (P.M. Martin 2002: 64); but at Ngasobil, where the paradigm of nineteenth-century Catholic missionization in Africa was being forged, this was satisfied by roughly one kilometer of separation between the convent and the Spiritan quadrangle. As such, the natural landscape of Ngasobil was mobilized to mirror

church hierarchy: the predominance of priestly authority located on higher terrain atop the seaside cliffs, and the religious sisters located towards the edge of the property, closer to the village settlement than to the central quadrangle. This was historically typical of convent placement in European communities as well, where female religious congregations forged and relied more closely on social ties with lay communities than did male congregations (Dinan 2016; Gilchrist 1994). This closer proximity to the village reflects both the lesser status (perhaps phrased as ‘less perfect’ in religious terms) of religious women in the Catholic Church hierarchy, but also—and more importantly in the context of missionary sisters—their ties to local populations and their commitment to serving to those populations.

Unlike the Spiritan quadrangle, the convent was (and is) bounded by a cloister wall, clearly demarcating the sisters’ space. The high stone boundary at the section of the property most proximate to the domestic convent structures, combined with a wall of thorny shrubbery, physically manifested Catholic values of chastity, modesty, and privacy which were of utmost importance to female religious life. It also emphatically marked the convent space as separate from the rest of the mission property, marking it as a female sanctuary within the greater landscape of the mission, which tend to be broadly characterized as spaces of male religiosity, education, and labor (“Conseil du 22 Mars 1892”; Stornig 2013).

In the 1867 sketch, a front gate is framed by stone pillars. It appears that the section of west wall on either side of that main gate, running directly in front of the main building, may have been masonry, but the rest of the convent enclosure wall was mainly botanical (*Bulletin Général* 1867). This conservation of building materials reflects shortages the mission experienced during its initial burst of architectural activity, but also Senegambian methods of organic enclosure which allowed the settlement to remain as self-sufficient as possible (rather

than requesting additional materials from the colonial government or funds from Church charities). A map from 1900 clearly depicts a section of stone wall on either side of the main gate, extending along about one third of that western wall. In this later rendering, the north, east, and south walls are still comprised of plant life, as are two-thirds of the west wall (“Plan de La Mission de S. Joseph de Ngasobil” 1900). The use of plants to partially form the convent enclosure represents a melding of African and European technologies at the convent.⁵ In a way, this is a poignant materialization of the mixed community that constructed and in lived in the Convent of St. Joseph—the West African DHHM and the French SSJC sisters.

Unlike the Spiritan quadrangle, the convent was located in close proximity to the village built by potential converts who came to the mission (their origins and experience of mission life are discussed in Chapters 4 and 7). Archaeological survey located the village of Saint-Joseph in the forest just north-northwest of the convent, markedly closer to the African and French sisters than to the Spiritan priests and brothers. The convent wall served to create physical separation between the religious sisters and potential converts, but this physical barrier perhaps belied the close relationship convent women and girls had with residents of the village of Saint-Joseph, and its botanical nature hints towards a semi-permeable boundary. One of the particular tasks allocated to the DHHM was to foster relationships with village women: to teach them the

⁵ During archaeological survey, overgrown stands of pencil bush (*Euphorbia tirucalli*) were identified extending the lines of the western wall across the ravine to the point where the original convent enclosure would have turned a corner to the north wall (also identified in a botanical survey: Wade 1995). This type succulent bush has a toxic latex sap and is a deterrent to both humans and animals. (Mwine & Van Damme 2011). Also present in the area are remnant stands of *Euphorbia baslamifera* (also reported in Wade 1995). This plant is observed throughout agricultural sites in the Sine-Salmoun province, where it is used as a hedge to demarcate certain small-plot crops and to deter entrance into those areas by grazing herd animals, as it is inedible. More generally, it is widely used in the Sahel to prevent sand erosion and for various medical properties (Neuwinger 1996; personal interviews).

catechism, to instill in them ‘modern’ European domestic and hygienic practices, and to promote spiritual and secular values in the home that ultimately served to promulgate Catholicism and monogamous Catholic marriage (*Bulletin des Communautés* 1880). DHHM sisters were also meant to serve as mediators between European priests and sisters and West African neophytes; this was one of their founding pillars as a congregation (Barthet 1897). It makes sense that the village of Saint-Joseph might be located adjacent to the DHHM convent (and accessible through informal forest paths) as a reflection of the more intimate relationships the sisters cultivated with neophytes. At the same time, the importance of privacy and quiet to enable tranquil prayer, contemplation, and the preservation of chaste vocations within the convent community required a physical boundary to protect the integrity of feminine religious life.

During the initial period of occupation, the main convent building consisted of a three-room structure built with local building technologies (wattle and daub walls, thatched roof) (ARN 1930: 107-108; *Bulletins des Communautés des Père du St-Esprit* 1866; “Histoire de la Congrégation des Filles du Saint Coeur de Marie” 1951). There was a dormitory for the sisters at one end and a community room (used as a provisional chapel) at the other, with a small chamber for Mother Rosalie in the center. By 1867, a two-story masonry structure with tile roofing was completed, after a variety of difficulties with construction were overcome (Chapelain 1865d, e, 1867; “Histoire de la Congrégation des Filles du Saint Coeur de Marie” 1951). This structure contained living quarters on the upper level, as well as a refectory, temporary chapel, and workspaces below. As was standard practice, semi-detached kitchen and wash-house outbuildings were constructed extending east behind the northern end of the convent structure, creating the north boundary of the anterior courtyard.

An additional structure is pictured in the 1867 sketch map, running east-west from the northern corner of the main structure. Archival documentation reports on the necessity of keeping the DHHM novices and postulants (and presumably younger students as well) as separated as possible from the professed sisters, in order to prevent the dissemination of bad habits retained by the un-professed women and girls (habits which directors of the novitiate sought to eradicate) (“Conseil 16 Mars 1893”). This structure was likely not masonry as it is depicted as whitewashed in the 1867 drawing, there is no archaeological trace of durable remains, and it is not pictured on a map from 1900 (*Plan de La Mission de S. Joseph de Ngasobil*). This was likely the provisional structure inhabited by the first sisters to arrive in Ngasobil, later repurposed after they were able to move into the masonry convent.⁶

Prior to the construction of a proper convent chapel, Walter’s 1867 sketch map shows a tiny devotional structure, the ‘*Chapelle de Notre Dame des Sept Douleurs*’ (‘Chapel of Our Lady of Seven Sorrows,’ a devotional epithet for the Virgin Mary). This shrine is drawn at the end of a pathway running directly east from the front gate, bisecting the convent enclosure. What appears to be even smaller shrine is located in the southwest corner of the property. Neither are apparent in the 1900 map of the mission property, although today there remains a miniature chapel-like shrine located in the rough vicinity of the shrine shown on the 1867 map. These devotional sites located within the bounds of the DHHM community provided opportunities for quotidian micro pilgrimages, inscribing the community’s devotion to the Virgin Mary throughout their property and their daily movements through it. Thus, we see both the organization of space to meet

⁶ In Chapter 5, archaeological data is mobilized to interpret this area as having later been used as the dormitory and classroom spaces used by convent girls (orphans and *pensionnaires*).

social/hierarchical, daily/mundane, and religious needs throughout the convent complex, the most iconic and immediately identifiable being the chapel.

It was not until May 24, 1869 that construction on the proper convent chapel commenced; up to that point, the sisters had used a room in the main building as a chapel. In August 1868 Mother Rosalie wrote to Kobès complaining that their quarters were too small and that they were in dire need of a proper chapel (Chapelain 1868c). On July 9, 1870, a ceremony of benediction for the new chapel was held in keeping with standard practices, although work continued on the structure for some time following (carpentry, interior fixtures, furnishings, etc.) (“Benediction de la Chapelle” 1870; Chapelain 1870a; “Vêture et Profession,” 1870).

Whereas the other convent structures had been mainly built by laborers employed by the mission, the DHHM sisters were intimately involved in and physically committed to the construction of their chapel. Their involvement features prominently in archival documentation and reflects not only the reality of Ngasobil’s isolation and how important it was to early missionaries to be as self-sufficient as possible; it also reflects the sisters’ religious fervor and commitment to their community, which is the focus of archival accounts. Mother Rosalie specifically sought out permission from Kobès for the sisters to participate in the construction (“Fondation de la Congrégation des Filles du St Coeur de Marie,” n.d.). They dedicated themselves to the difficult manual labor, using shovels and even their hands to dig the foundations. They also filled and carried barrels of water to the site every morning for mixing mortar, and dug up the sand necessary for construction, transporting it from the beach in large calabashes (“Benediction de la Chapelle,” 1870). This religious structure, in effect, materialized the faith and commitment of the sisters—to Catholicism, their individual and communal vocations, and the larger community in Ngasobil.

Perhaps the most dangerous work was the collection of stones for laying the foundation and building the walls. By 1867, Ngasobil had been thoroughly harvested of stone suitable for construction as a result of the large-scale constructions around the Spiritan quadrangle. As early as 1864 when the convent was under construction the best stones had already been used up, and only soft, chalky calcareous stone could be obtained (Kobès 1870b). Thus, collecting the materials necessary for the chapel was something of a challenge. According to an 1870 account, the sisters resorted to harvesting stones from the ocean. They watched for the moment when the tide washed desirable stones up onto the shore (or more likely revealed them at low tide), and then sent novices down the beach to collect in pairs whilst reciting the rosary. They created a human chain along the beach, passing stones up a ladder scaling the embankment. One anecdote recounts a frightening accident that befell young postulant Émilie Coubeley (later Sister Iphigénie). One day she lost her footing and fell from the top of the ladder. Everyone thought she must have died, falling from such a height; however, she quickly came to, and her survival was immediately attributed to heavenly intervention. Émilie's survival and lack of grave injury were interpreted as a testament to the holy work the DHHM were doing at St. Joseph's ("Benediction de la Chapelle," 1870). Thus, not only was the labor of these women and girls congealed in the material presence of the *Chappelle du Saint-Coeur de Marie* (Chapel of the Holy Heart of Mary), but so was God's blessing upon their nascent congregation.

On the verge of collapse in 1929, the chapel underwent renovations. According to Mother Gonzague, elderly DHHM sisters in residence remembered helping to build the chapel fifty years prior, and they were particularly gratified to see it repaired rather than torn down and replaced (Valot 1929a). The affective import of having built the community chapel with their own hands produced a material relationship between the DHHM and their chapel. During its construction,

Mother Rosalie had encouraged the sisters by saying “It is for the good Master, it is for the house of God. Each stone will be a prayer in his temple... And then the reward in heaven”

(“Benediction de la Chapelle,” 1870). The congealing of labor and faith in the very stones of the chapel endowed the structure with an affective power stretching over the generations. It became a space that was not only a place of worship, but a record of community suffering, perseverance, self-sufficiency, and success. The memory of that labor contributed to the material relationship DHHM sisters had with the chapel and the mission as a whole, as well as to the role that chapel played in shaping their historical narrative as well as their daily routines of prayer.

Beyond the convent structures, the landscape of the convent enclosure also tells a story of the female labor, faith, and commitment to creating a place for future generations. Within the cloister walls, the convent was designed to be—ideally—a self-contained unit, reflecting one of the premier values of the missionary project in Senegambia: self-sufficiency (Benoist 1987). This tenet pushed St. Joseph’s to operate as a discrete unit despite its involvement in the French colonial endeavor and imperial economies (ARN 1930: 19, 33-34; Chasseloup-Laubat 1863; “Décret, 2 Mai 1863”; Kobès 1863f, g, i; JN 1878-1892, 1892-1943; Noel 1963; Pinet-Laprade 1863c). To this end, the convent grounds appear to have been thoroughly cleared for cultivation by 1867. In Walter’s sketch, a kitchen garden was indicated north of the kitchen and wash-house buildings. Each sister was assigned a garden plot to cultivate, and the entire community worked to clear, organize, and plant the land along the logics of European garden design, including wide floral alleys that cut through the property. Father Smother helped the sisters to create neatly delineated beds, paths, and borders, and to plant fruit trees for their orchard (*Bulletins des Communautés des Père du St-Esprit* 1866; “Fondation de la Congrégation des Filles du St Coeur de Marie” n.d). In one account, DHHM sisters pushed back against this formal European garden

design, telling Mother Rosalie that there was no need to put so much effort into clearing and maintain pathways through the property, “What good are the paths? We can walk without them.” Mother Rosalie responded, “We are not working for ourselves, but for the future Daughters of the Holy Heart of Mary” (Fondation de la Congrégation des Filles du St Coeur de Marie” n.d). Not only does this illustrate conflicting aesthetic points of view and technologies of cultivation and landscape curation, but, more importantly, the long-term commitment conceptually embedded in the design of the convent. This remaking of the landscape was seen as integral not only to the establishment of St. Joseph’s or the sustenance of its inhabitants, but to its longevity. The mission place needed to be tamed (i.e., Europeanized) for a posterity that would live in adherence to Euro-Catholic values and practices reflected in the constructed (and didactic) landscape (Ashley 2018; Lightfoot 2005; Lydon 2009b; P.M. Martin 2002). Similarly, while provisional structures were initially raised, they were always replaced by those built with durable materials in the European style, remaking the landscape into one ordered along Euro-Christian categories, forms, and values. All of this work on the natural landscape, therefore, both ‘civilized’ and Catholicized Ngasobil as a place.

The Village of Saint-Joseph

Running parallel (and close) to the northern cloister hedge, a stream ran roughly east-west through the convent property, out past the shrubbery boundary, meandering towards the ocean, having originated at a natural spring located on the convent grounds (Chapelain 1865e). This feature (now a dry gully) remains prominent in the landscape, separating the convent from the Réserve de Ngazobil (where the village of Saint-Joseph was located). When flowing with water, the ravine drained into the ocean just north of the mission’s dock (remnants of which are extant). Disembarking at the dock, one could easily access the higher ground adjacent to the

beach and walk either north towards the village or south to the convent and onwards to the Spiritan quadrangle. To reach Saint-Joseph, one would walk up from the dock, cross the shallow stream bed and follow a path east into the village. Walter's map also shows a hint of a path leading from the convent grounds into the forest towards the village, and several footpaths leading in that direction remain extant on the convent property. In the dry season, it would have been possible to cross the gully closer to the convent, and it is likely sisters and villagers alike were able to move between village and convent without walking all the way down to the beach and circling around to the north. The semi-permeability of the botanical enclosure of the convent would have made this possible.

Walter portrayed the village of Saint-Joseph as cluster of tightly packed huts, round in shape, constructed with wattle and daub walls and topped by straw thatch (ARN 1930: 107-108). Although this representation of the St. Joseph Mission is not necessarily to scale (and indeed, features depicted on the map vary radically in size), it is worth noting that the village depiction occupies roughly the same measured area as the Spiritan quadrangle and depicts 44 structures. This number corresponds roughly to period records, describing the presence of fifty hearths in the neophytes' village (Kobès 1863f, g). The only explicitly non-domestic structure is the village chapel, featuring a cross prominently erected on the roof, one large visible window, and a rectilinear footprint, possibly with a rounded apse. Because the scale of structures in Saint-Joseph is so small, it is difficult to determine fine details; however, the chapel is shown to be constructed from wooden planks (ARN 1930: 107-108). Like other mission structures, it is whitewashed, in contrast to houses in the village. It is also the only structure in the village with a rectilinear footprint. While not extensively criticized in documentation on Saint-Joseph, the local preference for round houses was much decried by missionaries in southern African contexts

(Ashley 2018; Crossland 2013; Reid et al. 1997) and the use of “square” housing was generally preferred from the European point of view.

By the mid-1880s, the village of Saint-Joseph had been abandoned. The new village, founded in 1876, was relocated to an area nestled between the Spiritan compound and the convent. Today, the village of Ngasobil remains in this location. In a representation of the new village dating to 1900, households are no longer clumped together seemingly haphazardly, but rather, each has its own enclosed compound with various structures in a fenced-in rectilinear lot (fig. 3.2). In the new village, houses are clearly depicted as rectilinear cottages with windows; outbuildings tend to be smaller circular structures. Over the course of the first generation or so of mission neophytes, not only did the location of the village shift to a more central (and observable) location adjacent to the Spiritan quadrangle, but the actual forms of village housing had also changed. This shift towards rectilinear housing was lauded by Father François Renoux in his 1877 description of the new village (Renoux 1877c). In reference to case studies from other African mission sites, this new village design highlighting the construction of square houses, private yards, and distinct property boundaries manifests concepts of Euro-Christian order in the landscape—on both the intimate household level and across the mission as a whole, where all aspects of the landscape were organized, categorized, labeled, and contained on mission maps and in textual descriptions (Ashley 2018; Mark 2002; P.M. Martin 2002). Overtime the increasingly geometric and orthogonal design of St. Joseph’s worked to order the wildness of the natural landscape in Ngasobil.



Figure 3.2. “Plan de La Mission de S. Joseph de Ngasobil,” 1900, 3i1.16a9, AGS. Courtesy of the Congrégation du Saint-Esprit (CSSp).

The Broader Landscape of Ngasobil

On Walter's sketch map, the wider landscape around the mission in Ngasobil is illustrated rather impressionistically. Paths and roads lead to Joal, other villages associated with the mission (Saint-Antoine, Saint-Michel, Saint-Gabriel), a pilgrimage route, and an ambiguous forest road. These latter two cut through sections of the map designated for cotton cultivation, depicted simply as blank space. Across the property a few significant baobab trees (*Adansonia digitata*) are prominently drawn, most notably the so-called baobab of St. Joseph, located at the edge of the beach near the dock (still thriving and truly massive) (ARN 1930: 53-54; JN 1920; Kobès 1869). There are also two large baobabs and a palm tree carefully depicted in the village of Saint-Joseph. Baobabs are generally associated with settlements (Gravrand 1983) and feature prominently in the Catholic ritual practice in Senegal (e.g., pilgrimages to Notre Dame de Baobab in Dakar and Ngasobil; the naming of baobabs in Ngasobil; gathering at specific baobabs for mission ceremonies; the consumption of a baobab fruit dish specifically associated with the traditional Good Friday meal) (ARN 1930: 23-24, 26, 107-108; JN 1893; Kobès 1869; "Pèlerinage à Notre Dame du Baobab," n.d.). Significantly, baobabs (and other tree species) also figure prominently in West African religious practices (Gravrand 1983, 1990; Kalis 1997).

In contrast to the few well-articulated botanical individuals illustrated on the mission grounds, the forest is a strikingly disorderly and even ominous feature of the drawn landscape in 1867, standing in stark contrast to the cleared cotton fields and tidy horticultural plots of the mission. To the north and east of the convent (and somewhat encircling the village) dense forest presses up against the cloister boundary and dwarves the village. Large baobabs and palm trees loom, articulated against a general impression of dense, shadowy bramble and brush. "The Forest" as a natural category within the mission's landscape emerges in the archives and oral

histories as a wild place, full of dangerous animals (big cats, snakes, jackals, etc.) that must be tamed or cordoned off—a common trope in colonial strategies and imaginaries (Drayton 2000; Seed 1995) (JN 1878-1892, 1892-1943). The forest was full of resources too (a place to hunt, a place to gather wild fruits and herbs) (Kalis 1997), but there was risk in penetrating too deeply into the wildness (JN 1879, 1884, 1907).

In the rendering from 1900, the forest is pushed mainly beyond the bounds of the map. Vast tracts are depicted as uncultivated (*friche*) land, dotted with the occasional large baobab and smaller trees and shrubs, framing the central mission complexes (Cimbault 1902c). The dense wildness of the forest no longer offers a dramatic visual contrast to the orderliness of the mission landscape. Overall, the 1900 map emphasizes the crisp geometry of the tamed and rationalized landscape: rectilinear gardens, workspaces, and households enclosed by walls or hedges. In this iteration of the mission place, the landscape has been entirely ordered according to European logics of modernity and rational settlement patterns (Hodgson 2005; Lydon 2009; P.M. Martin 2002; Perry 2003). At the same time, well into the twentieth century, missionaries such as Mother Gonzague celebrated the natural beauty and solitude of Ngasobil, hinting that no amount of rationalizing the landscape can (or is even meant to) detract from the natural qualities attributed to the chosen mission place, which were understood not only in pragmatic terms but as a means for tapping into the celestial realm.

A Landscape of Ritual

From the earliest days, missionaries and neophytes laid claim to the land around Ngasobil through ritual blessings, processions, and pilgrimages.⁷ In addition to creating a didactic landscape through the division and organization of space, the use of European architectural designs and technologies, and the reorientation of the productive landscape into European forms and categories, the religious men and women of St. Joseph's incorporated the very experience of moving through the place of Ngasobil into Catholic ritual. Thus, not only was the landscape physically mobilized into a representation of Euro-Catholic values, but it was also transformed spiritually into a place steeped in Catholic belief and power through repeated acts of ritual practice (Connerton 1989), such as the benediction of mission structures, the celebration of the first mission Mass, and the blessing of agricultural fields (ARN 1930: 8-9). Over the course of St. Joseph's early history, landscape-based traditions were purposefully initiated, and a rhythm of annual movements throughout the central mission property, fields, and the forest was established (ARN 1930: 8-9, 89; JN 1893).

Such religious engagements with the landscape and the marking of certain locations as particularly sacred and associated with devotional practices also spoke to traditional Senegambian religious practices familiar to the mission's population of (potential) neophytes, specifically landscape-based practices and rites intended to garner heavenly protection from external threats.⁸

⁷ Patricia Seed's (1995) scholarship on the ways in which different European colonial powers established ownership in the New World shows how such actions were already a well-established lexicon of colonizing practices.

⁸ Senegambian religious practices, specifically those of the Serer, are further discussed in Chapters 4 and 7.

Inscribing Christianity

On January 23, 1863, Monseigneur Kobès, Fathers Lacombe and Engel, and Brothers Jean-Marie, Marie-Armand, and Julien arrived in Joal. After Kobès said Mass, they traveled to Ngasobil to inspect the land and select a site for construction. By the 26th, workers had cleared the site and erected a provisional structure; by the 27th, a second structure had been raised and Kobès, along with Brother Jean-Marie and ten apprentices moved out to Ngasobil, officially commencing their residency (ARN 1930: 8). The next day, Kobès performed the first Mass at the Mission of St. Joseph. Afterwards, he blessed the land of Ngasobil “in order to consecrate it to God under the auspices of the patron saint [Joseph] of the settlement” (ARN 1930: 8-9). While Kobès did not describe who was present at the mass and subsequent consecration, he did mention that on an average day about forty-five workers from the area came to help with construction, so it is possible that as many as forty-five individuals in addition to the mission community (Kobès with the other Spiritan priests and brothers) witnessed the claiming and blessing of Ngasobil for Catholicism (ARN 1930: 8-9). This is only the first instance of blessing the mission’s land, and the benediction of subsequent structures that were erected became a routine event. In March 1864, Father Engel wrote that the mission chapel had been inaugurated with a celebratory three-hour mass on the Feast of St. Joseph (March 19th) (Engel 1864).

The first DHHM sisters to live in Ngasobil arrived on May 23, 1864. The following day was the Marian feast day: Our Lady Help of Christians. The DHHM celebrated their first day at St. Joseph’s by joining the Spiritans on a devotional procession through the mission property. The sisters carried a statue of the Virgin Mary, and the procession culminated by their placing it on a table in the provisional convent refectory, both claiming and consecrating the space as their own. The DHHM sisters sang psalms while the priests blessed the physical space and structures

of the convent property. The description of this event is explicit in stating that the structure itself was blessed (“Fondation de la Congrégation des Filles du St Coeur de Marie” n.d.). The importance of having blessed the place of mission was critical to performing missionization. And while the benediction of a place of worship or a religious household may seem straightforward, the non-religious activities of the mission were also ceremonially blessed.

In March 1864, Engel reported that the mission’s boat had been completed and in turn blessed by Kobès before its first voyage (Engel 1864). In the same vein, on May 20, 1866, mission residents incorporated the benediction of the newly completed dock into their celebration of Pentecost. At 6:00 am, while singing the *Maris Stella* hymn, the procession walked from the chapel on the main quadrangle and advanced down the path towards the beach, their progress punctuated by celebratory gun salutes. Not only was the entire mission population present, but notables from Joal including the French Commandant and other military personnel attended (ARN 1930: 26-27). The early missionaries and residents of the St. Joseph Mission regularly enacted ritual practices that reinforced the integration of the spiritual with the everyday, inscribing Catholic faith on the even the most secular and mundane aspects of the constructed landscape. Furthermore, these acts fit into a cadre of colonial practices that lay claim to lands (Seed 1995), and can be understood as part of process that not only claimed and Catholicized the landscape, but contributed to its being tamed or ‘civilized’ as well. The remote natural landscape of Ngasobil was a boon to Kobès’ vision of the mission, but at the same time its wildness required some mediation, through both design and ritual practice.

Related to blessings that inaugurated religious and secular spaces at the mission were ritual processions undertaken to bless the entire property and all its inhabitants in an effort to obtain protection from disease or other hardship, such as locust plagues. During the nineteenth

century a series of epidemics—most notably yellow fever and cholera—swept across the Senegalese colony (ARN 1930: 112-113; Barthet 1890; Echenberg 2002; Kobeès 1867a,b; Ngalamulume 2004, 2012). The first recorded near Ngasobil was a cholera outbreak in June 1869 (ARN 1930: 50-53; “Le Cholera dans la Congrégation” n.d.; Jouga 1869; Riehl 1869). As news of the outbreak spread, the community decided to bless all residents and the entirety of the mission property. On the morning of June 16, 1869, everyone gathered under the giant baobab dedicated to St. Joseph, where Kobès blessed a statue of their patron saint that had been installed there as a shrine. The next day, everyone processed from the mission quadrangle to the village, where Kobès proceeded to bless each household and every single hut. Finally, on June 18th, Kobès blessed every built part of the mission with holy water (workshops, dormitories, classrooms, the shop, etc.), and Father Renoux, chaplain to the DHHM, did the same at the convent (Kobès 1869). This processional movement through the different mission spaces, connecting the different nodes of the mission through bodily practice, and the physical blessing of each home and each structure at St. Joseph’s was central to how mission residents countered danger, as well as how they constructed a religious landscape blessed by and imbued with divine power. Affective ties to the landscape were fostered through prayerful and celebratory processions that connected residents to the land, to the essential place that was the Mission of St. Joseph, as well as to each other. These rituals helped to forge a relationship between mission residents through communal practice—something which was central to how Catholicism was understood as being lived. By joining together in times of both fear and celebration, relationships were solidified, and community formed through inclusive ritual practices.



Figure 3.3. St. Joseph's Day procession in Ngasobil, March 19, 2017. Photograph by author.

In terms of repeated ritual practices that inscribed the landscape of Ngasobil with Catholicism, by the mid 1890s at least twenty annual religious processions were integral to the local liturgical calendar (ARN 1930: 169-170). To this day, annual feasts such as St. Joseph's Day include processions around the property before and after mass (fig. 3.3). An account from the 1890s describes a five kilometer procession of song and prayer, in which priests and villagers dressed in white robes processed along the broad tree-lined alleys of Ngasobil, which were festooned with palm fronds, banners, bunting, and canopies (ARN 1930: 169-170). In an articulation of the visual and affective impact of these traditions, Mother Gonzague described the annual celebration of Corpus Christi in 1929 as one of the most notable events in all of Senegal—again, the entire procession route decorated with palms, flowers, flags, and bunting, and a great number of priests and colonial officials in attendance (fig. 3.4) (Valot 1929b); .



Figure 3.4. Procession at the Mission of St. Joseph. "En l'honneur de l'abbé Dione," April 22, 1931, 3i2.18, AGS. Courtesy of the Congrégation du Saint-Esprit (CSSp).

The following year, she described the procession with an emphasis on the landscape and its beauty: “the procession will unfold underneath an alley of flamboyants [*Delonix regia*]; they are all in bloom, which gives this little corner a magnificent appearance” (Valot 1930) This in keeping with Mother Gonzague’s feelings about Ngasobil, which she saw as a godly place—albeit a remote and somewhat difficult place to live, but made less difficult by virtue of its tranquility (Valot 1926c, 1928a).

The role of nature as a source of beauty and spirituality in Ngasobil was beautifully documented by Kobès in February of 1866. He wrote:

In the midst of our hardships, we seek consolation at the foot of Our Lady of the Seven Sorrows... we carried the statue of Our Lady of Sorrows to one of the baobabs near the village of Saint-Benoit... The miraculous virgin had been placed

in that copse of trees, it is a delightful place; the trees there are joined by numerous creeper vines that form a superb vault overhead. The pilgrimage was made with great contemplation. (ARN 1930: 23-24)

Saint-Benoit-Mbodiène was another village associated with the mission, located to the north of the property. Throughout the mission's history the two villages maintained close ties, and travel between Saint-Benoit-Mbodiène and Saint-Joseph was—weather permitting—relatively easy. The installation of a statue of the Virgin Mary in a grove of baobab trees between Saint-Joseph and Saint-Benoit-Mbodiène afforded residents a convenient opportunity for regular mini-pilgrimages culminating in prayer located in open nature. Kobès description of the grove gives the impression of a gothic chapel (the vaulted ceiling) imparting an element of holiness to the wild nature of the forest and incorporating that nature into a specifically Catholic landscape. The wildness was, thus, reframed as sacred space conducive to prayer—the landscape tamed by virtue of being understood through a spiritual lens. Kobès' statement can be read as testimony to the inscription of Catholic spirituality into the landscape (even where it had not been altered) through communal practices of ritual procession and prayer.

A few months later, in May 1866, mission residents returned once again in pilgrimage to the baobab grove of Our Lady of the Seven Sorrows after processing through the fields which had been blessed against the scourge of agricultural pests and blight. The ritual climax was an open-air Mass given under the vault of greenery (ARN 1930: 26). The placement of a statue of the Virgin Mary in the grove set the stage for repeated religious engagement there and imparted a holiness to that specific location within the mission landscape (JN 1893).



Figure 3.5. Statue of St. Joseph and the Infant Jesus, donated in 1870, now protected by modern housing within a small open-air prayer space in Ngasobil. Photograph by author, 2017.

Ngasobil was (and remains) peppered with visual markers of Catholicism, set within and around the everyday elements of the landscape, along pathways and facing fields, in the village center, as well as in the Spiritan quadrangle and at the convent. For example, in 1870 two statues of St. Joseph were donated. One was installed directly facing the cemetery (where it still stands; fig. 3.5) and the other in the quadrangle. These statues gazed over key points of passage on the mission grounds, physically inscribing Catholicism in the landscape, and drawing the eyes of even non-believers (Kobès 1870a). Previously, Kobès had written of installing monumental crosses at key locations across the property, stating “When I return to St. Joseph’s, I will plant some crucifixes in our fields so as to put our plantations under the guardianship of the cross, and the merciful and compassionate heart of Mary;” he also mentioned that those crosses would become sites of everyday pilgrimage for mission residents (fig. 3.6) (ARN 1930: 23-24). In 1904 a monumental statue group depicting the Passion of Christ was dedicated alongside the roadway

to Joal (ARN 1930: 181).⁹ These features in the constructed mission landscape point to how—if the landscape was mobilized correctly by the missionaries—even the everyday practice of walking to the fields for work, traveling to Joal for trade, or returning to the village at the end of the day became injected with Catholic religious experience. The infiltration of daily life with spiritual meaning and reminders cultivated an experience of conversion and Catholicism that permeated the everyday. The archival descriptions of Catholic rituals enacted across the missionary landscape over time—days, months, years—produce a narrative of ongoing ritual practice unique to Ngasobil, in which relationships created through communal ritual practice were imprinted on the landscape, and as such marked and produced the nascent Catholic community of Senegal in its birthplace on the Petite Côte.



Figure 3.6. Cross on the property of the former St. Joseph Mission, at the intersection of paths leading into agricultural fields and towards Joal. Photograph by author, 2017.

⁹ The crucifix is seven meters tall, while the figures of Jesus, Mary and St. John range from 1.55 to 1.75 meters in height

Speaking Across Traditions?

While Spiritan missionaries emphasized the remoteness and emptiness of the landscape when they chose Ngasobil as the site for their new and unique endeavor (and subsequently sought to occupy that space not only with pragmatic settlement activities but with Catholic ritual), Ngasobil was not simply an empty stage for enacting evangelization and conversion, nor were missionaries the only ones pursuing spiritual connections through landscape-based practices. In fact, it is possible to consider aspects of landscape-based Catholic practices at the Mission of St. Joseph as having been legible and even in conversation with some Senegambian religious beliefs and practice—even if this was not intended or understood by European missionaries. Points of confluence emerge particularly around the attention paid to shrines associated with trees and natural grove features in Sereer and Catholic religious practice in Senegal. At the same time as such potential points of confluence can be found through landscape-based practices around Ngasobil, missionaries also sought to eradicate local spiritual places maintained by Senegambian mission residents, which might highlight not only the persistence of local religious traditions, but also threads of commonality in modes of prayer.

The majority of Senegambian mission residents in Ngasobil were refugees from the interior of the Saloum and Sine kingdoms (their origins are discussed at length in Chapter 4). As such, most neophytes were ethnically Sereer, and came out of a religious tradition which acknowledges a single creator, *Roog Seen*. Most traditional Sereer interactions with the spiritual realm are made through ancestral and nature-based spirits, *pangool*, who both operate as mediators between humanity and *Roog Seen*, as well as their own forces with needs and desires (Bruzzone 2011; Gravrand 1973, 1983, 1990; Kalis 1997; Richard 2007, 2019; Thomas & Alanamu 2018). From a Christian perspective, *pangool* might be—in terms of their cosmological

function—somewhat likened to saints, although they were not understood as such by nineteenth-century European missionaries (or colonial officials); rather, early accounts of Sereer religion make references to fetishism, animism, and polytheism (Aujas 1933; Corre 1883; Gallais 1850; Renoux 1877c; Richard 2007). Communication with and care of *pangool* require libation offerings, most often of millet porridge, alcohol, or milk (although some require [animal] blood offerings) (Aujas 1933; Corre 1883; Gravrand 1983, 1990; Kalis 1997; Richard 2007, 2019). *Pangool* are generally associated with a specific place within the landscape, sometimes a natural feature (such as a sacred tree or a spring) where the *fangool* (singular of *pangool*) had revealed itself leading to that place becoming a shrine—not entirely unlike the Virgin Mary making appearances in natural settings that subsequently become Marian shrines (such as in Lourdes).¹⁰ In other cases, one might communicate with an ancestral or royal *pangool* through a familial shrine within the homeplace, or at a royal tomb site (Aujas 1933; Boilat 1853; Gravrand 1990). Libations offered in agricultural fields in association with millet crops and harvests are also a common aspect of Sereer religious practice (Gravrand 1990; Kalis 1997; Ndiaye 1986), and were mentioned by missionaries at St. Joseph’s (Renoux 1877c). Place is significant in Sereer religion and spirituality, and the historical Sereer landscape was one imbued with spiritual beliefs, mythologies, and practices (Gravrand 1990; Richard 2019).

In particular, sacred trees play a significant role as religious sites within traditional religious practices and mythology (Aujas 1933; Corre 1883; Kalis 1997), and such sites were common in missionary observations of local spirituality and belief in the nineteenth century

¹⁰ Our Lady of Lourdes was a relatively new instantiation and epithet of the Virgin Mary in the late nineteenth century. She first appeared to Saint Bernadette Soubirous in a grotto near Lourdes, France in 1858 where she was associated with a natural spring, said to flow with healing waters, which subsequently became a Marian shrine and site of pilgrimage, veneration, and supplication.

(ARN 1930: 170-172). They also feature prominently in Father Henry Gravrand's extensive ethno-historical research amongst Sereer communities in the mid-to-late twentieth century (1973; 1983, 1990). In his mid-nineteenth-century tome on the peoples of Senegal, Father David Boilat (1853) presented Father Louis-Marie Gallais' account of a *pangool* (referred to as a protective god) which often took the form of snake and lived in a gigantic baobab tree in Mbour where it was offered daily libations of milk and liquor. Gallais described the tree as surrounded by the usual material culture associated with *pangool* shrines: inversed ceramic jars and partially buried pestles (Gallais 1851; Gravrand 1993; Kalis 1997; Richard 2007, 2019). In 1876, Father François-Xavier Riehl wrote of a visit to a chief in Ndiégène, the Elder Sink. Riehl described a sacred place a short distance from the settlement, where Sink presided over offerings to local spirits: "In front of his hut he has a little sacred grove. In the middle, one finds the fetish tree covered with skulls and carcasses of all sorts of animals; it is at the foot of this tree that he makes his libations" (Riehl 1876) Closer to Ngasobil, in 1890s the Spiritans destroyed a sacred grove adjacent to the village of Saint-Benoit-Mbodiène. Referred to as the Elephant's Grove, this cluster of trees was associated with a *fangool* who also frequently manifested in the form of a serpent.¹¹ The priest who recorded this event claimed that the Catholic villagers were terrified of this grove, and in particular of small thorny tree called a *poss*, which was the favorite resting place of the *fangool* in question, according to man named Diogon. The Spiritans destroyed the entire grove by cutting down the trees and then burning the area, in this case explicitly destroying evidence of Sereer religion and the sacred location of practices that preceded Catholicism (and Islam) in Senegambia (ARN 1930: 170-172).

¹¹ Overall physical manifestations of *pangool* as snakes (often pythons) are common in historical and ethnographic accounts of Sereer religion (Corre 1883; Gravrand 1973, 1983).

Interestingly, the copse in question was located not far from the Catholic chapel in Mbodiène (one hundred meters), so there was a geographic mapping of spiritual sites (Sereer *fangool* shrine and Catholic chapel) in the village that conferred spiritual importance to adjacent areas. It is possible that before the majority of Mbodiène converted, the closeness of these differently spiritual sites was purposeful, reflecting the mixed and overlapping religious practices of the first generations of converts (Chapters 4 and 7).

Despite their deep misunderstanding of Senegambian beliefs and religious practices, European missionaries were aware of some of the physical characteristics of local religion, particularly of arboreal shrine sites, as evidenced by their firsthand observations. It remains unclear whether or not Catholics (missionary or lay) drew any connections (or sought to establish any) between Senegambian and Catholic religious practices in nineteenth-century Ngasobil. However, Catholic ritual in Senegambia from the mid-nineteenth century onwards very clearly highlighted mini pilgrimages and processions to shrines (particularly Marian shrines) located in the natural landscape in and around Ngasobil (and elsewhere in the Apostolic Vicariate) (*Pèlerinage à Notre Dame du Baobab* n.d.).

This type of spiritual practice engaged with the landscape may have been particularly legible to Sereer neophytes. The example of the shrine to Our Lady of the Baobab was highlighted in a previous section, as was the shrine within the convent enclosure (ARN 1930: 23-24, 26; JN 1893; Walter 1867). The Baobab of St. Joseph still flourishes at the juncture of what would have been the path between the mission dock, the village of Saint-Joseph, and the convent (ARN 1930: 53-54; JN 1920; Kobès 1869); it continues to hold a prominent place in the local religious imaginary. During the epidemic of yellow fever, the community promised to raise a statue to the Sacred Heart of Jesus nestled in an baobab tree on the path between the mission and

Joal, in exchange for protection from the disease (ARN 1930: 112-113). Later, the monumental statue group on the road to Joal was specifically placed within a “magnificent grove of baobabs” (ARN 1930: 181) In the mid 1890s, the residents of the St. Joseph Mission inaugurated a mini pilgrimage to a shrine dedicated to Our Lady of Lourdes:

On the edge of the sea, under a grove of trees that is always lined with foliage near the ravine of '*ngas o bil*' (the stone spring), we installed a gracious statue of the Immaculate Conception, present from a friend of Brother Corneille, in a little grotto made of rocks and madreporas [coral] collected from the shore. (ARN 1930: 169-170)

Once again, the natural setting of Ngasobil was mobilized as a part of Catholic religious practice, not only marking the place of mission as such, but drawing on the spiritual qualities of that place considered conducive to conversion, vocation, and ongoing faithfulness. It also brought this wildness of the natural landscape into the fold of tamed mission spaces. At the same time, such landscape-based belief practices might be considered as speaking—even obliquely—to Sereer religious practices, broadly speaking.

A few years later, in the midst of a three-year drought, the community initiated weekly pilgrimages to the Grotto of Our Lady of Lourdes to pray for the return of the rains, protection from locusts, and abundant crops. Their spiritual efforts were rewarded by a respite from droughts and pests. Objectively (with particularities of cosmology and belief aside), this practice—attending to the shrine of a holy intercessor with the aim of receiving blessings and material results—is not unrelatable to a wide range of religious practices worldwide, outside of Catholicism, including local Senegambian practices around *pangool* and agricultural pursuits. This is not to say that Catholic and Sereer religion mapped onto one another, but merely to point out that certain landscaped-based religious practices might be considered as mutually legible on some level. Catholic pilgrimages, places of prayer, and processions through the mission property

in Ngasobil created a Catholic landscape in which the spiritual was inscribed and in which movements through that space—whether religious or not—moved through specifically Catholicized place. This brought Catholicism into daily movements through the settlement, to and from shrines, past monumental statues, and into agricultural fields overlooked by life-sized crosses. At the same time, these types of practices would have been legible to those coming out of the Sereer religious tradition and perhaps served as something of a bridge between the two that could be reliably understood by neophytes during the process of conversion.

Conclusion

Archival documents shed light on how missionaries themselves wrote about Ngasobil, why St. Joseph's was located where it was, how missionaries conceptualized that place pragmatically and spiritually, and how residents experienced the mission landscape. Notably, writings about the mission place ascribed sacredness and an ability to nurture vocation and conversion to Ngasobil *as a place*.¹² Broad experiences of, and meanings embedded in, that landscape emerge through a consideration of what the placement and design of St. Joseph's meant to missionaries, converts, the Apostolic Vicariate administration, and colonial officials. Locally, embodied Catholic rituals and rhythmic movements across the space of St. Joseph's were critical to the missionary claiming and making of place in Ngasobil, as well as to the creation of a new Catholic community through shared ritual practices that connected residents to each other and to the landscape. This is particularly salient because—as will be discussed the following chapter—nearly everyone living at St. Joseph's was new to the area.

¹² In some ways their writings even reference the hagiographic tradition of writing about sacred lives (sainthood).

Resonance between Catholic and Sereer landscape-based religious practices hint towards points of legibility between the two traditions and opportunities for practice-based religious syncretism in the early decades of Catholic missionization in Senegambia. Whether intentional or not, the missionary mobilization of Ngasobil's natural landscape may account for why the St. Joseph's—despite being remote, isolated, and even a backwater—still holds such prominent position in Senegalese Catholic imaginary and heritage.

The investigation of the spatial design of the missionary landscape considers the mission complex as a whole, but homes in on the structures and spaces of the convent and its relationship to the neophyte village of Saint-Joseph in order to examine the ways in which architecture and space were deployed and experienced in particular by the women of the mission. By exploring the layout of St. Joseph's and establishing how the differently designating spaces were related to each other (and reflective of human relationships within the mission), the terrain of missionization, conversion, vocation, and belief comes into focus. Spatial analysis of the landscape and the social and spiritual relationships readable in it points to the inscription of Catholic values, beliefs, and hierarchies across the mission. Archival writings locate Ngasobil within the larger regional landscape of the colony and point to the ways in which conversion and missionization required a certain type of place, in order to foster certain relationships (and to sever others). From this analysis that tacks between the natural and built aspects of the landscape in Ngasobil (blurring neat distinctions between those analytic categories as they pertained to the experience of missionization), place emerges as doubly important in the conception of the mission—geographic location, environment, and settlement design were all critical to how the St. Joseph's was imagined by missionary leadership and how mission life was experienced by its

wide array of residents. The cultivation of vocation that occurred in this place could not have occurred elsewhere in Senegal during this period.

In the religious hubs of the mission, the use of Euro-colonial architectural styles created a strong visual statement. As did the location of European buildings in relation to neophyte homes and activity areas (Ashley 2008, 2018; Clist et al. 2015; Hovland 2007; P.M. Martin 2002). The DHHM convent, located slightly below the Spiritan quadrangle perched atop seaside cliffs, was an implicit manifestation of Catholic hierarchy in the constructed didactic landscape (Lydon 2009b). The village of Saint-Joseph, located even further away from the quadrangle, was situated distinctly downhill from the convent and Spiritan quadrangle—in addition to being separated by the gully that ran along the northern boundary of the convent property. Across Ngasobil, hierarchies of Catholic life were implicitly reflected in the manipulation of the natural topography and amplified by the architectural choices made by the Spiritan designers of that space and those structures. At the same time, the landscape was imbued with Catholic imagery that encouraged personal and communal religious practices as a part of both everyday and ritual life in what was a uniquely new type of place in colonial Senegal—an independent missionary colony meant to serve Africans (not European officers, traders, or settlers). Thus, manipulating the landscape was not simply a hegemonic display of power, but a device for instilling Catholic religious practices.

In the idyllic place of Ngasobil, the landscape was mobilized to foster religious vocation through the perceived innate godliness of the mission's environs, as well as by means of structured spaces and isolation from the outside world. The mission was established as a distinctly religious agricultural colony. This was a specifically religious form of colonialism, even if the mission was entangled in colonial economies as a cotton plantation; remoteness and

self-sufficiency were integral to this vision of colonial evangelization, as was spatial order. Significant distances and even physical barriers regulated interactions between different resident groups (i.e., male and female missionaries, villagers and sisters, Christian villagers and non-Christian workers). Enclosed spaces allowed specific interactions and practices (i.e., caring for the sick in infirmary structures outside the convent enclosure vs. praying at a private shrine hidden at the back of convent grounds). Regulation of movement and regularization of religious and secular practices at the mission worked to create new traditions (Hobsbawm 1983), new daily habits, and—therefore—a new community by revamping the rhythms of everyday and ritual life in a place entirely dedicated to the propagation of Catholicism and its attendant secular (often framed as Euro-colonial) way of life. How this was pursued will be explored in the following chapters (5, 6, 7).

In Ngasobil, vocation and conversion were achieved through the creation and practice of a ritual landscape—one that specifically incorporated Catholic belief and practices into the unified natural and built landscape. The Mission of St. Joseph cultivated a new Catholic community in which new relationships were formed—whether it was the formation of Catholic families taking root in Ngasobil, or Catholic nuns, brothers, and priests forming religious families in support of secular ones.

Chapter Four

“They Come from All Sides”: The Women & Girls of the Saint Joseph Mission

1873

Sister Aloïsia Koly stepped out of the hospital hut. Down the path she could see Mother Rosalie striding towards her from the convent gates.

“How is your patient?” asked Mother Rosalie.

Sister Aloïsia replied, “She is finally improving today, Mother. She has been able to breastfeed her son for the first time in days, although he continues to cry. I am not sure what to do for poor François. At least he has been baptized.”

“It is a true blessing that she is alive, having come all the way from Saloum with her newborn, widowed by thieves, robbed of everything she owned on the road.”

“Yes, Mother,” said Sister Aloïsia, “What happened to this woman, it reminds me of our flight from Saloum during the war and the famine. My grandmother decided to take me and my brother to the mission. We were almost at the border between Sine and Saloum, when a man pounced on us, threatening my grandmother, he said, ‘Give me this child, or I will kill you all!’ And my grandmother, she cried, ‘But I love my children, take all my belongings, but leave me my children!’ This scoundrel stripped from us our bracelets, our necklaces, even our clothing. And

we arrived like that in Joal, where we were directed to the mission. And you received me, and Monseigneur received my brother, and here I am, now, a nun.¹”

Arriving in the mid-1860s, Sister Aloisia was one of numerous individuals who were drawn to the Mission of St. Joseph after experiencing violence and trauma in their homelands. The circumstances under which women, men, and children arrived in Ngasobil varied, but for many the coastal mission represented a place of succor when they were displaced by violence and famine across the Sahel. Thus, while the European missionary point of view appreciated Ngasobil as a place of solitude removed from urban corruption, conducive to the cultivation of conversion and religious vocation, for many Senegambian inhabitants it was first and foremost a place where they received shelter and care at tumultuous and even desperate moments in their lives. Inhabitants—missionaries and converts alike—encompassed a wide diversity in terms of their ethnic, racial, religious, geographic, and economic backgrounds, as well as their reasons for ending up in Ngasobil.

Who were the women and girls of the St. Joseph Mission? What were the broader social, political, and economic forces that brought them together in this place? How did they relate to one another, and to the mission community at large? How and why were they able to ultimately cultivate community amongst themselves? This chapter argues that the development of a

¹ The flight from Saloum narrative presented here is almost word-for-word taken from “Malades soignés et convertis dans la Mission,” in which it is attributed to a young unnamed novice. There is little information in the archives on Sister Aloisia, however there is some evidence to suggest that she may have been the novice in question.

Historical fiction vignette draws on the following archival sources: *Bulletins des Communautés des Père du St-Esprit* 1866; “Fondation de la Congrégation des Filles du St Coeur de Marie,” n.d.; “Malades soignés et convertis dans la Mission,” 1877.

specifically Senegalese-Catholic community and habitus was largely the result of practices carried out, cultivated, and embodied by the women and girls of St. Joseph's Mission in Ngasobil. However, before considering practices of conversion and vocation as they were lived at the mission (Chapters 5, 6 and 7), the "who" of Ngasobil must be considered. As Bourdieu (1977) asserts in his theory of relational practice, in order to think about the emergence of a new communal habitus, the social histories of the groups involved and their varied relationships to one another must be considered. A focus on these prior histories helps constitute the social field of mission and its various sub-communities.

The mission population was composed of dislocated people, most of whose lives were significantly impacted by the shocks of nineteenth-century religious and colonial military expansion in West Africa. Trauma—as displacement, enslavement, separation from kin, physical violence, economic hardship, etc.—and difference marked the first generations of the St. Joseph Mission, many of whom were not necessarily (or at least initially) interested in the religious project itself. In this tumultuous socio-political milieu, the community in Ngasobil cultivated itself through acts of commonality (learning the same language, attending catechism classes) and practices of care (nursing the sick, communal cooking) that physically brought people together and sought to heal at least some of this trauma. This chapter traces both the pre-mission histories of residents at St. Joseph's and the social dynamics at play upon their arrival at the mission, in order to set the field for conversion and vocation.

The Population of Saint Joseph's Mission in Ngasobil: An Overview

As argued by James De Lorenzi (2013), missions are better thought of as "cross-cultural meeting places than as European or even colonial outposts" (174). A prime example of this

throughout the second half of the nineteenth century into the early twentieth, the Mission of St. Joseph hosted a diverse population of European and West African missionaries, recent converts, and early generations of Senegambian Catholics. This massive mission settlement was envisioned as an agricultural colony, with a range of spaces built by and inhabited by various subsets of the greater mission population. While this dissertation focuses on the Village of Saint-Joseph and the Convent of St. Joseph, a brief overview of the mission as a whole elucidates the positions and roles of women and children within the dynamic social field in Ngasobil.

The entire population of St. Joseph's can be conceptually broken down along several lines. It might be split into predominantly men's, women's, and mixed residential, learning, and work sites—which is often how it was conceptualized by the Spiritan missionaries. In this understanding, the mission's population is organized through spatial divisions of gender and gendered activities. Thus: masculine missionaries, seminarians, students, and orphans occupied the Spiritan compound; feminine missionaries, novices, postulants, students, and orphans occupied the convent enclosure; and lay inhabitants, especially adults, occupied the village—although they also frequented gendered spaces at each of the religious compounds for religious and academic instruction, occasional communal labor, and religious ceremonies. Alternatively, the mission might be understood along racial lines: white European missionaries on the one hand, and Black African missionaries, converts, and non-neophytes on the other. In another rendering, racial and ethnic lines might be blurred again if the mission population is thought of in terms status within the Catholic Church, meaning: religious celibate (that is: European and

Senegambian priests, nuns, brothers, novices, postulants and seminarians, understood hierarchically²) vs. secular (lay men, women, and children) individuals.

The Spiritan fathers and brothers of St. Joseph's were French nationals (for the most part);³ however, particularly early on, many came from Alsace, with its complicated Franco-German history and culture. However, as a French congregation, recordkeeping and letter writing were conducted in French and ties to the French colonial military administration were nurtured. Still, the role of European ethnicity cropped up in the 1870s. After the death of Monseigneur Kobès (of Alsace) in 1872, the leadership of St. Joseph's and the Apostolic Vicariate of Senegambia as a whole was left in disarray after the loss of its longtime visionary leader. After Kobès' death, Monseigneur Jean-Claude Duret became the Apostolic Vicar of Senegambia. He was not particularly well-liked by either the Spiritans working in Ngasobil, nor by Senegambian neophytes. In addition to protestations regarding Duret's lack of interest in and neglect of the DHHM, it appears his disinterest in Senegambian converts was felt keenly and partially attributed to his not being one of the 'German' Spiritans (Renoux 1876a). After his death in 1875, the search for a new Apostolic Vicar brought out underlying ethnic tensions. In a bold letter written directly to Superior General Schwindenhammer, Spiritan Brother Claude Bret expressed his hope for the new Apostolic Vicar to be "German," explaining:

How could you want it to be otherwise? Our founder [François Libermann] was German, our Superior General [Schwindenhammer himself] is German, Monseigneur Kobès was German. The whole mission is served by good German fathers. I want only one thing, not for me personally, but for the well-being and the conversion of souls: that you give us a German bishop for the mission... here is

² Each category of religious personnel was occupied by both European and West African individuals over the course of the mission's history.

³ Few seminarians trained and even ordained at St. Joseph's went through the additional novitiate training in France required to join the Spiritan order.

what the Blacks said upon learning of the death of Monseigneur Duret: he was not our bishop, he was that of the whites. (Bret 1876)⁴

Brother Claude also reported that Father Blanchet had made it clear that he did not like the German, or Alsatian, priests and hoped the next bishop would be French (Bret 1876). The appearance of explicit ethnic tensions between Spiritan priests are not common in archival sources, and certainly not all Spiritan priests active in the nineteenth-century vicariate identified as German (for example, Blanchet). However, this outburst and the tensions it reveals troubles a simple understanding of European Spiritans as an ethnically or culturally unified body of colonial missionary authority.

In addition to the French and Franco-German Spiritan priests and brothers, St. Joseph's was home to the Congregation of the Brothers of Saint Joseph, later referred to as the Little Brothers of Saint Joseph (ARN1930: 70). This African order for men was founded as a companion to the DHHM in 1869 (ARN1930: 95); however, it was initially rather unsuccessful, especially in comparison to early interest the DHHM. It was not until the spring of 1873 that the first two brothers (Joseph and Dominique) professed, and the novitiate repeatedly was repeatedly shut down and reprised over the following decades (ARN1930: 148).

The Spiritan compound also housed the indigenous seminary. St. Joseph's initial *raison d'être* was the foundation of a seminary that would train African clergy *in Africa*, and thus propagate the faith from within (ARN1930: 12-13; Chapelain 1869a; "Diocèse de Dakar: Petit

⁴ This gets to racial tensions within the mission, in which vestiges of *ancien régime*-style missionary activity in West Africa remained—that is, priests on mission being dedicated to the spiritual care of fellow European colonists, rather than dedicated to local evangelization and the growth of an African church. Ngasobil remained for decades the heart of a paradigm-shifting effort to not only focus on the conversion of Africans, but to pursue the cultivation of religious vocations amongst their ranks. In the years after Kobès' death and Mother Rosalie's departure from Ngasobil (1875), local leadership at St. Joseph's often pointed to the need to preserve support for the indigenous vocation projects cultivated there.

Séminaire St-Joseph de Ngasobil” 1961; Dugon 1957; Duteil n.d.; Kobès 1850; *Lumière Du Monde* 1957). In addition to the senior and junior seminaries, the fathers also ran a primary school, craft training programs, and a boys’ orphanage (ARN1930: 16; Kobès 1863e; Kunemann 1904). All of these boys and young men, at different levels in their academic and religious education were housed and taught around the main quadrangle, and were categorized as apprentices, students, or agriculturalists (ARN1930: 16). Many were migrants to the Petite Côte, some had family at the mission or in nearby villages, others were far removed from their native homes. Their arrival in Ngasobil will be discussed further below, as part of the discussion on how neophytes ended up at the mission.

The Convent of St. Joseph also hosted non-religious members, both residential students whose families who had sent them to the convent school and refugee orphans. They lived and were educated within the convent enclosure alongside postulants and novices of the DHHM. Senegambian DHHM and (mostly) French SSJC sisters shared supervision of the convent space and responsibility for educating the girls and young women in their care.

Finally, the village of Saint-Joseph was occupied by single adults and family units, all of whom—as residents of Saint-Joseph—were understood to be in some way broadly committed to the mission. They might be contributing their labor to the mission economy, allowing their children to be taught by the missionaries, taking the very first steps in learning about the Catholicism, or actively participating in mission ceremonies and ritual and receiving the sacraments. Saint-Joseph was home to non-converts, catechumenates, baptized neophytes, and—as the generations passed—Catholics born in Ngasobil, literally reproducing the community in the familial domestic sphere.

Saint-Joseph: A Village of Converts

The village of Saint-Joseph was often referred by missionaries as the village of converts or the Christian village of Saint-Joseph, and its residents as ‘our Christians.’ However, its population was far from homogeneously Christian and fluctuated over time. That said, residents did have some broadly similar life experiences and cultural backgrounds, which helped Saint-Joseph to cohere as a community (and not just a place), despite the diverse origins of its inhabitants. Flight from traumatic circumstances was a common denominator for most emigres.

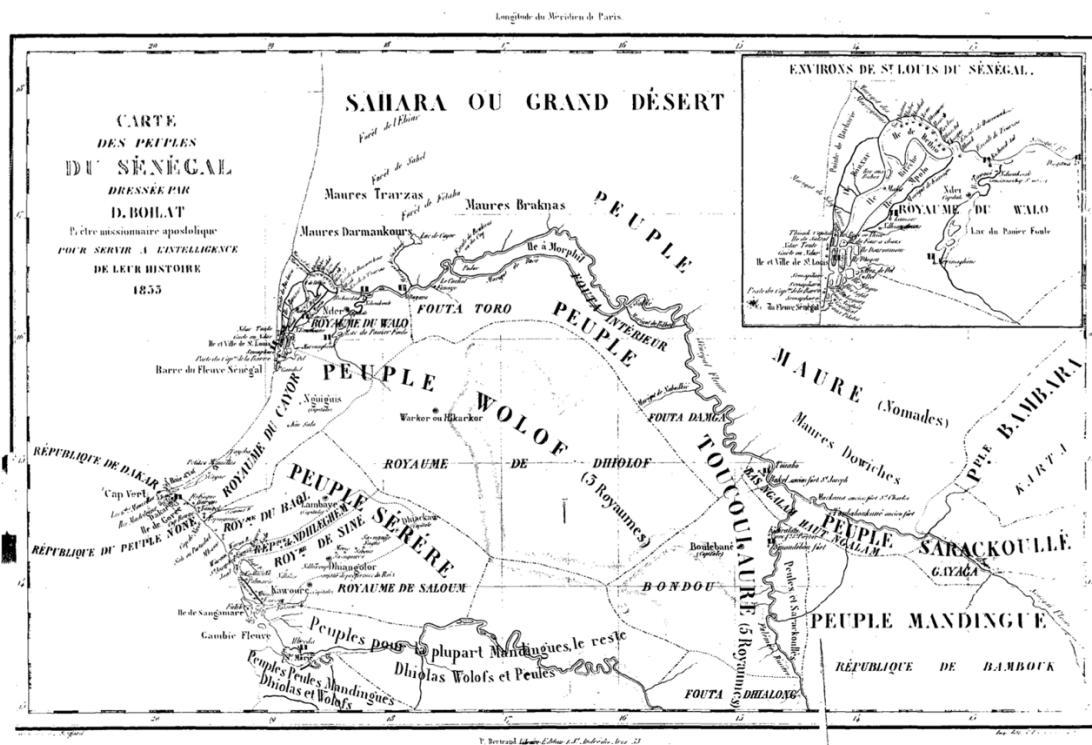


Figure 4.1. Map of the peoples of Senegal, in: David Boilat, *Esquisses sénégalaises: Physionomie du pays, peuplades, commerce, religions, passé et avenir, récits et légendes* (Paris: P. Bertrand, 1853).

The second half of the nineteenth century in Senegal can generally be characterized as a period of ongoing war throughout and between various kingdoms and leaders (both religious and political), including those surrounding Ngasobil: Cayor, Baol, Diégheme, Sine, and Saloum (fig. 4.1), as well as increasingly aggressive French military forces spurred on by expansionist

policies (Aldrich 1996; “Annales Religieuses: Dakar” 1930: 76-77; ARN1930; Diouf 2001; Fontaine 1863; Gallais 1851; Jouga 1863; Klein 1968; Kobès 1871; Riehl 1880d). In addition to these socially and materially destructive religio-political conflicts, in 1860s and 1870s the Sahel region of Senegambia experienced severe periods of drought and failed crops, causing famine. This, in turn, was exacerbated by the destruction of fields and granaries, and the displacement of the peasants who worked those lands, as a result of ongoing warfare (ARN1930; Jouga 1863; Kobès 1863g, j; Renoux 1866). Despite nearly continuous upheaval, after the 1851 abandonment, the mission worked to maintain relatively stable relationships with local leaders (ARN1930). However, its population fluctuated due to incoming waves of refugees from the interior and sometimes their subsequent dispersal back their homelands when it became once again safe to return. The coming and going of potential converts and neophytes reads as a persistent source of missionary anxiety in the archival record (ARN1930; Riehl 1880a, b, c).

The first such wave of migration was already in progress when St. Joseph’s was re-founded in 1863, at which point Kobès wrote to Monsieur de Fresne, a member of the Council of the Association of the Holy Childhood (a Catholic charitable organization):

Our agricultural colony has attracted a great migration of people from the interior... a considerable village is now clustered around us, so when our construction projects [of the main mission structures] are finished, we will be able to welcome all of the children from the village [for instruction]. (Kobès 1863e)

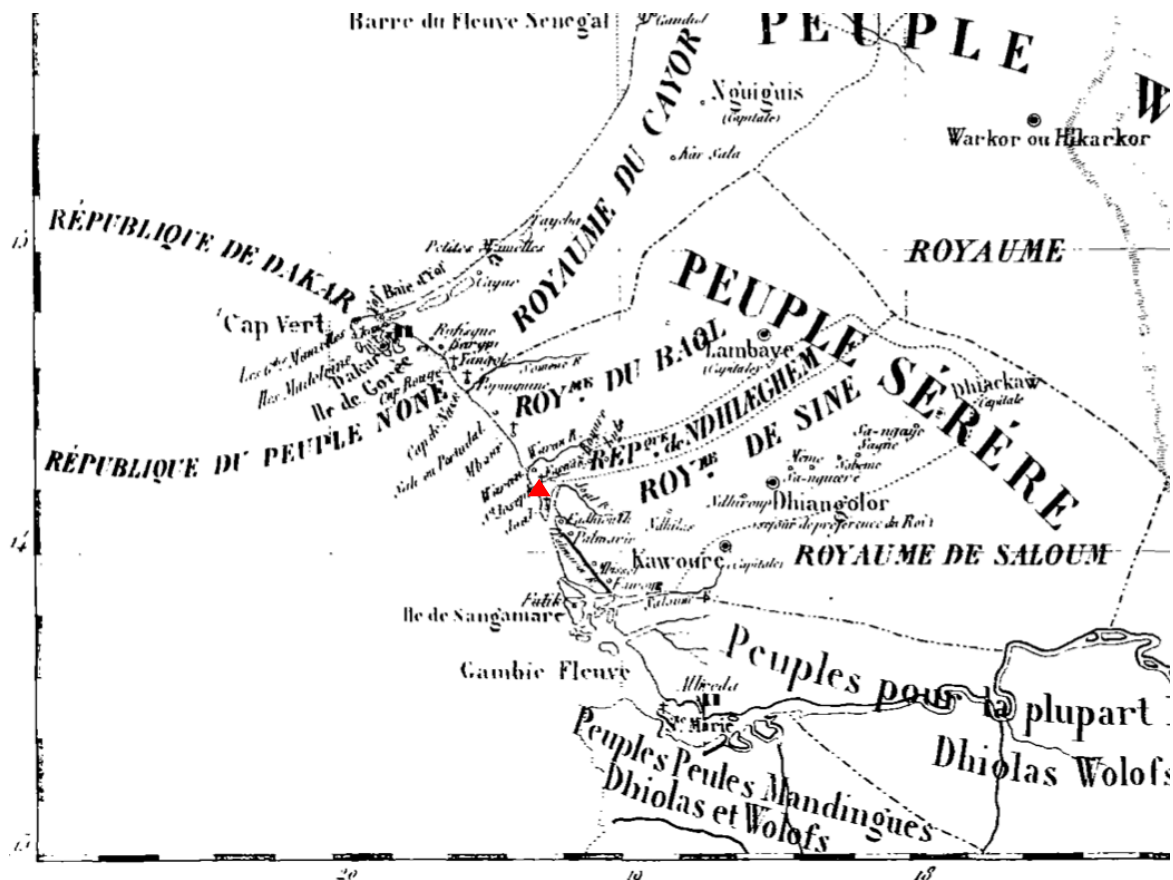


Figure 4.2. Detail of Boilat's 1853 map, with a red triangle representing the Mission of St. Joseph in Ngasobil (inserted by author). David Boilat, *Esquisses sénégalaises: Physionomie du pays, peuplades, commerce, religions, passé et avenir, récits et légendes* (Paris: P. Bertrand, 1853).

Initially, most arrivals to the mission were ethnically Sereer⁵ emigrating from the Kingdom of Saloum, located to the south extending far inland from the coast (fig. 4.2)—although Wolof refugees were also documented, as were Sereer from neighboring polities such as Sine, Boal, and Diéguème (ARN1930; Fontaine 1863; “Malades soignés et convertis dans la

⁵ The Sereer are one of Senegal’s largest ethnic groups; however, Sereer refers to a number of related but not necessarily overlapping ethnolinguistic groups, historically, such as the Sereer-Sine, Sereer-N’Diéghem, Sereer-Safen, Niominka, Sereer-Nones, Sereer-N’Doute (see: Klein 1968; Richard 2019; Searing 2002). The Sereer most associated with St. Joseph’s were the Sereer-Sine, Sereer originally from Sine and Saloum, although others also came to reside at the mission in smaller numbers and less distinctive waves, featuring much less in the missionary archives and imaginary regarding neophytes. Unless otherwise qualified, “Sereer” is used to refer to the Sereer people of Sine and Saloum, being the majority of residents in the village of Saint-Joseph, overlapping throughout the course of the mission’s history.

Mission” 1877). The first village Chief was a Catholic man from Joal,⁶ invited by Kobès to provide foundational leadership for the village, organize the labor of its inhabitants, and help guide them as potential converts. In 1865, migrants were described as continuing to arrive “from all sides,” not only isolated individuals, but entire families and large groups who came because the mission had gained a reputation as a place of refuge, succor, and potential prosperity (ARN 1930: 14). Some were described as coming temporarily to find work in order to support their families through the famine, others—like the settlers of Saint-Joseph—were considered to be not simply temporary migrants, but immigrants to the Petite Côte (Kobès 1863g). However, late in the summer of 1867, military forces under Coumba N’Doffène Diouf (Bur, or king, of Sine) defeated Maba Diakhou Bâ (a Muslim marabout leader described as the ‘terror’ of Saloum by missionaries) and brought an end to his jihad.⁷ As a result, many Sereer neophytes from Saloum began to move back to their liberated homeland, despite having made new home in Saint-Joseph. This included children who had been in the care of both the sisters and priests (ARN1930: 39).

Shortly after this first wave of refugee arrivals and departures completed its oscillation, another Muslim leader, Mamou Ndéri, launched a jihad against Saloum in April and May of 1873, sending a fresh wave of refugees up the coast and to the mission (ARN1930: 88-90). Around the same time, conflict broke out in Baol, to the north, resulting in the flight of entire villages to St. Joseph’s (although once the pillaging ended most of these people returned home rather than settling long-term) (ARN1930: 88-90).

⁶ As a trading entrepot during the Atlantic Era, Joal had a population of historically Christian residents, referred to as the Christians of Joal, who had been evangelized in the previous centuries, mainly by itinerant Portuguese missionaries. They had been a prime target of the 1849-1851 instantiation of the St. Joseph Mission (Boilat 1853; Brooks 2003).

⁷ Maba Diakhou Bâ’s military campaign had been extending northward from the kingdom of Rip for several years

Meanwhile, throughout the 1870s the leadership of Sine became increasingly antagonistic towards trading posts and French forces. In August of 1871, the Bur, Coumba N'Doffène Diouf, entered Joal in direct violation of his treaty with the French; intimidations and skirmish ensued, and he was fatally wounded. This set off a days-long situation in which inhabitants of the area, including the mission, feared they were on the brink of all-out war (Klein 1968), and many fled (Kobès 1871). Coumba N'Doffène's successor, Sanoumon Faye subsequently signed a treaty with the French, but infringed on its terms in the late 1870s (by conducting raids on trading stations), despite claiming friendship to both the French government and, incidentally, the Spiritans (JN1879). Adding to the troubles in Sine, political rivals challenged Sanoumon Faye throughout the 1870s. He was killed in 1878, and his assassin killed himself in 1881. Over the following five years, five different men rose to the position of Bur Sine (Klein 1968). In this unstable and violent socio-political atmosphere, inhabitants of the Sine also began to migrate towards the Petite Côte near Ngasobil. By 1880, records show large numbers of refugees from Sine flowing into Saint-Joseph and other mission-protected villages, replacing the natives of Saloum who had been returning to their homeland over the previous decade. As a result of their return to Saloum, the mission of St. Joseph became known more widely in that kingdom, and thus, a known destination for migrants who later fled subsequent upheaval in the 1880s (Renoux 1877f; Riehl 1879).

To complicate straightforward demographic understandings of Saint-Joseph more, 1880 once again saw violence in nearby Diéguème, led by Tié-Yacine Fall, Teigne (ruler) of Baol (Riehl 1880d). In 1886, he promised the Spiritans freedom to move around Baol and Diéguème for the purposes of evangelization, but they remained anxious about potential violence (ARN1930: 139-140). Then, in 1889, a French scorched-earth invasion of Diéguème forced

masses of women and children to once again flee to the safety of the mission (ARN1930: 149). These were mainly Sereer-N'Diéghem, broadly ethnically linkws to the Sereer of Sine and Saloum.⁸ All said, however, the majority of the population throughout the missions' history up to the 1930s and beyond were Sereer transplants from across the Sine and Saloum kingdoms. As late as the 1920s, mission documents record periodic influxes of emigres from those provinces, specifically (ARN1930: 195).

While overall, it can be established that most of the inhabitants of the village of Saint-Joseph in Ngasobil were Sereer refugees coming from Saloum and Sine with a certain commonality of cultural and religious beliefs and practices, this does not point to a homogeneous population. In addition to neophytes from other parts of Senegambia and other ethnic groups, the individuals who arrived in Ngasobil during this period came under differing material circumstances, despite common socio-political impetuses for emigration.

Documents from the 1860s are rife with descriptions of refugees fleeing famine, nearly starved to death. Father Martin Duby, stationed in Dakar but providing a vivid description that echoed contemporaneous records from Ngasobil, wrote:

Everywhere, in the forests and along the roads, one comes across cadavers or skeletons. They say that from Dakar to Rufisque a great number are found scattered and abandoned along the coast. In Dakar itself, we see dying these poor, starving people from the interior. (ARN1930: 113)

In Ngasobil, the effects of famine were also keenly felt. Annals record missionaries and villagers happening upon refugees in the fields, collapsed from exhaustion and hunger (ARN1930: 16-17). Such individuals were brought to the mission and cared for; and although many died, those who

⁸ However, historically, Sereer-N'Diéghem society featured a different, more egalitarian social structure, and so differed culturally from that of Sine and Saloum, where a caste hierarchy was in place (Klein 1968).

survived were invited to join the community. Some accounts describe people who had been able to bring some of their portable wealth with them as they fled, but were robbed on the way, sometimes even of their clothing (ARN1930: 149; “Malades soignés et convertis dans la Mission” 1877). Other refugee stories tell of individuals who had been enslaved and fled to the coast, sometime pursued by their masters and/or local authorities (Renoux 1866).

Yet alongside the most traumatic accounts of arrival, there are others in which entire family groups successfully traveled *en masse* from Saloum or Sine, with material wealth including large herds of cattle and goats (ARN1930: 121-122). The Spiritans particularly celebrated these instances, likely because when an entire family group settled, missionaries felt there was more of a chance that they might stay (being together), and the arrival of self-sufficient family units accompanied by their wealth brought resources rather than material burdens to the mission. The cost of feeding those who could not feed themselves and providing household items for those who arrived destitute was a source of anxiety in Spiritan accounting, despite their Christian commitment to charity without hesitation for those in need (ARN 1930: 121-122; *Bulletin de la Communauté [SSJC]* 1928; Kobès 1871; Riehl 1880a).

Finally, some villagers—mainly those who were raised at either the convent or the Spiritans’ facilities—had been born in the major colonial centers of the period (Saint-Louis, Dakar, Gorée, Bathurst in Gambia), and their route to the village of Saint-Joseph’s was through the SSJC and Spiritan missions in those cities (ARN1930; *Bulletin des Soeurs de Saint Joseph de Cluny* 1893; Chapelain 1871a, 1875b; Fourmont 1958). Missionaries believed that children raised in the faith at mission institutions (schools, orphanages), were the best hope for Catholicism to take root. It was hoped they would eventually marry and raise Catholic families

of their own in the village of Saint-Joseph (ARN1930: 99-100, 156; Renoux 1877f; “Vie Apostolique des Religieuses” 1970).

Diversity in Saint-Joseph stemmed not only from ethnicity, country of origin, or economic/caste status. Despite being referred to as the ‘Christian Village of Saint-Joseph’ in missionary documents this was more aspirational than true in the nineteenth century (ARN 1930: 135, 168-169; Renoux 1877c). At its founding in 1863, the only Catholics in residence were the chief and his family (from Joal). Those who were interested in Catholicism lived side-by-side with those resolutely preserving their ancestral religious practices (Kobès 1863g; Renoux 1877c). One decade later, about forty people were living in Saint-Joseph, of which twelve adults were Catholic (ARN 1930: 170-172). Saint-Joseph was home to converted neophytes, but also to those who continued traditional religious practices, such as attending to the *pangool* (ancestral and nature-based spirits) by offering libations, often at sacred trees and other sites within the landscape (ARN 1930: 170-172; Renoux 1877c; Riehl 1876). Broadly speaking, Sereer cosmology acknowledges a single creator god, *Roog Sene*, who is dealt with indirectly. Direct spiritual interactions and practices revolve around the *pangool*, who serve as intermediaries or intercessors for the living. As such, Sereer religion calls for attending to the needs and desires of *pangool* (through material offerings at sacred locations and shrines), in order for the living to curry favor, seek protection, solve problems, etc. (Boilat 1853; Bourgeau 1931; Gravrand 1973, 1990; Richard 2007, 2019; Thomas & Alanamu 2018).

While over time, Saint-Joseph became increasingly Catholic, the gradual movement towards religious homogeneity may be interpreted as a result of the community-building work that occurred in the village and across the mission as a whole, due to the otherwise heterogeneous character of its population. Joining the Church brought diverse residents together

and engaged them in the project of building one Franco-Senegalese-Catholic community and its attendant habitus. Despite—or perhaps because of—having sometimes vastly different life experiences and points of cultural and religious origin prior to their arrival on the Petite-Côte, participation in the project of missionization was a means through which a diverse and fluctuating population eventually became in many ways the affective (if not administrative) heart of the Apostolic Vicariate and the Senegalese Church. A desire to overcome the violence of traumatic dislocation may have made participation in this project even more attractive, perhaps particularly for those who had little or no memory of their ‘homeland’—the younger generations.

There was a distinct generational divide in which adults (and especially elders) were resistant to conversion, although they were not hostile to the missionaries themselves, and not necessarily reluctant to learn about Catholicism or to allow their children to attend religious instruction at the mission or the village school (ARN 1930: 45, 92-93; JN 1879; Kunemann 1904). Records show a pattern in which the young were most easily evangelized, whereas adults were more reticent (even if they were receptive to learning about Catholicism, many hesitated to officially convert). However, the elderly would sometimes show a desire to for baptism when they were nearing or on their death beds (ARN 1930: 145, 153). Missionaries interpreted this as the result of grace, of heavenly intervention in the nick of time to save “infidel” souls. Rather than conversion as a long-game requiring celestial intervention at the last minute, a cynical view might consider this a strategic tactic on the part of potential converts—that they had been listening for years to Catholic doctrine and determined the end of the line was the best timing for baptism. Indeed, in the early days of the Church in the Roman Empire, a not dissimilar attitude towards this sin-absolving sacrament was taken. A more nuanced view, however, prompts two alternative interpretations. First, baptism represented a relinquishing of the connection to the

one's home (including its sacred landscape) and ancestors, in favor of the new community and cosmology. As an example, Farida was a founding settler of Saint-Joseph, and he took pride in this fact, but he was also adamant about not converting. He explained that if he were to commit to conversion, then he could never dare to return to his homeland in Saloum.⁹ Despite this, he had raised his many adopted children as Catholics. Upon becoming gravely ill in his sixties, he expressed the desire to be baptized (ARN 1930: 101-102). For Farida, converting meant not being able to imagine ever returning to his homeland, which was—until his final illness precluded that possibility—*unimaginable*. It may have also meant the neglect of the *pangool*, another risk he was not willing to take while he might need their goodwill, aid, and protection on the terrestrial plane. Despite his reluctance to give up on the idea of returning home, Farida's children—having been raised in Ngasobil—were devoutly Catholic and part of the younger generation for whom Saint-Joseph itself was home. They urged him to convert as he neared death.

Second, baptism was feared by early villagers—largely due to the practice of baptizing those deemed mortally ill, as the last (and perhaps best) act of care that missionaries could confer on any individual. Thus, it might have seemed wisest, especially in the early years of the mission, to wait things out, rather than tempt death through this unfamiliar and apparently powerful Catholic ceremony. The Catholic emphasis on baptism before death—something which in an emergency can be performed by any Catholic, but in the mission setting was most often carried out by missionary sisters in the absence of a priest—likely inadvertently associated this

⁹ It is unclear whether Farida meant that having irrevocably broken his ties to the sacred landscape of his home in Saloum through conversion that he could not imagine living there as a Catholic, or if he thought it would be politically/socially or spiritually dangerous to return to Saloum were he to convert.

sacramental act with death (ARN 1930: 94; *Bulletins des Communautés des Père du St-Esprit* 1866; *Bulletin Général* 1896; Chapelain 1871a; Malades soignés et convertis dans la Mission” 1877; Sébire 1891; “Soeur André” n.d.). In 1871, village parents were observed as hesitant if not terrified of allowing either the African or French sisters to tend to their sick or injured children, perceiving a cause-and-effect relationship between sick-bed baptism and death (“Mois de Mai” 1871). This early misunderstanding of the material effects of baptism caused general suspicion towards missionary visits (*Bulletin de La Communauté [SSJC]* 1899). This was eventually overcome, thanks to two factors: 1) the very presence of the Senegambian DHHM sisters as cultural mediators, and 2) the persistence of the sisters’ (both Senegambian and French) efforts to provide medical care and the high quality of their nursing expertise (Barthet 1900; *Bulletin de la Communauté [SSJC]* 1925, 1988, 1989; Curtis 2010a; Foster 2013; Mazonq 1926; Valot 1924c). Over time, this particular objection to missionary visits and baptism in Saint-Joseph faded.

However, even baptized individuals and those raised as Catholics from childhood continued to engage in traditional practices. Louise Thaddée had been raised at the convent and then married a mission catechist—the ideal trajectory for mission children. However, in March 1875, she was observed throwing away a bottle of holy water. In addition to the fact that the act in itself was sacrilegious, Louise’s action was deemed particularly suspicious when reported by Sister Claire, because her mother was known to have been killed for being a witch (Riehl 1875b). However, keeping Sereer religious practices in mind, this act of throwing the water away might not have been meant as sacrilege or disrespect to the blessed material (water), but as a melding of

Catholic and Sereer sacred practices: the use of holy water as a libation for *pangool*.¹⁰ Indeed, it was not uncommon for the mission priests to ceremonially bless with holy water different parts of the mission, the village, and even the agricultural fields. Based on those experiences, the integration of holy water into a Sereer libation offering has reasonable traction.

Yet, a lack of conversion was not so strictly forbidden that exile—as Louise experienced when her husband evicted her from their home—was the automatic result of non-Christian practice. Missionaries sometimes dedicated decades to converting a single resident. In 1898 an elderly widow named Malado finally renounced her ancestral traditions, including disposing of her gris-gris and “fetishes,”¹¹ after having lived at the mission for over thirty years (ARN 1930: 173-174). She and her husband had been among the very first settlers in Saint-Joseph. He had converted early on and been baptized by Kobès, but she resisted for over three decades. Documentation does not offer much detail as to why—spiritually—Malado did eventually engage in Catholic religious instruction and ask for baptism; the missionaries saw it as the result of an act of heavenly grace, a victory for God and their mission.

While European missionaries did not see space for traditional religious practices alongside Catholicism, the existence and persistence of such practices amongst neophytes point towards efforts on their part to find some coexistence between the two cosmologies, particularly

¹⁰ In the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries the archaeological record of Sine shows increasing usage of imported alcohol at *pangool* shrines (Richard 2007, 2019). In the context of missionization it does not seem unreasonable that holy water might also enter into this realm of imported goods (and in this case, cosmologies) used in for religious purposes. This said, the details on the case of Louise Thaddée are minimal, and this possible interpretation of her actions is speculative.

¹¹ Nineteenth-century Spiritan documents regularly refer to fetishism on the part of the Sereer, a colonial prejudice and misunderstanding of Sereer religion and spiritual practices. As Richard (2019) points out, by the 1930s the view of Sereer religion as a form of ancestor worship gained more traction (see: Bourgeau 1933).

during the first generations of the conversion experience. Change over time reveals a generational movement towards more widespread Catholicism and long-term attachment to the mission. In 1880 and 1881, Father Riehl remarked that the villagers seemed less and less inclined to consider moving back to their homes in the interior, and that the great majority of people living in Saint-Joseph were practicing Catholics—although emigres would continue to arrive at the mission through the early twentieth century, continuing to inject the mission with new blood (ARN 1930: 120-121, 156; Riehl 1880a, c).

The Convent of Saint Joseph

Through congregation records, the convent population is somewhat more knowable than the nebulous and fluctuating village population. As such it is more straightforward to map the range of social relationships that operated within its walls. Furthermore, the convent was the central node of many of the practices—spiritual and secular—that came to define the Senegalese Catholic church and a Franco-Senegalese ideology of Catholic domesticity and womanhood through the educational and caring services provided there by the DHHM and the SSJC (Chapter 5). In terms of educating the women and girls of Saint-Joseph (and even colonial Senegal more broadly), this was the major institutional site of social and religious education and reproduction; it was also a place where gender ideologies and disciplines were disseminated. As such, parsing the social field particular to the Convent of St. Joseph is integral to understanding how this part of the mission and the women who inhabited it shaped the experience of conversion and the cultivation of vocation.

Analyzing different potential breakdowns of the convent inhabitants into groupings reinforces identity as intersectional, fluid, and susceptible to change over time or based on the

specific social interaction in question. Setting up a series of dichotomies at the convent as a heuristic exercise throws into relief the myriad potential and shifting relationships possible, even in a stereotypically highly structured institutional setting. As a few examples, the population might be split into Senegambian/French, Vocational/Secular, or Authority Figures/Their Charges. If the following are assumed as sub-groups (some overlapping), the resultant relationships provoke widely differing affinities: catechumenates, children, DHHM, novices, older children, *pensionnaires*, day students, novices, postulants, pre-postulants, professed DHHM, resident ‘orphans,’ small children/infants, SSJC, village students. These categorical breakdowns (table 4.1) emphasize the importance of historical context as some designations changed drastically between, say, 1875 and 1892¹² (objectively), or between a girl’s entry into the pre-postulate program and her first profession of vows (subjectively).

A simple Senegambian/French comparison lumps together a wide array of Senegambian women and children who were quite differently situated in terms of their social, religious, familial, and economic backgrounds—without taking ethnicity into account. The breakdown exploring authority highlights shifting power dynamics of convent leadership over time, as well its flexibility across social space—meaning that novices who might spend most of their day in class receiving religious instruction from the director of the novitiate, would also spend a few afternoon hours mending linens and clothing or supervising young children, while the school-aged girls (orphans, *pensionnaires*, and day students from the village) had their turn in the classroom to practice French and arithmetic under the guidance of a professed sister (Barthelemy 1865a; *Bulletin de la Communauté [SSJC]* 1906). The Vocational/Secular dichotomy (which could also be described as Caregivers/Cared For, to be further explored in Chapter 5) might seem

¹² The first period during which the DHHM ran the novitiate independent of the SSJC.

the most nuanced, in that it set up the ways in which relationships were established through daily practices and religious hierarchy within the convent; however, it elides issues of race, class, age, ethnicity, religious background, etc. Nonetheless, these categorical breakdowns illustrate the complexity of negotiating social life within the convent, and the varied and shifting relationships inhabitants had with one another.

Senegambian	French	Vocational	Secular	Authority Figures	Their Charges	Both (depending on context)
DHHM	SSJC	DHHM	small children	SSJC	small children	DHHM
orphans		SSJC	infants	1858-1875	infants	novices
village students		pre-postulants	orphans	1892-1909	orphans	older children
<i>pensionnaires</i>		postulants	village students	1923-1957	village students	
<i>Sixa</i> students ¹³		novices	<i>pensionnaires</i>		<i>pensionnaires</i>	
all students			<i>Sixa</i> students	DHHM	<i>Sixa</i> students	
pre-postulants			older children	1875-1950	all students	
postulants			all students	1957-present	pre-postulants	
novices					postulants	
professed DHHM						
small children						
infants						
older children						

Table 4.1. Experimental breakdowns of convent inhabitants.

The convent women—even if we only consider the religious sisters—were a diverse group and became more so over time, much more so than the populations of medieval and early modern European and colonial convents, which tended to cater to specific classes and geographies of women. Some were specifically intended for upper-class elites (requiring

¹³ The *Sixa* was a program founded during the interwar period by SSJC Sister Camille du Sacre-Cœur Knobloch. It was geared towards young unbaptized women, mainly those recently affianced or married (in which case young children were permitted to join their mothers at the convent). The *Sixa* prepared these women for baptism and also provided domestic training and instruction in puericulture.

significant dowries for entry), while others catered to local gentry, and certain orders created specifically lower-class tiers for the least well-off, to whom fell the corporeal tasks necessary to the daily functioning of the cloister (Burns 1999; Gilchrist 1994). However, at St. Joseph's the physical labor necessary to support the community was demanded of all, from the Mother General down to the greenest recruits, regardless of their former status outside the convent walls ("Benediction de la Chapelle: 1870; *Bulletins des Communautés des Père du St-Esprit* 1866; "Fondation de la Congrégation des Filles du St Coeur de Marie: n.d.; "Origine des Religieuses Africaines" n.d.; Valot 1924c). Newly founded (and reimagined) nineteenth-century religious orders tended to focus on missionization and the labor necessary to achieve that goal, in distinct opposition to contemplative orders (Curtis 2010a, 2010b). Such orders can be argued to have had a more democratically available appeal to women who felt a vocational calling. In this vein, the DHHM was founded without dowry requirements (in contrast to convents founded in colonial Peru; Burns 1999). The recruitment of Senegambian women with parents willing to let them abandon their familial responsibilities was difficult enough, never mind the paucity of Catholic women interested in entering the religious life (*Bulletin de La Communauté [SSJC]* 1896).

The biographies of early sisters reveal some significant commonalities in their origins and journey towards vocation. Sisters Marie and Joséphine (founding DHHM members) both hailed from Gorée Island, a long-time colonial trading hub. Sister Marie's family, the St-Jeans, were of the elite *métis signare* class. Prior to her entrance into religion, Sister Marie's life was that of a wealthy, socially privileged girl who could look forward to a strategically arranged marriage and economically secure future (Dugon 1959; *Notice sur Soeur Marie* 1871; "Origine des Religieuses Africaines du Saint-Coeur de Marie" n.d.). Less is known of Sister Joséphine's family, but she too was born and raised on Gorée, spending several years with the French

Stéphan family in France and Saint-Louis before returning to Gorée around the age of fourteen (“Soeur Joséphine (1833-1904)” n.d.).¹⁴ Both Sister Marie and Sister Joséphine had Euro-Catholic and relatively privileged upbringings in the heart of the mid nineteenth-century Franco-Senegambian colonial milieu. Many of the women who followed them had similar backgrounds (“Rapport sur la Congrégation des Filles du Saint Coeur de Marie” 1967). Sisters Paul Lacombe, Salomé Daier, Anne Duma, Pierre-Claver Philippe, Liguori Labouret, Zacharie N’Diaye, and Thérèse Dumont, all joined in the 1860s and were born on Gorée where many had been educated at the SSJC convent (“Fondation de la Congrégation des Filles du St Coeur de Marie” n.d.; “Soeur Liguori” n.d.; “Soeur Zacharie” n.d.). The unique multi-cultural milieu of the coastal colonial centers would have endowed these young women and girls with a cultural background and accompanying habitus both distinctly Senegambian, but also specific to these types of major coastal trading centers in Senegambia (Brooks 1976, 2003; Hinchman 2006; H. Jones 2013; Mark 2002). Women who emigrated from Bathurst (now Banjul) in Gambia, where the Spiritans ran the Sainte-Marie mission, may have had a similar background in terms of the general social milieu. In these trade entrepôts on the West African coast, women had historically been economically active in leadership positions, held wealth, managed labor, forged beneficial financial and personal relationships with male colonists, and helped to cultivate a unique and pluralistic society. However, by the 1830s and certainly the mid-nineteenth century when the story of the DHHM begins, *signare* society had been on the decline due to the strengthening of the French position in Senegal, continued efforts to regularize Franco-Senegalese social and economic liaisons, and the decline and end of the transatlantic slave trade (Benoist & Camara

¹⁴ The details of this arrangement are unclear, but documents refer to young Thérèse Sagna as being ‘cared for’ by the Stéphan family.

2003; Hinchman 2015). The options for women were changing, becoming less flexible, less publicly oriented, and directed towards the private domestic sphere more in line with European gender logics and mores (Curtis 2010a; Mark 2002). It is possible that entering into the Catholic religious life was seen by some as a new opportunity for African women to assert themselves in the changing colonial milieu.

Women who had been educated in colonial convents would have entered the postulate with practical knowledge of what the daily life of religious sisters looked like. This is not to say that all of the early DHHM sisters shared this cultural genealogy, simply that throughout the nineteenth century and into the twentieth, many of the girls and young women who came to join the novitiate in Ngasobil had prior experience with convent life as day students, *pensionnaires*, or orphans educated by the SSJC. Furthermore, many if not most came to the convent from decidedly colonial and multi-ethnic coastal social contexts (Barthet 1891b, 1894; *Bulletin de la Communauté [SSJC]* 1896, 1906; *Bulletin des Soeurs de Saint Joseph de Cluny* 1893; Chapelain 1865b; “Fondation de la Congrégation des Filles du St Coeur de Marie” n.d.; Kobès 1865; “Rapport sur la Congrégation des Filles du Saint Coeur de Marie” 1967; “Soeur Marthe” n.d.; “Soeur Véronique” n.d.; “Soeur Zacharie” n.d.’ Valot 1926b, 1929a, 1931a).

Nor is this to imply that the early DHHM all came from the *signare* class or originally from urban centers (Kobès 1865). The early 1870s case of the young novice who fled Saloum with her grandmother as a child and arrived destitute at the mission with a migration experience and ethnic origins shared by many of the villagers brings into relief the different socio-economic backgrounds of women in the DHHM, despite the fact that they were an easily identifiable seemingly cohesive group within the mission community (“Malades soignés et convertis dans la Mission” 1877). For instance, prior to her entry into the postulate, Sister Cléophas (née Mam

Camara) was a so-called ‘domestic slave’ in a *signare* household in Bathurst. During the transatlantic slave trade, such individuals were enslaved but not destined for the Middle Passage and chattel slavery in the Americas. Rather, they remained integrated into West African social hierarchies as enslaved laborers attached to a particular household (often those of *signares*, but other individuals and institutions as well), who might work in that household at times but also be ‘leased’ out to labor elsewhere (Benjamin 2016); this practice continued after the suppression of the transatlantic trade. When Kobès visited the Sainte Marie mission in the mid-1860s, Mam asked to go Ngasobil with him in order to join the DHHM. Her position at the time prevented her from doing so, but in 1867 she gained her freedom and made her way to Ngasobil, where she joined the postulate and then took the habit on 24 May 1867 (“Notice sur Soeur Cléophas” n.d.; “Soeur Cléophas” 1869). She was one of several early sisters with stories of emigrating from Bathurst in the 1860s with the expressed goal of joining the DHHM. Some of these women, including Sister Cléophas, were raised as Protestants in the British colony; thus, their vocational calling was also a call to conversion. All the same, this situates them as having already been familiar with Christianity, the Catholic mission in Bathurst, and the different opportunities available to women in different Christian traditions (“Soeur André” n.d.; “Soeur Jean” n.d.; “Soeur Marie-Monique” n.d.; “Soeur Marthe” n.d.). However, adding to their challenges, some such postulants did not speak French, which was the first hurdle to overcome at St. Joseph’s (“Soeur Cléophas” 1869; Valot 1930).¹⁵ Across the mission, residents spoke a variety of

¹⁵ Language barriers continued well into the twentieth century as well. In her letter of March 13, 1930, Mother Gonzague wrote to Mother General Marie de Saint Jean that the DHHM novitiate had welcomed three new novices, who were “very good children,” but unfortunately did not speak with French or Wolof, presenting a significant challenge to their becoming integrated into the convent community in general and making it difficult to initiate them into the novitiate. Presumably language instruction was the first step in their novitiate education and training.

languages as their native tongues; within the convent and Spiritan compound, this was partially addressed by the insistence that residents learn and speak French.¹⁶

As the St. Joseph Mission grew, so too did the draw of the DHHM novitiate—partially because once the mission became well-established in the last quarter of the nineteenth century, girls who had been raised at the convent or in the village began to enter into the postulate, such as Sister Rosalie Faye. Sister Rosalie was born in Bathurst in 1870, but raised at St. Joseph. A true success story, she professed her first vows in 1891 and proceeded to serve in mission stations throughout Senegal until she was appointed Director of the Novitiate in 1917, before being elected Mother General in 1925 until her death in 1944 (“Soeur Rosalie” n.d.). As the Catholic mission expanded its reach in the twentieth century, more DHHM hailed from beyond the major colonial centers (Sine, Saloum, Futa, Casamance, Cap Vert), although Saint-Louis and Gorée remained important sources of vocations due to pipeline created by the SSJC convent schools—a trajectory of which missionary administrators were well aware (ARN 1930: 70-72; Barthet 1891c; *Bulletin de la Communauté [SSJC]* 1906; *Bulletin des Soeurs de Saint Joseph de Cluny* 1893; “Mars” 1871; Valot 1924a, 1926b, 1929a, 1930). This change in the generational make-up of the DHHM was noted by Father Jean-Baptiste-Léon Cimbault in 1910. He remarked that professed sisters tended to be *métisse*, whereas the younger generation was generally not, pointing to the fact that as the reach of the Catholic mission expanded beyond colonial centers,

¹⁶ Beyond social and organizational practicalities within the mission, learning French may also have been seen as an economic strategy by neophytes, particularly in later years, in that women who received domestic training at the convent might go on to work as staff in a colonial household or office, or in the hospitality industry. Thus, learning French might be seen as a potential socio-economic opportunity—although it was also, within St. Joseph’s, classed as the preferred ‘official’ language of mission operations and education—one of the hegemonic tools of missionization at play.

so too did their terrain of recruitment for vocation, and the backgrounds of the women who were called to vocation (Cimbault 1910).

On the European side, most SSJC sisters were French. Mother Anne-Marie Javouhey, founder of the SSJC, had been the daughter of a wealthy peasant family in Burgundy. She, her sisters, several nieces, and cousins formed the core leadership of the SSCJ for much of the nineteenth century (Curtis 2010a; Martindale 1953). As an order dedicated to community service centered on the education of girls and care for the poor—whether in France or the colonies—the SSJC fit into the class of religious orders that tended to appeal to women of the middling classes, recruiting membership from across France (Chapelain 1868a; *Bulletin de la Communauté [SSJC]* 1988; “*Bulletin des Soeurs de Saint Joseph de Cluny* 1926, 1934a, b, 1969). These women came to Senegal with both Franco-Catholic sets of values and institutional practices, and post-Revolutionary French social values that included particular understandings of colonialism, gender norms, and expectations of women and the family. Some of these mapped onto one another. The latter increasingly became a source of anxiety and the subject of socio-political articulation and concern in France, particularly under the Third Republic and its mobilization of gender ideologies and conceptions of the normative nuclear family which centered on idealized notions of masculinity and femininity as distinctive yet complementary roles (Auslander 2001; Conklin 1988, 1997; Silverman 1989; Surkis 2006; Tiersten 2001). Far-flung repercussions of this modern codification of the family, gender ideologies, and citizen education can be seen in French imperial policies (Conklin 1997, 1998) as well as the ways in which marriage and family were framed by convent educative practices that emphasized the role of motherhood in the successful reproduction of Catholicism, in the space of the Catholic home—although this drew

on both French and Senegambian traditions (ARN 1930: 156; *Bulletin de la Communauté [SSJC]* 1928; Fourmont 1958; Renoux 1877f; “Vie Apostolique des Religieuses” 1970).

This said, prior to the turn-of-the-century, there were a few Senegambian members of the SSJC, mainly women of the elite *signare* class—such as Sister Liguori Labouret of Gorée, possibly the first Senegalese woman to complete the novitiate in France in the 1850s. After her missionary deployment to Senegal, in 1861 she successfully petitioned to join the DHHM, potentially due to prejudice she experienced within the SSJC (Chapelain 1862; Kobès 1861b; Lossadat 1861; “Soeur Liguori” n.d.). Interestingly, when Mother Rosalie was forced to resign her position with the DHHM due to a combination of health troubles and friction with her superiors, Sister Liguori threatened to petition to re-join the French SSJC. Her motivations were opaque, but rooted in a complex set of religious, racial, and social vectors (Chapelain 1875a, b; Labouret 1875).¹⁷

Meanwhile, around the same time Sister Liguori had been petitioning to join the DHHM, Sister Marie-Joseph Valentin (also from Gorée) made her profession as a member of the SSJC in France in 1858—just as Sister Liguori had done in earlier in the decade. However, Sister Marie-Joseph went on to spend over twenty years in various SSJC communities in France before she returned to Senegal as a missionary in 1878. Over the following decades she rose in the SSJC missionary ranks, becoming the Mother Superior of the Sainte-Marie community in Bathurst in 1888, and then taking up the direction of the DHHM novitiate—as an SSJC sister—at St. Joseph’s in 1898 (Bouveret 1898; *Bulletin de la Communauté [SSJC]* 1911).

¹⁷ Sister Liguori discussed: how much she benefited from the leadership of European sisters; how the DHHM required more assistance from SSJC; her agitation at the rumor that after Mother Rosalie’s death the DHHM might be affiliated with the Sisters of the Immaculate Conception of Castres (SICC); her preference to rejoin the SSJC rather than be put under either the direction of a different French order or a DHHM mother superior.

The case of Sister Marie-Joseph is a reminder that nineteenth-century membership in the SSJC did not always denote either whiteness or Frenchness (although most SSJC involved with the DHHM prior to 1930 *were* of French origin). Significantly, Sister Marie-Joseph's tenure as the director of the DHHM novitiate indicates that while there were certainly racist ideologies at play in the administration of the African order, concerns regarding the novitiate program itself in Ngasobil may have had a rooting in the differences between facilities and training in France vs. Senegal rather than in a clear-cut racial prejudice that pitted French women against Senegambian women. The problem was not so much that a Senegalese woman might be running the novitiate in Senegal, but that a DHHM sister who had not been trained through the rigors of the novitiate in France was in charge and failing to instill adequate vocational discipline. For this reason, the SSJC reappeared at intervals to take over the direction of the novitiate twice after Mother Rosalie's 1875 departure (1892-1909, 1923-1957). Nonetheless, concern regarding the novitiate reflects racism leveled against the DHHM as an organization specifically consisting of (and potentially run by) Senegambian women in Senegal. French missionaries throughout the period wrote about the good intentions but supposedly inadequate dispositions of DHHM postulants, novices, and professed sisters; yet, despite this judgement, the congregation remained a valued project (Chapelain 1863a; Picarda 1888; Riehl 1880f; Valot 1923a, 1924a). European missionaries were aware of the sisters' contributions if not necessarily appreciative or acknowledging of the true extent or depth of the role the DHHM played in actual proselytization.

As for the children and young non-DHHM women living and learning at the convent (fig. 4., their ethnic and geographic origins are broadly traceable through the various waves of migration from the interior to the coast that swept through Senegal over the latter half of the nineteenth century, mainly from Sine and Saloum, as discussed above. As with the early DHHM,

a good number of orphans living and learning at the convent in the nineteenth century (as opposed to students from the village and *pensionnaires* from families in the general vicinity) were channeled there through the missions in Dakar, Gorée, and Saint-Louis. From its foundation, the Convent of St. Joseph was envisioned in being able to welcome and care for children from throughout the Apostolic Vicariate.



Figure 4.3. Postcard: Sénégal—Ouvroir dirigé par des Soeurs Indigènes. Early twentieth century. Author's personal collection.

So-called orphans—sometimes children with no family (or violently separated from their families), but also children who had been deposited by desperate parents—arrived at the convent under varying circumstances. Some were brought by family members who could no longer care for them due to various hardships. There was a common misrecognition between missionaries and guardians as to the permanence of these arrangements—perceived as long-term and final to missionaries, but sometimes as merely a temporary solution by parents and guardians. In an 1866

letter, Father Renoux wrote of a woman “dying from starvation” who had placed her two children in the care of the DHHM. Later, when she returned to reclaim them, her daughters were delighted to see their mother again, but upon realizing that she wanted them to leave with her, one of them exclaimed:

Oh no mother, I could not leave the sisters... if I go with you, I will lose my soul and I will go to hell... I want to save myself and go to heaven. Mother, stay here with the sisters too, or better yet: live in the village, then you will learn the prayers, and then the religion, and then we will both go to heaven. (Renoux 1866)

While the strict veracity of these transcribed words, written to the Spiritan Superior General, may be met with some skepticism, the fact remains some children did choose the mission over their families (and this was encouraged) (Renoux 1866). Perhaps the physical, emotional, and spiritual care they received and the new community of which they became a part *through* that care impacted their decisions. With the enfolding of children into the convent community and their integration through religious, academic, and domestic instruction, an alternative household space was created, opening up the possibility of alternative kinship ties and the replacement of traditional and biological ones through that care (Alber & Drotbohm 2015; Häberlein 2015; Leinaweaver 2015; Weismantel 1995). Stories of severed family ties in which parents/guardians met resistance from children (and young DHHM) desirous of remaining at the mission were highlighted in missionary documents (“Consécration à Saint Joseph” 1871). These instances point towards the cultivation of an affective, cohesive community within the convent walls, and appear in tension with conflicting reports of DHHM sisters maintaining familial ties ‘too much’ from the point of view of their SSJC and Spiritan directors (“Chapitre Général du 25 Mai” 1910; “Conseil du 4 Juillet 1903” 1903; “Du chapitre après la retraite annuelle” 1902).

Bridging these two narratives (broken vs. persistent external family ties) are accounts in which girls were brought to the convent because they had a relative amongst the DHHM (ARN

1930: 127). These provide a different story in which new and traditional/familial kinships ties overlapped and melded at the convent. This disturbed European missionaries—indeed, Monseigneur Barthet wrote to Mother Joséphine,¹⁸ threatening to forcefully separate family members—but it likely bolstered the convent’s functional role as a hub of conversion and vocation by taking advantage of external kinship ties and networks (Barthet 1893).

Girls arrived at the convent through other channels as well. Families in Saint-Joseph sent their daughters to attend the convent school as day students (ARN 1930: 135). Families from more distant villages (Saint-Benoit-Mbodiène, Ndianda, etc.) may have sent their daughters as *pensionnaires*; this practice grew in the twentieth century. The model of the convent school as boarding school has parallels in both European and Senegambian contexts; the first SSJC school in Saint-Louis was designed as such in the early nineteenth century (Curtis 2010a). Catholic mothers from the upper classes of Saint-Louis and Gorée would likely have been familiar with this religious-educational paradigm and perhaps more willing than others to send their daughters to the Convent of St. Joseph than non-Christian families or recent converts in the interior.

Finally, formerly enslaved children formed an important contingent of the orphan population at both the convent and the Spiritan mission. Some escaped slavery on their own, and in fleeing to the coast were found by members of the mission in neighboring villages or agricultural fields, often in poor health (ARN 1930: 127). Such children were brought to the convent, their healthcare needs met by the nuns, and then welcomed to join the ranks of neophytes (Renoux 1866). Other children and adolescents were directly purchased (ransomed) out of slavery by Spiritans with the use of charitable funds from Catholic organizations such as

¹⁸ Sister Joséphine Sagna succeeded Mother Rosalie Chapelain as the first Senegalese Superior General of the DHHM in 1875.

the Association of the Holy Childhood and the Propagation of the Faith (ARN 1930: 127). The complexity of the mission's relationship with slavery and the means through which formerly enslaved children and adolescents came to Ngasobil merits a dedicated discussion, provided in the next section.

By looking at the geographic and ethnic origins of the vocational and secular inhabitants of the Convent of St. Joseph, a few general patterns emerge. First, the DHHM sisters of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries came primarily from urban colonial centers with deeper histories of Catholicism and Euro-African interactions (personal, economic, political). Most DHHM had been educated by the SSJC at the convent schools in Saint-Louis and Gorée. Nearly all came from Christian families (majority Catholic, a few Protestant). Later in the nineteenth century some postulants and novices from the mission (convent or village) may have come from converted families originally practicing traditional Senegambian religions, and their ethnic background was most likely to be Sereer from either Saloum or Sine. Throughout the period of study, however, archival sources emphasize that most early DHHM sisters originated in coastal, predominantly Wolof and French colonial urban centers. Thus, in comparison to the children housed and educated at the Convent of St. Joseph in the nineteenth century, these women differed in their ethnic, class, and religious backgrounds. While one of the logics behind the establishment of the DHHM in the 1850s was that Senegambian nuns would know the local language of those they sought to proselytize, this was not always true—as implied by this demographic data. At the turn-of-the-century, DHHM council and chapter meetings emphasized the need for sisters to make serious efforts to learn appropriate local languages as quickly as possible upon their deployment to missionary posts (“Conseil du 18 Mars” 1896). Meanwhile, the persistent use of Wolof by DHHM sisters at St. Joseph's was repeatedly condemned, with

European administrators insisting that all residents of the convent speak French (“Conseil du 8 Décembre” 1886; “Conseil du 10 Mai” 1887; “Conseil du 22 Mars” 1892; “Conseil du 16 Mars” 1893; “Conseil du 30 Mai” 1906; “Du chapitre après la retraite annuelle” 1902).

These policies can be read in two ways—one less generous, the other more so—and likely the lived reality was somewhere in between. First, such language demands are consistent with educational policies and the general ethos of imperial domination (Conklin 1997) if seen in the light of missionization tending to liaise itself to the colonial ‘civilizing’ project (Foster 2013). Second—and somewhat conversely, certainly more pragmatically—an insistence on the language (French) that was supposed to be common to *all* residents of the convent, could be interpreted as intending to foster community by establishing a linguistic common ground for daily life that was rooted neither in Senegambian ethnicities or regions of origin, but operated as the dominant colonial and missionary language. The identification and cultivation of such commonalities has been argued by Ben Highmore (2002) to be a way through which the unifying terrain of the everyday is produced. On one hand, the use of French at the convent was tool of colonial hegemony; on the other, it also appears as a pragmatic strategy for facilitating both quotidian tasks and the cultivation of community amongst the diverse sets of women and girls negotiating the complex colonial social field. As a backdrop for everyday life, French language enabled the range required of convent-based practices across the community. Meanwhile, the use of Wolof and Sereer perhaps represent tactics within highly structured convent life, allowing Senegambian women and girls to create spaces that were their own, beyond the discipline of the convent as an institution controlled by French women over long blocks of time, and continuously supervised and regulated by European men, many of whom had limited West African language skills (perhaps especially amongst the newer SSJC and Spiritan appointees to the region).

Analysis of the many and multi-scalar interactions and relationships of the convent evinces the ways in which these women and girls negotiated mission life in a way that allowed Franco-Catholic and Senegambian practices (and beliefs, if we recall former convent student Louise Thaddée) to exist in the same space.

Missionization & Slavery

Both the village and the convent became home to formerly enslaved individuals. The circumstances of their arrivals corresponded in some ways to those experienced by other refugees, in terms of geographic and cultural displacement, separation from family, and experiences of violence and warfare. Their history also illuminates how the mission benefitted from the socio-political upheaval caused by colonialism (although Spiritan missionaries generally blamed the spread of Islam for the perpetuation of slavery), and purposely gathered enslaved individuals to the mission as a means of growing the potential neophyte population. As seen in the previous sections, diversity—in this case through the absorption of the formerly enslaved, many of whom traveled great distances as part of trade caravans from the interior—can be considered as part of how the population moved towards Catholicism as a common ground and way to create community. However, this aspect of St. Joseph's history forces the recognition that while for some the mission was an appreciated place of succor, for others it was a place they never chose, and sometimes a place from which to flee.

The Catholic mission in Senegambia had a complicated relationship with slavery—as did the colonial government (Conklin 1997; Moitt 1989). Although missionaries (and the Church, more broadly) condemned slavery in the nineteenth century, there are ways in which the presence of the mission and the desires of missionaries to liberate the enslaved helped to

perpetuate the trade in and around Ngasobil. An uneasy narrative emerges from the archives, in which the on-going regional slave trade in West Africa presented a condition of possibility for the growth of the mission population via the importation of young people to Ngasobil. Once there, they were faced with precious few options other than becoming neophytes and working to support the project of the mission in both religious and material/labor-based terms. This practice shows the darker side of mission recruitment—particularly when seen in light of documents lamenting the “escape” of children back to their homelands and families in the night (ARN 1930: 39; *Bulletin de la Communauté [SSJC]* 1899; Renoux 1866). The exact conditions from which children were ransomed to the mission are unclear, although documents suggest that Spiritans sought out enslaved individuals who had been transported long distances within the regional slave trade, separated from their families and cultures before missionaries entered their lives—but it is also clear that this was not always the case. Usually couched in the language of Christian charity and liberation, Spiritans regarded enslaved children and adolescents as prime subjects for proselytization, facilitated by the generous act of mission and charity-financed liberation. It is likely they genuinely saw themselves as saving children and giving them a home and spiritual salvation. The reality is more complex.

Purchasing the enslaved—particularly children and adolescents—in order to free them, and then offering a home alongside religious instruction at the mission became common practice in the nineteenth century, and once again, St. Joseph’s was an early paradigm-setting site for the practice.¹⁹ As such, the mission and its Spiritan leadership occupy an uncomfortable space—along with the colonial government—when it comes to the history of the West African slave

¹⁹ Dorothy L. Hodgson’s (2005) research on later nineteenth and twentieth-century Spiritan missionization amongst the Masai in Tanzania reveals a similar dynamic.

trade, which was only officially condemned by European powers in at the Brussels International Conference on July 2, 1890.²⁰ Even though the suppression of both the regional (or ‘domestic’) trade and the existence of slavery was an official goal of colonial governance, in practice the administration’s attitude to enforcing restrictions was opaque at best and the process of eradicating slavery as an institution and social/legal status extended into the twentieth century in French West Africa (Conklin 1997; Moitt 1989).²¹

At St. Joseph’s, transactions with slave traders appear to have trailed off in the 1880s; however, in a notable 1890 incident, a large group of Diola women and children escaped from a caravan near Mbour. They fled to the Convent of St. Joseph, and it is possible some of them stayed on permanently in Ngasobil. This event prompted an impassioned letter written by Father Albert Sébire to Monseigneur Barthet (Vicar Apostolic), imploring the bishop to speak to the

²⁰ In comparison, suppression of the Atlantic slave trade and abolition were passed into French law in 1831 and 1848, respectively (after a brief emancipation during the French Revolution (1789-1802). In the British Empire, slavery was abolished, and the trade suppressed with emancipation in the colonies occurring gradually between 1833 and 1838.

²¹ In December of 1892, the first real efforts to end slavery in Senegal were undertaken and enforced. It was decreed that enslaved persons could no longer be sold in territories under direct French control, and that any who arrived in such areas would be considered domestic servants and could buy their own freedom for 500 francs. That said, it remained legal to purchase enslaved individuals in areas not under French control, but they could not subsequently be resold in French territory (Moitt 1989). The colonial administration in French Soudan—the point of origin for most caravans—began its suppression of the regional trade when William Ponty became the colonial governor in 1899 (although there are debates as to the earnestness of these policies up until 1905; see Foster 2007). Suppression involved seizing trade caravans, freeing the enslaved in transit, and settling the formerly enslaved in *villages de liberté* (although again, these villages have been interpreted as sites of enslavement under another name; see Foster 2007). In 1903, across French West Africa, a law was put into place and practice that prevented the return of so-called runaways in areas under civil rule to their enslavers, and indigenous courts were no longer able to rule on the topic of slavery. In practice, this meant that slave holders and traders had no legal recourse for recovering the enslaved persons they laid claim to. At the very end of 1905 the law prohibiting the alienation of a person’s labor was passed, and although this is not technically outlaw slavery (a law for which was never passed), it effectively granted so-called domestic slaves to leave their place of enslavement freely. However, clandestine (and decreasing) trade did continue in these early years of the twentieth century (Moitt 1989).

colonial governor about this travesty (Sébire 1890). By this point, however, the mission had already benefited from active participation in the slave trade, regardless of moral intent—and in any case, the addition of more woman and children to the convent was likely seen as a positive.

In the second half of the nineteenth century, after the suppression of the Atlantic slave trade (1831) and then abolition in the French plantation colonies (1848), Senegal's economy shifted towards agricultural production for cash-crop exports (peanuts) (Austen 1987; Faye 2016; Klein 2009). In the area that became known as the Peanut Basin, the intensification of cultivation required more land and more laborers (Moitt 1989). The slave trade reoriented itself towards this interior market to meet growing demands for agricultural labor to feed the changing colonial economy. Enslaved individuals tended to fall into two broad categories: those who were brought great distances from the interior of French Soudan (Mali) into Senegal (Moitt 1989), and those who were enslaved more locally as a result of widespread regional warfare in the Senegalese kingdoms. Thus, enslaved people who were transported as part of the West African slave trade during this period had geographic and ethnic origins that ranged from the local to the distantly regional. Their position differed from that of domestic (or lineage slaves), who were integrated into households within a given society (Wolof and Sereer stratified societies both had lineage-based slave castes), and rarely sold across great distances. Unfortunately, archival evidence does not provide much clarity as to the geographic or ethnic origins of most formerly enslaved neophytes.

As early as January 20, 1863, Kobès wrote to Monseigneur Parisi (President, Association of the Holy Childhood), that at St. Joseph's they proposed "to gather and redeem as many children as possible, in order and to give them both a Christian and a social education" (Kobès 1863c). The verb "ransom" or "redeem" (*racheter*) is the same used in subsequent

documents to refer explicitly to the salvation (through purchase) of children from slavery.

Kobès' letter is not clear as to whether or not he already saw this as a specific means through

which to grow the youthful population of the nascent mission, but a letter written by Guillaume

Jouga (a seminarian originally from Gorée) clarifies the matter. Writing to Paris, he explained:

During this Month of Mary, one of our missionaries [from St. Joseph's] must travel into the Kingdom of Saloum where he will redeem some children, who, because of war and famine... have been sold and transported as slaves in the interior. Mary, who is our Mother, will accompany him on this journey and bring him back to us with the children that this good Mother will have procured for him. (Jouga 1863)

The intent is clear: a Spiritan priest was organizing a trip into Saloum, with the explicit goal of purchasing children out of slavery in order to bring them into the fold of the mission. Priests regularly traveled through the countryside, expanding the reach of evangelization. Often on these trips they would purchase enslaved children and bring them back to the mission, where they were told they were free but also put in a situation in which submitting to conversion and giving their labor to the mission may have seemed like their only choice—after all, where else were they to go (Jouga 1863)? By July 22nd, Kobès was able to write to Monsieur de Fresne (councilmember, Ministry of the Holy Childhood) that his personnel had already saved fifteen children from slavery and heresy, who were now housed in the mission orphanages (Kobès 1863e). The girls in this group were the first to be brought into the DHHM community in Ngasobil, where they received care and education, but also contributed to the upkeep of the mission through their participation in the communal labor (domestic and agricultural) required to keep St. Joseph's running smoothly.

By 1870, accounts appear in which the Spiritans were directly approached at the mission by traders. Lat Fatim, cousin of the Bur Sine, came to St. Joseph's ostensibly just to greet the priests, but he had two children in tow, and explained that he was taking them to be sold, in order

to bring either money or horses back to the Bur. Father Renoux wrote that regrettably he was unable to meet Lat Fatim's price, and thus failed to save those children from the dual evils of slavery and heresy. The Annals of St. Joseph Mission lamented that the Spiritans could do so much good in Senegambia, if only they had more financial resources (ARN 1930: 62).

While these accounts may seem problematic solely for the reason that the Spiritans were actively engaging in the slave trade as a way to populate their mission—even to the extent that traders were purposely seeking them out as known customers—an 1877 letter is particularly unpleasant and openly exploitative. In it, Father Renoux told the Spiritan Superior General about trading horses with representatives of the Bur Saloum, in exchange for enslaved girls. In this letter, Renoux states that the Spiritans of St. Joseph's had previously made it known to the king that they were interested in purchasing slaves, and that they had specifically asked for girls:

We asked these most recent envoys for ten young girls because then we could place them in the creche and raise them [as Catholics]. We do not have enough girls to give in marriage, and this is a true misfortune... It is the girls from Saloum that we place the most quickly, and who make excellent family mothers. (Renoux 1877f)

One of the key goals of the DHHM and SJJC was the care and education of neophyte girls with an eye towards their future roles as fellow sisters or propagators of the faith in their own family homes (*Bulletin de la Communauté [SSJC]* 1928; Renoux 1877f). However, this letter is of the most transactional discussions of the role of women at the mission, in which girls were conceived of as biological commodity, the means through which the mission could reproduce itself, but not as individual souls to be saved themselves. Renoux's words make it sound as if the goal of the mission is to physically produce and export Catholic women—almost like a

product—and that they have found girls from Saloum to be the best material for this project.²²

While SJJC and DHHM documents also refer to raising neophyte girls to become Catholic wives and mothers, the language used there (and, to be fair, in other Spiritan documents) is less dehumanizing, focusing on the morality of their students and the contributions that women (both religious and lay) could make to the Church (*Bulletin de la Communauté [SSJC]* 1928, n.d.; *Manuel des Règles & Constitutions* 1899; “Vie Apostolique des Religieuses” 1970). Regardless, what this letter makes starkly clear is the Spiritan strategy of forging relationships with local leadership and traders, revolving around the institution of slavery. Their participation led to increased violence and perhaps even shadier-than-usual practices amongst those who sought to profit off the Spiritans’ desire to liberate enslaved children and adolescents, especially girls and young women who were often trafficked to the coastal cities for sale into concubinage, despite the increasingly illegality of this practice (Moitt 1989).

In the Sine, the Spiritans’ desire for enslaved children was also known. In May 1880, Father Lamoise made one of his regular trips to evangelize, visit the Bur, and purchase children out of slavery. To accomplish this, Apostolic Vicar François-Marie Duboin had given Lamoise a white horse to trade. With it, he was able to acquire ten children from Semou Mack Diouf. During their transaction, the Bur explained, “As for the children... I am obliged to take them from my property, among those who belong to me; but, here, give me quickly a second horse like the first and you will have ten other children” (ARN 1930: 122). His statement indicates that

²² Overall, this is in keeping with Revolutionary French gender ideologies which relegated women to the private sphere, the place of the family (vs. explicitly political activities in the masculine public sphere), where they were to serve as citizen wives and mothers rather than citizens themselves (Barton 2019; Clark 1984; Conklin 1998; Surkis 2006). These tropes of femininity persisted through the nineteenth century and extended into Third Republic and were mobilized in different ways as within both republican and conservative/clerical rhetoric (Clark 1984; Offen 2017).

in order to meet the Spiritans' desires, he was selling the children of his domestic slaves—that is, individuals from the lineage slave caste, who traditionally were not subject to sale and transport away from the community. The Spiritans themselves described the Bur as having “kidnapped” the additional children from his neighbors in the village. A relatively short time after arriving in Ngasobil, one boy escaped and fled back to his uncle's house (ARN 1930: 122). This account does not express any regret that these children had been stolen directly from their families, in the very town where Lamoise had been. And while the language describing the second boy's flight is not as strongly condemnatory as other descriptions of runaway children, the general tone is still one that laments the mission's loss, not the injustice of slavery or the families it tore apart (ARN 1930: 39; *Bulletin de la Communauté [SSJC]* 1899; Renoux 1866, 1867b). The Spiritans themselves created a specific market for slaves around the mission, despite their stated desire to relieve suffering, liberate children, and see the institution of slavery ended.

On at least one occasion in late 1881, traders brought a caravan to one of the other villages associated with the mission. Father Superior Riehl had previously made it known that he would pay a bounty for any ransomed slave, so villagers confronted the traders and threatened to turn them into the French commandant in Joal, because around this time the law asserting that slaves brought into French territory would be freed was beginning to be enforced (Moitt 1989). The threat of imprisonment scared them so much, that the traders abandoned their human merchandise (although it is possible, they simply figured that if they were taken to Joal, they would lose their investment anyway, and it was better to just cut their losses). The newly freed persons were brought to St. Joseph's, where the orphanages accepted an 8-year-old boy and four slightly older girls (ARN 1930: 120-121). Being part of a trader's caravan, it is possible these children had been transported a great distance, as part of the influx of enslaved labor to the

Peanut Basin from French Soudan (Moitt 1989). It is also possible they were brought to the vicinity because the Spiritans had been known to ransom enslaved children.

At the same time, there were formerly enslaved individuals at St. Joseph's who arrived at the mission through their own volition. Some purposefully sought out St. Joseph's as a place of succor, others ended up there by happenstance. In the early 1880s an enslaved girl named Thérèse ran away from her mistress in Sine. She decided to flee to the Convent of St. Joseph because she had an older sister amongst the DHHM—although they had never met because the sister had been sent by their parents to the convent at a very young age before Thérèse was born (ARN 1930: 127). Here, kinship ties brought an enslaved girl to St. Joseph's where she sought to establish a relationship with a sister she had never met, and to join the religious community her sister now called home. While letters and council meeting minutes from the late nineteenth century addressed the issue of preferential treatment received by family members residing at DHHM convents, such ties were also a means through which girls learned about and joined the convent community—and potentially found a vocation of their own (Barthet 1893; Buléon 1899; Chapelain 1871a). The monastic ideal of shedding one's worldly life, including familial ties, upon entry into a religious order was an aspect that many European missionaries found lacking in their Senegambian counterparts (Chapelain 1863a, 1868a; "Chapitre Général du 25 Mai" 1910; Gilchrist 1994; Renoux 1877d).²³ Nonetheless, knowledge of the Mission of St. Joseph (including its resources and its potential as a way out of enslavement) through kinship networks

²³ Interestingly, the founding of the SSJC was deeply rooted in Mother Anne-Marie Javouhey's familial ties. All of her biological sisters and several other relatives became members of the order, rising quickly through the ranks of leadership (Curtis 2010a; Martindale 1953). The hypocrisy of demanding more of African converts and vocations than was achieved in the French Catholic Church, however, did not garner traction in missionary self-reflection.

was a useful means through which Senegambians became familiar with the Catholic project, and interested in what life at the mission might offer—materially and spiritually (Riehl 1879).

As these accounts demonstrate, the formerly enslaved arrived in Ngasobil in many ways—ransomed in the interior during evangelization tours, purchased locally, liberated by converts, and through their own agency. Some chose to leave when the choice to join the mission had not been their own. While many arrived due to forces outside of their control, St. Joseph's was also a destination sought out by some of the formerly enslaved—be they a large group of Diola women and children or a lone girl seeking out refuge with a long-lost sister. In this regard, the mission lived up to its reputation as a place of succor, where the formerly enslaved joined the ranks of incoming emigres from Sine and Saloum, and were folded into the diverse population living, working, praying, and creating community in Ngasobil.

Choosing Ngasobil?

Because firsthand documentary accounts of the lay inhabitants of St. Joseph's are lacking, it is difficult to establish how incoming migrants-cum-neophytes felt about settling within the mission's bounds. While it might be possible to say that migrants coming from the interior had choice in where they chose to settle along the coast, it is also true that Saint-Joseph and the other mission villages were simply feasible options, offering relative safety and succor, and that an interest in Catholicism had little or nothing to do with the choice. This is supported by the fact that many neophytes cycled in and out of the mission according to changing political circumstances in their homelands, and that children who arrived at the mission without their families (most often as a result of the slave trade) were known to flee. Yet, some chose to stay and make of go of it in Ngasobil, materially and spiritually, embracing Catholic teachings and

participating in activities that built the Catholic community—such as attending catechism lessons, becoming catechists themselves, assisting at mass, sending their children to the mission schools, creating adopted families, and helping the nuns maintain their property (ARN 1930; *Bulletin de la Communauté [SSJC]* 1928; Chapelain 1865e; JN 1878-1943).

Missionaries might be regarded as having had the most choice—after all, they chose to join religious orders, and they chose to join congregations with missionizing ministries. However, joining a religious order means giving up a great deal of autonomy; it requires submitting to not only a daily rule and schedule that orient everyday life around religious commitment, but submitting to a deeply hierarchical system in which one's vocation includes obedience to congregation and Church leadership. Missionary personnel often moved around, usually not as a result of their own wishes. After taking medical leave in 1875, Mother Rosalie returned to Senegal, but was removed from her position with the DHHM and sent to rejoin the SSJC sisters in Saint-Louis, where she spent her last days—despite both her and the DHHM's protests (Renoux 1876b, c, 1877a, d). Father Riehl, an early mainstay of St. Joseph's, was removed as superior despite his commitment to the local population. He was sent to Bathurst when a new Apostolic Vicar was appointed, amidst protest by the lay and religious inhabitants of St. Joseph's (Bret 1876). Prior to becoming the first Senegalese DHHM superior general in 1875, Mother Joséphine was sent back and forth between Ngasobil, Joal, and Dakar, repeatedly over the span of a decade. This type of movement was simply expected as part of fulfilling vocation within a religious congregation, and obedience was tied to the pursuit of holy perfection.

Thus, in many ways, St. Joseph's was characterized by a diverse population, many of whom had not directly chosen to lead their lives in Ngasobil. They had sought refuge from war, famine, or slavery; others arrived as a result of their vocation in pursuit of holy perfection for

themselves and the salvation of souls for others; others were brought against their will. For a time, all—even those who ultimately chose to leave—found their place somewhere within the organization of St. Joseph’s and helped to grow that community into one that became self-sustaining and generative of a larger Catholic community in Senegal.

Conclusion: Common Ground, Forging Community and Alternative Kinships

The available demography of St. Joseph’s from 1863 to 1930 is limited and often anecdotal in nature. However, despite the paucity of measurable data, one central and undeniable fact is clear: as a community, the population in Ngasobil was quite diverse, and this diversity can be measured along an abundance of metrics (race, ethnicity, religion, country of origin, socio-economic status, language, age, gender, sub-community within the larger mission, status within the Catholic church hierarchy, etc.). These seemingly disparate groups of people—almost none of whom were from the immediate area around Ngasobil and most of whom were brought there one way or another by circumstances beyond their control—not only managed to survive in practical terms, but also ultimately produced a small but distinctive minority Catholic community that vibrantly persists along the Petite Côte.

How was this achieved? Based on the social, political, and economic milieu in which refugees arrived at the mission, initial commonality between new residents may be found in the experience of often violent displacement in the wake of war, enslavement, and famine—and a desire to overcome these traumas. This may be why missionaries chose to emphasize devotion to the Virgin Mary as Our Lady of the Seven Sorrows. In an archival source inspiring this chapter’s vignette, a DHHM novice connected her traumatic migration experience to that of a more recent refugee and gestured towards how Ngasobil’s religious community had come to her aid

materially and spiritually. St. Joseph's offered refuge, as well as a potential new home with economic opportunity alongside the spiritual project; this made the mission a potential long-term settlement option for migrants and refugees. All the same, the Spiritans' participation in the slave trade (buyers *qua* liberators) not only casts a shadow on the mission's history, but also rendered St. Joseph's a place of detainment and indenture under the labels of salvation and liberation. It is impossible to determine meaningful statistics on the retention of formerly enslaved individuals at St. Joseph's. However, children were a significant component of the overall population (at any given date numbering between 20 and 150) and formerly enslaved children would have been a part of that group. Despite the circumstances of their arrival, many did not choose to leave, but to integrate themselves into the mission community.

In addition to material resources, the Catholicism offered by missionaries proffered a potential means of building socio-religious community through communal ceremonial practices, such as those discussed in Chapter 3, as well as communal everyday practices (agricultural experimentation with cotton, building a chapel in Saint-Joseph, sharing meals), and the encouraged usage of French as a—literal—*lingua franca* (from the missionary point of view at least, if not in practice amongst all neophytes). Conversion and vocation were the official unifying projects of St. Joseph's, and the diversity of the population may have been a strength when it came to the pursuit of these goals, because engaging with Catholicism was a way through which the varied inhabitants of Ngasobil could find common ground beyond trauma and physical proximity. Perhaps this disparate population thrown together by circumstance, far from their homes, became a resilient community because in their diversity they both found common experiences and actively cultivated a cohesive community by participating in Catholicism. In this light, the Catholic mission emerges not simply as a companion to colonialism, but a means

through which displaced refugees could carve out space for themselves. In doing so, they ultimately began to develop a specifically Franco-Senegalese Catholic Church.

Even though in the nineteenth century there were plenty of adults who were resistant to conversion, many allowed their children to be educated by the priests and nuns. Why was this? Perhaps openness to religious teachings and active participation in mission activities (catechism, schools, mass, religious processions, communal agriculture, building projects, craft workshops, etc.) were felt to be generative of community amongst people who had been forced to leave their homes and their kinship networks. Catholicism may have been a means through which the younger generation could become rooted in their new home—just as the older generation felt rooted in, but torn from, their homes and spiritual landscapes in Sine and Saloum. The habitual confluence and overlapping of traditional Sereer religious practices and Catholic ritual show that neophytes may not have regarded those practices as necessarily or always mutually exclusive—despite the condemnation of European missionaries.

Furthermore, in thinking about the various relationships within the convent and village, it becomes possible to imagine different modes of kinship emerging within those spaces and across the mission as a whole, as part of the social process of community building through conversion. In the economic design of St. Joseph's as an agricultural colony, villagers helped to work communal lands planted with cash crops (cotton, peanuts) to support the mission, as well as subsistence fields of millet and other foodstuffs. At the convent, residents experienced an alternative type of household based not on biological kinship, but on communal living, mutual commitments to vocation, and practices of care. Even though vocational life demanded the breaking of familial ties (Gilchrist 1994) and life at the mission often resulted either from, or in, the breaking of prior social and kinship relations by newly arrived neophytes and vocations,

these individuals also found themselves incorporated into a new family of sisters. As will be discussed in Chapter 6, within this alternative household, practices of care between the various residents helped to cultivate community and new relationships could start to take the place of broken or lost kinship ties (Borneman 2001). In the convent's daily operations religious and secular life intersected, and practices of care (nursing, food preparation, education, childcare) shaped internal social relations and created a cohesive household that operated along a hierarchy of orphans and students, postulants, novices, professed DHHM and SSJC sisters. Beyond the convent, the nuns' care of the neophyte community through proselytizing, teaching, nursing, and acting as special mediators between male European missionaries and (potential) women converts, fostered social ties between the religious and lay community that crossed gender, racial, and cultural boundaries. In 1871, Mother Rosalie was delighted to write Sister Joséphine that Virginie (a young woman raised at the convent). had given birth to a son and asked Mother Rosalie to be his godmother (Chapelain 1871b, n.d.b). That same year, Sister Liguori wrote to Sister Joséphine, telling her all the novices at the convent said hello, with especial greetings from her godchildren (Labouret 1871). This second example is of particular note because it illustrates how a kinship tie made with a religious sister may have been influential in cultivating vocation and was critical to the creation of an affectively-bound community in Ngasobil.

Overall, the need for commonality within the diverse and in-flux population of Saint Joseph's and the establishment of alternative kinships ties within the convent were two avenues through which the inhabitants of Saint Joseph's Mission built community amongst themselves. Moving forward, the material communal, caring, and everyday practices that contributed to the establishment of this community will be explored, first at the Convent of Saint Joseph, and then the Saint-Joseph village.

Chapter Five

The *Horarium*: Spaces & Rhythms at the Convent of St. Joseph

1900

Sister Iphigénie Courbely took a last look around the kitchen; she knew it must be nearly 6pm. Under her direction, Marie Sambou was sautéing onions to make a sauce for some fish to be served over millet couscous for dinner.

“You’ll use the leftover grilled fish from lunch. Not too much. And make sure you save enough sauce for the children to have with breakfast.”

“Yes, my sister.”

Sister Iphigénie nodded her approval. She could see Sister Pierre across the courtyard, about to ring the bell for evening vigil. As the bell tolled, she made her way across the courtyard towards the chapel. She entered the cool stone building, genuflected, crossed herself, and took her seat amongst the other professed sisters, her mind cleared of delegated kitchen duties and ready for their shared evening devotions.¹

The Ordering of Convent Life

The activities that take place within any religious household—be it a convent, an abbey, or a monastery, of contemplative or service-oriented ministry—must, perforce, encompass both

¹ Historical fiction vignette draws on the following archival sources: “Élections: 10 août” 1904; “Fondation de la Congrégation des Filles du St Coeur de Marie” n.d.; JN 1903; “Réunion du Conseil du Vicariat, approuvé par Mgr le Hunsec” 1923; “Troisième Réunion: Des Repas,” n.d.

the mundane aspects of maintaining that household as well the religious commitments and devotions of its residents as members of a religious congregation bound to each other and to their organizing *Rule* by vows, which in the Catholic tradition include that of obedience (Asad 1993; Gilchrist 1994; Langewiesche 2013; *Manuel des Règles & Constitutions* 1899; “Soeur Indigènes: Règlements” 1874). While Sister Iphigénie and young Marie Sambou engaged in different tasks (prayer vs. food preparation) during the six o’clock hour, both of their activities contributed to the functioning of the convent community as a whole and were regulated by the *horarium*. The *horarium* is the official schedule (institutionalized across all houses belonging to a particular religious order or congregation) that orders daily, weekly, and monthly life within the overarching liturgical calendar of the Catholic Church (Asad 1993; Curtis 2010a; Gilchrist 1994). It focuses on the religious activities of the community, but as will be illustrated in an analysis of the *horarium* at the Convent of St. Joseph, this daily schedule also points towards the ostensibly non-religious activities integral to the mission’s convent.

At the convent, the temporal organization of the *horarium* highlighted divisions between religious and secular time and activities, as well as different members of the convent community, but it also defied such categorization, indicating that the religious and the secular are not as neatly compartmentalized as academic study (or Church leadership) might prefer (or contend).²

² In 1847, Monseigneur Truffet, Spiritan Apostolic Vicar of the Two Guineas wrote with reference to the recent *Neminem Profecto* apostolic letter by Pope Gregory XVI:

“We are not going to establish in Africa Italy, France or another country of Europe, but only the Holy Catholic Church, which is beyond any nationality or any human system With Grace above, we want to divest ourselves of all that is European, [in order] to keep only those thoughts which are true and the foundation of the ancient, or nascent, Christianities... those of the Spirit of God... We do not believe that the Gospel and the Church can be firmly established in a country without bringing civilization or without perfecting its uses and institutions, but the civilization produced or perfected by Catholicism does not

Mid-nineteenth-century Spiritan guidelines for missionaries identified something of a mind/body split in evangelization, emphasizing that only religious aspects of life should be altered during the conversion process (Brasseur 1975; Koren 1958, 1983). This position draws on early modern Catholic tendencies to distinguish boundaries between religion and ‘the rest’ (or, anthropologically, the sacred and the profane) that continued to shape modern missionization (Asad 1993: 39; Sheringham 2006). The import of these ‘secular’ ministries in forging the broader Catholic community from the focal point of the convent will be explored in the following chapter. Here, the focus is on how missionary vocation was lived in the so-called everyday time and space of the Convent of St. Joseph alongside that of religious ritual.

include the importation of social habits. [We must] take into account [foreign] climate, character, and traditions” (quoted in Brasseur 1975: 263-264, emphasis added).

Truffet acknowledges there may be some impact to local “civilization” by virtue of the embrace of Catholicism, but emphasizes that any such changes are a mere byproduct, not a goal of missionization that such aspects of culture should not be the focus of missionary energies. Shortly thereafter, Spiritan Superior General Libermann instructed missionaries in Africa:

“Rid yourselves of Europe, its customs and mentality. Become Negroes with the Negroes, and you will judge them as they ought to be judged. Become Negroes with the Negroes, to train them as they should be trained [in religion], not in the European fashion but retaining what is proper to them. Adapt yourselves to them as servants have to adapt themselves to their masters, their customs, their taste and manners, in order to perfect and sanctify them, to raise them up and transform them slowly and gradually into a people of God” (Libermann quoted in Koren 1983: 260).

From Libermann’s guiding perspective, faith is a part of civilization as a whole, not the other way around; that is, bringing Christianity in and of itself to foreign societies fostered civilization in any given culture, it was not required that European culture be brought along as well.

Reworded, the religious and secular aspects of life could be conceptualized as distinct (Koren 1983). He reiterated:

“[The missionaries] must pay particular attention to which customs and habits are characteristic of the people and the land. They must carefully avoid disturbing these customs (unless they are against God’s laws) and modifying them in a European fashion. They will simply try to make [the people] more perfect in their own way of life and in accord with their own customs” (Libermann quoted in Koren 1983: 260).

On the ‘Everyday’

The concept of the everyday has been criticized for its nebulousness. It begs the question: if the everyday is ‘the rest,’ then what exactly is it *not* (Felski 2000; Highmore 2002; Lefebvre 1991 [1958])? Is the opposite of the everyday the strictly ritual or ceremonial aspects of religion—or, is the everyday equated with the profane? Does the everyday exclude the unexpected, occasional, or celebratory? Does the everyday indicate that what takes place there can be done by anyone, and that which is not everyday requires expertise and specialized knowledge?

Henri Lefebvre (1991 [1958]) stated that the everyday has been regarded as the residue of life, that which is outside of ‘higher,’ professional, public, specialized pursuits; he sought to rehabilitate such ‘residue’ by arguing that it was in fact the nourishing soil for non-everyday pursuits. One might consider, then, that the everyday produces that which it supports, and is in fact generative. Applied to the convent, mundane activities (such as dinner preparation by convent girls while sisters attend the evening vigil) made that time of spiritual devotion possible without sacrificing the human needs of convent residents. This chapter pushes the Lefebvrian idea of the everyday as the fecund earth of higher pursuits;³ it posits that in vocation every aspect of life—even the most everyday or mundane—is ultimately oriented towards the pursuit of holy perfection. That is, this dissertation does not present the everyday as mere facilitator of the religious work of evangelization or the religious lifestyle of vocation, but as *part* of vocation itself. The convent *horarium* connects the everyday and the spiritual through the daily rhythm it

³ Which, incidentally, maps better onto Spiritan theorizations of conversion, in which culture (and ‘civilization’) can support faith, but are not intrinsically linked to faith in such a way that changing cultural ontologies should be required (or even encouraged) as part of conversion (see footnote ‘i’).

established for the vocational community. In thinking about the time of the *horarium*, this chapter draws on Rita Felski's (2000) insistence that the everyday is not just a place or category of action but also a temporality of practice. Tim Ingold's (1993) concept of the taskscape also resonates with the joining of landscape, practice, and temporality, and the wholistic view of the convent and the mission more broadly as a community and arena of activity.

The *horarium* was devised by religious community leadership for ordering the daily life of their members. Each religious order, generally, follows the same *horarium* in each of their houses.⁴ In the *horarium* laid out and described at the Convent of St. Joseph, there is a sense that time was conceived of as divided between spiritual and 'everyday'—or profane—activities. As such, the following analysis draws on this historical conceptualization of activities, times, and spaces, and the definition of the everyday it offers. However, by viewing the *horarium* as a means of understanding how vocation was lived and the practices that seem integral to its being fulfilled, this chapter argues that despite conceptual divisions between so-called 'everyday' and religious practices (the meat of the *horarium* from the institutional point of view), religious vocation disrupts such a compartmentalization. The everyday was made sacred through vocation. Even though sisters formally kept these activities conceptually divided, in practice they comingled with each other and in that comingling defined their vocation. The analysis offered here challenges any presupposition that the convent as a place was 'purely' spiritual in nature. Rather, through the demands of vocation, the spiritual itself was made everyday precisely through the rhythms of convent life. These rhythms played out across the convent grounds and

⁴ For example, the SSJC Mother House in Paris and the SSJC convent on Gorée Island followed the same daily schedule of prayer and basic activities (mealtimes, free time, time devoted to work—whatever that might be for a given sister in a given place) (Curtis 2010a).

are considered in relation to the spaces and archaeology of the convent following discussion of the *horarium* below.

Daily Rhythms

The daily schedule—or, *horarium*—of the convent articulates the dominance of religious practice in the daily life of the DHHM, but also reveals—between the lines—the integration of mundane secular practices into the spiritual rhythm of the community. Despite communicating the ideal religious rhythm of each day at the convent, a close reading points to the pragmatic realities of convent life as well. Open blocks of time in the *horarium* gesture towards opportunities convent residents had, within the discipline of their schedule, to carry out undefined activities—that is, so-called potentially everyday, non-religious activities. In an 1872 letter to the Mother General of the SSJC in France, Mother Rosalie recorded the ‘rules of the day’ for the SSJC⁵ and the DHHM as follows:

4:30am, wake-up:

First [private] prayers of the day, offering up of general intentions, those specific to the day, and prayers to the Holy Hearts of Jesus and Mary.

5am: Prayer with the community:

Pay homage to the Holy Trinity.

Oration, preparation to receive Holy Communion, attention to the Holy Sacrifice.

Mass, with special attention to consecration [of the Eucharist], attention to the offering of oneself to God.

7am: Breakfast

Blessing of the meal.

⁵ Recall that Mother Rosalie Chapelain was herself an SSJC sister, but also the founding Mother General of the DHHM. Previously, she pointed out that she and her SSJC assistant said the offices separately (although at the same time as the DHHM), but that all other exercises were combined. It must be kept in mind that technically the Convent of St. Joseph housed two separate (though linked) religious orders, and both the *horarium* and convent architecture had to accommodate this ongoing negotiation during the period under study.

Attention to the chosen readings of the day rather than to the corporeal act of eating.⁶

After the meal: Work in the garden

9am: Visit to the Holy Sacrament⁷

9:30am: Free time for consecrated sisters⁸

[Other tasks may have been assigned to non-professed DHHM during this time;]

10am: Instruction and surveillance of novices

11am: Examination of novices

11:15am: Lunch

Same instructions as at breakfast

After the meal:

Recreation, visit to the Holy Sacrament, works of charity.⁹

1:30pm: Vespers

Followed by readings with the novices.

2:30pm: Vespers

Little Office of the Virgin Mary, followed by the Way of the Cross.

3pm: Free time for novices and postulants

[Other tasks may have been assigned to the professed sisters during this time.]

4 or 5pm: Work in the garden

6pm: Vigils and Matins [Night Office]

⁶ Note the use of religious readings to capture one's attention during mealtime rather than the meal itself, thus turning the meal (which might to an outsider appear inherently 'everyday' in nature) into a sacred experience.

⁷ Adoration of the Holy Sacrament is a religious practice in Catholicism in which the faithful pray and engage in spiritual contemplation before the Eucharist (housed in this case in the chapel, presumably in the tabernacle) as not simply being a representation of Christ, but of his true presence in the consecrated Eucharistic host through transubstantiation.

⁸ It is unclear exactly what free time meant—everyday activities integral to the convent household, personal time, extra time for private prayer, etc., however, it does appear to be flexible based on the sister and the context in question.

⁹ Presumably this might include visits to women in the village, nursing activities in the infirmary, assisting priests with their evangelizing visits, etc.

6:30pm: Meditative visit to the Very Holy Sacrament

These visits can be made as often as possible throughout the day, in between other tasks.

7pm: Dinner

Followed by a visit to the Holy Sacrament.

After the meal: Recreation [for consecrated sisters]

[perhaps meal clean-up or other tasks were assigned to the novices and postulantes during this time]

8:30pm: Prayer

9pm: Go to sleep

- * each Tuesday: guidance for the novices
- * first Thursday of the month: guidance for professed sisters
- * every two weeks: Chapter meeting
- * every Saturday: guidance for the postulants
- * every Friday: confession

(Chapelain 1872b)

Mother Rosalie attested that their schedule adhered as closely as possible to the standard SSJC *horarium* (Curtis 2010a). This reflects the DHHM's position as an affiliated order whose relatively new status in the Church required their adherence to an established program of temporal discipline and obedience. Training the body to the rhythms and tasks of monastic life was an integral piece of religious formation for vowed communities (Asad 1993; Langewiesche 2012). The *horarium* did not simply lend order to the day, it provided structure and temporal discipline to the varied tasks of vocation, assuring that each sister in each community was pursuing her vocation in a way approved by Catholic leadership. Rather than viewing this document merely as a hegemonic device of missionary control, however, it is useful to think about the *horarium* as a document that articulates the moving parts of vocation by laying them out as practices taking place in particular blocks of time over the course of a given day.

Other instantiations of the *horarium* differ slightly, providing more or less detail as to the activities of the DHHM postulants, novices, and professed sisters, as well as the SSJC leadership, but the general framework (and daily rhythm) described was essentially the same (especially pertaining to activities classed as sacred) (Chapelain 1865c). Less official discussions of the schedule refine on the non-prayer parts of the day. For example, a write-up from 1906 reports that novices spend their mornings in class, but that in the afternoons they assist the SSJC sisters with the mending of liturgical linens and the children's clothing (*Bulletin de La Communauté [SSJC]* 1906). "Free time" listed in the *horarium* may not correspond to 'personal time.' This might best be understood as blocks of 'everyday' time, in which various domestic tasks took place, including but not restricted to horticultural work. Additionally, since the *horarium* is above all the religious schedule of the community, the everyday rhythms of secular residents (students, orphans) must be inferred in some reference to, but also as being outside of, this official schedule. The structure of the *horarium* points towards an understanding of the everyday as that which lies beyond religious ceremony, ritual, and prayer. These blocks of 'everyday time,' in turn anchor specific practices to specific temporalities, with a (repetitive, learned) structuring rhythm that instilled a temporal discipline in convent residents, and an understanding of how daily tasks fit in alongside daily prayer and ritual. The *horarium* organizes the day, articulates understandings of convent time and practices, and acts as a tool for training religious personnel in self-discipline and obedience necessary to communal religious life and the religious definition of vocation.

On an individual scale, Sister Philomène (SSJC assistant to Mother Rosalie) wrote in a letter to the SSJC Mother General that her schedule more or less followed that outlined by Mother Rosalie, in regard to her duties teaching the postulants and novices, but that she spent a

good deal of time doing needlework as well (Barthelemy 1865b). It is unclear if she taught this to either the DHHM sisters or convent girls, or if it was a solo pursuit, but later documents suggest convent students became skilled in such crafts as part of their education (*Bulletin de La Communauté [SSJC]* 1972; “Conseil du 9 Septembre” 1893; Renoux 1877d).

Meanwhile, Mother Rosalie noted that she made as many trips as possible to contemplate the Holy Sacrament throughout the day. A different sister might choose to use that time to the visit the shrine of Our Lady of the Seven Sorrows, at the eastern edge of the cloister. Or, she might be tasked with washing the sacristy linens or visiting the village to provide medical care. She might supervise the convent children during their recreational time. Conversely, she might sneak out of the convent to deliver a meal to her parents if they lived nearby—or slip into the kitchen to grab a snack between meals (something which was forbidden but pops up in the archives as a problem of self-discipline) (Chapelain 1863d; “Chapitre Général du 25 Mai” 1910).¹⁰ The spaces ‘in between’ in the *horarium* prompt inquiry into how sisters chose to use their open windows of time within the structure of religious life. The absence of the non-religious inhabitants from the *horarium* may point to the indispensable nature of their everyday labors¹¹ to the operation of the convent, but also hints at the practicalities of missionary life as being far removed from monastic ideals for cloistered religious communities in Europe (Curtis 2010a; Gilchrist 1994).¹² As such, the parcels of time left to the everyday (as opposed to the

¹⁰ The discipline of bodily appetites and specifically food intake has a long history in religious communities, perhaps especially in female communities (Bergqvist 2014; Gilchrist 1994)

¹¹ And thus, unarticulated labors, following feminist critiques of the concept: de Beauvoir 1989; Felski 2000, 2002; Tronto 1993.

¹² While monastic communities in Europe also had to support themselves as households, they were often the beneficiaries of local donations, received dowries from the families of new members, had tenants, and generally featured a hierarchy of ‘types’ of sisters. The choir sisters (usually from wealthier families) held a privileged position above converse sisters who generally

ritual) within the logic of the *horarium* may in fact define missionary vocation much more saliently than strictly spiritual practices. They point the reader towards the physical practices that shaped daily life and relationships within the convent community as a whole. The unstructured-yet-structured time of the everyday in which domestic work takes place may appear as ‘leftover’ time (Lefebvre 1991 [1958]; Felski 2000; Sheringham 2006); yet, it is the time in which the essential work necessary to the daily functioning of life and vocation at the convent took place—and that may be considered part of vocation too. One might characterize these blocks of time as that within which the non-religious care of the convent community itself took place—through horticulture, cooking, teaching/learning, etc. The *horarium*’s structure—rather than dismissing domestic practices that sustained the community beyond the purview of vocational life—brings them into the frame of the convent’s daily rhythm, in tempo with the spiritual life of the community. Furthermore, these rhythms played out not just over time, but across specifically organized spaces at the convent. These can be illuminated by archaeological analysis, as material evidence testifies to the location of specific practices and articulates social relationships across the convent.

took care of the more menial domestic tasks of maintaining the convent (as a means of paying their way, lacking an appropriate dowry); laywomen too might be employed at a convent for even lesser work. Choir sisters were able to dedicate themselves almost exclusively to contemplation or more respected vocational tasks, and these are often those individuals associated with the ideal of consecrated religious life. While there was a distinct religio-social hierarchy at St. Joseph’s, within the ranks of professed DHHM sisters, there was no social differentiation or rank (aside from leadership roles, some of which were elected), and all were required to contribute to the convent as a household.

Archaeological Activity Zones at the Convent of Saint Joseph

As a discipline, historical archaeology tends to lay claim to excavating and interpreting everyday life in the past as a means of getting to larger questions about that past, often focused on questions about the development of Capitalism, modernity, and inequality (Arcangeli 2015; Croucher & Weiss 2011; Deetz 1996; Hicks & Beaudry 2006; Orser & Fagan 1995; Symonds & Herva 2014). While tied to this classic claim, the approach taken in this dissertation complicates an archaeology of the everyday at St. Joseph's, by finding that Catholic missionary vocation—a specific commitment to religious life and service—made the everyday sacred through practices tied to vocation. Thus, the investigation of ostensibly 'everyday' practices, such as laundering and cooking, becomes an investigation of religion—even if from the historical missionary perspective religious and mundane tasks were conceptually discrete. The maintenance and the reproduction of the religious community was achieved not simply through everyday tasks necessary to sustaining human life, but through the integration of those tasks into vocation (organized in the *horarium*). The following archaeological analysis, therefore, is not simply a political economy of the convent but a means of examining how certain sets of convent practices served to maintain the convent as a household community and vocation as a way of life that could be learned and embraced by recently converted Senegambian women.

Keeping in mind the intersectional identities, pre-convent life worlds, personal, and familial backgrounds in play at the Convent of St. Joseph (Chapter 4), the everyday practices and related relationships they produced can be examined in spatial and temporal contexts.

Archaeology addresses questions such as: What types of material practices were part of life at the convent, where did they take place, and when? What does comparative analysis of such data tell us about social relationships at the convent? Further, what might these material traces tell us

about vocation and religious life as lived experiences, to complement archival understandings of vocation as it was described?

The material footprint left behind by women and girls on the convent grounds reveals a range of communal and personal practices that unfolded within vocation and the daily rhythms by which it was organized. As discussed in Chapter 4, these were enacted and embodied by a diverse convent population of elite Eurafrican Wolof women of the *métis* signare class, Sereer, Diola, and French peasants, life-long Catholics, recent converts, former Protestants, those who followed traditional Senegambian religions, children, adolescents, adults, formerly enslaved individuals, and refugees—to name but a few of the ways in which people maybe have identified themselves and others. A shift from thinking about the place of vocation and conversion (Chapter 3) to thinking in terms of practice and its tempos brings daily life—as an experience and social process—at the convent into focus. While archaeological investigation identified spatial zones at the convent site, these were not defined based on their location within the built environment of the convent; rather, they were defined based on their material accumulations of everyday practice—the rhythms of convent life, both religious and secular.

In 2016, I identified the extant DHHM Convent of the Community of St. Joseph in Ngasobil as an archaeological site and prime location for interrogating colonial missionization and the role of women in that endeavor. Field methods (2016-2017) included: surface survey and mapping to determine the bounds of material practices within the cloister; sub-surface testing through shovel test pits (STPs) to compare archaeological deposits across the site and characterize them as traces of practice; and the excavation of four units (1x1m) to recover artifacts and stratigraphic evidence that paint a picture of daily life.

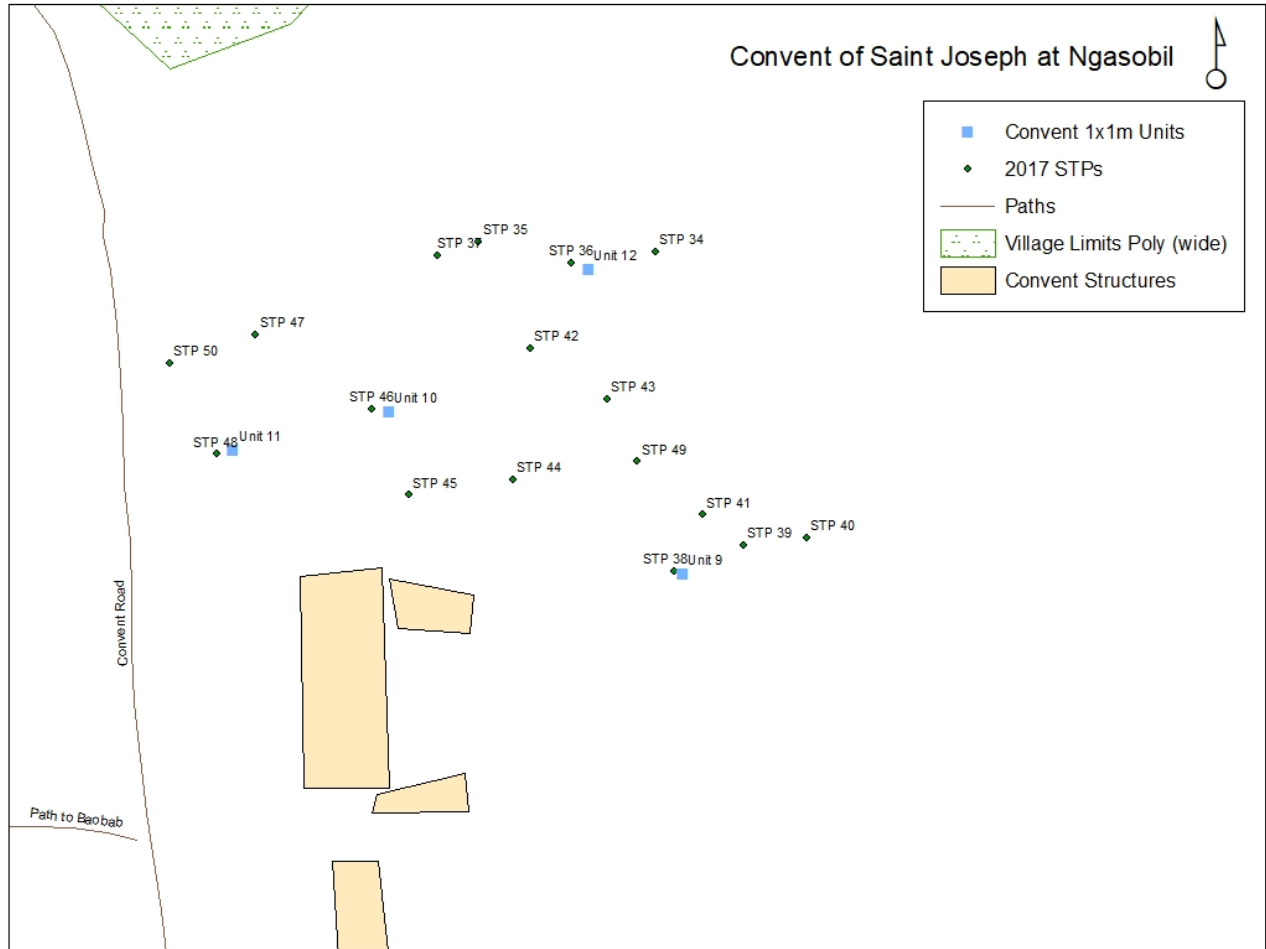


Figure 5.1. Archaeological map of the Convent of Saint Joseph, Ngasobil. Ngasobil Historical Archaeology Project 2016-2017. Map by author.

My team and I dug STPs and units across the northwest quadrant of the DHHM property, to the north and south of residential area (fig. 5.1). Located based on surface survey and orientation to the convent structures—particularly the kitchen and washing outbuildings and the refectory/dormitory—STP excavation allowed me to determine external boundaries of convent activity to the north (towards the nineteenth-century village of Saint-Joseph) and internal boundaries between activity zones. Drawing on data from these surface and sub-surface survey methods, I identified discrete activity areas and their boundaries, and directed unit excavation towards contexts that might stereotypically be characterized as reflective of everyday life.

FOOD & DRINK	PERSONAL	ARCHITECTURE/CONSTRUCTION
storage	religious item (rosary) or jewelry	nails
storage-beverage	beads	concrete/cement/brick
storage/cooking	jewelry	roof tiles
storage/serving	smoking (pipes/cigarette foil)	pane glass
serving	other	burnt clay
drinking		shell conglomerate
cooking/preparation	EDUCATION/OFFICE SUPPLIES	stone conglomerate
food/drink unidentified	binding clips	mortar
other	chalk/slate pencils	plaster
	other	tile
		other
HYGIENE/HEALTH	SARTORIAL	
cosmetic/medicinal	buttons	CRAFT
medicinal	grommets/eyelets	metalworking
pipes (plumbing)	pins	shell work
laundry	buckles	lithic byproducts
other	hook-and-eye closures	dye
	sequins	
FURNITURE	other	MISC
tacks		wire
furniture/upholstery nails		timekeeping
other	TOOLS	other
	lithics	
	other	

Table 5.1. Functional analysis categories and sub-categories.

Analysis of STPs identified archaeological contexts and areas relevant to the investigation of material practices which left behind tangible traces in the archaeological record. Subsequent to excavation and materials analysis (of local and imported ceramics, metal, glass, architectural materials, personal items/miscellaneous small finds), three distinct activity zones were identified through a functional analysis of artifacts. Broad functional categories used include: food and drink; health and hygiene; sartorial; personal; educational; craft; architecture and construction; furniture; tools; miscellaneous (table 5.1). Each artifact was placed into the

appropriate functional category, by STP or unit.¹³ Percentage rankings of each were used to determine which functional categories dominated each STP or unit in order to characterize the use of convent space. A spatial pattern (which corroborated surface survey and archival patterns) emerged, pointing to the presence of three distinct activity zones: 1) living and learning, 2) laundry, and 3) waste disposal and burning.

These functional categories serve as a bridge between the accumulated traces of past practices and tempos of the different practices by which they were produced. As such, they allow for the interrogation of not merely the spatial distribution of practice across the cloister, but the social relationships in play and the development of practices that became indicative of religious and secular womanhood in the Senegalese-Catholic church. This community remains distinctive, entrenched, and faithful despite its minority status in Senegal, as a result of the social reproduction, community-building, and kinship altering practices that occurred in Ngasobil over the course of the mission's history—many of which were based in material practices such as alimentary and medical care. This spatial analysis of archaeological data is the first step in illuminating how certain material practices were related to conversion and vocation as processes of their own, operating in relationship to, but not dominated by, the contemporary socio-economic and political milieu of colonization.

While the archaeological resolution of the site generally does not provide neat periodizations mapping clearly onto those found in French colonial or Senegalese historiography, the archaeology does provide a window into the ongoing everyday of vocational practices. (although, notably, Zone 1 paints a picture of transformations over time in residential patterns).

¹³ Using the minimum number of individuals (MNI) for all categories other than architectural/construction debris, which were left out of certain comparative statistical analyses for that reason.

This is not to suggest that everyday life is timeless, but simply that material practices do not always immediately record or reflect shifting politics, socialities, or even economies, and that archaeological time operates on a larger scale than archival time.

Zone 1: Living and Learning

Unit 11

STPs 47, 48, 50

Zone 1 is interpreted as the site of no-longer extant living quarters and classrooms. In the spring of 1864, a modest three-room provisional structure for soon-to-arrive DHHM sisters was built with local building materials and a combination of Senegambian and European architectural design and technologies. Construction of the convent proper was carried out as quickly as possible in order to provide appropriate housing for the sisters. Once the masonry convent structure was completed in 1867 with the addition of a second floor, those primarily wattle and daub structures provided space in which to house incoming orphans and resident students (*pensionnaires*), who—following standard codes of monastic life—required housing separate from that of the sisters, despite the fact that these girls were part of the convent community as a whole (ARN 1930: 40; Chapelain 1867). Intermittently renovated and partially rebuilt over the years—these structures were occupied by children through the late nineteenth century. Classroom space was also used by village children who attended the convent school as day students (ARN 1930: 159-160; “Conseil du 10 Mai” 1887; JN 1884). Pre-postulants (girls under 16 wishing to prepare for religious life) likely lived and learned in Zone 1 as well (*Manuel des Règles & Constitutions* 1899).

Architectural debris across the zone (burnt clay, nails, concrete, roof tiles, burnt clay, pane glass) indicates the presence of a structure that received regular maintenance and occasional renovation, with the expansion of the original structure being likely. A high incidence of

Marseilles terracotta roof tiles suggests the thatched roof was replaced by tiles and the once-provisional structure was reinforced with concrete, brick, nails, and more daub (clay).

Stratigraphic evidence supports a hypothesis that the main period of occupation (ca. 1874-1890) saw the remodeling and/or expansion of the original wattle-and-daub thatched structure, prior to its eventual abandonment, which coincided more or less with the return of the SSJC to direct the novitiate in 1892.¹⁴ This is supported by Spiritan documents acknowledging the need for both architectural maintenance and expansion at the convent (ARN 1930; JN 1884).

There were two reasons for the return of the SSJC to direct the novitiate in 1892 (and the subsequent reorganization of convent housing)—one religious, the other political. On the religious side, in 1891 Monseigneur Barthet (Apostolic Vicar) requested SSJC sisters back to St. Joseph's because the DHHM novitiate had fallen on hard times (Barthet 1891a).¹⁵ Politically, this was a maneuver in response to increasingly anti-clerical sentiment and legislation under the Third Republic; documents from 1880 highlight the Decree of March 29th, one of the Jules Ferry educational reforms that began to restrict the permissible roles of religious orders in education (ARN 1930: 119; Riehl 1880e). This measure repressed unapproved religious orders from engaging in educational work. Upon his appointment as Apostolic Vicar of Senegambia in 1887, Monseigneur Picarda wrote to Father Pascal at St. Joseph's to clarify the relationship between the SSJC and the DHHM, stating he needed a clear understanding of their situation in order to respond to government inquiries regarding their activities (Picarda 1887a). The recall of SSJC to

¹⁴ The SSJC had rescinded direction of the DHHM in 1872, with the departure of Mother Rosalie due to illness.

¹⁵ He cited a lack of new vocations being recruited (and thus, falling membership as the first generation of DHHM sisters aged) and an observation of lax discipline in the community, attributed to the newness of the DHHM as a congregation as well as to the (racially defined) dispositions of its members.

the novitiate of the DHHM in 1892 served not only to rehabilitate the religious rigor of the program, but to more concretely liaise the DHHM with the (approved) SSJC in the eyes of the government. The spatial restructuring of housing that took place when the SSJC returned to take control of religious education at the convent, thus, reflects the local impact of such anti-clerical laws in the colonies. The SSJC's return may be seen as an act of protection for the DHHM, and ongoing questions about their status as further laicization measures were implemented in the early twentieth century continued to reflect the necessity of this institutional partnership.

(“Extrait” 1905)

That the non-religious inhabitants of the convent were accorded materially different accommodations aligns with the entrenched hierarchies of the Catholic church, particularly in regard to religious communities. Thus, the housing of children in a structure deemed inappropriate and insufficient for religious sisters reflects not only a certain thrift in terms of the reuse of available architectural space, but the materialization of socio-religious hierarchy within the convent walls. This ties into how the *horarium* points to practical necessities of convent maintenance through the vague ‘everyday’ blocks it sketched out alongside a daily order that prioritized religious ritual and reflection by virtue in the presentation of the daily schedule.

An 1866 report by Father Renoux described the boys' dormitory at the Spiritan complex in spartan terms, claiming they were happy to sleep on the floor with only a blanket (Renoux 1866). An 1870 letter from Mother Rosalie to DHHM sisters setting up their own dormitories in Ngasobil inquired after their purchase of beds; shortly thereafter she encouraged them to be frugal—but the necessity of ‘proper’ iron-frame beds went (almost) without saying (Chapelain 1870d, e, 1871b). For the children, she wrote about the purchase of mats for them to sleep on (Chapelain 1864f). In 1924, Mother Gonzague remarked upon the use of mosquito nets by the

SSJC sisters against pests at night, and describes—in contrast—that resident children were harassed on a nightly basis by rodents, often requiring the application of iodine to bites in the morning (Valot 1928b). In this materialization and indeed bodily manifestation of hierarchy at the convent, the instillation of a Euro-Catholic habitus that marks socio-religious rank comes through in a letter meant to convey the material difficulties of missionary life.

Despite established material hierarchies, between 1890 and 1900, the structure in Zone 1 was demolished in favor of new housing for the convent girls, likely located at the far southern limit of the main residential/domestic area of the convent enclosure (fig. 5.2). This placed them closer to the SSJC dormitory/refectory/offices structure, built directly south of the DHHM occupied building and the shared convent chapel. By 1900, Zone 1 had been given over to garden space. By the 1920s, Zone 1 abutted a contemplative garden in the front courtyard of the DHHM dormitory/refectory; the remnants of this parterre design remain ((Photo Album: Vicariat Apostolique 1931).



Figure 5.2. Convent of Saint Joseph detail, "Plan de la mission de S. Joseph à Ngasobil," 1900, 3i1.16a9, AGS. Courtesy of the Congrégation du Saint-Esprit (CSSp).

The earliest period of occupation in Zone 1 (ca. 1864-1874) reflects material culture used by the first DHHM sisters to live at St. Joseph's—Mother Marie de St. Jean and Sisters Marthe N'Gom and Elisabeth Dumont—and the first generation of girls educated at the convent, who likely moved into this space around 1867. Local ceramic wares point to the multi-purpose usage of the zone early on, with religious and mundane activities occurring in the same place. Cooking with a few ceramic pots reflects the sisters' reliance on locally available material culture and the material poverty of this early community, as well as the provisional nature of the DHHM's first home, in which archival documents state that the first sisters lived and prayed in a single provisional structure before the convent was completed.

Material culture from the main period of occupation in Zone 1 (ca. 1874-1890) points towards non-sisters occupying this part of the convent cloister. In contrast to contemporaneous contexts in Zone 2 and Zone 3, there was no evidence of personal religious objects (medallions/pendants, rosaries), but there was a high incidence of personal objects of adornment (beads, jewelry, sequins), as well as school-related objects (slate pencils, writing slate fragments, and clips for binding papers together). The predominance of these functional categories and their material contents points to the presence of non-religious activities (and residents) in Zone 1. Considered in comparison the other zones, evidence supports the conclusion that Zone 1 was specifically associated with the convent girls, more so than with either the DHHM or SJJC, *and* much more so than other zones within the convent enclosure. As such, it is strongly associated not only with personal or foodways related practices of convent girls (discussed further in Chapter 6), but with their education—a form of future-oriented care intended to produce a specific Senegalese-Catholic woman who would become either a wife and mother or a religious sister. Either way, she was envisioned as promulgating the nascent Catholic community in

colonial Senegal through a range of everyday domestic practices both carried out and learned at the convent.

Zone 2: Laundry Area
Unit 10 & STP 46

This is the smallest zone at the convent. It may have originally been a larger area, but because of the recent construction (2014) of an above-ground water reservoir between Zone 2 and Zone 1, this cannot be determined (“Projet de Construction” 2014). During excavation, the soil matrix was observed to be extremely hard-packed in cultural contexts. This supports Zone 2’s interpretation as a zone of repeated, long-term laundry activity, in which a semi-outdoor dirt floor became packed overtime by regular foot traffic and domestic activity.¹⁶



Figure 5.3. SSJC domestic training program in Dakar, young women doing laundry. “L’École Ménagère: Le Lavage,” Photo Album: Vicariat Apostolique de La Sénégambie, Mission Catholique de Dakar, April 1931, 3i2.18, AGS. Courtesy of the Congrégation du Saint-Esprit (CSSp).

¹⁶ Hard-packed layers of cultural deposits gave way to a notably softer sterile soil matrix. This is similar to Zone 1, but differing from Zone 3 where a floor surface was never produced.

On the surface, Zone 2 features twentieth-century wire and metal clothesline poles (unused for decades) and concrete rubble on the surface. These ruins may be the remains of large wash basins dating to the late 19th or early 20th century. The SSJC convent in Dakar features such a set-up in a 1931 photograph, depicting young Senegalese women doing laundry as part of their domestic training (fig. 5.3).

Unit 10 contained the highest concentration of buttons found on the convent property, at 7.7% of all material culture, excluding architectural debris.¹⁷ In the context of laundry, these items actually belong to two functional categories: sartorial, but also health/hygiene. Unit 10 and STP 46 also contained springs from clothespins.¹⁸

Building materials dating to the nineteenth century, such as square-cut nails, found in this zone suggest that at some point there was a structure, perhaps not a closed building, but more like a shade roof or lean-to. Currently, the convent's laundry room is located next to the kitchen out-building. Today, all of the sisters' washing takes place by hand in this semi-open structure. Zone 2's location places it between the original convent structures and the ravine, which during the heyday of the mission ran with water from the fresh spring that was such a highlight of the property (Chapelain 1865e). Early on, washing likely took place mostly at the ravine. Zone 2 is a midpoint between the ravine and the convent where linens and clothing would be stored and used, an ideal place for drying, starching, and ironing. These routine tasks feature prominently in missionary writings as sets of skills to be taught and practiced—to both secular students and young entrants to the religious life (*Bulletin de la Communauté [SSJC]* 1906, 1988; Chapelain 1870b; *Congrégation Des Religieuses Africaines Du Saint Cœur de Marie* 1965; Mazenq 1923).

¹⁷ Types include: shell, shell and metal composite, and metal.

¹⁸ TPQ: 1884

For the former, it may have been only everyday domestic skill, but for the later it was part of their vocational training; for both, this skill contributed to the communal maintenance of the convent as a household.

In addition to archaeological evidence of laundry, oral history and archival evidence from the earliest days of the convent corroborate the area's association with this particular hygienic practice. Upon her arrival in February 1865, Mother Rosalie set herself to organizing the new convent spatially and architecturally, according to her vision of what elements a convent should include and what types of task areas were necessary for it to function properly. These needs referenced her Euro-Catholic vocational habitus and years of experience as a missionary in Senegal. An open shed for laundry was one of the first out-buildings she added to the convent enclosure, although she admitted that for the most part she and the other sisters did their washing down at the ravine for convenience ("Fondation de la Congrégation des Filles du St Coeur de Marie" n.d.). It stands to logic that the laundry shed would have been used for other laundry-related tasks such as drying, ironing, and even mending—especially during the rainy season. During those particularly wet months, washing might have been best done under the roof as well, rather than on the banks of the ravine, bloated with rain run-off. Mission journal entries regularly note the flooding of ravines and irrigation canals (JN 1878-1928).

Not only was laundering an important hygienic practice, and one of the ways through which a woman created and kept house, it was also considered a useful skill on which to fall back in times of economic need. Oral and written histories of the DHHM emphasize the poverty of the first generation of sisters and their strategy of taking in laundry for pay from docked ships (most pertinent at the Dakar convent) in order to fund themselves (Chapelain 1864d, 1870b). Laundering became a practice bound up in the public perception of what types of activities—

besides the prayerful—were undertaken by religious sisters in Senegal. This marked hygiene as a value connected to Catholic vocation. While laundry was not itemized in the *horarium*, other documents testify to its prominent position amongst the everyday tasks of feminine vocation. Archival documents recorded these economic arrangements and the esteem in which naval officers held the DHHM as laundresses (Chapelain 1864d). It is possible the community at St. Joseph's also hired out their services on the occasions when such an opportunity presented itself. European visitors (governors, commandants, engineers, and sometime their families) were regular if not frequent visitors to the mission (ARN 1930; *Bulletin de la Communauté [SSJC]* 1925, 1928; JN 1884; Valot 1926a).

Excavation revealed a young Frenchman's presence in Ngasobil in the form of a brass gilt military button cap. It dates to the Second Empire, featuring an image in relief of the Napoleonic eagle (fig. 5.4). The eagle's claws grasp Jupiter's thunderbolt spindle—mirroring imperial military standards—and the edge of the button is embossed with the words *Lycée Impérial Napoléon*, identifying it with one of the premier public secondary schools in France at the time, (which bore the imperial name between 1852 and 1870) (Luc 2005; Maamar 2004; Savoie 2005). The button was found in a context dating ca. 1864-1870, associated with thick local ceramic sherds. Although identifying vessel types with non-diagnostic sherds is risky, based on their thickness, the vessels in question may have been large water storage containers (*canaris*), associated with laundering. The owner of this button may have been a young recruit to the colonial service who still wore the emblems of his elite military education, or the visiting son of a colonial administrator. The original owner's coat could have made its way into someone else's hands, perhaps a young Senegalese man; but, given its place of deposition, this seems unlikely. A military jacket would not likely have been worn by one of the seminarians or mission

boys; furthermore, those residents of the mission would not likely have often been present at the convent, much less so the laundering area. This button was probably lost from an item of clothing being washed for a visitor, either as a courtesy or as a means to generate extra funds in pursuit of the self-sufficiency encouraged by mission leadership (*Bulletin Général* 1868; Picarda 1888).



Figure 5.4. Lycée Impérial Napoléon button, Zone 2, Unit 10, Level 4, ca.1852-1870. Photograph by author.

On a more daily basis, beyond their own laundry needs, the DHHM and SSJC sisters at St. Joseph's were charged with caring for the liturgical linens (of their own chapel and of the mission church), as well as the personal laundry of the Spiritan priests and brothers, the African Brothers of Saint Joseph (their companion order), the junior and senior seminarists, and the boys of the mission (*Bulletin de la Communauté [SSJC]* 1906; Chapelain 1872c; "Congrégation Des Religieuses Africaines Du Saint Cœur de Marie: 1965; Jacolot 1930; Mazenq 1923, 1926; Valot 1924b). In addition to outside accounts of the wonderful laundering work of the DHHM, the archives also contain admonitions reminding them to be careful when washing items with buttons because they were easily lost, and such carelessness was wasteful (Chapelain 1872c). With such a high and constant volume of laundering, starching and ironing, and mending to be

done, the ability to launder quickly and efficiently, but also carefully and thoroughly emerges as not only a mechanical skill but an embodied knowledge required of each woman and girl (age permitting) living at the convent.¹⁹ Thus, regardless of whether a young woman was destined for lay or religious life, this skill would be integral to her everyday domesticity, and possibly even her future economic independence, particularly should she leave the mission to find work in an urban center (something which increasingly occurred in the early twentieth century) (ARN 1930: 168-169).

Zone 3: Waste Disposal and Burning

Unit 9 & STP 38

Unit 12 & STP 36

STPs 34, 39, 41, 42, 43, 44, 45

Zone 3 is the largest of the activity zones identified at the convent. Marked by activities of waste disposal (dumping in midden deposits) and occasional burning, the functional analysis of units and STPs in Zone 3 highlights the storage, preparation, serving, and consumption of food and drink. This activity zone lies adjacent to the historical and contemporary kitchen out-buildings which run east-west from the back corner of the DHHM dormitory/refectory. All archaeological contexts were dominated by the food and drink functional category.²⁰ In addition to its strong association with foodways, Zone 3's material footprint is the most diverse all of convent zones, representing each of the ten functional categories (table 1), with an emphasis on those that might be more broadly characterized as personal items (sartorial, personal, education/office)—small items such as beads, buttons, broken bits of jewelry. Once dropped,

¹⁹ The importance of laundering as a feminine skill continues to a key component of Senegalese womanhood, and a highly valued—and gendered—skill.

²⁰ In this statement the category of architecture/construction has been omitted, due to the nature of this class of remains (such as fragments of concrete and burnt clay) which resist the calculation of minimum number of individuals (MNI), and therefore tend to dominate most contexts in which they are present.

such objects tend to be permanently lost, easily swept up and discarded. Contexts include bulk dumping of kitchen refuse (such as a pile of shucked oyster shells dumped in one go), as well as sweepings from around the entire residential area, disposed in fine, repeated layers, documenting daily clean-up of the convent grounds. The young women and girls currently residing at the convent as part of the DHHM's domestic training and hospitality program, begin each morning with a thorough sweep of the courtyards—including packed dirt surfaces, which require regular maintenance to retain their integrity—while the DHHM sisters say their morning prayers and attend mass in the chapel, often accompanied by a handful of local women.

Spatially, Zone 3 exists in a liminal area between the residential/domestic areas of the convent (chapel, dormitories, kitchens, ornamental gardens) and the broader convent grounds which include agricultural fields, kitchen gardens, livestock pasture, and religious shrines. Zone 3 is characterized as the footprint of refuse located north of the residential area, whereas the property extending south and east of the main structures is (and was) dedicated to agricultural pursuits, including a citrus orchard, kitchen garden, pigsty, chicken coops, cattle pen, and millet fields. Today the edges of property continue to be used for dumping, and occasional large-scale burns are used to dispose of waste (fig. 5.5).

Archaeological evidence from across Zone 3 testifies to the time-depth of these practices: discrete ash and charcoal layers provide evidence of burning events across large surfaces in Unit 9, while a pit dug in Unit 12 reveals an alternative mode of waste disposal below the surface, at the very edge of the activity zone, abutting the ravine. The fact that most convent waste appears to be related to foodways, reflects the most pragmatic definition of the convent as a household or manor estate (Glichrist 1994) tasked with housing and feeding a large number of people, and doing so as self-sufficiently as possible.



Figure 5.5. The site of a burn at the edge of the courtyard and formal parterre garden in 2017 (convent dogs were drawn to relax on the soft bed of ashes). Photograph by author.

Regardless of the religious and cultural project(s) of the convent, its everyday was defined by a series of rhythmic, repeated, mundane, but necessary domestic practices oriented towards the care of its population on the one hand, and the broader mission community on the other. The archaeology of the convent illuminates this rhythm of communal maintenance and care, which itself—as a part of vocational life—was shot through with sacrality despite its everyday appearance.

Vocation expands the sacred. It goes beyond conversion's focus on the explicitly spiritual and reaches into every aspect of the religiously professed individual's life and daily activity. It also opens up an understanding of everyday practice in a Catholic framework that imbues not only the mundane practices of religious personnel, but can bring the sacred into the everyday of the secular neophyte, too. Ultimately, an archaeology targeting everyday lived life at the Convent of St. Joseph is an archeology of vocation, and as such, becomes—in a twist—an archaeology of religious life.

In the next chapter, so-called everyday, or secular, practices at the convent will be analyzed as categories of practice themselves, expanding on this spatial understanding of practice at the convent and the identification of distinct activity areas. Broadly, these three zones will be interpreted as linked to specific practices of care that were integral to vocation and religious formation.

Conclusion: Sacralizing the Everyday

The *horarium* structuring life at the Convent of St. Joseph articulated a daily rhythm that tacked back and forth between two broad types of activities—religious/ritual and mundane/everyday—and in doing so created blocks of religious and everyday time at the convent. Different community members moved through this overarching daily rhythm in differing ways, according to their position within the convent and their relationships with others. If we suppose that the everyday at the Convent of St. Joseph was considered to be that which was not explicitly religious practice (ceremony, ritual, prayer), the result is a materially defined series of activities commonly considered mundane. In a Catholic framework which can tend to separate the spiritual from the practicalities of life (hence, the tradition of rigidly cloistered monastic orders), this makes sense as a division. However, life in practice and vocation in practice belie this idealistic dualism, mind vs. body. The 1872 *horarium* (and others like it) assumes the facility with which one can divide convent activities and tasks (Chapelain 1865c, 1872b). However, because of the interweaving of what might at first glance appear to be two separate modes, religious and everyday, the *horarium*—perhaps despite itself—points towards more than simply a confusing entanglement between spiritual and mundane, but their imbrication in the fabric of vocation as a lived experience—or the dyeing through of the everyday with the

spiritual through vocation. Thus, while archaeological findings establish zones that seem to be almost unequivocally secular, based on their material traces, the *horarium* brings those practices into vocation. It was not just the secular residents of the convent (meaning those who were not SSJC or DHHM sisters) who engaged in these tasks, the entire community did; they were part and parcel of convent life, education, and vocation.

As it is lived, missionary vocation demands, begs, requires the melding of these conceptually separate spheres of being and knowing. This can be seen in the ministry of the sisters set forth in their rules and constitutions and other organizing documents and guidelines from leadership as well as in the *horarium*. Their vocation existed in the everyday, as did their religion and its practices. These cannot be neatly compartmentalized in the missionary context in which the DHHM and SSJC dedicated themselves to service. Care as support service for the mission, discussed in the next chapter, was mobilized as a concept by missionaries and later by scholars to reproduce or refabricate the idea of this division and to elide the fact that women's vocation encompasses labor and not just moral orientation and tasks explicitly related to it.

At the Convent of St. Joseph, vocation not only bridged but merged the religious/spiritual and mundane/physical, from an analytic perspective. Building on this temporal and spatial analysis of convent life, the practices of vocation can begin to be characterized more abstractly. In the following chapter the labors of vocation—especially the specifically feminine labors of women's vocation—are conceptualized as acts of care (ministries) that were made invisible within the missionary project as a masculine and exclusively religious pursuit and in subsequent historiography. Apart from a handful of recent studies (Curtis 2010a, 2010b, 2016; Baillet 2010; Denis 2016; Foster 2010; Langewiesche 2012; Lecuir-Nemo 1985, 1998, 1999, 2009), French

colonial historiography largely ignores the contributions of religious women to missionization as agents of evangelization through their own so-called 'everyday' ministries.

At the same time, conceptions of the everyday tend to reinscribe the public vs. private sphere dichotomy (and also tend to gender those as masculine and feminine, respectively; Schor 1992), in which the private or everyday range of practices are characterized as being repetitive, timeless, and not generative in and of themselves (Felski 2000). The next chapter continues investigation into the purportedly mundane practices bound up in vocation by arguing that so-called everyday convent practices were not just supportive of the missionary project from an instrumental point of view, but intrinsically generative of its successes. Chapter 6 interrogates the concept and lived reality of vocation in relation to the greater missionary project.

Chapter Six

African Habits: Vocation, Labor, and Care at the Convent of St. Joseph

1873

“Ah-ttchaah!”

Thunk.

Sister Cécile Dione hissed at the monkeys pillaging fruits from the citrus orchard. Throwing rocks would not normally be considered appropriate behavior for a nun, but the monkeys had utterly destroyed the last crop of mangos, and the entire convent community was on perpetual guard against their destruction of other harvests.

Since joining the DHHM in 1870, Sister Cécile had developed her healing skills, combining what her maternal aunt had taught her as a child in Boal and Bathurst with Mother Rosalie’s French remedies. She picked up a lemon shaken loose by the fleeing monkeys. She would add the peel to an herbal infusion, and then thicken it with honey to make a soothing remedy for Virginie and Caroline, two girls being raised at the convent, both of whom were suffering from a cough.¹

As argued in the preceding chapter, everyday practices were integral to vocation, extending its purview far beyond the space of the chapel, acts of communal prayer and ritual, and internal individually experienced belief and faith. Sister Cécile’s walk through the convent

¹ Historical fiction vignette draws on the following archival sources: Chapelain 1873c, d, n.d.b; “Soeur Cécile” n.d.

orchard in search of ingredients for a medicinal tisane was just as reflective of her vocational calling and lifestyle as was her daily participation at Vespers and bi-weekly attendance of Chapter. This is to say, vocation encompasses and implicates a range of practices that might be tempting to class as *either* religious or secular in nature, but in fact (perhaps in spite of itself) vocation resists the splitting of the spiritual from the corporeal world—especially when it comes to *missionary* vocation. Missionary vocation at the convent was highly active in the so-called secular realm of the everyday, largely through acts of care for both the convent community and the external mission population. For many neophytes, the apparently secular services provided by women missionaries were their first point of contact with the Church.² Often these were described as being an entry point: visits to the sick allowed sisters to provide physical care, but also gave them the opportunity to spend time talking to patients and family members about Catholicism, thus initiating the evangelization process (*Bulletin Général des Pères du Saint-Esprit*, n.d.; “Fondation de la Congrégation des Filles du St Coeur de Marie” n.d.; “Malades soignés et convertis dans la Mission” 1877; Valot 1926c). The position of these services within missionization places the secular at the center of what it meant to live missionary vocation—a consecrated religious life dedicated to the evangelization, the education, and the care of (potential) converts.

Nonetheless these categories (spiritual vs. mundane) were mobilized by the Catholic Church and individual missionaries *in theory* (Brasseur 1975; Koren 1958, 1983).³ As emic conceptual categories, they have been used here to describe certain practices at St. Joseph’s

² This was also true in other (later) Catholic missions in Africa staffed with nuns (Larsson 1991; P.M. Martin 2002; Stornig 2013).

³ As has been common in anthropological thought since the nineteenth century (see Asad 1993 for review and debate).

despite the assertion that the anthropological categories of religious and secular behavior as being inherently different or discrete from one another is not accurate in the context of missionization, conversion, and vocation *in practice* (this draws on Talal Asad's 1993 critique).

In considering the lives of both religious and secular convent residents,⁴ this chapter identifies a tension between vocation and labor in the context of Catholic missionary sisters, and argues that this tension tended to be worked out (or rather, obfuscated) through a classification of feminine vocational ministries as practices of care (mundane, repetitious, and beyond economic quantification) rather than religious labor (specialized, public, masculine, even economically valued despite its spiritual nature). Unpaid and often unaccounted for, domestic work in the context of missionary vocation was seen as a naturalized aspect of feminine missionary life, which itself was regarded as merely supportive to the missionary project. As Katharina Stornig (2013) points out, missionization was gendered as a masculine pursuit within Catholic hierarchies, privileging men as those who carried out evangelization and the spiritual work of conversion (religious women merely supported them in this endeavor).

This chapter continues to draw on archaeological survey and excavation in tandem with historical analysis and ethnographic observation to evince a picture of daily life at the Convent of St. Joseph, focused on practices of care. In doing so, it further articulates the so-called secular aspects of vocation and the religious aspects of everyday gendered labors, and the ways in which distinctions between the two served to undermine the role of religious sisters in missionization.

⁴ 'Religious' is used to refer to women and men who were members of an organized religious order (e.g., DHHM, SSIC, or Spiritans). 'Secular' is used to refer to members of the mission community who did not belong to these bounded (through vows) communities at the mission. It is not meant to indicate that such persons were not spiritual or did not practice religion; for example, converts living in Saint-Joseph and orphans living at the convent would both be classed as members of the secular community (even though they engaged in Catholicism), as would non-converts living in the village.

Examining the everyday (often domestic) practices undertaken and experienced by women and girls at the Convent of St. Joseph provides a tangible entry point for understanding how vocation worked, through its existence in the everyday (as a rhythmic temporality: Felski 2002; Beauvoir 1952) and its practices. Thinking in the time and space of the everyday as one that has historically been gendered sheds light on how the labors of women's vocation were framed as care (feminine, supportive rather than integral, and also made into a religious and/or moral duty as a vocational calling). Finally, further investigation into the daily life of the convent illuminates how the Catholic community of women in colonial Senegal developed, how it cultivated itself, and how it worked to reproduce a distinctly Senegalese Catholic community, based on logics promoted by African and French missionary sisters. A wide swathe of domestic care practices emerges from the archives as critical skills associated with Catholic life. At the St. Joseph's Convent these were treated as complementary to religious and academic instruction geared towards the production of future wives and mothers educated there, as well as being key components of female religious vocation amongst the sisters themselves.

Where Chapter 5 approached the practice of vocation as an abstract ideal and found that in practice vocation actually incorporated the non-religious activities of nuns into the sacred, this chapter deepens the critique of vocation. By examining the so-called everyday practices bound up in vocation, the present chapter posits that the very moral valence injected into activities such as cooking, laundering, nursing, etc. (through the practice of vocation) opened up a means for Church and colonial leadership to devalue (and even exploit) the specialized knowledges and labors of missionary sisters and to deny their centrality to the work of missionization. This has been achieved by classifying the everyday practices of feminine vocation as 'care,' both historically and in scholarship treating missionary sisters.

Vocation, Labor, and Care in the Everyday

Chapter 2 argued that West African feminine vocation and its labors were central to the missionary apparatus in colonial Senegal, through an examination of the impetus behind the foundation of the DHHM. However, there exists an inherent tension between ‘vocation’ and ‘labor,’ resulting from the moral connotations of each as a concept, and related to the way in which vocation was idealized (as discussed in Chapter 5). Vocation is a religious pursuit. As such, there is a temptation to consider it—uncritically—as a purely spiritual, internal, and selfless calling: the dedication of one’s life to God through prayer and the pursuit of holy perfection.⁵ Activities associated with vocation, therefore, are moral and morally mandated—even those that might be secular in nature. Labor, on the other hand, is potentially the least celestial aspect of human life: it is physical, external, and an economic necessity for human survival. More importantly, labor need not *necessarily* have morals—it is not a higher calling, it is everyday life (although it is certainly not by definition necessarily void of moral orientation or intention).⁶ There was an unease in combining female vocation (and related ministries) with labor—particularly from the point of view of the Catholic leadership⁷—and in the historiography the question of how vocation and labor might relate to one another, particularly in the case of women’s vocations, has not been thoroughly explored. One way of negotiating the apparent impasse between Catholic vocation and labor can be found in the framing of female missionary

⁵ And in cloistered contemplative monastic orders this characterization (particularly in the pre- and early modern period) has more viable traction (see Asad on the Rule of St. Benedict, 1993: 112-113).

⁶ While there are moralizations of labor and its linkage to religion in light of the Protestant work ethic and the Weber thesis (Weber 1958), that labor is not *necessarily* inherently imbued with morality or linked to a religious ethic remains.

⁷ This is likely connected to the clerical desire to identify and distinguish separate realms of religious and secular life.

labors as a form of care⁸— care for male missionaries, for converts, for the sick, for orphans and abandoned children, for the mission as an abstract whole, and even their own convent household. Gender ideology has its role to play as well, in which labors classed as care tend to be overwhelmingly coded as feminine, and are often undervalued, rendered invisible in the private sphere, and denied as true labor (Alber & Drotbohm 2015; Liebelt 2015; Mol et al. 2010; Stoller 2018; Tronto 1993). Practices of care were the purview of women missionaries—the DHHM and SSJC alike—in keeping with gender norms that identified such practices and the domestic realm to which they were assigned as feminine in nature (and still do for the most part). In characterizing vocation as the cultivation of Catholicism, the concept of ‘care’ comes into play as a suite of practices that were both central to the missionary project, but also integral to normative gender roles that marginalized the role of care in missionization (even if care was recognized as a component of idealized vocational service). It also becomes descriptive of a wide range of practices integral to both vocation and conversion. As such it can be both an analytically nebulous, yet potent lens for thinking through missionary vocation (holy perfection; conversion; the cultivation, maintenance, and reproduction of a Catholic community).

In this chapter, care is understood to potentially encompass a wide range of practices, that—following Annemarie Mol et al. (2010)—are carried out in a certain style (that of care) and are “central to everyday life” (7), an admittedly fuzzy definition argued by the authors as

⁸ Much scholarship on care makes a connection between care and some sense of morality, of not only doing care, but having genuine moral intentions motivating those caring actions, that is: care as an ethical practice (Biehl 2012; Drotbohm 2015; J. Martin 2013; Smith-Morris 2018; Thelen 2015; Tronto 1993). See Felicity Aulino’s work (2016, 2019) for a critique of this universalizing position in which she directly links widespread assumptions about moral intent to specifically Euro-Christian ethics and epistemology, and finds such assumptions to be misguided when it comes to other socio-cultural contexts—in her case, contemporary Thailand. Still Euro-Christian ethics (and gendered stereotypes as well) map care and the morality of care onto one another.

allowing for an un-predetermined investigation into what care is (Mol et al. 2011). More specifically, “‘Care’ can roughly be understood as the work of looking after the physical, psychological, emotional and developmental needs of other persons” (J. Martin 2013: 1; see also, Southwell-Wright et al. 2017); that is, care cultivates and maintains (Tronto 1993) its receiver and endeavors to bring about “wholeness” in them (Taylor 2014). This may be from the point of view of the person providing the care, the person cared for, or both. Such “looking after” activities include domestic practices such as cooking or cleaning, agricultural practices such as tending to animals or even crops, educational practices such as teaching arithmetic, religious practices such as blessing a newborn, *as well as* those most often categorized as care in biomedical anthropology (Alber & Drotbohm 2015; Aulino 2019; Heineman 2014; Mol et al. 2010). That such embodied practices be carried out with the intent of emotional *caring* is not necessarily required; one might not prepare food *caringly*, but the provision of a meal is still a care practice that physically tends to or looks after someone’s wellbeing since food literally sustains and even makes the body of whoever consumes it—but it is also labor.⁹ While this chapter argues that in the missionary context, calling specific practices ‘care’ was a way of denying that such practices might also be missionary labor (that is directly productive of conversion),¹⁰ this chapter also supports that care was integral to the kin-work (Alber & Drotbohm 2015; Bornemann 2001;

⁹ This assertion stands in opposition to those that do demand a moral intent (*caring*) in practices of care, such as for formative work of Joan C. Tronto, despite her emphasis on care as practice; see Aulino 2016 and 2019 for a critique of this assumed necessary moral intent. At any rate, arguably religious sisters living vocation *did* operate with a moral intention of *caring* and encouraged fellow convent residents to do the same.

¹⁰ This friction between care and labor continues to pop up social scientific treatments of care, as well as in the health/medical field where care as a noun and caring as a verb bump up against one another, on the basis of moral connotations placed on care. For discussions on this tension see: Alber and Drotbohm 2015; Aulino 2016, 2019; Defalco 2016; Kinghorn 2019; J. Martin 2013; Smith-Morris 2018; Stoller 2018; as well as a useful review of care in the marketplace in Biehl 2012.

Weismantel 1995) that took place at St. Joseph's and helped to forge community amongst the diverse residents, as hypothesized in Chapter 4. Thus, in the lives of the women at St. Joseph's care could be mundane work, it could produce kinship, and it could also be the less tangible emotive *caring* for someone's person—their body and soul.

At the Mission of St. Joseph, tangible daily experiences and practices with an emphasis on care accompanied the religious. This served to cultivate not only converts and individual vocations, but community. Practices of care at the convent included medical care, childcare, care for the body (hygiene, alimentation, dress), and education as a non-bodily form of care, but one that all the same served as a means through which to transmit the practical skills and knowledges necessary to enact care. This also has to do with discipline, and specifically discipline of the body as an avenue for disciplining the mind and soul, a common theme in Christianity, particularly in religious institutions (Asad 1993, Bergqvist 2014; Gilchrist 1994; “Soeur Cléophas” 1869). That said, while care and discipline may seem opposed (and in practice caring and disciplining are two very different verbs), from a particularly situated (religious) perspective, teaching or instilling a disciplined way of life might also be characterized as care for the interior selves of others, by encouraging moral (and morally-liaised) discipline in them (Asad 1993) in response to a perceived need (Tronto 1993) for salvation.

Organizing SSJC and DHHM ministries into categories of care brings to the fore: 1) the centrality of care to the missionary apparatus as an extension of feminine religious life and labor (Dinan 2016); 2) the gendered approach colonial missionization and Catholicism took to evangelization and care (Hodgson 2005; Sharkey 2013; Stornig 2013); 3) the ways in which care forms and articulates relationships (Borneman 2001; Weismantel 1995) and can create communities (Aulino 2019); and, 4) the historical elision of feminine (and minority) labor with

care more broadly (Stoller 2018; Tronto 1993). Practices of care were something indispensable that religious sisters provided to the missionary project and community; yet, care as a category is a means through which those indispensable labors were (and are) made largely invisible in the archives and scholarly literature. For example, as shall be seen in the context of early twentieth-century laicization, the relegation of religious female labor to the private sector (and out of colonial hospitals and government subsidized dispensaries), served to undermine the role religious women played in the colonies by turning their specialized medical knowledges (Dinan 2016) into religious caring practices only accessible as a supportive secondary aspect of the mission and not in official healthcare settings (e.g. hospitals).

The logical connections between a Christian moral ethics and tending to the sick may seem obvious—especially given that these practices were naturalized as vocation in the constitution of the DHHM and through the structure of the *horarium*. However, pausing to cast a critical eye on ‘tending to the sick’ or ‘teaching domestic skills’ as practices articulates what such actions were supposed to achieve in the lives of those who received that care *and* how those practices shaped the daily lives of those who performed them. This pushes analysis beyond a characterization of convent-based care as something that simply fulfilled a religious imperative from strictly moral or ethical point of view, to something that—as a long-term relational practice (Biehl 2012)—actively cultivated a wider Catholic community at St. Joseph’s (and eventually beyond). Care can be considered a distinctly feminine strategy for or mode of missionizing in this context. Instead of assuming that nuns nursed cholera patients *simply* because their religious ethics or official constitution mandated they do so, their care of the sick can be examined as a practice, and that practice analyzed—why did they do this, to what possibly various ends, what values were defined through that practice? Medical care created situations of possibility for

proselytization, the potential saving of souls as well as bodies by the DHHM and SSJC in both the short- (in case of death) and long-term (in case of recovery). The provision of domestic education to girls not only inculcated Euro-Catholic social and gender norms promoted by the Church, but laid the foundation for autochthonous Catholic upbringing in the private homes of converts, beyond the convent walls. This education—which, without a doubt, reads as a quintessential element of colonial hegemony—can also be thought of as an act of care for both individual students and the Catholic community as a whole from the historically-situated point of view of missionaries who sought to bring salvation and to improve lives through it. Seen as a practice of care, domestic education—from a genuine religious standpoint (Asad 1993)—was part of an assemblage of missionary practices that endeavored to better the lives of (potential) converts, materially and physically, as well as spiritually.

Archaeology of Vocation and Practices of Care at the Convent of St. Joseph

Within the religious rhythms structured by the *horarium* (Chapter 5), time and space were carved out for attending to the practical needs of the convent population and the social service aspects of missionization. The exploration of five main arenas of everyday practice which took place in the three established (archaeologically defined) activity zones¹¹ suggests how Catholic values and beliefs were materialized and embodied at the Convent of St. Joseph, and how vocation—an ostensibly spiritual pursuit and lifestyle—was lived every day. The everyday was a space and means through which the pragmatic and the spiritual were brought together in vocation (Asad 1993; Simmons 2016); it was also a time and place where care was provided and taught, with the cultivation of a Senegalese-Catholic identity and community of practice as the end goal.

¹¹ As detailed in Chapter 5: 1) living and learning; 2) laundry; 3) waste disposal and burning.

Foodways



Figure 6.1. SSJC domestic training program in Dakar, woman pounding millet with others at work in the kitchen. “L’École Ménagère, La Cuisine,” Photo Album: Vicariat Apostolique de La Sénégalie, Mission Catholique de Dakar, April 1931, 3i2.18, AGS. Courtesy of the Congrégation du Saint-Esprit (CSSp).

1871

Thud-crunch, rattle. Pause. Thud-crunch, rattle. Long pause.

Antoinette looked around the kitchen yard in the grey pre-dawn light. Mother Rosalie and Sister Philomène were nowhere in sight, already gathering with the other sisters in the chapel.

Thud-crunch, rattle. CLAP! Thud-crunch, rattle. CLAP!

Elisabeth and Anna giggled. Marie Pauline's mouth twitched. Magdelaine, tossed her pestle extra high, clapped her hands in the interim, then grabbed her pestle from the air and slammed it back into the mortar full of cracking millet, complementing Antoinette's rhythm.

Thud-CLAP-crunch, thud-CLAP-crunch, thud-CLAP-crunch...

“Shhhhh!”¹²



Figure 6.2. "Pilage du mil," from "Scènes de vie seerer" collection, ca. 1915-1940, 3i3.3a3, AGS. Courtesy of the Congrégation du Saint-Esprit (CSSp).

Pounding millet so it can be cooked as couscous is a physically demanding task, quintessentially associated with female labor throughout Senegal (fig. 6.1-2) (Corre 1883; Gravrand 1990; Riss 1989; Thiaw 2005). Millet couscous forms the grain basis of diets across

¹² Historical fiction vignette draws on the following archival sources: Chapelain n.d.a, 1865c; *Bulletin Général des Pères du Saint-Esprit*, n.d

the region, particularly in areas where rice cultivation was not historically part of the agricultural mosaic (Carney 2001; Fields-Black 2008). At St. Joseph's, both male and female missionaries recorded the centrality of millet to foodways across the mission. At the convent, an intensive and daily routine of millet pounding, preparation, and cooking occupied much of the day—especially for the secular members of the community. Enough couscous was needed on a daily basis to feed the entire convent population (at times upwards of 70 women and children) *and* the entire Spiritan mission, including the seminary, primary school, and orphanage (at times well over 100 individuals) (ARN 1930: 16; Bouveret 1892, 1897; Jacolot 1930; Marty 1931-1933; Mazenq 1923-1929). Plainly put: that is a lot of millet, and a lot of millet is a lot of physical labor done by women and girls.¹³ Manipulating the large mortar and pestle requires physical strength, but also expertise; it also remains a highly gendered task in Senegal.¹⁴ In the late 1860s, Mother Rosalie's assignment of daily kitchen duties included a two-phase millet pounding protocol, split up evenly between the convent girls in shifts. This daily task began at 4am and continued throughout the day (*Bulletin Général des Pères du Saint-Esprit* n.d.) Overall, twelve girls participated in pounding millet in large mortar and pestles. Two others were responsible for cooking the couscous in large steamers (fragments of which were recovered in archaeological

¹³ Millet was grown across the mission properties. There were communal fields meant to feed the missionaries and those who lived with them and personal fields tended by villagers. Millet was also grown specifically within the convent enclosure (and still is), separate from that cultivated for the broader mission community. Further, at times, the Spiritans bought millet from farmers hailing from adjacent communities, in times of shortage in Ngasobil (in times of extreme and widespread shortage, rice could be purchased from further afield). All of this would have needed to be ground (*piler*) into couscous for consumption.

¹⁴ Once, during fieldwork, a few male members of the team were joking around with the women and girls of the family compound where we lodged (in Diohine). One of them took up the mortar and pestle and gave it a go—very briefly—I had been taking some photos of the culinary work at hand, and also got one of him pounding millet. He was horrified to have been caught in such a task, even in jest.

Zone 3), while other culinary responsibilities were divided between another three women (Chapelain n.d.a). Couscous was only the base component of any given meal; sauces, proteins, vegetables, etc. also needed procurement and preparation.

This division of culinary labor at the convent highlights not only its volume and physical intensity, but the specialization of tasks, which in turn points to specialized domestic knowledges and their attendant embodied practices wrapped up in the culinary care provided by mission women and girls. Despite the domination of non-religious convent time by culinary labor,¹⁵ and the specialized (local) feminine knowledges upon which it relied, missionaries discussed this set of culinary tasks as a form of basic feminine support the sisters and their charges provided for the Spiritans in line with the gendered hierarchy of the Catholic Church. That it might be an integral labor without which the project of the mission would have been impossible (and as such, a practical requirement and contribution directly to the missionary project of evangelization and personnel training) was not a consideration. Neither was the idea that the provision of nourishment might be a first step in making social inroads that might eventually lead to a refugee gaining interest in Catholicism and becoming a neophyte. An 1899 article in the SSJC community bulletin explains that staffing the Spiritans' kitchen relieved (*soulager*) their suffering, fulfilled their needs—in other words, it provided care for the Spiritan fathers and their charges, eliding the moral responsibilities of caring with the physical labors of food preparation, and indicating that the Spiritans required maintenance so they could focus on the work of evangelization (*Bulletin de la Communauté [SSJC] 1899*). It is not simply that specialized knowledges were not acknowledged, but that in categorizing these labors as care (for the Spiritans), this labor was devalued by being relegated to the mere provision of (womanly)

¹⁵ Notably absent from the *horarium*, left to the undefined times and spaces of that document.

support for priests, so *they* could be sustained and get on with the real (public, visible, masculine) work of converting Africans.¹⁶ The fact that it was a sister making this observation about relieving the needs of the Spiritan fathers highlights the naturalization of gendered domestic labor—here, food preparation—as care.

While foodways require a range of labors, food also does literally provide care, in that it is sustenance, feeding the body and in doing so *making* the body through social and (in this case) gendered labor (Dietler 2010). Furthermore, the communal nature of convent foodways (cultivation, harvesting, processing, preparation, consumption) engaged all members of the community in their own self-sustenance and self-sufficiency as a community. The inclusion of “work in the garden” in the 1872 *horarium* is telling (Chapelain 1872b). Its presence marks a specific integration of labor in which the practical sustaining of the community was highlighted alongside the religious sustaining of the community through prayer—that is, pragmatic and spiritual caring practices underway in tandem.

This becomes even more important when the divisions rather than the unifying commonalities of convent life come into play: meals were communal-yet-separate affairs. The sisters did not take their meals with the convent girls, and the novices were segregated from the professed sisters (this was considered beneficial to their religious training) (*Manuel des Règles & Constitutions* 1899). Over time, the relationship between the SJJC and the DHHM within the convent shifted, resulting in additional divisions. During the early period (1864-1872), the two

¹⁶ See Tronto 1993 for a discussion of the devaluation of care by its associated with the private sphere and, as a result, of the people who provide it, as well as how those in positions of power remain there partially due to the care they receive from ‘lesser’ ‘others’ that goes unacknowledged for the very reason that care is pervasive in life, but has long pushed to the margins rather than analyzed as a centerpiece of social life (although it should be noted that since 1993, care has seen a great increase in social sciences attention and analysis).

orders shared the refectory, whereas by 1892 the SSJC had their own sleeping and dining spaces (Barthet 1891c, d; *Bulletin des Soeurs de Saint Joseph de Cluny* 1893; Chapelain 1865c). In the 1920s, Mother Gonzague assured her Mother Principal (provincial superior of the SSJC in Senegal) that she and her fellow French sisters followed the SSJC rule, alongside but not integrated with the rule of the DHHM (Valot 1923a). In the convent kitchen, a foodways-related habitus particular to the convent emerged in the daily functioning of the food preparation (which included both Senegambian and French women) as well as in the context of the culinary instruction considered integral to their program of feminine education. Despite various administrative divisions within the convent, the communal labor of food preparation can be regarded as generative of the community as a whole.

Archaeological evidence related to foodways at the convent includes a range of artifacts: locally made ceramics (water jars, serving bowls, cooking pots, couscous steamers); European ceramics such as whitewares (plates, bowls), salt-glazed stoneware (crocks), French *faïence fine* and imitation creamware¹⁷ (dishes, bowls, and casseroles), *faïence brune* (utilitarian earthenware cookware also referred to as ‘common’); cut-glass tumblers; a wide array of glass bottles and jars; cast iron cauldrons and pots; metal steamers; and food tins. The characterization of Zone 3

¹⁷ Identified sherds of this refined earthenware featured a creamy paste inspired in imitation of English creamware and later pearlware, or sometimes referring to imported pieces of English ceramics in the late-eighteenth century and early nineteenth (Brongniart and Salvétat 1877 [1854]; Coutts 2001; Maire et al 2008; Rosen 2018; Solon 1903). See Peiffer 2001 for discussion on the confusion between high quality white tin-glazed *faïence* of a range of paste colors (called *fine* in eighteenth-century texts) and clear-glazed, white(ish) paste earthenware referred to as *faïence fine* or *faïence, dit cream-coloured*, or even *porcelaine anglaise* in later writings and analysis, such as that by Alexandre Brongniart (1877 [1854]). These French wares do not have as tightly bounded a timeframe as the English creamware (1760-1820) that inspired them, being sold under varying names through the nineteenth century, and often refined French earthenwares are generally referred to as *faïence fine* (Arcangeli 2015). That said, the type may seem a bit early for the convent, but may have been a piece brought from an older collection elsewhere, perhaps the SSJC convent on Gorée or the Spiritan house in Dakar.

(where the majority of these artifacts were recovered) in Chapter 5 as an area associated not with the act of cooking or eating, but with the act of disposal, prevents the easy assignment of any of these artifacts to any particular sub-set of people living at the convent.

However, imported ceramics are absent from Zone 1 (living and learning quarters of the convent students), suggesting that these girls used primarily local ceramic vessels for their meals.¹⁸ This by no means indicates a lack of diverse material culture in general. Unit 11 contained potsherds from a minimum of 18 vessels, and the remnants of imported glass containers associated with foodways and cosmetic/medical were found across all three activity zones. Rather than a primarily racial-ethnic hierarchy (French vs. Senegambian), the distribution of imported ceramics may indicate one of class (given that the early DHHM sisters tended to be of higher social standing than their charges, as documented in Chapter 4) or of Catholic hierarchy (vocational vs. non-vocational residents). More simply, it may be reflective of the socio-economic value of breakable imported items being designated as more appropriate for adult use and less so for children. All of the proposed social distinctions likely played into the material assemblage of Zone 1 and the practices shaped by those materials. Based on material data, convent girls likely ate from communal platters or wide bowls (following the typology of locally produced wares: McIntosh 1994; Richard 2007). They may also have used wooden vessels and/or calabashes and utensils that did not preserve in the archaeological record. As a parallel, Father Renoux described mealtime for the boys in his charge at the Spiritan complex:

Their food is very simple, and the manner in which they eat is simple as well... [they eat couscous] which is absorbed in mere moments, by hand. It is very interesting to see six small black hands plunging at the same time into an enormous wooden calabash [full of couscous]... some [of the boys] have made themselves wooden spoons, while the smallest boys use seashells, or simply their hands.(Renoux 1866)

¹⁸ As did the very first DHHM arrivals who first lived in the structure associated with Zone 1.

Upon entry into the postulate, mealtime practices would have been relearned, associating a European mealtime habitus with that of a Senegambian Catholic nun. Elsewhere in colonial Senegal (Casamance), Father Joffroy later reported with triumph instances of convert families adopting European dining practices as part of the Catholic mission's contribution to the larger colonial civilizing mission (Foster 2013: 96). This speaks to the entanglement of mundane eating practices with religious conversion in French West Africa.

The lack of imported ceramics around the girls' living quarters also reflects *how* imported ceramics were used. While whitewares and *faience fine* may be associated with serving and tableware reserved for the sisters' refectory, imported salt-glazed stoneware and utilitarian earthenware were more likely to be associated with food storage and preparation—tasks which would have taken place in and around the kitchen buildings, without the need for such objects to traverse the convent grounds. Even though convent girls would have been using imported wares when they were on kitchen duty, such objects would not appear in Zone 1 (Chapelain 1864h). Ceramic distributions testify to the creation of sub-groups within the community, defined not only by identity-markers (age, class, religion), but tangible material practices. Learning to cook within both Senegambian and French culinary traditions was part of their domestic education (and remains part of the curriculum today) (Diene 2006; “Ngazobil, berceau des Filles du Saint Coeur de Marie” 2006; “Projet de Construction d’une citerne d’eau à Ngasobil” 2014). The provision of sustenance for the community and imagined future Catholic families was a central domestic practice care at the convent, framed as integral to both religious vocation and secular, or lay, Catholic womanhood.

Self-Presentation: Dress & Personal Adornment

August 1919

Sister Geneviève Faye-Clemens made her way towards the convent chapel for evening vigil, cutting behind the kitchens and along the path leading to the anterior courtyard, having spent the late afternoon working in the garden on the north side of the grounds. She was still getting used to her new habit as a professed sister and found the veil somewhat difficult to manage over the course of her everyday activities. As a novice, she had seen professed sisters removing their woolen veils for tasks within the convent enclosure and had taken to doing the same while tending to the garden. She paused at edge of the millet field to refasten the deep blue veil to her wimple with a few pins, but fumbled, dropping one in the dust. As she bent down to search for it, she heard the bell ringing, signaling no time to waste. She gave up her search and hurried towards the chapel.¹⁹

Simplicity in dress ruled at the convent as both a result of the poverty of the DHHM and their charges, but also as a purposeful material testimony to their vocational vow of poverty as adherents to the Augustinian rule (Buleon 1899; Chapelain n.d.d; *Manuel des Règles & Constitutions* 1899). Archaeologically, sartorial practices are reflected in plain shell and Prosser-molded glass buttons, straight pins (used to fasten veils and habit collars prior to their replacement by buttons in 1910), hook-and-eye closures, and eyelets (both common to feminine clothing of the period) (“Chapitre Général du 25 Mai” 1910). Archival materials provide a more complete picture of how the women and children dressed. The DHHM and SSJC wore strictly

¹⁹ Historical fiction vignette draws on the following archival sources: “Du chapitre après la retraite annuelle” 1902; JN 1919; *Manuel des Règles & Constitutions* 1899; Valot 1924b.

regulated habits and while the SSJC—as an established and relatively well-funded congregation (Curtis 2010a)—could provide clothing for their members, clothing the early DHHM was a financial and material challenge.

Negotiating the purchase of affordable cloth appeared repeatedly in Mother Rosalie's correspondence (Chapelain 1872a). In 1864 she described using sack cloth to sew dresses for the children at the crèche and orphanage in Dakar (Chapelain 1864g). In 1871 she instructed Mother Joséphine (superior in Dakar) to purchase cloth directly from Maurel Frères (rather than from the SSJC superior in Gorée), because they offered better prices (Chapelain 1871a). In 1866, Father Renoux described the mission boys' clothing as “not very complicated,” which he linked to the limited financial resources of the mission and their reliance on charity from France. In their everyday activities, he described boys as wearing only a pair of pants or a loin cloth; for chapel and religious instruction many wore a long shirt or robe, “which serves them as both shirt and pants” (Renoux 1866). Once St. Joseph's was better established in the 1880s, the gifting of clothing to children was seen as a material means through which to convince parents to send their children to the mission schools. Clothing distributed by the mission was a tangible, visible, and valuable materialization of care provided by the missionaries. It materialized not only the labor of religious women who sewed and washed clothing for children in residence, but pointed towards other less tangible and more ephemeral modes of care provided by nuns (hygienic and health care, alimentation, education). Charitable funding specifically for cloth was requested from such organizations as the *Œuvre de Marie-Immaculée* in France, which supported the care and advance of women in Senegambia (Picarda 1887b).

For religious occupants of the convent, DHHM habits were designed by Mother Rosalie and Monseigneur Kobès in the style of traditional European religious garb, and as such were

more complex than the simple clothing provided to convent children (Valot 1924b). As liminal members of the DHHM, postulants retained their secular clothing with the restriction that it be as simple and modest as possible, and that they prominently display a pendant of St. Joseph until entering into the novitiate (when they would receive a habit to wear) (*Manuel des Règles & Constitutions* 1899).



Figure 6.3 Postcard: Mission du Sénégal (Congr. Du St-Esprit): Soeurs Indigènes. Early twentieth century. Author's personal collection.

Professed sisters wore a long white cotton dress with wide sleeves and a pelerine in the same fabric. Over this foundation, they wore a woolen monastic scapular in azure blue. For their headdress, professed sisters wore a white calico wimple, covered by a veil in the same azure blue wool as their scapular. They were also issued a large rosary with a copper crucifix to wear suspended at their left side from a belt made of blue cordage (figs. 6.3, 6.4a). At the time of their

profession they received a large silver medallion to be worn as a pendant. It was formed in the shape of a heart and depicted the Holy Heart of Mary (fig. 6.4b). Finally, as brides of Christ, each professed sister wore a silver band on her right ring finger. Novices' habits were in the same style, except instead of a blue wool veil and scapular, theirs were white, and as non-professed sisters they had not yet received either the medallion or ring (Manuel des Règles & Constitutions 1899).

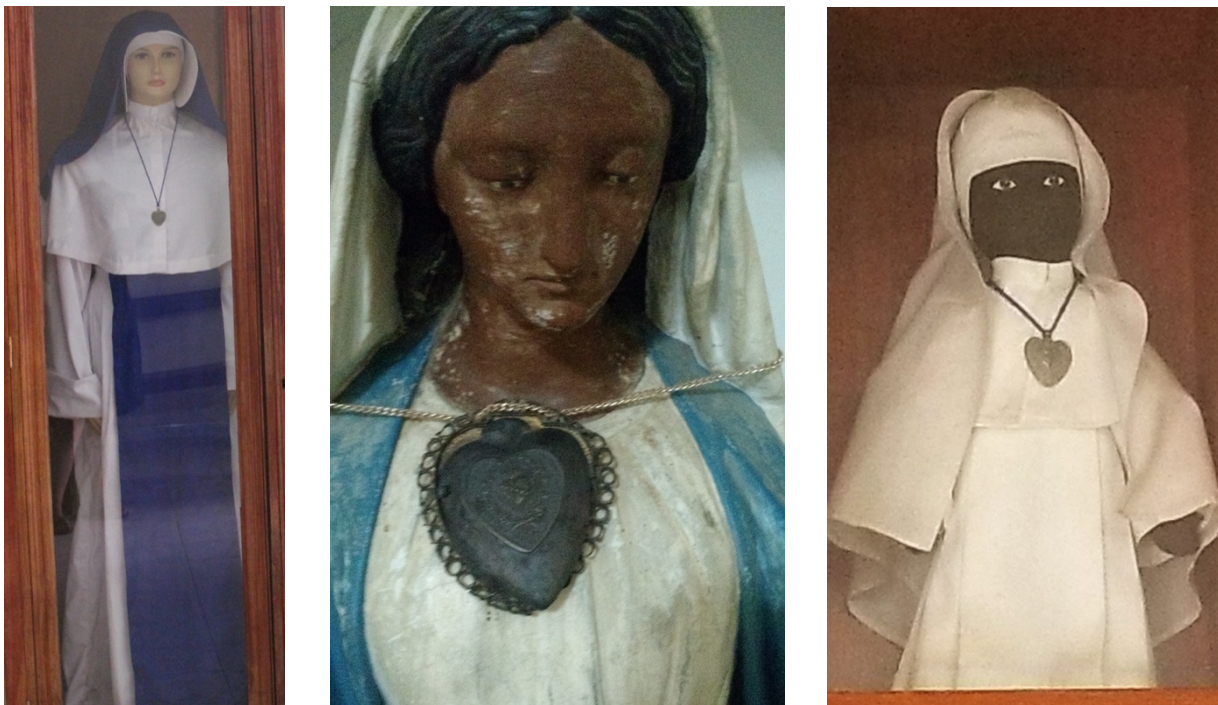


Figure 6.4. a) Reproduction of the original DHHM habit for professed sisters, sewn by Sister Marie Felicité Diene, FSCM; b) nineteenth-century medallion of the Holy Heart of Mary worn by professed sisters; c) fashion doll model of the revised 1920s habit for professed sisters. Photographs by author.

In the mid-1920s, this heavy and old-fashioned habit was revamped with the assistance of Mother Gonzague of the SSJC, who observed that the DHHM garb was so impractical for their daily activities that most sisters had ceased to wear the blue wool veil other than for mass and excursions beyond the convent walls. Thus, in 1924 the scapular and belt were discarded and a

light white calico replaced blue wool for the veil, so that the sisters would no longer need to remove them in order to carry out the physical labors their vocation demanded (fig. 6.4c) (Valot 1924a, b). Most DHHM were delighted by the change, but those elders who hesitated were permitted to continue wearing their old habits until they were worn out and the stores of blue cloth depleted—testifying that decades of sartorial discipline had inextricably linked the original habit with the elderly sisters’ experience and enactment of vocation, both a material means and representation of pursuing Christian virtue (Valot 1924c). At the same time, while this institutional sartorial change might at first glance appear as a run-of-the-mill 1920s modernization, Mother Gonzague’s comments make it clear the change was not merely to ‘keep up with the times,’ but rather reflected physical negotiations made by the DHHM on an daily basis, in an effort to better fulfill the practices integral to their vocational ministries—specifically those ‘everyday,’ physical practices geared towards the daily care of the convent community and social services provided to the wider community within and around the mission.

Discussion around obtaining affordable yet appropriate cloth in these colors also shows up in Mother Rosalie’s correspondence, as does the circulation of items required to maintain them properly (starch, soap, thread) (Chapelain 1864e, 1870b). In Zone 3, the excavation of indigo dye cake fragments dating to the early decades of occupation (ca. 1864-1880) suggests the sisters may have begun to dye the cloth necessary for their habits; it is also possible they occupied themselves with producing cotton cloth itself. In the 1860s and 1870s the Mission of St. Joseph operated a large cotton plantation. While never hugely successful, cotton was cultivated throughout the late nineteenth and early twentieth century (and it did win a medal from the Portuguese government at an exposition in Porto) and stands of cotton bushes remain scattered across the convent property (ARN 1930: 37). Historically, indigo textile production is

associated with Senegambian craft and economies (Adanson 1759; Carney & Rosomoff 2011; Feeser 2013), and it is possible the DHHM engaged in small-scale production for their own use. In an 1873 letter, Mother Rosalie reminds Mother Joséphine to think ahead regarding her thread and cotton needs, which she should communicate to St. Joseph's ahead of time in order to avoid purchasing these supplies at the shops in Dakar (Chapelain 1873b). Mid-nineteenth century mission correspondence also mentions gum arabic—a botanical substance used in the textile dying processes—being shipped between DHHM communities, further indicating possible textile production or at least dying (Chapelain 1864e).²⁰

As for secular residents of the convent, there was an ongoing tension between simplicity and self-expression. During the main occupation of Zone 1 (ca. 1874-1890), associated primarily with the living and learning quarters of convent girls, the presence of sequins and bead styles associated with personal adornment (vs. rosaries), challenged sartorial guidelines encouraging simplicity and the embrace of poverty (Barthet 1894; Chapelain n.d.d; “Conseil du 9 Septembre” 1893; *Manuel des Règles & Constitutions* 1899). In addition to tailoring and mending, embroidery was one of the feminine domestic skills taught at the convent—probably intended for the decoration of liturgical linen and items for sale, nonetheless these skills would have been translatable to personal adornment (Barthelemy 1865b; *Bulletin de la Communauté [SSJC]* 1972; Chapelain 1872c, 1873b; “Congrégation des Religieuses Africaines du Saint Cœur de Marie” 1965; “Conseil du 9 Septembre” 1893; Jacolot 1930; Renoux 1877d). During an 1893 DHHM council meeting, Monseigneur Barthet and Father Kunemann emphasized simplicity as a Catholic value, urging the sisters to prevent young women in their care from assembling excessive marriage trousseaus featuring ornate embroidery work and lace. (“Conseil du 9

²⁰ Admittedly, these remain only hints, not proof of textile production and processing.

Septembre” 1893) In 1894, Barthet wrote to Mother Joséphine, admonishing any allowance of fancy tastes and pretensions of caste amongst the girls and young women of the convent (Barthet 1894). At the same time, mission residents—in general—were recorded as donning their finest attire for festive celebrations on feast days, a tradition that continues today in the wearing of brightly colored wax-printed textiles featuring religious figures and mottos (fig. 6.4a-b) (JN 1884). Thus, between official proscriptions, archival descriptions, and the archaeological record, a handful of sequins testifies to the persistence of personal sartorial choices on the part of convent girls, perhaps sewn onto outfits in the semi-privacy of their living quarters and intended for special occasions or a future life beyond the convent walls. Archival evidence indicates that the DHHM remained either ineffectual or, alternatively, permissive of these ongoing so-called deviances. As in France, where a Catholic identity could hardly be said to manifest itself in widespread sartorial renunciation, Senegambian Catholicism resisted strict missionary impulses to suppress personal adornment and sartorial expression, and the Church came to tolerate unsanctioned practices in favor of keeping neophytes in the fold (Gravrand 1961).



Figure 6.5. a) Feast of Saint Joseph celebrations, Ngasobil, March 18, 2017; b) religious wax for sale as part of the day's festivities. Photographs by author.

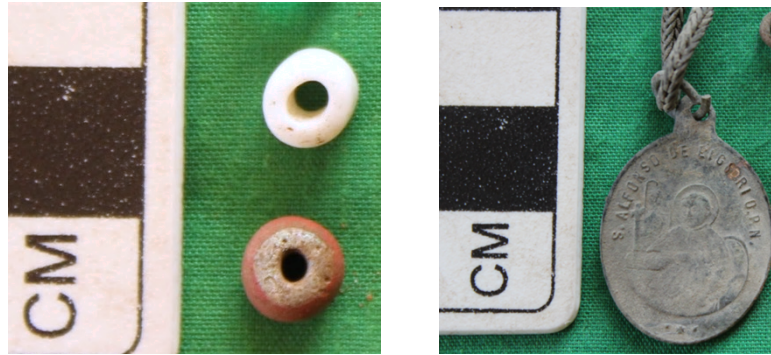


Figure 6.6. Religious and personal adornment objects excavated at the Convent of Saint Joseph: a) *galet rouge* and *galet blanc* beads, Zone 1, Unit 11, Level 2, ca. 1890-1940; b) St. Alfonso de Liguori medal, Zone 3, Unit 9, Level 3, ca. 1910-1925; Photographs by author.

Glass *galet rouge* and *galet blanc* Venetian beads (fig. 6.6a), on the other hand, may represent a less visible practice and one that operated in resistance to the breaking or at least weakening of familial bonds that occurred once an individual became part of the convent as her new household and socio-religious community. *Galet* types were in production and circulated throughout the Atlantic world from the seventeenth to early nineteenth centuries; in the first third of the nineteenth-century or so their production began to fall off, and they were replaced by faux carnelian glass beads (*cornaline d'aleppo*) (DeCorse et al. 2003; Opper & Opper 1989; Saitowitz 1990). Their presence in convent contexts at the opposite end of the nineteenth century may indicate that they were heirloomed by women and girls in residence; interviews by Marie-José Opper and Howard Opper found that “wearing *galet rouge* beads in this fashion [multiple strands worn around the waist] is a time-honored tradition that goes back many generations” (Opper & Opper 1989: 14; see also Corre 1883; Cultru 1910; Thiaw 2005). It is possible these beads fell from belts worn underneath convent-prescribed clothing, testifying to the persistence of practices that tied girls and young women to their families and ancestors. That said, such beads could have been used by convent girls for other purposes either sartorial or religious (heirloomed beads may have made homemade rosaries, however the gifting of religious items by the mission was a

common occurrence and fragments of metal rosary chains with faceted nineteenth-century beads were recovered in Zone 3 indicating the availability of imported rosaries at the convent).²¹ More broadly, the presence of these types of beads at the convent locates St. Joseph's and its population within the long history of the importance of beads to African presentations of self, economies, cosmologies, and social relations throughout the Atlantic period (Cultru 1910; Gijanto 2011; Yentsch 2011). Their significance can be read as more complex than being mere baubles or vain contraband luxuries enjoyed by the adolescent girls of the convent.

Sanctioned forms of personal adornment framed as religious practice also left their mark in the archaeological record. Jewelry clasps, chains, and religious medallions testify to embodied sartorial practices both reflective and productive of performing conversion and belief amongst the convent's non-professed residents. As a member of the convent community, the daily display of a saint medallion pendant served as a visual marker of the wearer as a member of the Catholic community, while the physical experience of wearing it around one's neck was a personal reminder of faith and belonging as well. The particular saint or holy element depicted might also provide a sense of community or kinship. The DHHM and Spiritans were particularly devoted to the Holy Heart of Mary, referenced in the name of both congregations. St. Joseph, to whom the mission was dedicated, was a particular patron saint not only for residents of the mission, but for the SSJC as a congregation. Finally, individual patron saints were an important aspect of Catholic identity at St. Joseph's. The feast days of patron saints linked to mission leadership were cause for celebration during which saint medallions might be distributed. On 2 August 1895 the entire mission gathered to celebrate the feast of St. Alfonso de Liguori because he was

²¹ These are not the style of rosary described in the *Manuel des Règles & Constitutions* as being worn by DHHM sisters themselves.

Father Superior Alphonse Kunemann's patron saint. According to the mission journal, the gathering was very large, and included a meal followed by desserts for all, "just like big feast days" (JN 1895) A high-quality oval medallion featuring St. Alfonso strung on a fragment of hexagonal chain was excavated in Zone 3²²—quite possibly presented at the fête celebrating Kunemann's patron saint (fig. 6.6b).

Rather than seeing the *gallet* beads and religious pendants as being potentially in conflict with each other—one a form of resistance and the other a tool of religious and cultural hegemony—a focus on the lived practices of conversion and the development of a specifically Senegalese-Catholic habitus at the convent suggests their coexistence is about more than a simple opposition between contraband adornments worn in a spirit of resistance vs. condoned markers of religious affiliation and mission hegemony. The existence of African vocations in the missionary field and their work as mediators between European priests and Senegambian neophytes made this type of compromise possible—even if European missionaries decried the persistence of 'traditional' practices amongst converts (Foster 2013).

Hygiene

Spring 1867

Squish, squish, squish, splash. Squish, squish, squish, drip. Snap.

Thérèse pulled the navy-blue jacket out of her wash basin, squeezing the water out and snapping the jacket in the air in order to shake out the worst creases. In the distance she could hear the other girls down at the ravine, washing the fathers' bedding. She, however, had been tasked with

²² Unit 9, Level 3, ca. 1910-1925.

the laundry of guests, and had been warned by Sister Pierre Claver not to lose any buttons. Mother Rosalie had recently issued a stern admonishment about the lack of care she saw amongst the novices and girls in doing their chores—especially the laundry. Looking at the large and brightly gilt military buttons, Thérèse thought to herself they would be hard to replace if lost—and very noticeable if observed to be missing from the jacket. She hung it to dry just inside the laundry shed, protected from the bleaching rays of the sun, satisfied with the extra care she had taken with young Monsieur Flize’s school jacket.²³

Laundry is the most archaeologically visible and easily categorizable hygienic practice at the convent, and it appears throughout the archives as a primary task. Similar to the daily routine of millet pounding, the women and girls of the convent (Senegambian and French alike) met not only their own laundering needs, but those of the Spiritans and their institutions (Mazenq 1923). The responsibility of female missionaries to provide such domestic labor, usually characterized within the domain of unskilled domestic (or ‘women’s’ work) tends to go without saying in the historiography of modern missions. Characterized as such, the assumption might be that laundry is something anyone can do adequately—but as Mother Rosalie’s admonishments testify, doing laundry poorly is something many people can do, but getting it right requires attention and *skill*. In 1870, Rosalie wrote to Sister Marthe: “All day long I occupied myself with teaching Sister André how to do the laundry” (Chapelain 1870b) This statement not only makes explicit that Mother Rosalie considered laundering to be a skill, but that it was a specialized practice to be expressly taught. In addition to a useful domestic skill imparted to students and young nuns, this

²³ Historical fiction vignette draws on the following archival sources: ARN 1930: 38; Chapelain 1872c, n.d.d.

everyday practice was also central to vocation as part of the DHHM and SSJC's responsibilities towards the material care of the mission's residents. The importance of laundering to the smooth functioning of the mission as a whole was indicated in SSJC personnel reports, which outline the specific responsibilities of different sisters. For example, in 1923 Sister Marthe du Sacre-Cœur Quadrado was listed as being in charge of dressmaking and caring for the liturgical and personnel linens of the mission. Throughout the 1920s these and other related tasks such as bleaching and ironing were articulated and assigned to specific sisters in SSJC annual reports. Identified as standard domestic practices and as care for the works and personnel of the mission, these were classed as naturally feminine, supportive of male personnel, and bound up in women's missionary vocation. Up to at least 1965, the DHHM and SSJC handled all laundry-related tasks for the Mission of St. Joseph. They also included instruction in sewing and ironing as part of the education provided to girls and young women; thus, laundry practices were seen as part and parcel not only of vocation but of non-vocational Catholic womanhood and housekeeping (*Bulletin de la Communauté [SSJC]* 1972; "Congrégation des Religieuses Africaines du Saint Cœur de Marie" 1965).

Beyond being a labor in service of the mission community, laundering was also a personal hygienic practice, and one that was perceived differently by DHHM and SSJC when it came to their personal appearance and the care of their clothing. Towards the end of her tenure as superior (ca.1858-1872), Mother Rosalie wrote a set of guidelines for the daily life of the DHHM, based on what she perceived to be their quotidian shortcomings. She scolded that sisters should not feel the need (or the entitlement) to immediately request new clothing just because their habits might be a little torn or damaged. They also should not use an over-abundance of soap for washing themselves or their linens and clothing. And finally, "for those who will not

suffer a spot on their habits—not the slightest stain—and who want to wash immediately if it seems to them not to be clean (even if that is too much washing for the integrity of the garment),” she demanded, “do they not go counter to the virtue of poverty in wanting to be more cleanly than the others?” Archival marginalia from the 1960s admonish these past transgressions: “and the vanity!” (Chapelain n.d.d).

While cleanliness may be a virtue, and hygiene was a concern at St. Joseph’s and in colonial discourse in general (Anderson 2006; Burke 1996; Conklin 1997; Foster 2013, Ngalamulume 2004; Perry 2003; Shah 1999), the appropriate religious habitus was not to be disposed towards cleanliness to the point of vanity or the use of personal appearance to differentiate or elevate oneself in relation to others. Even a valued hygienic practice might represent temptation, potentially luring a sister away from the virtues of her religious commitment and vocation. The 1899 *Manual of Rules and Constitutions* includes an article entitled “On Landry and Bathing,” which repeats Mother Rosalie’s point: “your clothes will be washed according to that which the superior judges appropriate... so that too great a desire to have clean clothing does not create a stain on your soul” (*Manuel des Règles et Constitutions* 1899).

On personal cleanliness, the *Manual* states that bathing should not be overly frequent (once monthly, “as is customary”), excepting sisters with medical conditions, as directed by a doctor. Excessive bathing by sisters who simply desire to do so is forbidden so as not to cultivate vanity (*Manuel des Règles et Constitutions* 1899). In reality, bathing appears to have been practiced frequently (sometimes daily) at the mission—by Senegambians and Europeans alike by the turn-of-the-century and the early decades of the twentieth century (Cimbault 1904; Valot 1926c). Nonetheless, this insistence on the humility of cleanliness in 1899 runs against

increasingly hygienic practices in the nineteenth-century medical field, particularly in the aftermath of the Crimean war (Dinan 2016), and may be more about a perceived vanity in Senegambian women or the linkage of frequent bathing as a mode of class distinction unbefitting to a religious sister.²⁴ Vocation calls for restrained personal hygiene to prevent vanity or self-aggrandizement. Thus, a moral line was drawn between care for the community (through laundering) and selfcare (through personal bathing), in which hygienic practices classed as care for others and for the Church were integral to vocation, but *too much* attention to personal appearance and cleanliness led sisters astray from their pursuit of holy perfection.

Healthcare

March 1882

Ouch!

Brother Amann gave little Marie Xalo a reassuring smile as the French doctor made an incision on her arm. He snapped off the end of the small ampoule containing the vaccine and passed it to the doctor who carefully administered the liquid into the incision. The glass ampoules had been sent all the way from Saint-Louis by the colonial Médecin en chef for the inoculation of mission children against smallpox.²⁵

While visits from colonial doctors providing vaccines received particular note in the mission journal, most medical care at St. Joseph's was provided by the women of the DHHM and SSJC. This category of caring practice was potentially the most publicly visible labor of

²⁴ This also has roots in monastic self-mortification in health and hygiene practices, historically, in Catholic religious communities (Bergqvist 2014).

²⁵ Historical fiction vignette draws on the following archival sources: JN 1882, 1906, 1928, 1929.

religious women in the colony, although their expertise was not always acknowledged by administrators. Living at a massive, remote mission settlement in the sub-tropics, the inhabitants of St. Joseph's relied on a suite of home remedies and practical medical knowledges that drew on both Senegambian and European healing traditions and methods. Over time, these 'everyday' or 'folk' medical practices (some of which drew on local botanicals) became increasingly integrated with modern biomedical practices, documented in missionary handbooks from the turn of the century (Le Mintier de la Motte-Basse and Carrie 1907).

European medical supplies form one of the earliest types of material culture commonly referenced in archival sources; requested medical implements included syringes and burettes (described as "necessary"), although these were not identified in the archaeological record (Chapelain 1864i, 1870e; Labouret 1873). Archaeologically, two glass ampoules were recovered on the convent grounds, and glass containers likely containing either cosmetic or medicinal contents were recovered in Zones 1 and 3 (living quarters and middens). The historical location of the convent's dispensary remains unknown;²⁶ survey and sub-surface pilot testing in a hypothesized location of the clinic outside the convent cloister were negative (Bouveret 1893; *Bulletin de la Communauté [SSJC]* 1989; "Fondation de la Congrégation des Filles du St Coeur de Marie" n.d.; "Malades soignés et convertis dans la Mission" 1877; Pacyga 2016; Richard 2017).

In addition to those exclusively related to medical practices, there is a suite of objects that inhabit a murky space between the food/drink and health/medicine functional categories, such as alcohol bottles (recovered across the site). In 1864 Mother Rosalie advocated for absinthe as a treatment for worms. She offered to send some along to the DHHM convent in Joal if they were

²⁶ The dispensary was in operation from ca. 1893 to at least 1944, possibly later.

unable to procure any of their own (establishing the presence of absinthe in her storeroom at St. Joseph's) (Chapelain 1864i). In 1871, she placed an order for two bottles of cognac to treat sinus and chest congestion. In the early twentieth century the administration of brandy (*eau de vie*) or rum mixed with coffee and laudanum was promoted in medical literature disseminated to West African Spiritan missions (Le Mintier de la Motte-Basse and Carrie 1907).

Glass bottles in the 'torpedo' shape associated with soda water and other carbonated beverages were also identified in Zone 3. Soda water was a popular nineteenth and early twentieth-century home treatment, regarded as both generally healthful and also associated with medical treatments (Bouillion-Lagrange 1811; Hermann-Lachapelle et al. 1865; Le Mintier de la Motte Basse and Carrie 1907; Zaborowksi 1889). As in Europe and the United States (Linn 2010), in Senegal mineral and soda waters joined the established toolkit for healing (Richard 2007: 640 citing Noirot 1895). In a 1907 manual published by the Spiritans on the treatment of bilious hematic fever, mineral water ("*eau de Vichy*"), soda water, and carbonated lemonade were key ingredients in a series of oral and rectal treatments to subdue the symptoms of malarial fever and other common tropical diseases and ailments (Le Mintier de la Motte-Basse and Carrie 1907). As early as the 1850s, apparatuses for carbonating water—such as the Gazogène Briet and the Seltzogene—were marketed in France (*Le Charivari* 1855). While there is no evidence of a gasogene at the convent, the torpedo style bottles associated with nineteenth-century carbonated beverages and colorless glass bottles often identified as mineral water bottles were present across surface deposits and archaeological contexts, pointing to the consumption of mineral and soda water.

Untraceable in the archaeological record but mentioned frequently in correspondence, tisanes (herbal tea preparations) represent a medical practice in which French and Senegambian

traditions converged. Sisters promoted these beverages for their healthfulness and medical efficacies, occasionally sharing recipes with the priests or simply sending along a prepared packet of ingredients. For example, in note to Father Renoux (stationed down the road at the Spiritan complex in Ngasobil), Mother Rosalie wrote:

I am sending you a tisane that will make you feel better, but you must drink it several times. It is the one that we take for fevers, [and] I will prepare it for you every day. [However,] today I am sending you all of the herbs that go into it, because there is not enough time to make it myself. If you find it to be too strong, you can just add more water. You should make the [other] young father drink it as well. It will do him good. (Chapelain 1868b)

Elsewhere, she recommended steeping citrus peel in coffee to treat fever and sent along some fruits from the convent orchard with her letter (Chapelain n.d.b). An 1873 recipe used by Sister Gabrielle, a recently professed DHHM sister, specifically named the active herbal ingredient for the treatment of a cough, drawing on local healing practices “she takes *horom sape* [*Grewia villosa* (see Sébire 1899)] leaves and brings them to a boil with three spoonfuls of honey” (Chapelain 1873c); the patient is to drink two cups. By the 1920s, the use of West African botanicals had become so integrated into missionary healthcare and medical practices that Mother Gonzague was brewing her own stores of kola wine for consumption (“every morning”) intended to maintain the sisters’ health, as recommended in a 1907 Spiritan manual (Le Mintier de la Motte Basse and Carrie 1907; Valot 1924c).

In addition to the oral consumption of medical treatments (alcohol, tisanes, quinine, ipecac, etc.), topical treatments were also important (Cimbault 1904; JN 1878; Le Mintier de la Motte Basse and Carrie 1907; Valot 1924c, 1926b). For example, Mother Rosalie shared a measured recipe for a salve meant to treat scabies: One is to add 100 grams flowers of sulfur (a fine sulfur powder common in homeopathic remedies) to 400 grams of lard, and mix it well until it becomes a salve, then apply to the affected area (Chapelain 1864i). For burns, she

recommended mixing an egg white with some oil and lime (not the fruit) until it is pomade-like in texture (Chapelain 1873a). As a congregation, the SSJC were committed to the education and care of the poor, and on mission their works included staffing hospitals. It is possible Mother Rosalie was familiar with these homemade remedies from her own childhood in Bucèy-les-Gy (Haute-Saône), or that they were learned at some point in her training with the SSJC. Her penchant for using leeches (which were sent by request from the SSJC Mother House in France) documents the use of common European medical practices in the colonies (Chapelain 1863c; Kirk and Pemberton 2011; Labouret 1873; Soth 2019).

The expertise of religious women did not lie simply in their familiarity with routine home remedies but in scientific medical knowledge and skill as healers and medical practitioners. In 1906, Mother Bathilde (SSJC) was called upon to treat Brother Cyran, suffering from hematuria, and the mission journal specific states that he received experimental care from her. This indicates Mother Bathilde's expertise in designing personalized medical treatment based on her diagnosis of symptoms (JN 1906). As director of the novitiate (1904-1907), it stands to reason that in addition to directing the religious studies of young DHHM, she taught them how to carry out their vocational ministry to care for the sick. By the 1920s the medical care provided by the DHHM and SSJC sisters in Ngasobil was absolutely critical not only to the immediate mission population but to the region—the closest doctor was stationed 83 km away—even though their services were not considered professional medical care by colonial administrators (Jacolot 1930; Marty 1931; Mazenq 1923-1929; Valot 1923b, 1924b). In 1927 alone, records show 7,088 people were cared for at the convent's dispensary through the combined efforts of SSJC and DHHM sisters (Mazenq 1927; Valot 1924c). The care they provided was not only for illness, but injury as well; in 1928 they provided 4,315 wound dressings (Mazenq 1928).

As a part of their vocation, the sisters cared not only for the bodies of the sick and injured, but for their souls (Foster 2013). Accounts of home visits and care at the convent's clinic emphasize time spent providing medical care doubled as an opportunity to provide spiritual guidance, religious instruction, and baptism in cases of emergency (*Bulletin de la Communauté [SSJC]* 1899; Sébire 1891; "Vie Apostolique des Religieuses" 1970). Once again the non-spiritual labors carried out by the convent women were conceptually merged, seamlessly, through vocation into works of care. In doing so there was a feminization of specialized medical treatment into moral and religious care, and a tendency towards its being classed as merely supportive but hardly central to the project of the mission (or the colony).

An exception found in the archives proves the rule that nuns' medical knowledge and labors were generally devalued. That the sisters' expertise in healthcare was significant is documented not only by references to their regular visits to tend the sick in the villages and their treatment of patients in facilities built adjacent to the convent, but by a remarkable commendation from the Vicar Apostolic in the wake of services recognized by the colonial government during an outbreak (possibly of yellow fever) (ARN 1930: 16; Buléon 1899; *Bulletin de la Communauté [SSJC]* 1899, 1925; *Bulletin Général des Pères du Saint-Esprit*, n.d.; Chapelain 1869b; "Fondation de la Congrégation des Filles du St Coeur de Marie" n.d.; "Malades soignés et convertis dans la Mission" 1877; Marty 1933; Mazenq 1923, 1924). Shortly prior to the laicization laws, in 1900 the colonial government requested that Mother Joséphine (DHHM Superior General) send a few sisters to staff hospitals in Gorée and Saint-Louis. Monseigneur Barthet wrote explicitly to congratulate her on this acknowledgement of the sisters' medical expertise and service to the colony (Barthet 1900). This is a notable moment in which the specialized skills of religious sisters was recognized as such, and not simply as generic

female support work. However, despite the clear reliance of colonial hospitals on the inexpensive, yet expert labor of nuns as nurses (Foster 2013), colonial officials (and politicians in the metropole) found it easy to downplay (or even downright disregard) the importance of this work. They classed it as non-professionalized care—just as it was generally characterized at the mission, it was just something that women were predisposed to do (especially religious women). A brief examination of laicization in French West Africa confirms this assessment.

In the wake of French laicization laws passed in the first decade of the twentieth century,²⁷ French metropolitan, and colonial hospitals especially—which had historically relied upon the inexpensive labor of nuns-as-nurses (Dinan 2016)—experienced a major loss in nursing staff (Foster 2013). Examined in the retrospective light of second-wave feminist debates over the labor of care (Stoller 2018), laicization emerges as doing much more socio-political work than merely separating church and state. With nuns-as-nurses removed from hospitals, their labor was conceptually de-professionalized through its official removal from hospitals. Their expertise was made inaccessible to the public and relegated to the privacy of the missionary sphere where it was no longer labor provided to the colonial apparatus, but service—given as part of a religious ministry of care—within the private institution of the mission. During the process of laicization, officials battled over the replacement of nuns in the hospitals. Minister of the Colonies Doumergue accused Dr. Rangé (director of West African health services) of exaggerating the amount of labor carried out by religious sisters, declaring their contributions to be “superfluous” (Foster 2013: 75). At the mission dispensary—so indispensable to the health of isolated rural populations—this exiled feminine expertise and labor framed as the caring work integral to

²⁷ The central triumvirate of *laïcité* laws being: 1901 Law on Associations; 1904 law suppressing members of the clergy from teaching in France; 1905 Law on the Separation of Church and State.

vocation was utterly critical to how converts and potential converts interacted with religious personnel. For those traveling from the interior for treatment, a medical visit, in which religion and physical care were seamlessly merged, might be their first personal interaction with Catholicism. For Catholic women, it might be a both a medical visit and a social visit to the convent where they were raised—a chance to visit the sisters who had become part of their alternative kinship network as children of the convent. Most importantly—from the missionary standpoint—if the treatment received was successful, it enabled (or at least contributed to the conditions of possibility for) the continued reproduction of a Senegalese Catholic community—through the care of DHHM and SSJC religious sisters. In fact, private dispensaries staffed by nuns in Senegal often continued to operate after the withdrawal of government subsidies (Foster 2013), and their continued popularity among the Senegalese population testifies to the importance of religious sisters as providers of health care, and the insidious gender work of removing their labor from public hospitals.

Education

August 1895

One, two, three. One, two, three.

Mother Joséphine counted out two sets of gridded onionskin paper for the newly professed sisters to write their essays. On second thought, she counted out a further six sheets of the good mission stationary. That way, they could practice and correct their essays on the onionskin, and then produce a neat copy, so as to present Monseigneur Barthet with their best writing.

She ran her hand over the thick, smooth stationary—much nicer to write on than the scratchy and fragile onionskin. She then added an envelope and packet of deep violet ink powder to each stack. It would be good training for them get accustomed to all the little tasks required once deployed on mission.

She poked her head out the office door and caught Anne Diouf scurrying towards the classroom.

“Anne!”

“Yes, Mother?”

“Pass by the kitchen and tell Sisters Aloysia and Victoire to come see me. You may explain to Headmistress Sister Bernadin that you are late to class because you were relaying a message.”

“Yes, Mother.”²⁸

Alongside the daily religious instruction of postulants and novices, integrated into their new temporal practice of vocation via the *horarium*, the secular convent girls were also in need of educational instruction (which also had to fit into rhythms of vocation as organized by the *horarium*). The DHHM and SSJC were tasked with the academic, religious, and domestic education of girls and young women throughout Senegal (ARN 1930: 16; *Bulletin de la Communauté [SSJC]* 1896). Their pupils were imagined as having two potential paths forward in which they would continue to apply the skills (many being practices of care), values, and beliefs learned as members of the convent community: 1) vocation in the DHHM, or 2) Catholic marriage and motherhood (ARN 1930: 156). Anne Diouf would fulfil the second of these ideals

²⁸ Historical fiction vignette draws on the following archival sources: Bouveret 1894; Cimbault 1903b, c; JN 1903.

with her 1903 marriage to a young Catholic man in Mbodiène, where she would embark on a personal project of Catholic reproduction, drawing on the values, beliefs, knowledge, and practical skills she had learned through her convent education (JN 1903). Marriages at St. Joseph were highlighted in the mission journal, and sometimes celebrated as group events with more than one couple being married on the same day (JN 1884). Marriage was of utmost concern from the missionary point of view (*Bulletin de la Communauté [SSJC]* 1896). Beyond explicit statements, missionary anxiety about Afro-Catholic marriage can be read through the emphasis on successful matches in archival documents.

Considered a total package of preparation for a Catholic future, convent education can be conceptualized as a form of future-oriented care. It prepared girls and young women in practices considered integral to both religious vocation and a lay life. Oral history and archival evidence assert the role St. Joseph's convent played in producing wives for educated young (Catholic) men, referred to under colonialism as *evolués* (*Bulletin de la Communauté [SSJC]* 1928). During the interwar period, Sister Camille du Sacre-Cœur Knobloch (SSJC) started a program called the "Sixa" in which young wives and mothers who had not benefited from religious education could enroll (sometimes with their children in tow) in a program that provided them with preparation for baptism and/or confirmation, as well household management/domestic skills, including puericulture (infant health and childcare), dressmaking, sewing, and modern hygienic practices (*Bulletin de la Communauté [SSJC]* 1988; "Congrégation des Religieuses Africaines du Saint Cœur de Marie" 1965; "Vie Apostolique des Religieuses" 1970). It is not so much that the domestic tasks were different from those accorded to women throughout non-Catholic Senegambia (although French style needlepoint and lacemaking might come to mind), but that others types of labor traditionally carried out by Senegambian women (agriculture, trading,

potting)²⁹ were *left out* of the suitable activities for women in the imported Euro-Catholic framework that sought to ‘correct’ gendered labor and spheres of activity in the colonies. These were public (non-familial, non-domestic) labors (befitting men), whereas the imported gender ideology held that women should restrict their activities to the home and the family. As Emily Osborn (2011) argues, colonial gender ideologies did not so much introduce new domestic tasks as they limited women to them.

Archaeological evidence of academic instruction was salient to the identification of zoned activity at the convent (Chapter 5). Artifacts include fragments of slate tablet and pencils, chalk, and brass clips for binding papers together, all of which—save one clip—were recovered in Zone 1, supporting its interpretation as the girls’ learning and living quarters. While the convent girls were mainly native Seerer or Wolof speakers, the DHHM rule insisted upon the use of French, and instruction in the colonial language was included at all levels of education: students, postulants, novices, even newly professed DHHM (*Bulletin de la Communauté [SSJC]* n.d.; *Bulletin des Soeurs de Saint Joseph de Cluny* 1969; Chapelain n.d.c; “Conseil 16 Mars” 1893; “Du chapitre après la retraite annuelle” 1902; *Manuel des Règles & Constitutions* 1899; “Première reunion du Conseil General” 1886). Administrative anxiety about language and literacy in 1890s resulted in Monseigneur Barthet’s decision to require recently professed sisters to write a short essay that would permit him to judge her degree of education (Barthet 1895). In 1895 the DHHM Council³⁰ passed a resolution requiring sisters in each community to complete regular assigned essays detailing their vocational activities. These were to be submitted,

²⁹ To be discussed in the following chapter (7).

³⁰ The council consisted of a range of members, including of Monseigneur Barthet, Fathers Pascal and Kunemann, Mother General Joséphine, Mothers Anne Elisabeth, Marthe, André, St. Faustin (SSJC), and Sisters Pierre and Iphigénie.

corrected, returned, revised, and finally presented to the Apostolic Vicar during his annual visits for final verification (“Conseil du 20 Mars” 1895).³¹ The goal was to judge not only their mastery of French, but through it their ability to write legible reports to the administration once they were deployed to missionary posts along the Petite Côte and, increasingly in the the twentieth century, the interiors of Sine and Saloum.

Archaeological evidence indirectly related to educational performance likely overlaps with personal religious objects. The Spiritans regularly hosted prize days to recognize and reward the girls and boys who attended the mission schools (JN 1878-1906). Prizes generally fell into two categories: 1) useful objects such as pens, rulers, pocketknives, hats and caps, coats and cloaks, and belts; and 2) religious objects such as rosaries, scapulars, saint medallions, and illustrated bibles (Cimbault 1902b). Saint medallions and rosary fragments recovered at the convent may testify to prizes received by students on days of celebration often marked with plays, short skits, and song performances, sometimes in the presence of illustrious visitors (JN 1898). These rewards and the formality of prize day punctuated the annual rhythm of the mission and created incentive for academic achievement. Rewards established hierarchies amongst students based on their ranking and instilled a desire to excel (although it seems everyone did in fact receive something, but top students more and better). This form of material and social encouragement (and possibly shaming or peer pressure) pushed children to adapt prescribed elements of Catholic behavior in the context of education. Girls were specifically targeted to embrace idealized Euro-Catholic gender roles in which women as mothers were seen as the critical home-based node of social reproduction, in direct connection to contemporary gender

³¹ Unfortunately, these do not appear to have survived, or were archived in collections not consulted. Overall, even in the DDHM archives (FSCM), there seems to be little representation of early Senegambian sisters.

politics in France during the Third Republic (Barton 2019; Conklin 1998; Foster 2013; Falola & Amponsah 2012; Offen 2017; Osborn 2011; Surkis 2006; Yeo 1999).³² As such, their education encompassed each of the categories of practice under discussion here, all of which are characterized as feminine, domestic, and everyday, often glossed as practices of care rather than specialized knowledges or labors. These caring practices were integral to both the success of the mission as a religious project and to the mundane maintenance of daily life and its needs—care of individuals and the missionary endeavor as a whole. At the same time, classed as feminine practices, their centrality to the production and reproduction of the Senegalese Catholic Church was easily elided within the unimportance of daily life and the so-called natural tendency of women to care for others.

*

Fitted into the *horarium*, repetitious through necessary, and rhythmic according to the daily schedule, practices of the so-called ‘everyday’ ran alongside and through the structured temporality of convent spiritual life and introduced a complementary bodily habitus through regularized acts care for the convent community as a household, care for the mission community at large, and selfcare for the individual. While many of these practices appear to fit into a top-down institutional conception of cultural control and conversion, the details of daily life hint towards a more nuanced negotiation of Senegalese-Catholicism in everyday operations, which benefited specifically from the labor and expertise of Senegambian nuns and laywomen, through tasks and practices framed as integral to their enactment of vocation and associated feminine duties.

³² Recall discussion of French Republican motherhood in Chapter 4.

Articulations of Gendered Community at the Convent of Saint Joseph

This exploration of material practices at the diverse convent community in Ngasobil prompts an observation about the construction of gender within the colonial missionary field. Links between practices designated as ‘domestic’ and ‘caring’ to femininity are not a specifically Euro-Catholic tendency. As previously noted, it is unlikely new arrivals to the convent were surprised—based on their own perceptions of gender norms—at the types of domestic work carried out by the women and girls living there, which generally mapped onto common feminine labors within West African society (Aujas 1933; Bourgeau 1931; Corre 1883; Falola & Amponsah 2012; Gokee 2014; Ndiaye 1986; Riss 1989; Thiaw 2005). However, at the mission, the values and beliefs through which those practices were linked to a gender ideology came from a Euro-Catholic framework on the part of European missionaries; thus, the ways in which (and the ends toward which) everyday tasks were carried out became implicated in pursuing, performing, and seeing both vocation and conversion. The enactment of these mundane practices alongside religious ritual and introspection took sisters beyond desiring and endeavoring to pursue vocation, to being visibly and materially successful in the religious pursuit of holy perfection (for themselves) and conversion (for others) through missionary service. For lay women, these practices were presented as integral to Catholic marriage and motherhood.

From early on, Spiritan and SSJC missionaries saw the conversion of women as key to the broader conversion of the population because of their perceived role as arbiters in the domestic sphere where the private practices of religion take place and where children are first exposed to social and religious values and beliefs (Foster 2013; Middleton 2013). Later refinements framed the missionary project as working to elevate women in the colonies, promoting their well-being through education, social respect, and healthcare which became

formalized in a revised 1970 version of the DHHM constitution (“Vie Apostolique des Religieuses” 1970).

These ideas were also circulated in mid-twentieth-century publications celebrating the achievements of the DHHM in Senegal (Fourmont 1958; M.B. 1958). A 1958 article celebrating the DHHM’s centenary exudes that over the course of their many years, the DHHM’s work had been “an affirmation of the merit and valor of African women.” The author went on to state that from the early days of the Apostolic Vicariate, DHHM were integral to facilitating the human (everyday, social) and Christian evolution of African women, and thus to the propagation of the Catholic community in Senegal (Fourmont 1958). Twelve years later, the 1970 DHHM constitution made even more clear their motivations in Article 72:

Our homes and training programs will be more than haphazard grouping of young women. The nuns will turn them into true *communities* of spiritual life. The sisters will create a home in which each young woman will achieve the harmonious development of her human and spiritual aptitudes, all of which will prepare her for her future responsibilities as a wife and Christian mother. (“Vie Apostolique des Religieuses” 1970)

In articulations of DHHM ministry over the course of their history, domestic tasks that have to be done no matter what one’s religious affiliation were reframed through convent living, training, and education as part of Catholic orientation in pursuit of Christian virtues. Part of the teaching that took place at the convent was done by way of modeling, which was common in missionization efforts (Ashley 2018; Middleton 2013) (and, not by coincidence, in premodern monastic training as well; Asad 1993). Again, it is not that these are *different* tasks necessarily, it is that they were reframed (and understood by missionaries) as part of a total Catholic way of life and being that reproduced a specific gender ideology, as indicated in the 1970 constitution.

The excerpt cited above does not use the term ‘care’ to describe this aspect of DHHM ministry, but the phrase “the harmonious development of her human and spiritual aptitudes,”

maps onto the definition of care as “the work of looking after the physical, psychological, emotional and developmental needs of other persons” (J. Martin 2013: 1), cited at the beginning of this chapter. It also resonates with the idea of care as the pursuit of “wholeness,” as described by Janelle S. Taylor (2014), which might also be considered in relation to the religious aim of seeking holy perfection, as wholeness, completeness, the perfected state of being and understanding of Christ.

In 2017 a DHHM sister contributed to the mass celebrating the feast of St. Joseph, with a presentation on the representation and role of men and women in traditional Senegambian society in relation to gender in the bible, where she observed what she saw as useful confluences. Reflecting on the balance between men and women, she voiced what may sound like a platitude, but which in the context of the DHHM’s ministries articulates neatly the reasoning beyond focusing on conversions and vocation amongst women: “If God gave authority to man, women were endowed with influence,” referring to the influential role women are (and were) understood to have in the Senegalese Church. This statement reflects a gendered perspective that echoes Third Republic gender ideals of ‘citizen mothers’ which helped shape the ways in which Senegalese-Catholic gender roles were conceptualized during the early decades of the St. Joseph mission (Barton 2019; Clark 1984; Offen 2017; Seck 2017).

Even though these administrative and liturgical codifications and declarations of the DHHM’s central (gendered) ministry occurred after the period of this study, they reflect the socio-cultural work and community development that was undertaken through vocation during the heyday of St. Joseph’s. These statements also articulate an ideology of gender and conversion, as well as the critical role of the home in (re)producing ‘good’ Catholics—which

through an examination of the educative program at the convent, was (and remains) a primary goal of vocation for the DHHM.

Conclusion: Practicing Vocation, Labors of Care

Archaeological, historical, and ethnographic evidence illustrate the pragmatic concerns and practices associated with religious vocation and efforts towards conversion in colonial Senegal, specifically at the Convent of St. Joseph in Ngasobil between 1864 and 1930. Everyday domestic practices—coded as feminine—were mobilized as part of the material support (as care) that the sisters provided within their own religious household and to the mission as a whole, and even outside visitors. At the same time as these were practices of care in their own right, they and their dissemination within the community were also part of a long-term labor of care, a metaphorical midwifing of the Catholic lay community in Senegal, in which particular practices were taught as part of Catholic life. This might be considered as a feminine mode of missionization, in reality complementary and certainly no less potent or impactful than priestly modes of evangelizing which centered on the preaching, catechizing, prayer, and the bestowing of sacraments on individual converts.

Categorizing the contributions of religious sisters to the mission as care illuminates how their labor was made comfortable for ecclesiastical and colonial officials, and invisible in the imperial view of colonization. This explains why someone like Minister Doumergue could so easily underestimate the number of lay nurses needed to replace nuns in the hospitals of French West Africa in the wake of laicization. Laicization doubled down, by power of the government, on the elision of nuns' labor as care because it removed them absolutely from this public and professionally medical field to the private spaces of Catholic dispensaries (unrecognized by the

state). This does not negate the work they did there, but it does speak to the obfuscation of that labor and the erasure of that expertise by men in power (and systemic sexism). ‘Care’ turned such labor and knowledge into domestic or women's work, done out of moral righteousness, love, and *caring*, the fulfillment of feminine Catholic vocation. While removed from the role of motherhood and the realm of the biological family—and in their religious celibacy gendered in a way that mapped differently from that of lay women—nuns all the same remained tethered to the private, domestic sphere through their ministry and skill in so-called naturally caring feminine practices.

The mobilization of ‘care’ as a way of describing and categorizing female missionary activity was utilized to deny the labor, the expertise, the centrality of nuns to the project of missionization through their ministries. The primary recognized role of sisters (both DHHM and SSJC) was as support staff for male missionaries and the highlight of their activities from an administrative leadership point of view. This in turn relegated them to being lesser, subordinate, secondary, and—most importantly—not considered to be bringing about or *doing evangelization* through their own efforts and agency, because the public sphere of masculine activity (even when not Capitalist in nature, as in missionization) took precedence. The twist is that even if, through a lens of morality or ethics, it might seem dangerous or careless or reduce care to being *merely* a type of labor,³³ the failure to recognize it as such, actually has that effect—the erasure of its significance and value.

As care, the labors of vocation were hidden in the privacy of the domestic sphere; furthermore, the practices nuns taught to lay girls and young women continued the elision of that labor by placing it within the naturalized (ideal) private sphere of femininity and propagating not

³³ See a useful review of debates on care and the marketplace in Biehl 2012.

only Catholicism but distinctly French gender ideologies. Thus, while the social field of the convent was a creatively negotiated community in which a diverse array of women were active in forming a Catholic habitus and gendered sociality, it was also a place where constrictive gender roles were perpetuated as part of the project to reproduce Catholicism in Senegal with attendant European mores. Despite this darker side of missionary vocation, the exploration of everyday care practices as part and parcel of vocation reveals the critical role of women and girls to the missionary project and the larger colonial endeavor in Senegambia—in their own right, with their own means and ends within missionization, not simply as supporting characters.

Chapter Seven

“Our Christian Village”: Conversion & Daily Life in Saint-Joseph

1869

Old Sara—as she was known in the village—was relieved to see her niece Joséphine Faye walking towards her kitchen. Sara had difficulty collecting water from the spring these days and her niece often came by to help fill the large water canari. Mam Sipi, one of the potters in Saint-Joseph had recently replaced Sara’s old cracked canari. The new one was finely crafted and finished with a shiny red slip.

At the southern edge of Saint-Joseph, Mam’s workshop was located within the concession she shared with her husband and their four children. At the moment, a series of cooking pots and wide serving bowls were drying in the shade provided by the workshop structure. Once these vessels reached the leather-hard stage, they would be ready for firing. Mam’s youngest daughter Thérèse, only four years old, sat in the shade of her mother’s workshop, pinching scraps of clay into tiny jars. She had recently begun to watch her mother and older sister at work, imitating their craft. Mam encouraged this play so that Thérèse would become comfortable manipulating the clay with her hands even before her formal training began. Diiboor—Mam’s fourteen-year-old daughter—had been helping in the workshop for years, even before their family had fled Saloum in 1863. In addition to showing her where to dig up suitable clay for potting, Mam had taught Diiboor how to blend the raw clay with various other materials to improve its texture for shaping vessels. Since relocating to the coast, they had learned to use crushed seashells as their most common temper ingredient, drawing on clay recipes used by local potters. They had also added seashell roulette impressions as a form of decoration to the repertoire of neatly plaited twines on Mam’s decorated pots.

Mam expected that when Diiboor married she would continue potting on her own. Over the years since their arrival, Saint-Joseph had grown and several villages associated with the mission were cropping up along the coast—there was ample demand for well-made pots.¹

The Moment of Conversion: 1863-1876

Women living in the village of Saint-Joseph contributed to the economic life of their families and the village as a whole. At a community level, female potters provided critical cookware to their fellow villagers, many of whom arrived in Ngasobil with very few—if any—household goods, as a result of their flight from violence and famine in the interior (Chapter 4). Within the household, women processed crops related to family subsistence as well as local and foreign markets. In the early years of the Mission of St. Joseph, the non-religious activities of villagers were not particularly scrutinized (although domestic training was always a focus in the convent school as seen in Chapters 5 and 6); however, eventually the village of Saint-Joseph came under criticism for not being Catholic enough. This apparent failure—perceived mainly by Spiritan fathers—resulted in a subtle, but distinctive, reframing of missionization strategies in Ngasobil by the mid-1870s, which included a desire to bring the domestic sphere under closer European missionary surveillance and to establish a separation between dedicated neophytes and non-Christians.

This chapter concerns daily life in the original mission village of Saint-Joseph, and the material traces of the first generation of neophytes in Ngasobil, before villagers were relocated closer to the Spiritan complex. The archaeological traces of that village point us towards an

¹ Historical fiction vignette based on: Jouga 1869; Ndiaye 1986; Rice 1987; Richard 2007; Thiaw 2005

understanding of what daily life was like for newcomers to the mission, and in doing so illuminate how conversion—religious and cultural—did and did not occur during the early years in Ngasobil. The archaeology of two households in Saint-Joseph grants access to the domestic sphere of potential converts in their own domiciles, within the larger mission structure. The data from this site (archaeological and historical) illuminates the material signature (and lack thereof) of early conversion, the ways in which religious conversion did and did not impact the domestic sphere, and how approaches to Catholic missionization changed over the course of the late nineteenth century.

In other contexts, such as the nineteenth-century British Non-Conformist missionization of Tswana in South Africa, Jean Comaroff and John Comaroff (1991, 1997) highlight the role of the material world in conversion, showing Non-Conformist missionaries to be confident in the idea that changing the material life of the Tswana could resonate with a true spiritual conversion, that re-trained consumption would reconstruct the cultural. In this conceptualization, missionary duty was “to elevate the soul by overdetermining the ordinary, to nurture the spiritual by addressing the physicality of everyday life,” (1997: 218). An engagement with modern colonial markets and consumption was linked to a worldview shifted by the conversion to Christianity. Targeted realms of material practices included dress and architecture/domestic space. In some contexts, religious instruction leading to conversion began in the missionary home where the performance of Euro-Christian domesticity centered on the nuclear family and European gender ideologies was part of the cultural content of spiritual conversion (Ashley 2018; Comaroff and Comaroff 1991, 1997; Middleton 2013). Across the missionary field, backsliding away from Christianity was a sincere and regular concern (Peel 2000), and mutual misunderstandings about

the significance of conversion were also common, frustrating, and confusing for missionaries and neophytes alike (Hodgson 2005; Peel 2000; Pels 1999).

Spiritans' accounts of mission life rife with cultural and religious misunderstandings read in conjunction with ethno-historical sources provide some indication as to what converts' lives were like at the Mission of St. Joseph; but it is only through archaeology that individuals and the material aspects of their historical experience can be accessed. This is especially poignant in the case of the lay women and girls who lived in Saint-Joseph, since the domestic sphere and its material spaces were where so much of their agency was expressed and their labor took place. Investigation of the village allows for the consideration of how women beyond the convent walls (and its direct influence) lived and how their homes were ordered. The practical and social importance of feminine domestic labors—as explored at the Convent of St. Joseph site in Chapters 5 and 6—extended beyond the so-called private domestic sphere into the political and religious life of the community. A recognition of the importance of women and the home to religious reproduction on the part of missionaries led to a greater interest in shaping the (idealized) domestic sphere. Ultimately the domestic familial sphere became of great importance to the growth of the Senegalese Catholic Church (seen in the establishment of convent-based domestic education programming for women and girls), however this aspect of conversion was not always a clear target of missionary efforts in Ngasobil.

The historical archaeology of Saint-Joseph provides a window into the earliest moment of conversion (or efforts towards conversion) in Ngasobil, because of the village's compact timeline (1863-1876).² As such, Saint-Joseph represents the first efforts by Spiritans to develop a

² Father Renoux's letters give the impression that the entire village was relocated; however, archaeological evidence indicates at least some activity at the original village location until at

theory of conversion that worked in the field in mid-nineteenth-century West Africa—as well as converts’ choices when it came to the impact of Catholicism on their daily lives.

Only months after the Spiritans’ return to Ngasobil in January 1863, Monseigneur Kobès could already write that there “[is] a considerable village now clustered around us,” in his report to Monsieur du Fresne at the Society of the Holy Childhood (Kobès 1863e). Later that summer, he expanded this statement in a letter to the Minister of the Navy and Colonies, Prosper de Chasseloup-Laubat, stating that the village housed more than fifty hearths (Kobès 1863g). At no point did Kobès indicate that missionary control had been exercised in the establishment of the village or its design, in line with mid nineteenth-century missionary tenets that cultural conversion was not included as part of religious conversion. In 1876, the “Christian village of Saint-Joseph” was relocated within the mission property, roughly to the east of the Spiritan compound. The aim of this move was 1) to separate the families of Catholic neophytes from the religiously mixed population of the original village, and 2) to bring the village closer to the religious center of the mission. This may be linked to the perceived failure of the original village to produce converts due to its distance from Spiritan observation and supervision, and perhaps even its closer proximity to the perceived leniency of the Senegambian DHHM sisters when it came to enforcing Euro-Catholic behavior ideals amongst themselves and their students.

least 1880. It is likely non-converted residents did not move closer to the Spiritan base, and eventually moved on to other villages. The 1900 map of the St. Joseph’s Mission contains no representation of the original Saint-Joseph village, and the archaeological record testifies to the site’s abandonment most likely by the 1880s.

The Village Landscape



Figure 7.1. Louis Philippe Walter, Croquis de Ngasobil (1867), 3i1.8b4, AGS. The village of Saint-Joseph is located at the far left of the map, to the north of the Convent of St. Joseph enclosure. The Spiritan quadrangle is located in the lower right-hand corner. Note the different architectural styles. Courtesy of the Congrégation du Saint-Esprit (CSSp).

Unlike at Franciscan and Jesuit missions in the Americas, which were designed in the style of the “Reduction” (*reduccion*), Spiritans at St. Joseph’s did not seek to house and supervise the neophyte population within the mission quadrangle in dormitory structures built according to European architectural logics (Allen 1998; Lightfoot 2005; McNaspy 1987). The mid nineteenth-century Spiritan *modus operandi* of missionization did not rely authoritarian surveillance of the villages associated with the mission or on forced conversions. Rather, the Senegambian people who came to Ngasobil established their own village, Saint-Joseph, built with local architectural technologies and materials (fig. 7.1). In 1873, a Spiritan father described a neighboring mission village (Saint-Benoit-Mbodiène) as a typical Sereer settlement (ARN

1930: 84). Given the origins of the population of Saint-Joseph, its location on the 1867 mission map, and the ways in which the re-located village was later described, it is likely the original Saint-Joseph site was also laid out like an average Sereer village in Saloum (being occupied at the time mainly by refugees from that kingdom; Chapter 4). Typically, a Sereer village would be organized spatially by concessions or extended households belonging to the male head of household. The concession would contain his residence, that of his wife(ves), children, and possibly other family members (e.g., siblings), as well as a kitchen area, religious spaces, and possible house garden and craft workshop areas (Aujas 1933; Corre 1883; Bourgeau 1931; Gravrand 1983, 1990; Reinwald 1997a, 1997b; Richard 2007; Riss 1989).

Beyond household elements, the landscape would also be marked by elements of religious life, and in these early years of missionization it is likely that religious shrines and sacred spaces that did not reflect Catholicism were present in and/or around Saint-Joseph (ARN 1930: 170-172). In fact the name Ngasobil itself indicates the presence of a *fangool*; 'ngas' in Sereer (meaning well or spring) are traditionally associated with spiritual power and ancestral forces (Martin and Becker 1979). The most ubiquitous would have been sacred spaces and shrines within household enclosures, dedicated to ancestral familial *pangool*. Altars consisting of partially buried pestles (of the type used to pound millet and other grains) and overturned ceramic vessels, as well as the accoutrements required to carry out the appropriate libation offerings were the material trademarks of such familial religious spaces (Gravrand 1990; Kalis 1997). This is characteristic of *pangool* shrines in general, including in the case of a village shrine or one dedicated to a *fangool* (singular of *pangool*) associated with a natural force and located in the broader landscape beyond the bounds of the village (Corre 1883; Gravrand 1983, 1990; Kalis 1997; Richard 2007, 2019).

While no evidence of *pangool* shrines was recovered through excavation at the site of Saint-Joseph, based on missionary accounts of other spiritual practices in the village (the use of amulets and talismans classed as superstitious or blasphemous by missionaries), it is likely many if not all inhabitants continued this aspect of Sereer religious life—sometimes alongside their consideration and conversion to Catholicism (ARN 1930: 173-174; Renoux 1877c). In addition to *pangool* shrines, which were often secluded within the concession and cordoned off, Henry Gravrand’s ethnographic and historical research documents a more central sacred space in the traditional Sereer family compound, dedicated to the supreme deity, *Roog Seen*. The central element was a tree or erected pestle with orientations to the four cardinal directions, integral to Sereer cosmology and ritual practice (Corre 1883; Gravrand 1983, 1990; Kalis 1997).³

There are two caveats regarding the existence of *pangool* shrines in Saint-Joseph. First, these were—unsurprisingly—frowned upon by the Spiritans (Richard 2007). Missionaries who regularly visited the village were sure to have discouraged their establishment and maintenance. Second—and more importantly—in Sereer religious belief and practice, location within the landscape is key and the landscape itself is both secular and religious at once, there is not a distinctive dichotomy between a profane everyday and the sacredness of ritual (Gravrand 1983, 1990; Kalis 1997; Richard 2019). As such, the geographic location of a shrine is of utmost

³ It is possible that individual trees regarded as sacred due to their association with *Pangool* or *Roog Seen* still grow in and around the Saint-Joseph site. This may include the so-called Baobab of St. Joseph near the old mission pier, said to have been a fangool (François Richard, personal communication 2020). Simone Kalis (1997:43) compiled a list of ten tree species often associated with sacred sites. Of these, baobab (*Adansonia digitata*) (*paak* in Sereer), desert date (*Balanites aegyptiaca*) (*model*), tamarind (*Tamarindus indica*) (*soop*), gum arabic (*Acacia adansonii*) (*nenef*), African myrrh (*Commiphora africana*) (*nolotoot*), and African fan palm (*Borassus aethiopum*) (*ndof*) were recorded in a forest survey in 1995 (Wade 1995). However, these species are not necessarily rare in the Sahel, simply significant within Sereer cosmology and religious practice, and so their presence cannot be taken as proof of shrines.

importance; it is in reference to a specific place where the *fangool* has manifested itself, where it occupies the terrestrial plane in connection to the spiritual. Moving these places of communication with and offerings to *pangool*, is therefore a) not always possible, and b) possible with difficulty when it comes to transporting the sacred space of an ancestral *fangool*. Simone Kalis (1997: 47) explains one way to achieve this by bringing soil from the original shrine, which can be used to reestablish a new home for both *pangool* and people. In this way, emigres able to prepare for their departure from the interior could have facilitated the movement of *pangool* with them to a new home. All the same, most of the inhabitants of Saint-Joseph were far removed from their religious landscapes and their traditional means and places of communicating with ancestral and natural *pangool*, resulting in significant spiritual and social trauma (Richard 2018). Possibly this rupture rendered attractive a Catholicism that also interacted with and created a religious landscape in Ngasobil (Chapter 3)—but again, missionary descriptions of Saint-Joseph and the villagers document the persistence of Senegambian (and especially Sereer) material religious practices, although these have not been revealed through archaeological excavation.

The Archaeology of Saint-Joseph

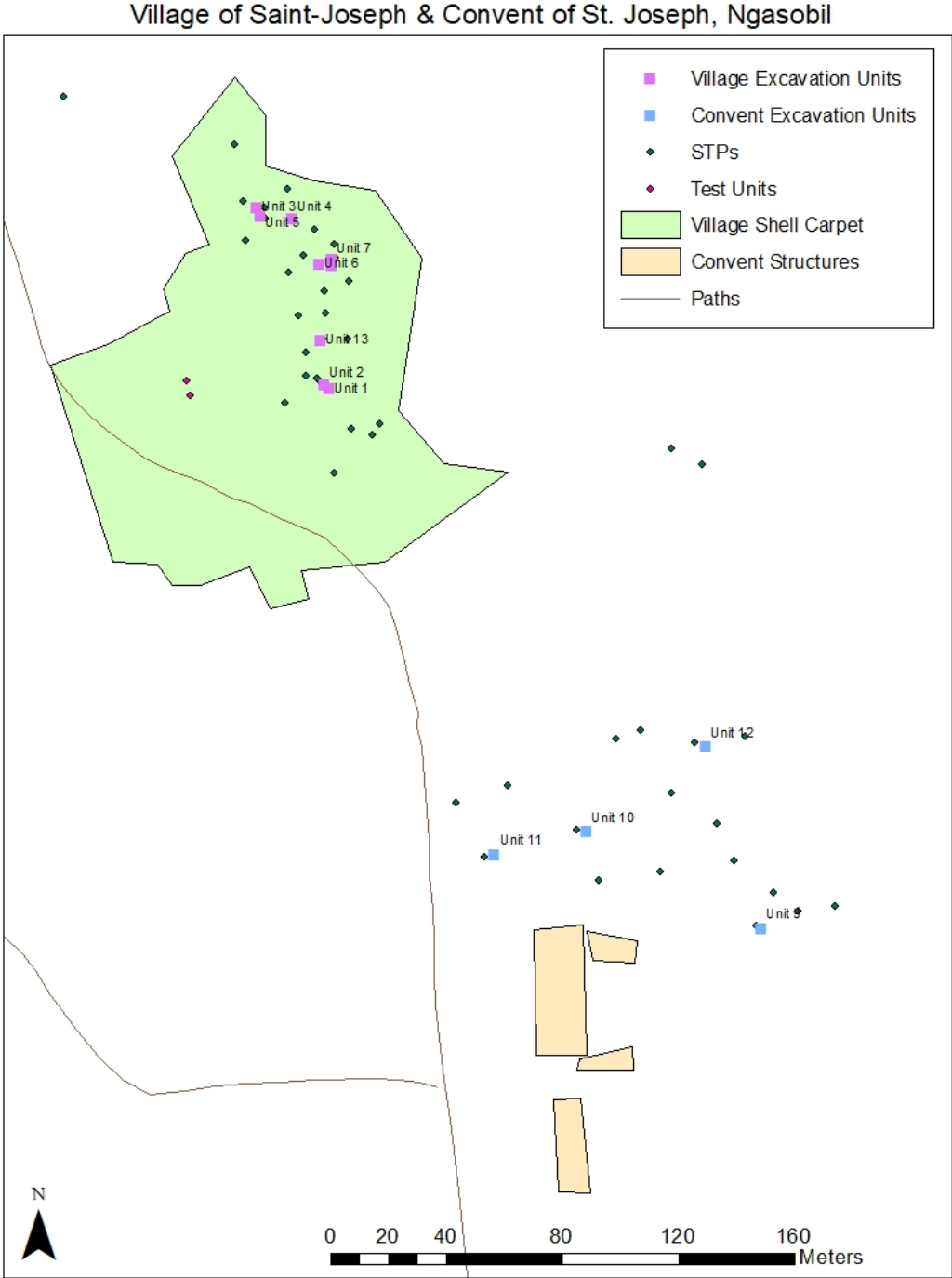


Figure 7.2. Archaeological map of Saint-Joseph Village and Convent of St. Joseph in Ngasobil. Map by author.

The archaeology of Saint-Joseph provides a window into the daily lives of converts: the spatiality of their homes and domestic activities, the objects that reflected and shaped both their material domestic needs and social relationships, and the ways in which this space inhabited by a diverse array of migrants became one of social and religious transition. What did household spaces look like in Saint-Joseph? How were different domestic tasks and activities spatialized? What material culture objects did villagers use in their homes, and can any of these be linked to the process of religious conversion? To an idea of cultural change or conversion? To gendered activities that may or may not differ from those established at the convent? By addressing these questions, historical archaeology sheds light on how conversion was and was not materialized within private households in Saint-Joseph and deepens our understanding as to why the village's relocation in 1876 was deemed necessary by Spiritan leadership. While archaeological evidence only available for the original village, detailed archival descriptions of the second instantiation allow for some comparison between the two settlements and indication as to why relocation was deemed necessary.

The archaeological site of Saint-Joseph (fig. 7.2) was located through surface survey, sub-surface testing (50x50 cm test units, 30x30 cm shovel test pits), visual, and textual archival references ("Fondation de la Congrégation des Filles du St Coeur de Marie" n.d.; Renoux 1877c; Walter 1867). In 2008-2009 a pilot project located part of the village site within the Réserve de Ngazobil (Richard 2017), a protected forest preserve located to the north and east of the extant convent property. In 2016, my team and I identified the presence of a spatially discrete surface scatter of *Senilia senilis* (West African bloody cockle) marine seashells in the area. We established the limits of the Saint-Joseph site through surface survey and sub-surface testing, finding the dense and anthropogenically created shell scatter spatially contains all

archaeologically identified deposits, and itself has very clear boundaries. Ultimately, we identified this dense shell scatter as corresponding to site area, with limited archaeological cultural materials observed beyond its limits. Its depth from surface varies across the site from being visible during surface survey to emerging a few centimeters below surface debris and a thin lens of soil. The ubiquity of shell on the surface corresponds to the use of shell as a construction material in the coastal region and to regional practices of mollusk collection and trade. The shell appears to have been used as means of not only providing drainage across the surface of the site during the rainy season when the nearby ravine ran the risk of flooding and the entire area drained towards the seashore, but also of creating a level surface for building and daily activity within the village (Hardy et al. 2016). While extensive shell middens are common in the region (Camara et al. 2017; Hardy 2017; Hardy et al. 2016), given the brief period of occupation in Saint-Joseph, the lack of documentary evidence pointing to major shellfish exploitation at the site (when other foodstuffs are regularly mentioned), and the density of material culture mixed into the horizontal scatter, it seems unlikely this is simply the result of natural midden build-up.⁴ Rather, it seems the shells were purposefully spread across the village site in a contiguous and relatively consistent layer. Given the discrete nature of the shell scatter mapping onto the footprint of the village (and its archaeological deposits), the scatter can be attributed to actions taken by the mid-nineteenth century inhabitants of Saint-Joseph.

⁴ Following Hardy *et al.* (2016), shellfish collection and processing for trade purposes was (and continues to be) a common industry in the Saloum Delta. It is possible residents of Saint-Joseph processed *S. senilis* on a small scale in order to produce a trade commodity, although the absence of more significant shell midden deposits and archival mention of mollusks other than oysters seems to imply this was not a major enterprise. The same applies to widespread consumption. It should also be noted that there is not shell layer at the convent site and that while mangrove oysters (*Crassostrea gasar*) are present in kitchen refuse, West African blood cockles are not.

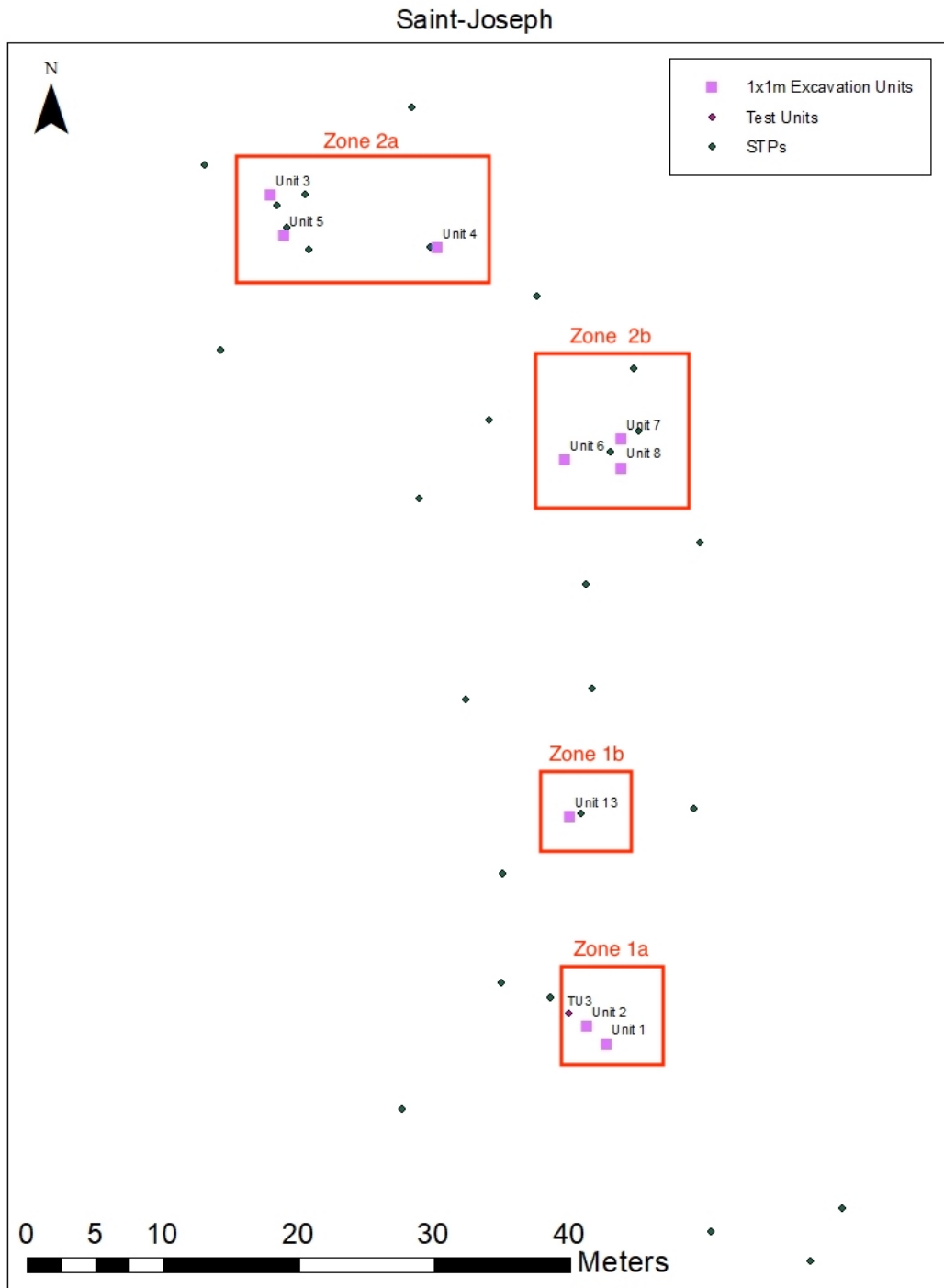


Figure 7.3. Village of Saint-Joseph with archaeological zones highlighted. Map by author.

Once the limits of the site were established, additional sub-surface testing was carried out in 2017, in preparation for excavation via 1x1 m units. Within the Saint-Joseph site, my team and I determined the locations of two different households, or concessions, with rich archaeological deposits of domestic material culture. I designated these zones as Village-1 and Village-2, and each is further divided into sub-zones (V1-a, V1-b; V2-a, V2-b) based on the distribution of materials within each zone (fig. 7.3). Shovel test pits were used to determine boundaries between these two concessions and the rest of the site. These areas were chosen because of their robust material culture footprints, clear stratigraphy, and relatively uncontaminated deposits (meaning a minimal amount of intrusive rodent and insect burrowing activity or other animal/human disturbance). Unlike the convent which is conceptualized as one large alternative household comprised of different activity zones, the village zones reflect concentrations of domestic activity and waste within two kin-based concessions or family compounds.

According to ethnographic and historical accounts, within each concession the structures were likely small, consisting of one room, built in the round out of wattle and daub with thatched roofs. Written documents testify to construction “in the fashion of the country,” and Father Walter’s 1867 watercolor sketch provides a useful visualization of the village, including the number of structures (44) and their architectural style (fig. 7.1). Ethnographic and historical records of Senegambian (especially Sereer) village architecture, spatial layout, and daily life reinforce the description of Saint-Joseph as a Senegambian village, built by Senegambian people, using local materials and technologies (Aujas 1933; Corre 1883; Gravrand 1990, Reinwald 1997; Reverdy 1968; Richard 2007; Riss 1989; Thiaw 2005). Each of these concessions would likely contain more than one structure (*case*: hut) to accommodate various inhabitants and sub-households. Thus, the head of the household might have his own personal hut serving as his

living space (although he might share with his wife), his wife would have her own hut shared with her young children (in the case of polygamy each wife would have her own living space, in the case of many older children there might be additional living quarters). A separate structure would serve as the kitchen. Millet granaries might also be located within the enclosure (same construction method, generally raised on stilts), but they were often located at a distance, sometimes in the agricultural fields themselves (Renoux 1877b, c). As observed by missionaries at Saint-Joseph, domestic structures were circular in footprint, usually measuring about nine to twelve feet in diameter, with one doorway. Concessions would be set apart from one another by an enclosure constructed out of millet stalks (Renoux 1877c).

While within the 1863-1876 timespan it is not possible to assign firm dates to excavated contexts, the stratigraphy does allow for a division of village occupation into an early period and a later period. The early period occupation corresponds to archaeological materials pre-dating the spread of the shell scatter across the entire village site, whereas the later period corresponds to the (longer) period of time during which the village was inhabited on top of that shell layer. There will be more discussion of this stratigraphy below, but the most basic point is that the initial settlers, coming mainly from the interior did not make extensive use of local marine resources (shells) upon arrival in Ngasobil. Within a couple of years (the material footprint of the early period is relatively scant), inhabitants began to take advantage of mollusks as a construction material and foundation of sorts for the village as a whole, as well as a dietary element.

Village Zone 1
Units 1, 2, 13
Test Unit 3
STP 31

Village Zone 1—or Concession V1—is located roughly in the center of the Saint-Joseph site and appears to represent a relatively small habitation. Excavation units pertinent to the archaeological interpretation of this zone include Units 1, 2, 13, Test Unit 3, and STP 31 (fig. 7.4); other STPs in the vicinity were used to establish the boundaries of this zone within the site.

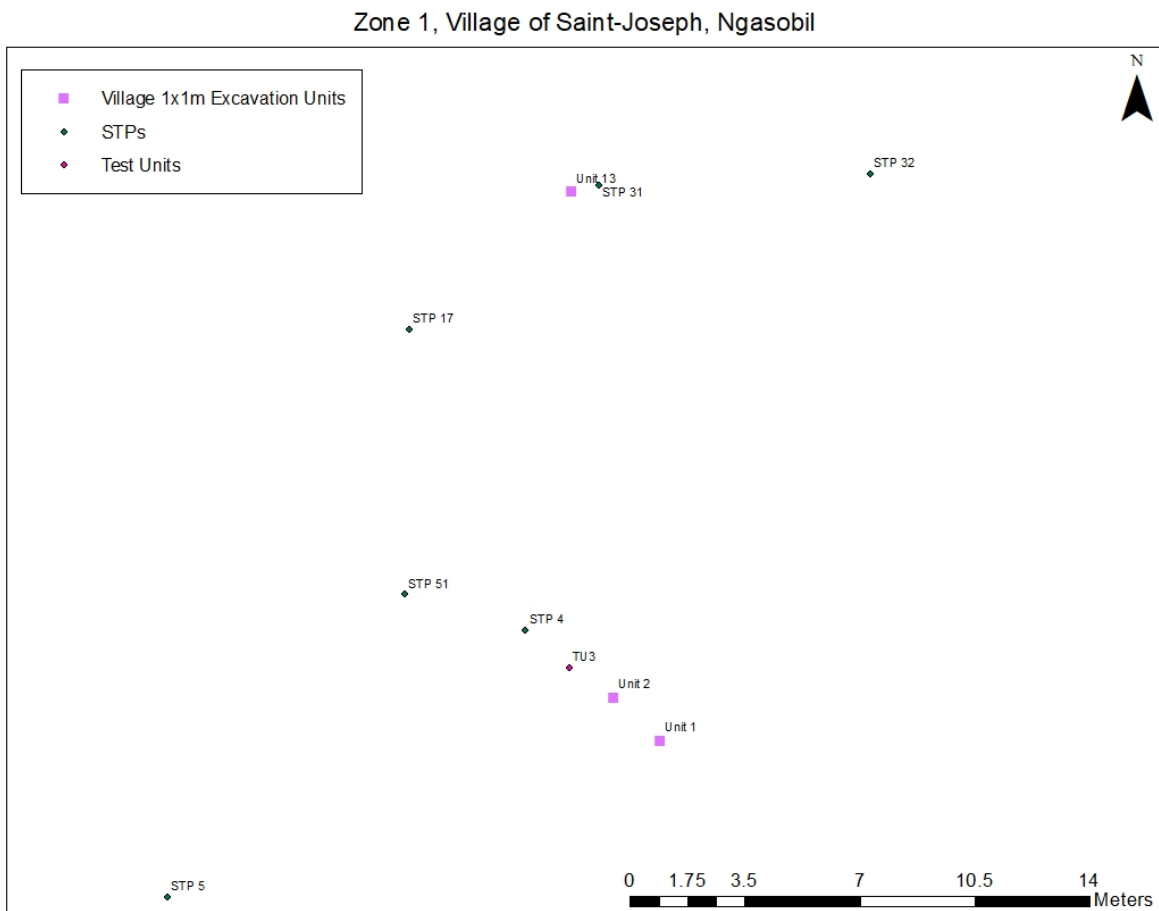


Figure 7.4. Saint-Joseph, Village Zone 1. Map by author.



Figure 7.5. Beads recovered from Concession V1: a) colorless donut; b) two blue donuts; c) *cornaline d'aleppo*; d) *galet blanc*; e) from the top: blue and white striped complex composite, *galet blanc*, *galet rouge*. Photographs by author.

Within Concession V1, two sub-zones were identified. V1-a (Unit 1, 2, Test Unit 3) is associated with general domestic activity. Excavations revealed an almost entirely continuous 4-15 cm shell layer across the zone, with the exception of the eastern one-third of Unit 2, where it appears the shell scatter was uniformly cut off. It is possible this represents the interior of a structure with a packed dirt floor; it is also possible a shallow (30 cm) trench was dug through Unit 2, possibly for construction purposes or additional drainage. Notably, the majority of beads recovered from Unit 2 came from the eastern half of the unit where the shell carpet is absent, supporting the interpretation that this was the interior of a domestic structure where small personal items might easily end up on the floor, perhaps swept to the side and forgotten. Both Test Unit 3 and Unit 1 display the dense and contiguous shell carpet, associated with the bulk of material culture (73.15% of all materials in this sub-zone were recovered in Unit 1). The archaeological levels associated with the shell carpet and the level directly below in Units 1 and 2 contained one locally made clay bead and eighteen imported glass beads (of which seventeen were recovered from the shell carpet). These include colorless and blue donut, *cornaline d'aleppo*, *galet blanc*, *galet rouge*, and small blue and white striped complex composite types (fig. 7.5). The preponderance of small personal objects (two buttons were also recovered in Unit

2) and food/drink related objects (61.54% of material culture recovered from the shell layer⁵), along with the dirt-floor theory supports the interpretation of V1-a as a living area within Concession V1.

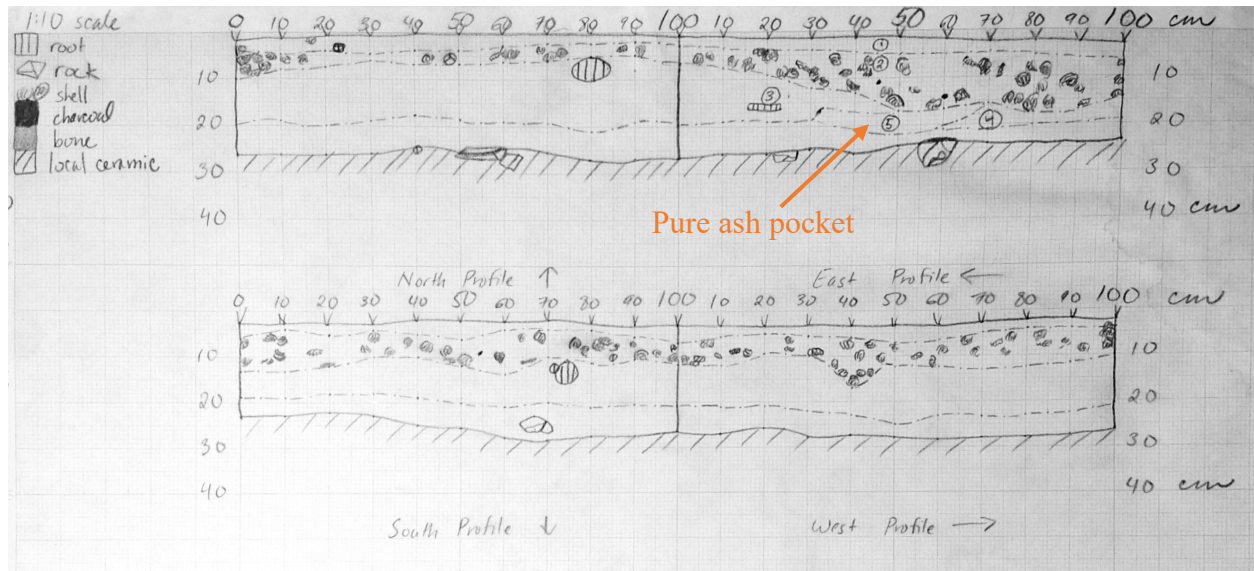


Figure 7.6. Profile drawing of Unit 13, Village Zone 1b. Note particularly the pocket of pure ash (Level 5) and the thick shell layer (Level 2). Drawing by author.

V1-b (Unit 13, STP 31) (fig. 7.4), a dense midden containing rich kitchen waste deposits including a high volume of ash, bone, and kitchen utensils (72.60% of material culture excluding non-quantifiable architectural finds), as well as a shallow pit feature filled with fine ash (fig. 7.6), is located about fourteen meters north of this living area. This is not to say small personal items and material culture not functionally associated with food and drink are absent from V1-b: 19.18 % of material culture (again excluding non-quantifiable architectural finds) slots into the functional category⁶ of personal objects (twelve imported glass beads, one cowrie shell, one imported ball clay pipe). However, taken in context with the highest concentration of bone

⁵ Excluding non-quantifiable architectural finds such as clay from wattle and daub construction

⁶ See *Table 1* in Chapter 4 for the breakdown of functional categories.

deposits across both the Saint-Joseph and Convent sites and incredibly ashy and greasy soil matrix (including deposits of pure, fine ash), this area is identified as a household midden related to food preparation and domestic sweepings.⁷ That is, this midden is mainly the result of repeated quotidian household kitchen refuse as opposed to one large disposal event.

Furthermore, V1-b is located on a section of the shell scatter that is particularly concentrated. It is possible the shells used to create the village-wide shell layer came originally from dedicated dumping areas, as slightly denser surface deposits of shell occur throughout the site as a whole (but rarely exceed more than 10 cm, usually closer to 5-7 cm) (Hardy 2017; Hardy et al. 2016) (fig. 6.6). These shellfish were likely not only collected for construction purposes, but also as a food source (Corre 1883); thus, they were a form of kitchen waste repurposed to improve the material conditions of the village. It is not unusual to observe this settlement signature at archaeological across the region. Archival references also refer to the collection of shells on the beach for construction purposes (including, but likely not confined to, making lime) and architecture at the convent makes use of a cement mixture into which whole and crushed shells were mixed (ARN 1930: 73-74; Camara et al. 2017; Hardy et al. 2016). Their use characterizes the area as a site not only of habitation but of a community engaged in cohesive material practices shaping both individual household spaces and the village environs as a whole.

In V1-b, clearly defined dumping events and deposits (in the form of a shallow pit and mound of debris) occurred before the installation of the shell scatter (although it is also rich with material culture). Based on this stratigraphy, Concession V1 was inhabited before the shell carpet was spread across the village site. There is some evidence of occupation prior to the shell carpet laying event in V1-a as well. Therefore, Concession V1 may be one of the original

⁷ Faunal analysis is not yet available at the time of writing.

households established in the village. It is impossible to firmly date this since the timeframe under consideration is already so compressed, and the materials recovered do not allow for a differentiation between levels 2 (shell) and 3 (mounded debris and ash pit) based on dates. Rather than splitting this into two consecutive occupations, this stratigraphy is more productively understood as reflecting two episodes of activity undertaken during the same overall occupation, and most likely by the same inhabitants of Concession V1. Activity referenced by archaeological data recovered below the shell scatter represent the initial arrival and settling of people in this household.

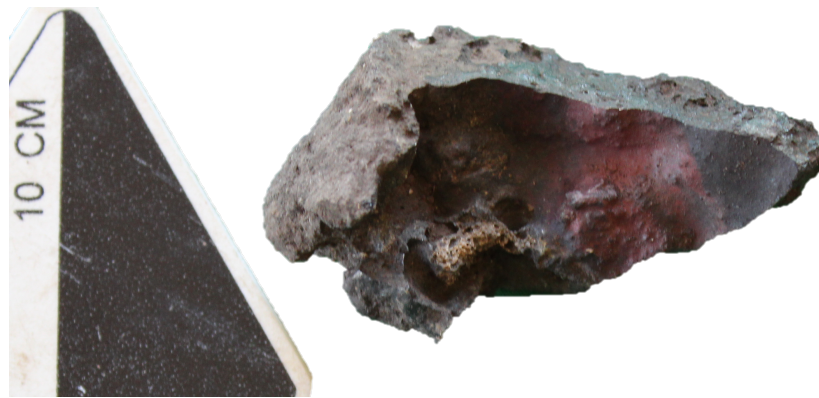


Figure 7.7. Piece of slag from Unit 1. Photograph by author.

In terms of craft activity in Concession V1, there is possible material evidence of blacksmithing. 84g of slag (including a single 70g mass of round-bottomed catchment) were excavated from Unit 1, along with a large hand-forged nail or stake (32g) from Unit 2. Throughout both the village and convent sites, this is the highest recovered volume of slag and the largest singular lump. This may, therefore, be evidence for metalworking not only in the village broadly, but within this particular household (fig. 7.7)—although this remains speculative and based on limited available evidence. Regionally, across the Siin, evidence of intensive metallurgy is scarce, although hemispherical chunks of slag are recovered; François Richard

(2007) suggests this may be the result of itinerant blacksmiths working in small batches. Because the mission had its own blacksmith shop, I propose that many implements were forged there, especially those needed for agricultural work—the core enterprise of the mission as an economic endeavor. In addition to the possibility that this is the result of itinerant smithing, perhaps a blacksmith living in Concession V1 practiced on a small scale, providing his fellow villagers with smaller household and personal objects that were not part of the repertoire of the mission's forge.

There is also evidence for ceramic production in Concession V1, which contains ceramic sherds from pots ranging from extremely well-made (structurally) and meticulously decorated (fig. 7.8), to poorly formed pieces indicating a range of expertise and skill in pottery production.



Figure 7.8. Local ceramic rims from Unit 1. Note the crisp impressions and rich red slip. Photograph by author.

Furthermore, the density of burnt clay fragments in V1-b may be related not only to wattle and daub architecture (which is evidenced in some cases by vegetal impressions), but to ceramic crafting and debris within the concession. Evidence for potting is supported ethnographically by the evidence of blacksmithing, because historically, these crafts were linked and practiced within

the same Senegambian, and specifically Sereer, households—although again, identification in the village remains speculative (Altschul et al. 2016; Ndiaye 1986).

In Sereer society, craftspeople were socially organized into endogamous artisanal castes (Altschul et al. 2016; Corre 1883; Klein 1968; see Richard 2007 for extended discussion on the terminology of ‘caste’). Blacksmiths (a masculine craft) were born into the same caste or social group as potters (a feminine craft); often, the wife of a blacksmith would be a potter (Altschul et al. 2016; Thiaw 2005; Ndiaye 1986). In terms of the residents of Concession V1, therefore, it is possible to hypothesize that this household was inhabited by blacksmith (husband) and a potter (wife). Colonial and contemporary accounts differ as to whether or not potting was exclusively practiced by caste artisans, although it does appear to have been traditionally a feminine craft throughout the region (Altschul 2016; Corre 1883; Ndiaye 1986; Richard 2007). Some ethnographic accounts of Sereer women characterize the specialized knowledge of potting as being passed down directly from mother to daughter and carried out in a dedicated workshop space within the concession (Ndiaye 1986). Informal interviews carried out by François Richard (2007) along the Petite Côte yielded testimonies from elders that not all potters in the area had been of the artisanal caste, historically. Given the history of Saint-Joseph as a destination of refugees and migrants, it is possible crafts traditionally practiced within endogamous artisanal caste groups may have become—by necessity—practiced by outsiders. Still, potting has been a specialized craft in the region and not simply an activity undertaken by all women within all households (Altschul et al. 2016; Ndiaye 1986; Thiaw 2005), unlike—for example—spinning cotton (Richard 2010).

Considering evidence for metallurgical activity in tandem with that for potting, I posit this household could have been inhabited by a family of the blacksmithing and potting artisanal

caste, and that the range of wares reflects not only a range of products to sell to other mission residents, but apprentice efforts by a young daughter(s) in the family. If a potter lived and worked in Concession V1, she would have provided ceramic vessels not only for her own use, but to sell to her neighbors in the village, and likely the convent community as well. At the convent, local ceramics were recovered across all activity zones. These included large vessels for storing water (*canaris*) in Convent Zone 2 (laundry) and food-related items throughout the residential areas of the convent with concentrations in the earliest archaeological contexts, chronologically, and in Zone 1 where the convent girls lived (and dined) and learned. Early on in the mission's history, the Spiritans recruited male workers in order to establish an independent settlement—or agricultural colony—and while cultivation was the economic focus of St. Joseph's, individuals with other areas of expertise were needed in order to create and support the mission settlement project as a whole.

Village Zone 2

Units 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8

STPS 8, 9, 18, 19, 20, 26, 28

The southern edge of Village Zone 2—or Concession V2—is located approximately twenty-two meters north of Concession V1's northern limit. Archaeologically, materials and stratigraphy from Units 3-8 and STPs 8, 9, 18-20, 26, 28 contribute to its analysis. As in Village Zone 1, other STPs in the vicinity were used to establish the boundaries of this zone within the site and were marked as negative. As seen in Zone V1, V2 is divided into two areas, representing two separate-but-related domestic/living zones within the larger area of the concession (fig. 7.3).

V2-a (Units 3-5, STPs 8, 18-20) occupies a space close to both the northern and western bounds of the village as a whole (fig. 7.9). As hypothesized in Village Zone 1, a lower density of material culture present in the layer beneath (and predating) the shell carpet reflects the initial

occupation of Concession V2. Although rodent and insect activity can cause the movement of material culture from one stratigraphic level to another (and is a ubiquitous issue in archaeology of the region), based on analysis of the stratigraphy and excavation process, I conclude the occupants were briefly active in the area before the shell carpet was spread over the extent of the site. This initial episode of activity is materially characterized by local ceramic sherds, testifying to the limited range of material goods newcomers brought to the mission, and supporting the characterization of inhabitants as refugees who not only lacked personal belongings (recall stories of refugees robbed on their way to the mission in Chapter 4), but were also restricted in terms of basic household tools and utensils—something Spiritan records document as well (ARN 1930; Kobès 1863j; “Malades soignés et convertis dans la Mission” 1877).

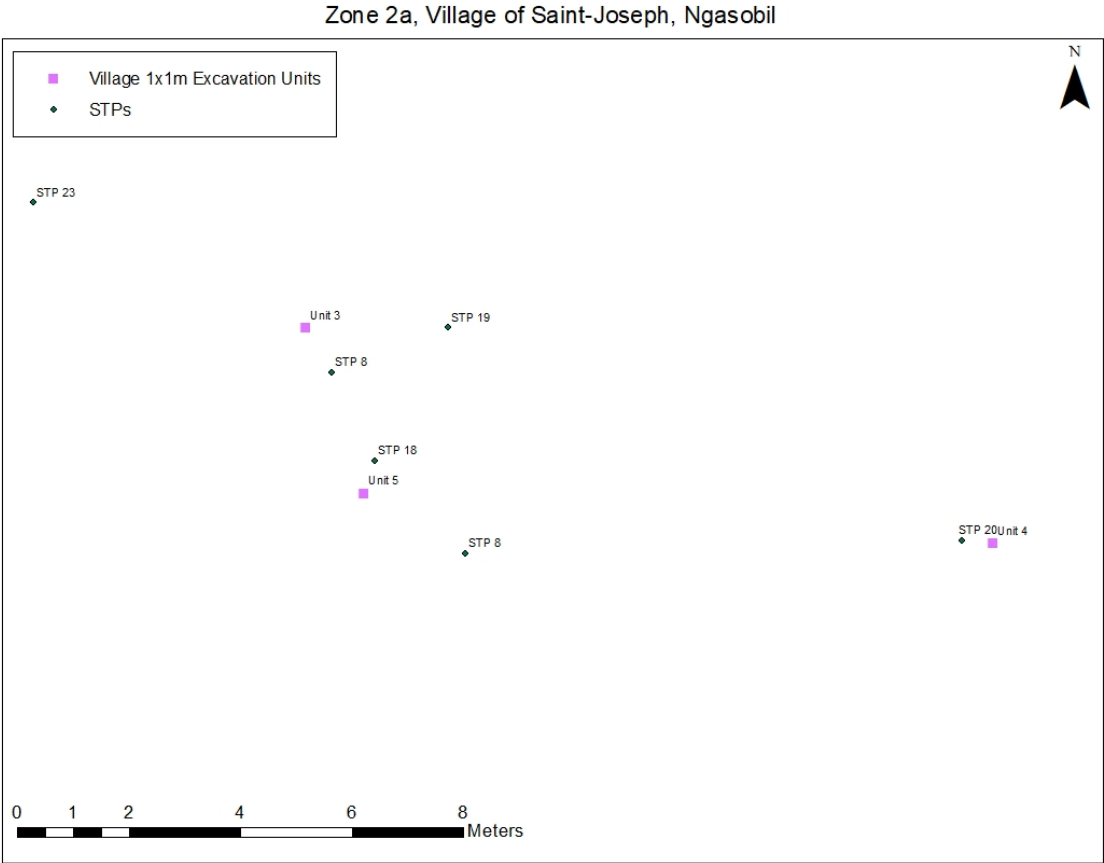


Figure 7.9. Village Zone 2a. Map by author.



Figure 7.10. Alcohol-related material culture: a) Note typical alcohol bottle from mid nineteenth century, and wine glass used by a thiédo, or warrior. David Boilat, *Esquisses Sénégalaises* (1853), 3i2.18, AGS; b) manganese-treated glass drinking vessel fragments from Unit 5, Village Zone 2a. Photograph by author.

V2-a revealed very little architectural debris, whereas the food/drink functional category is the largest at 61.57% across the entire sub-zone (dominating at 76.63% when unquantifiable architectural remains such as burnt clay are removed from calculations). Objects in this functional category were dominated by local ceramic wares and imported glass bottles associated with wine and liquor. Alcohol containers are among the most ubiquitous trade items recovered archaeologically in the region during this period (Richard 2007). Missionaries are recorded as having gifted alcohol (often generically referred to as *sangara*), and residents were able to make such purchases beyond the mission property, depending on their means (JN 1889). One notable artifact from V2-a is a thin cut-glass glass tumbler or wine glass, post-dating 1870 (ca. 1870-1920, solarized manganese glass) (fig. 7.10a-b). This is the only imported drinking vessel recovered from Saint-Joseph (at the convent site this would also have been a unique find). It may have been a special object within the household assemblage, given the rarity of this type of item.

As such, it points to a fairly unique engagement with the colonial import economy at this household, but may also point towards efforts to manifest conversion to Catholicism through the use of a specific and relatively rare, imported item associated with Euro-Catholicism in V2-a.⁸ That said, on a more immediate level, the presence of this drinking vessel reflects a particular material assemblage around alcohol consumption in Saint-Joseph (not that such an item could not have been used to drink water or locally made alcohol), which could relate to class as well as (or instead of) religious affiliation.

It is worth noting that nineteenth-century archaeological data from the Siin indicate that while trade alcohol was widely available across social strata, wine drinking appears to have been mobilized in social differentiation, being associated with more elite household contexts and singular events (e.g., feasts) (Richard 2010). Of 29 (MNI) bottles identified as alcohol containers in V2-a, all came from round (or wine style) bottles rather than square (or case style) bottles quintessentially associated with imported gin. While imported hard liquor could have been contained in wine-style bottles (French imports such as *eau-de-vie* and absinthe) the lack of any case bottles forming part of the alcohol-related assemblage in this zone is notable. François Richard (2010) remarks that assemblages of a similar date and contents in the Siin have been associated with elite contexts, and that by the second half of the nineteenth century gin (imported in case bottles) dominated alcohol imports. In Saint-Joseph, this preponderance of wine bottles

⁸ See: Boilat 1853 for discussion of alcohol consumption amongst the Christian inhabitants of Joal; Searing 2006 for a discussion on conversion amongst the Sereer-Saafen and associations with Frenchness.

may speak to local preferences for wine and other French imports as part of Senegalese Catholic connection of wine to Catholicism and/or to the status of this household.⁹



Figure 7.11. Crucifix pendant from STP 8, Village Zone 2a. Photograph by author.

Small imported personal objects account for 12.23% of artifacts (15.22% without architectural remains), and they are concentrated in Units 3 and 5, and STPs 8, 18, 19, in the western half of V2-a. Amongst the usual imported glass beads (typically colorless donut, *cornaline d'aleppo*, blue donut, *galet blanc*, *galet rouge*, small blue and white striped complex composite) and ball clay pipe fragments, a detailed and intact unidentified metal crucifix pendant with an applied figure of Jesus on it is a unique find excavated in Saint-Joseph (STP 8) (fig. 7.11). This Catholic religious item could have been worn as a necklace pendant or been part of a

⁹ It is also possible the presence of wine bottles reflects their availability to villagers in a secondary-use life of the bottle after its contents were used during Mass as Eucharistic wine; the presence of the faceted drinking glass, however, seems to indicate consumption. Further, missionary documents refer to the presence (and their own gifting) of undefined alcohol in neophyte households. It stands to reason the assemblage of wine bottles and drinking glasses in V2-a is not accidental.

rosary.¹⁰ Its presence testifies to the engagement—on at least some level—of certain villagers with Catholicism, corroborating written missionary accounts (ARN 1930; Kobès 1863i; Renoux 1877c). In nearby STP 18, three colorless glass donut style beads were found deposited as though they had been strung together. Given the association of V2-a with a Catholic occupant and based on ethno-historical observations (personal communication: Richard 2020), it is possible these beads formed part of a rosary made with trade beads.¹¹ This assemblage points to the extension of Catholic material practices into the domestic sphere in Saint-Joseph and the types of visible signs of conversion that missionaries may have appreciated.

Based on the distribution of artifacts across V2-a, the western portion of the sub-zone may have featured an architectural structure (based on the volume of burnt clay wattle-and-daub debris in comparison to its relative lack in the eastern portion of the zone). Furthermore, the volume of personal items in the western half also supports the idea that this was a living space that was ultimately destroyed when the village was abandoned, as opposed to the less dense material culture signature of Unit 4 and STP 20 (fig. 7.9).

V2-a was one of at least two domestic areas in Concession V2, and there are several hypotheses for their relationship. First, this was a polygamous household (despite the material trappings of Catholicism) in which V2-a and V2-b represent the separate quarters of two wives. Second, this concession housed an extended family in which potentially multiple related nuclear families shared the concession (brothers or sons perhaps). Third, V2-a may have functioned as living quarters, while V2-b was the kitchen area. Based on a comparison of the assemblages

¹⁰ The small metal religious objects recovered at the convent site were all saint medallions, one of which was centerpiece medallion from a rosary, the others were clearly meant to be worn as religious jewelry.

¹¹ As a point of potential identification, the Antiphon beads on the pendant section of a rosary are a set of three beads in a row located above the crucifix.

between V2-a and V2-b and the position of the V2-B near the edge of the concession, I conclude that this third option was the case (although that does not rule out the possibility that Concession V2 housed multiple marriage units or extended sub-households, as was common practice: Aujas 1933; Bourgeau 1933; Corre 1883; Riss 1989)

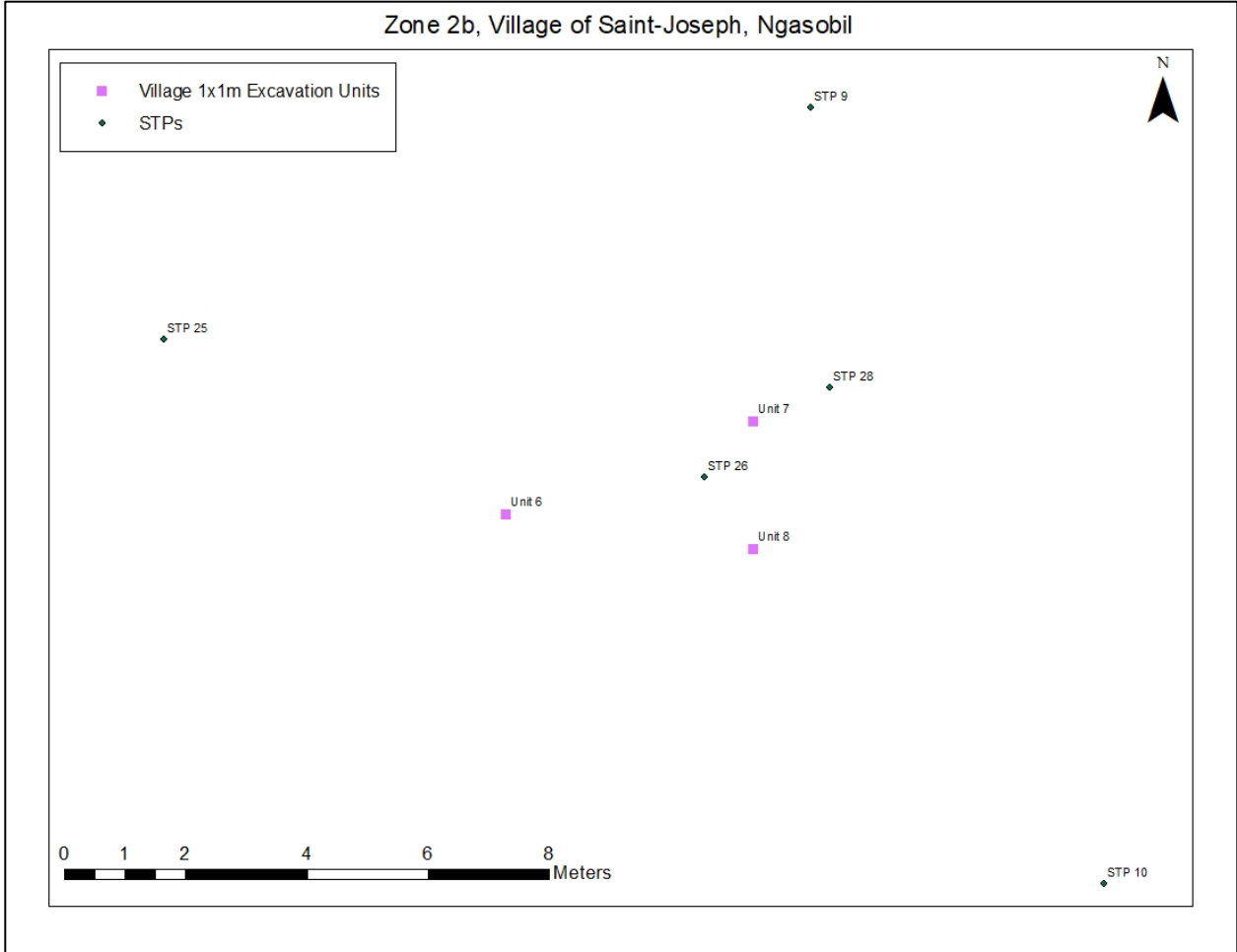


Figure 7.12. Village Zone 2b. Map by author.

V2-b is located approximately 13.5 meters southeast of V2-a (fig. 7.12), and while much of the material culture fits a similar profile to that of V2-a, larger percentages of total artifacts pertain to the food/drink functional category. In fact, V2-b is the only place in Saint-Joseph village where food/drink functional category finds are almost always a majority of artifacts in

any given level (ranging from 50-100% in any given archaeological level across Units 6-8), *even* when architectural materials are included in the overall count. This is particularly striking, given the richness of the material record in V2-b overall, because historically Senegambian kitchen spaces have been separate from living quarters and located in the open air with an associated open structure or canopy (Ndiaye 1986, Reinwald 1997a; Riss 1989). In light of ethno-historical observances, it makes sense that a kitchen area would have a high food/drink functional count paired with a low architectural materials functional count.

Flipping that logic, the archaeological assemblage in V2-b also supports the assertion that cooking activities took place in their own designated spaces within the nineteenth-century concession. In addition to lacking the same density of architectural remains as found in the other excavated contexts at Saint-Joseph, V2-b contains a category of artifact not represented elsewhere in the village, supporting the hypothesis that this is a different type of domestic context. The presence of fragments from imported cast iron cauldrons (MNI = 2) in V2-b is an indication that cooking was indeed going on in this area, and not simply consumption.¹² These types of cooking utensils began to appear increasingly in archaeological contexts in the second half of the nineteenth century (Richard 2007). Spiritan documents corresponding to the dates of Saint-Joseph record requests for funds to be spent on basic household utensils, mainly focused around food preparation; these specifically include marmites (metal or ceramic) (ARN 1930; Kobès 1863j; Renoux 1877c).

In terms of ceramics, 174 sherds of locally made vessels were recovered, unfortunately, only eight were rim sherds (4.6%), of which seven could be identified (cooking, storage, and

¹² This is not at all meant to imply that only imported metal vessels were used for cooking—which is absolutely not the case—but that they represent a distinct cooking-related artifact type that does not appear elsewhere.

serving functional subcategories within food/drink). It is, however, safe to assume that many of the vessels represented by these sherds would have been used for cooking or storage (of both food and water); commonly identified vessel types are ovoid and oblique jars used for storage and cooking, as well as wide bowls used for serving (McIntosh 1994; Richard 2007).

Stratigraphically speaking, local ceramics were recovered throughout archaeological contexts. As in Concession V1, V2-b displays evidence of activity prior to the deposition of the site-wide shell carpet, represented materially by local ceramic sherds. Again, as seen in V1, the density of material culture is greatest in and directly in proximity to the shell layer, which in this part of the site occurs almost immediately at the surface (fig. 7.13).

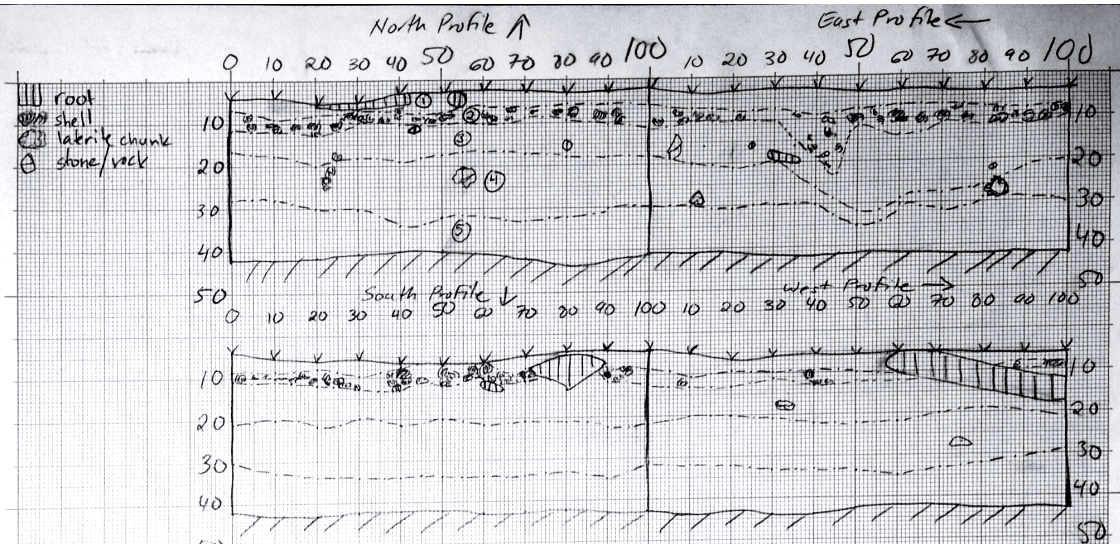


Figure 7.13. Profile drawing of Unit 6, Village Zone 2b. Drawing by author.



Figure 7.14. Blue and white neoclassical motif transfer-printed whiteware from Village Zone 2b, Unit 8, Level 1. Photograph by author.

These ubiquitous locale wares—which we might imagine were crafted by a potter living in Concession VI—were found alongside a limited but varied selection of imported European ceramic wares in the latter period of occupation: interior lead-glazed earthenware, white stoneware, and transfer-printed blue and white neoclassical motif whiteware (fig. 7.14). Particularly the richly decorated blue and white bowl was likely something of a prestige item, indicative of an engagement with the colonial economy and possibly with a perceived Euro-Catholic material lifestyle as well.¹³ While these objects are rare in Saint-Joseph, their rarity may be interpreted as supporting the suggestion that they held a particular social meaning for their owner(s). That is, West African mission residents placed a locally significant value and use on such an object (Croucher 2010, 2011; Richard 2010), that may or may not have any reference to how missionaries viewed these objects in relation to conversion or Catholicism. Beyond considerations of imported ceramics as indicative of class standing or reflective of the colonial

¹³ Elizabeth Foster, for example, recounts Father Joffroy's 1914 discussion on the domestic material trappings of Catholicism amongst converts in Casamance, which focused on European mealtime accoutrements and practices (2013: 96).

economy, we might consider their role in the domestic practice of Catholicism (see Croucher 2011 on thinking about imported ceramics beyond commodity exchange or as straightforward markers of socio-political status in colonial Zanzibar). For example, perhaps specifically imported dishes were deemed appropriate (and thus acquired) for certain occasions linked to the domestic practice of Catholicism such as special meals associated with feast days or someone in the household receiving one of the seven sacraments. Sites in the Siin from the same period have yielded few traces of imported ceramics, often associated with elite contexts (Richard 2007). Saint-Joseph's geographic location on the coast may have made imported objects more accessible, but it is likely that even more so in these mid-century years, Saint-Joseph's position as part of the mission accounts for the imported wares found in the village. Furthermore, the fact that many villagers arrived in Ngasobil with limited personal or household belongings prompted the Spiritans to make purchases on their behalf by soliciting donations from devout French Catholics, this may account for the purchase of utilitarian imported wares. This likely also contributed to the make-up of domestic assemblages in Saint-Joseph; these circumstances of how imported ceramics came into household may also have associated them with a quality of Catholic-ness linked to European domesticity. However, this remains speculative (although as established in the previous chapters, Franco-European ideals of domesticity and gendered behaviors were promoted by missionaries).

Finally, there also were proportionally fewer personal objects recovered in V2-b, supporting the theory that this was not a main living space, but a more likely to be a working kitchen area where the material culture would primarily reflect cooking and storage activities.¹⁴

¹⁴ It is, however, relevant to note that despite the location of V1-b directly to the south, STP investigation establishes a sterile boundary between these two zones, maintaining the

While V2-a had a greater number of artifacts total than V2-b,¹⁵ statistically it is fairly unlikely¹⁶ that the proportional differences observed between non-personal and personal artifacts in each sub-zone are simply due to the vagaries of sampling ($\chi^2 = 3.3734$, $df = 1$, $.1 > p > .05$), lending support to the case for V2-b as a functionally different activity zone—a kitchen.

In terms of the residents of Concession V2, neither the material culture nor the stratigraphy gives an indication of a particular craft pursuit. Based on the higher variety of domestic items, incidence of imported wares, and possibly even the size of the concession, one could argue that these residents were perhaps of higher—or at least different—social rank and economic position than the residents of Concession V1. Most likely the family members of Concession V2 were primarily engaged in agriculture, rather than artisanal activity (based on archival documentation this seems to have been true of most residents) (ARN 1930: 24).

Missionary documents offer a view in which essentially any villager who was not classed as laborer or craftsman (mason, blacksmith, cobbler, tailor, etc.) split their time between personal subsistence fields dedicated to millet cultivation (and probably smaller horticultural garden plots in the village, and forest resources gathering) for subsistence (Corre 1883; Reinwald 1997; Riss 1989; Thiaw 2005), and cotton cultivation as the economic project of the St. Joseph Mission into the mid-1870s (ARN 1930; “Cahier des charges relative une concession” 1863; Kobès 1863g; Noel 1963; Valière and Sergent 1873). As an agricultural colony, St. Joseph’s relied upon the agrarian labor and expertise of men, women, and children; the particular tasks they undertook when it came to millet and cotton cultivation may have varied based on gender and age, although

identification of Concession 1 and Concession 2 (or Village Zone 1 and Village Zone 2) as presented.

¹⁵ Architectural items are excluded from the numbers in the discussion that follows.

¹⁶ Terminology relating to statistical significance follows standards put forth in Drennan 2009.

the focus of Spiritan documents pertaining to the agricultural *mise en valeur* of the settlement focus on the training and labor of men (ARN 1930; Engel 1864; Kobès 1850).

One specific statement about the residents in Concession V2 can be made: at least one member of the family was at least somewhat engaged with the Catholic conversion process and they owned either a religious pendant necklace or a rosary, as evidenced by the crucifix pendant from STP 8. As Renoux pointed out, Saint-Joseph was marked by a diverse population in terms of religious creed, in which individuals continuing to practice Senegambian religions lived side-by-side and sometimes even in the same household as newly converted Catholics. He expressed dismay at the plight of Catholics forced to hang a cross next to a traditional talisman intended to keep evil spirits from the entering the house, often consisting of the horn from an antelope (Corre 1883; Gravrand 1983, 1990; Kalis 1997; Renoux 1877c).

Saint-Joseph as a Whole

A few observations about life in the village of Saint-Joseph can be made by thinking comparatively across the different zones across the site.

If glass bottles are included as imported food/drink ‘wares,’ there is no significant difference between the percentages of imported and local food/drink related artifacts between the four sub-zones of Saint-Joseph ($\chi^2 = .959$, $df = 1$), which is more or less discernable through percentage comparisons as well (table 7.1). The presence of (and household access to) imported products such as wine, *eau-de-vie*, or gin was relatively even between not only the two concessions, but different domestic zones within those concessions. At the same time, the earliest contexts excavated at Saint-Joseph contained almost exclusively local ceramics and burnt clay associated with local architecture (wattle and daub). While firm dates cannot be determined, it is evident that during the early years of activity in Saint-Joseph, when refugee (and otherwise

migrating) families and individuals first arrived, access to material goods was restricted almost entirely to the basic necessities: food preparation and shelter. Missionary accounts in the 1860s and 1870s emphasize the material poverty of many newcomers to the mission, and their own desire to provide basic domestic utensils to these new residents of Saint-Joseph (Kobès 1863j; Renoux 1877c).

	V1-a		V1-b		V2-a		V2-b	
	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%
LOCAL	41	70.69%	45	68.18%	98	69.50%	69	64.49%
IMPORTED	17	29.31%	21	31.81%	43	30.50%	38	35.51%

Table 7.1. Tallies and percentages of local and imported food/drink artifacts in Saint-Joseph, by zone.

Still, within a few years, it is clear residents had comfortably established themselves in Saint-Joseph, indicating some intention to remain in the village. Residents had access to a range of household implements and utensils (pots, cauldrons/marmites, knives, bottles, tableware) as well as small personal items (beads, pipes, cowrie shells, buttons). Some of these would have been received from the Spiritan mission, but many would have been either crafted, traded for, or purchased directly by villagers. While Saint-Joseph was closely linked to the mission (and the material and spiritual resources of the missionaries,) the hypothesized presence of a blacksmith and a potter also points to the village as having a certain level of independence vis-à-vis the mission as an institution. For example, the workshops installed at the Spiritan compound included a blacksmith to provide necessary metal objects the mission. Some of the boys and young men living and learning with the Spiritans were apprenticed to this craft, most likely under the tutelage of a Spiritan brother (ARN 1930: 12-13; Engel 1864; Renoux 1866; Walter 1867). In

a strictly hegemonic theorization of St. Joseph's Mission, one might then imagine that the Spiritan workshops would be the center of blacksmith production, serving the entire community with items being sold through the mission store (when not being gifted). Yet, there is some potential evidence of metalworking activity in the village; even if the interpretation of Concession V1 as the home of a blacksmith is incorrect, possible material evidence of ironworking is present. Villagers may have maintained their own means of metalworking without being entirely reliant on the mission forge (even if by occasionally hosting an itinerant smith working with trade iron). Still, this remains hypothetical.

In terms of pottery production, the Spiritan compound is not described as having a ceramic workshop at any point—possibly because locally potting was a feminine craft specialty, and beyond this local gendered division of labor, none of the French priests and brothers are described as having expertise in potting (some specialties noted in archival documents include furniture making, agriculture/horticulture, printing) (ARN 1930: 33-34; Engel 1864; Kunemann 1906). At the same time, ceramics were critically important to food storage, preparation, and consumption, and there is clear evidence of local ceramic use at the convent as well, documenting the usage of local ceramics in the religious households of the mission. It would seem these items were produced locally, either by a potter(s) in Saint-Joseph or regionally (and then traded in) if the required expertise was not available in Ngasobil. This may be an area in which the European-led mission sub-communities (the SSJC/DHHM convent; the Spiritan compound) were reliant upon Senegambian artisans for quotidian domestic necessities. Thus, we see not only independence in the craft production of the mission, but potential interdependence as a two-way street between neophytes and missionaries, through which local socio-economic ties and community were established and fostered.

Comparison to the Convent of St. Joseph

Although Spiritan documents remark on the material poverty of many incoming refugees, the material footprint of Saint-Joseph was much denser than that of the Convent of St. Joseph (even with the differences in excavated area taken into consideration: nine 1x1m units in Saint-Joseph, four 1x1m units at the convent). Specifically, archaeological contexts in Saint-Joseph compared to those at the Convent of St. Joseph from ca. 1863-1880 are materially much richer in terms of artifacts classed into the food/drink functional category (Saint-Joseph n = 372, Convent n = 7); however proportionally, the distribution between local and imported artifacts does not display a significant difference ($\chi^2 = .5244$, $df=1$, $.50 > p > .20$) (table 7.2). This lesser presence of material culture at the convent between 1863 and 1880 may index the material poverty of the DHHM as a nascent missionary order in these early years, as well as the frugality that guided their religious lifestyle as a result of their vocational commitment to poverty under the Augustinian rule (Barnabo 1862; *Manuel des Règles & Constitutions* 1899). It may also reflect differences in cleaning and disposal habits or in population between these two mission communities. In 1863, Monseigneur Kobès was already recording a “considerable” population of newly arrived settlers in Saint-Joseph, whereas the DHHM—despite welcoming orphaned girls to be cared for by the community—was much smaller in the first decade or so of its existence (Chapelain 1865e, 1869a).

1863-1880	LOCAL	IMPORTED	TOTAL	EXPECTED L	EXPECTED I
Convent	5	2	7	4.8804	2.1196
Village	253	119	372	259.3584	112.6416

Table 7.2. Observed vs. expected imported and local ceramic artifact counts at the convent and village sites, ca. 1863-1880

Given the extremely small sample size from the convent during this period, drawing any clear comparative conclusions between food/drink material practices in Saint-Joseph and the convent is risky. That said, there is not a clear material distinction between missionaries and villagers made visible by the usage of imported European or local Senegambian domestic wares. In these early years of the mission, architectural technologies appear to have been the most discernable material differences between these two sets of inhabitants at the St. Joseph Mission.

Gendered Spaces and Tasks

The archaeology of Saint-Joseph points towards some of the different activities undertaken by villagers, and ethno-historical data contributes to fleshing out some of these archaeological interpretations with attention to gender.

I have hypothesized that Concession V1 was inhabited by a family from the artisanal caste, in which the male occupant (likely the husband) was a blacksmith and a female occupant (likely the wife and possibly daughter(s)) was a potter, both working in the vicinity of the concession which revealed indications of these crafts. Traditionally, within the Sereer social structure, blacksmiths and potters tended to marry endogamously within their caste (Altschul et al. 2016; Ndiaye 1986). By drawing on ethnographic and historical studies of Sereer society in particular, and Senegambian society more broadly (Altschul et a. 2016; Ndiaye 1986; Thiaw 2005), the material evidence of metallurgy and pot-making can be connected to gendered members of the household (although within the area excavated a gendered organization of space within Concession V1 has not been determined).

At Concession V2, archaeological evidence did not point towards a particular craft industry within the household, but the identification of two differently characterized domestic

spaces was made possible through the interpretation of archaeological data. V2-a was a living area, probably consisting of a hut belonging to one of the adult occupants of the concession and some open yard space associated with that structure to the east. Eating and drinking took place in this area, but it was a living quarters space, not a dedicated kitchen area. An inhabitant of V2-a was probably engaged with Catholicism, owning at least one explicitly Catholic personal object—although such an item may have been worn as part of an assemblage of personal talismans without denoting the renunciation of non-Christian practices, but rather an incorporation of Catholic spiritual objects into that individual’s ecumenical “protective [spiritual] arsenal,” as described by Armand Corre (1883: 5). Given that Saint-Joseph was so closely associated with the mission, it seems more possible that the crucifix’s owner was involved in the conversion process than if Saint-Joseph was merely a village occasionally visited by itinerant missionaries on their regional rounds. It might further be imagined that the Catholic inhabitant of V2-a was a younger adult because children and young adults were the demographic who most often converted to Catholicism at the mission—but this is conjecture, as adult conversions were recorded as well (albeit in lesser numbers) (ANR 1930).

In contrast to the living quarters of V2-a, V2-b was a kitchen area, which probably had a minimal architectural structure associated with the open-air activity area. While culinary practices are stereotypically associated with feminine labor, historical and ethnographic evidence from both St. Joseph’s Mission and other sites in Senegambia firmly supports the interpretation of kitchen spaces and culinary practices as a gendered and feminine domain (Aujas 1931; Barthet 1891b; Bourgeau 1933; Chapelain 1866, 1872a; Corre 1883; Gokee 2014; Ndiaye 1986; Reinwald 1997; Riss 1989; Thiaw 2005). Thus, V2-b can be characterized as a primarily feminine space within Concession V2, where one of the foremost and most time-consuming

tasks of Senegambian women within the domestic sphere took place: household food preparation (*Bulletin Général* 1867, 1868; Corre 1883; Riss 1989; Thiaw 2005) (Chapter 6). Here, in terms of the material culture, we see an overlap of feminine labors and expertise (Gokee 2014; Gokee & Logan 2014): the women (and girls) cooking in Concession V2 may well have been cooking with ceramic vessels made by a female potter from Concession V1. She was almost certainly using pots crafted by a woman. Thus, we see a circulation of these household kitchen objects from a context associated with feminine economic labor (potting) to one associated with feminine domestic labor (cooking). The potential presence of a specialist potter also pushes against the relegation of female labor to the purely domestic/familial sphere; rather this woman would have sold her wares to other villagers and possibly to the missionary establishments as well. As discussed in Chapter 6, such activity pushed back against colonial gender ideologies that removed women from labors of production and the marketplace (Osborn 2011), gendering the public sphere as masculine and the private domestic sphere as the appropriate realm of activity for women.

In Chapter 6, the role of religious sisters in forging ties between the convent and the village congealed around the provision of overlapping acts of medical and spiritual care that created community across the different populations of St. Joseph's Mission. From the point of view of the village, the potter's craft may represent another link between missionaries and villagers, one that originated in the village, but that also contributed to the gendered practices of women and girls across the community, broadly centered on food preparation and water collection, even if it did not map neatly onto Franco-European gender ideology (Aujaas 1933; Barthet 1891b, d; Buleon 1899; *Bulletin de la Communauté [SSJC]* 1899, 1928, n.d.; *Bulletin Général*. 1868; *Bulletin Général des Pères Du Saint-Esprit* n.d.; Chapelain 1864h, 1870b, 1872a,

n.d.a; Corre 1883; Labouret 1871; Marty 1931, 1932, 1933; Mazonq 1926, 1927; Reinwald 1997; Riss 1989; Thiaw 2005; Valot 1924b, c).

Archaeologically, other gendered practices are not particularly visible in the village of Saint-Joseph; however, a few remarks can be made on gender and a range of cultivation practices based on historical and ethnographic data. First, as noted in the previous section, agricultural labor was not necessarily gendered in West Africa as an exclusively (or primary) masculine pursuit (although as discussed, certain crops or phases of cultivation were). Historically Sereer women participated in various phases, aspects, and rituals of millet cultivation and harvesting (Gravrand 1990; Kalis 1997; Ndiaye 1986; Reinwald 1997a; Reverdy 1968; Riss 1989; Thiaw 2005). Documentation on agricultural labor at the mission is not clear on this point, but it stands to reason women would have continued to be part of this aspect of the familial economy despite their displacement to Ngasobil, at least when it came to family-cultivated subsistence crops (vs. communal mission crops). One thing Spiritan documents do clarify is the expected work schedule for mission residents: on four days each week, workers from the associated villages (including Saint-Joseph) came to the mission property to tend to millet (95 hectares ca. 1867), peanut (five hectares ca. 1867), and cotton fields (308 hectares in 1864) (ARN 1930: 17-18, 33-34). Besides these communal agricultural tasks, villagers were granted personal fields for their own millet cultivation, and there is also a mention of small-scale rice cultivation in the 1870s (which, following ethno-historical evidence, was likely carried out by women) (ARN 1930: 17-18; JN 1878; Renoux 1877b, c).

Historically, in parts of West Africa where it was not the staple grain but an additional component of the diet, rice was cultivated primarily by women (Carney 2001; Carney and Watts 1991; Fields-Black 2008; Ndiaye 1986; Reinwald 1997a, 1997b). This agricultural pursuit was

may also have been gendered at Ngasobil. On the other hand, ethnographic and historical evidence indicates that in Senegambia cotton cultivation had traditionally been a women's crop (Ndiaye 1986; Reinwald 1997a, 1997b), and almost certainly this was not exclusively the case in Ngasobil. The mission was conceptualized as an agricultural colony with cotton envisioned as the primary (and lucrative) cash-crop for export with Senegambian boys and men as the prime source of labor (ARN 1930: 17-18, 21-23; Kobès 1863d, g, 1867c). The land grant of 1,000 hectares awarded by the Second Empire in 1863 was specifically predicated upon the intensive cultivation of cotton as part of the colonial *mise en valeur* project ("Cahier des charges relative une concession" 1863; Chasseloup-Laubat 1863; "Décret, 2 Mai" 1863). Further, Kobès' vision of agricultural education for Senegambian men and boys through the work of the mission assumed and relied upon the labor of converted men in this endeavor (Glajeux and Certes 1863; Kobès 1850, 1867c). What this ethno-historical fact of cotton cultivation opens up—however—is that while Spiritan documents neither acknowledge the specialized knowledge women had of cotton cultivation, nor specifically *who* was cultivating cotton once the operation got underway, women may have been cultivating cotton alongside male laborers, and actively contributing their agricultural expertise to its production in Ngasobil. If villagers were cultivating cotton for their own use (vs. export to French textile mills), women would have been ginning, spinning, and possibly even weaving¹⁷ cotton fibers into cloth, although material evidence of such activities is lacking (Benjamin 2016; Ndiaye 1986; Reinwald 1997). Colonial administrators noted that the Sereer maintained an affinity for locally made cloth (often woven by caste artisans) and that it was linked to traditional religious practices (Richard 2018).

¹⁷ Although weaving has traditionally been classed as a male craft in Senegambia (Benjamin 2016; Thiaw 2005; Ndiaye 1986).

Other historically feminine activities centered around gathering wild species for both culinary and medical purposes. One component of everyday domestic life that appears to be missing from the archaeological record in Saint-Joseph is clear evidence of medicinal practices—one of the most important sets of practices discussed in the context of the Convent of St. Joseph and the vocational work of the DHHM (Chapter 6). This is not because people in the village did not mobilize healing practices, but because the material signature of Senegambian health practices differs radically from European traditions which often leave behind reliably visible archaeological traces (bottles, jars, ampoules, etc.). Senegambian healing practices that may have been utilized amongst villagers do not negate the importance of medical treatments provided by the nuns or the appreciation converts had for their work, but it does make it difficult to tease out the articulations between Senegambian and French health practices in Saint-Joseph. However, ethnographic and botanical data can lend some insight into the potential exploitation of forest resources by the women of Saint-Joseph, both medicinally and as supplementary to everyday alimentation, especially in times of famine (Ellena et al. 2012; Gravrand 1990; Gueye and Diouf 2007; Kalis 1997; Thiaw 2006).

The baobab (*Adansonia digitata*) is a common arboreal resource for both alimentation and healing; its fruits and leaves are often exploited for these purposes. In Senegambian traditional medicine, complex and unusual illnesses require treatment from a healing specialist who not only attends to the physical but to the underlying social and/or cosmological causes of the disease; however, basic ailments such as diarrhea, headaches, coughs, and worms have commonly known remedies usually supplied by women within the household or close kin (Kalis 1997). For these common ailments other popular vegetal ingredient sources include *Acacia albida*, *Acacia macrostachya*, *Cassia sieberiana*, *Cassia tora*, *Cordyla pinnata*, *Crataeva*

religiosa, *Euphorbia balsamifera*, *Euphorbia hirta*, *Grewia bicolor*, *Grewia villosa*,¹⁸ *Khaya senegalensis*, *Maerua angolensis*, *Combretum micranthum*, and *Verminia colorata* (Kalis 1997; Neuwinger 1995; Sébire 1899). Simone Kalis (1997) characterizes these ingredients as common forest resources generally available in forested areas of the Sahel ecological zone. Of those mentioned (only a small sampling, for a comprehensive list see appendix in Kalis 1997), the following have been recorded in the Réserve de Ngazobil since 1995: *Acacia macrostachya*, *Adansonia digitata*, *Cassia sieberiana*, *Crataeva religiosa*, *Euphorbia balsamifera*, *Grewia bicolor*, and *Khaya senegalensis* (Neuwinger 1996; Pacyga 2016; Tréca et al. 1995; Wade 1995). While the current ecology of Ngasobil does not absolutely reflect what species were historically available, given the broader historical ecology of the Sahel region, it is reasonable to assume that a useful suite of species was available in the nineteenth century.

Recalling Father Walter's 1867 map of Ngasobil (fig. 6.1), the forested part of the property in which Saint-Joseph is found is depicted as being rather ominous, wild, and unruly compared to other parts of the mission (Chapter 3). While European missionaries may have seen the forest surrounding Saint-Joseph as unappealing or dangerous and merely a resource for firewood, the forest was likely regarded as a much more dynamic resource by Senegambian villagers (ARN 1930: 33-34; JN 1878). While the Spiritans employed men to cut down, gather, and transport firewood for the mission enterprises and daily needs, for families living in the village this was likely women's work, which might also take place in tandem with the collection of fruits, leave, roots, and bark integral to Senegambian healing practices and cuisine (Gueye and Diouf 2007; Kalis 1997; Reinwald 1997; Riss 1989; Thiaw 2005).

¹⁸ Recall the cough medicine recipe utilizing *horom sape* (*Grewia villosa*) cited in Chapter 5.

Finally, small house or kitchen gardens might have been part of feminine horticultural practice within individual concessions or nearby to the village (Corre 1883; Reinwald 1997; Riss 1989). These are places where hibiscus (*Hibiscus sabdariffa*, *H. asper*, *H. abelmoschus*), for example, might have been grown. Its flowers can be used to make a tea or juice (*bissap*) and its leaves to make a savory relish or spinach-like additional to meals (Gueye and Diouf 2007). Thus, women and their gendered (and non-gendered) labor were integral not only to the domestic functioning of the concession and/or family unit, but to its economic and subsistence functioning as well. In the household kitchen the fruits of feminine and masculine labor were combined and manipulated by women of the household in their central—but far from only—everyday task: preparing meals for the inhabitants of their household.

How Spiritans Tracked Conversion: The Material and the Immaterial

1863-1876: The First Generation

One of the difficulties of any missionization project is determining how to identify true (permanent) conversion that will lead to ongoing generational growth of the religious congregation in question. Missionaries were plagued by the uncertainty of knowing the hearts and minds of neophytes—that is, how were they be sure that neophytes had truly, internally, become devout Catholics? How could salvation not only be given and attained, but known?

At the Mission of St. Joseph, Spiritan missionaries relied on a combination of observable material and immaterial practices and behaviors amongst neophytes, and their strategy of missionization in Ngasobil changed over time, pivoting on relocating Saint-Joseph from the forest to a site directly adjacent to the Spiritan quadrangle in 1876. The point of view of the earliest neophytes, on the other hand, is very difficult to ascertain. While archival sources from

St. Joseph's Mission are plentiful, they overwhelmingly privilege European voices. Within the range of European voices, priests belonging to the Spiritan order are the most privileged, followed by the French women of the SSJC. Despite the compelling archaeological record in Saint-Joseph which allows us to begin to know the material lives of Senegambian converts in the 1860s and 1870s, insight into their views on Catholicism and the act of conversion remain elusive, mainly accessible through the lens of archival missionary observations.

In terms of correlations between material culture and conversion, Spiritans seem to have been most interested in seeing the absence of certain Senegambian objects rather than the explicit presence of particular European objects as either an index of cultural conversion or engagement in the colonial economy of modernity. This stands in stark contrast to the contemporary Non-Conformist approach in southern Africa which linked conversion and its alteration of worldview to consumer practices (Comaroff and Comaroff 1986, 1991, 1997). In Ngasobil, two classes of related objects served as clear markers of either resistance to Catholicism or, at best, a weak conviction in conversion: personal *gris-gris* and household talismans or charms tied into Senegambian religious beliefs and practices in which magic could be positively associated with religion (in contrast to sorcery/witchcraft). Within Sereer religious systems, magic used for good is, well, good and acceptable and associated with spiritual power endowed by the *pangool* or *Roog Seen*; however, magic used for evil or selfish self-gain is classed as sorcery and socially condemned (Gallais 1850; Gravrand 1990; Kalis 1997). However, to European missionaries both types of magic—seen within a Christian framework—were sinful and the work of the devil himself (Renoux 1877c; Riehl 1875d). The devil, it should be noted, was understood by Spiritans and SSJC sisters to be a very real and powerful actor in the world. They wrote about the devil as a force at work in Ngasobil, dedicated to undermining their evangelizing efforts and tempting

neophytes to turn their back on the Church, as well as active in their own lives in which they saw the devil as constantly challenging their vocation and journey towards holy perfection (Chapelain 1863a, 1865a, 1868a, 1871d; Renoux 1872; Riehl 1875c; Valot 1924c).

Gris-gris are small person objects or amulets worn on the body to protect against various evil forces and dangers in the world, including illness, injury, and attacks by sorcerers (Aujas 1931; Boilat 1853; Corre 1883; Gravrand 1983, 1990; Villiers 1975). Different *gris-gris* attend to different preventative or protective measures; thus, a newborn might wear one to ward off a pre-baptismal attack by a sorcerer. In his description of village practices, Renoux explained to Spiritan Superior General Schwindenhammer that:

All of these amulets, and others, are still found in all the huts of the pagan village. The '*dema*,'¹⁹ or sorcerers, make them for all of life's necessities; they sell some *gris-gris* for 90 and even 100 francs, and it goes without saying that these are the ones said to have the greatest efficacy. There are *gris-gris* for a pregnant woman so that she might be protected from all misfortune; there are the *gris-gris* for the newborn in even greater number, to the point that all of the tiny body of the infant is covered from head to toe so as to ward off accidents and to prevent any sorcerer from casting a curse on the child to kill it and to deprive it of its mother's love and care. (Renoux 1877c)

He lamented that a young Catholic mother in Saint-Joseph—who he characterized as being weak in her faith—was forced by her husband to wear *gris-gris* herself and to make sure her baby wore them as well (Renoux 1877c). Renoux seemed to fear that because this woman already lacked conviction in her conversion to Catholicism that her continued contact with such objects was not only potentially sinful but might succeed in entirely severing her (and her offspring) from the Church.

¹⁹ Elsewhere in the same letter, Renoux describes these individuals as “wretched henchmen of the devil [who] cast curses on those who displease them and by their hexes have killed several people and often cause considerable losses.” It should be noted that there is a clear conflation of *Ma'dag* (healers who use magic for good) and *Naq* (sorcerers who use magic for evil) in Renoux's understanding of Sereer religious-spiritual practice and belief (Gravrand 1990).

Renoux also described household talismans deployed to protect those inside the home in question. This included the placement of an antelope horn above the doorway, “to keep out evil genies” (Renoux 1877c) According to Kalis (1997: 42), in Sereer religion, horns are regarded as a means of communication with the spiritual realm; Gravrand also noted the common use of this particular protective device in Sereer homes (Gravrand 1990), as did Louis Aujas with in 1933. Renoux also identified a sachet of powdered or simply dried leaves that, when suspended from a roof rafter, was meant to protect the residence from destruction by fire. He went on to describe both household talismans and personal *gris-gris* as “trappings of the devil” (Renoux 1877c). As illustrated in Chapter 4, the disavowal of *gris-gris* and other Senegambian religious objects was lauded by missionaries as a sign of sincerity in cases of adult conversion (ARN 1930: 173-174). The rejection of these magico-religious material goods seems to have operated—for the Spiritans—as proof that the neophyte in question was sincere in their conversion and had severed their connection to non-Catholic material practices and, thus, beliefs. This is why Renoux was concerned about the condition of a converted woman forced to wear *gris-gris* by her husband; even more so, her situation undermined the missionary position that Catholics mothers would lead to Catholic children, since her child was being raised in adherence not with Catholic but Sereer ritual practices.

In contrast to these negative material markers, observable actions by neophytes within the community were the key positive element through which mid nineteenth-century Spiritans in Ngasobil tracked the embrace of Catholicism and movement towards conversion. Ways in which knowledge acquisition and commitment to Catholicism through commitment to the Catholic *community* were expressed included: learning prayers and the catechism, often at gender/age group meetings; attending mission schools (for girls and boys); welcoming interactions with

religious sisters in the village; attending and participating at Sunday mass and Catholic feast days (e.g. Corpus Christi, Feast of St. Joseph, Feast of the Immaculate Heart of Mary); achieving the sacraments (emphasis on baptism, first communion, marriage); seeking to convert family members; and—after 1876—a willingness to establish a domicile in a specifically Catholic village community (ARN 1930; *Bulletin de la Communité [SSJC]* n.d; Chapelain 1865e; “Consécration à Saint Joseph” 1871; JN 1879; Kobès 1863c, e, g; “Malades soignés et convertis dans la Mission” 1877; Renoux 1866, 1877c, e; Riehl 1875b, 1880a; “Situation à Saint-Joseph” 1867; Strub 1862a). Such faith affirming practices were mainly communal Catholic activities that reflected 1) the acquisition of Catholic knowledge required for informed conversion, and 2) becoming part of the Catholic mission community by engaging in a community-based process of conversion rather than a private, individual process. The Spiritans were not focused on orchestrating immediate *en masse* conversions of mission residents (Koren 1983); at the same time, they were focused on the creation of a Catholic community which required more than isolated individual conversions (not to say that hard-won individual conversions were not celebrated or that the individualism of Catholicism was not an issue; Gravrand 1961). A Catholic emphasis on community and communal religious practice is also evident in the formulation and practice of DHHM vocation as rooted in the care of the existing Catholic community and evangelization through caring practices towards the potential Catholic community (Chapter 6).

Even though Spiritans seem to have been more interested in these immaterial socio-religious practices rather than the explicit transformation of daily life for converts living in the village,²⁰ there were a few external embodied signs of conversion considered helpful to

²⁰ As discussed in previous chapters there was more emphasis in shaping quotidian (sometimes material) behaviors amongst children and seminarians living and learning in the religious communities of the mission. The convent case is explored in Chapter 4.

materializing the sincerity of conversion in the mid nineteenth-century. The missionaries at St. Joseph's made it regular practice to make gifts of saint medallions, which when worn or kept close to the body were perceived as bodily sign of that individual's membership in the Catholic mission community (St-Jean 1862). Recall that a medal of St. Joseph was the defining sartorial marker worn by DHHM postulants (Chapter 6). At the Saint-Joseph site, archaeological examples of such items are not as frequently recovered as at the convent site, but according to documentation these small personal objects were distributed on a fairly regular basis, and at least one person in Concession V2 may have materialized their faith through the ownership of a personal item featuring a crucifix (Chapelain 1867; JN 1878, 1879; Renoux 1866). It is also true that wearing a crucifix and wearing a *gris-gris* were in many ways conceptually similar and even mapped onto one another, blurring the line between such traditions and practices.

Some of the same events at which personal religious items were distributed also featured the distribution of clothing that was donated by (or purchased through donation from) charitable organizations and individuals in France (Cimbault 1902b). In 1864, Father Engel wrote that the Commandant of Gorée donated 500 F to the mission and “the entire sum was used to purchase clothing; this is our workers’ most urgent need, above all for their women” (Engel 1864). Engel does not expand his views on what converts were wearing or why it was felt that purchasing clothing for them was of utmost importance, but based on ethno-historical data—and his emphasis on the perceived inappropriateness in dress of women converts—it tracks that a European perception of a lack of bodily modesty was considered an issue²¹ (in addition to the

²¹ In 1883, Corre's account of Sereer clothing noted that both male and female dress generally lacked modesty and provided minimal bodily coverage (5), although David Boilat's 1853 illustrated publication on the peoples of Senegal depicted Sereer men and women fully draped in fabric. Issa Laye Thiaw's more recent ethnographic tome describes traditional dress, which

fact that many people arrived in Ngasobil bereft of any personal belongings) (Gallais 1850; Ndiaye 1986; Thiaw 2005). In his letter, Engel also alternates between using the French word for clothing (*habits*) and the Wolof word for cloth (*malaan*); it unclear as to whether the Spiritans were providing lengths of cloth or donated (already sewn) articles of clothing (Cimbault 1902b; Engel 1864; Picarda 1887b). Archaeologically, in Saint-Joseph two bone buttons were excavated, both in Concession V2.²² This is the only material evidence potentially linked to clothing from Saint-Joseph, but it does not necessarily indicate that some villagers owned imported manufactured clothing. In the Sereer settlements of Joal and Portudal, Armand Corre reported the use of shell or porcelain buttons threaded on necklaces, belts, and incorporated into *gris-gris* (Corre 1883: 4); however, buttons recovered in Saint-Joseph were made of bone, possibly pointing to their more functional use as clothing fasteners. During the same time frame, Renoux described the clothing worn by boys in the Spiritan school and orphanage as consisting of a pair of pants or a loin cloth for everyday wear and a long robe for religious activities (Renoux 1866). At the convent, Mother Rosalie wrote about sewing dresses out of sack cloth for the young girls in her charge (Chapelain 1864g).

Overall, missionaries—women and men alike—seemed generally content in these early years to leave the inhabitants of Saint-Joseph to order their daily lives socially, spatially, and materially, in contrast to those living within the mission institutions. In Saint-Joseph the venue for seeing conversion appears to have been the chapel that marked Saint-Joseph as a Catholic community—even if this was mainly aspirational—and was where communal engagement with

indicates that Corre's observation and the missionaries' concern was likely linked to a perceived lack of modesty.

²² Compare to eight similarly dated buttons overall in Richard's survey of the Siin, in which buttons were only recovered at sites associated with royal settlements (Dioral, Pecc Waaggan) (2007:635).

Catholicism took place. By 1864, Saint-Joseph featured a whitewashed chapel built of wooden boards. In addition to Mass, the chapel was a place for neophytes to gather (by gender and age) for catechism classes led by Spiritans, DHHM/SSJC sisters, or—in later years—Senegambian catechists (ARN 1930: 147, 200-201; Kunemann 1904; Renoux 1877a; Riehl 1875b). By 1870, Spiritans were praising villagers' attendance at mass, communal prayer (e.g., saying the rosary together), and religious instruction (ARN 1930: 57).

Conversion efforts in the village of Saint-Joseph between 1863 and 1876 were not focused on changing Senegambian domestic practices or modes of self-presentation, other than encouraging the suppression of behaviors regarded as specifically anti-Catholic (e.g., *gris-gris*). This adheres to mid-nineteenth-century missionary tenets (including language from Pope Gregory XVI in *Neminem Profecto*, 1845) to refrain from seeking to alter the cultural practices of potential converts—aside from those that conflicted directly with Catholicism (Truffet 1847 cited in Brasseur 1975: 263-264; Hodgson 2005; Libermann ca. 1848-49 cited in Koren 1983: 206; discussion in Chapter 5). The early spatial design of the St. Joseph Mission in which Saint-Joseph was located in its own space and built according to local modes of village design and architectural technologies reflects this respect for local culture and refraining from excessive interference in daily life.

The approach to early conversion at Saint-Joseph stands in some contrast to methods and understandings of how missionaries might have 'seen' conversion elsewhere within the mission. At the Convent of St. Joseph, attention to shaping a Catholic way of life and gender ideology linked to Catholicism was a project undertaken through the school and orphanage, focused on a potential future generation of Catholics rather than the adult potential converts living in Saint-Joseph. This is not to say that missionaries in Ngasobil were not interested in converting adults—

they absolutely were—but that their overall strategy focused on children and young adults raised within the structure of the religious orders at the mission, and it was in those contexts that a shaping of material practices and the evaluation of particular social material practices was linked to Catholicism (Chapter 6). It was also from those mission-raised children that Spiritans, DHHM, and SSJC expected to see the highest returns on their evangelizing and educational work, which would produce future Catholic parents to future Catholic children, and thus generationally entrench the Catholic Church in Senegal; as Renoux put it: “The Christian family, there it is, in effect, the goal towards which missionaries direct all their efforts” (Renoux 1877c). For this reason, as the first fourteen years of missionization in Ngasobil passed, a new less hands-off approach to the neophytes’ everyday life became desirable. If conversion was best seen through actions within the community, then the visibility of those actions (to European missionaries) had to be facilitated.

1876: Reimagining the Materiality of Conversion

In 1876 a significant structural shift took place at the Mission of St. Joseph, and the sentiment expressed above by Renoux articulates the impetus for this drastic change in domestic life. Saint-Joseph was relocated from the forest north of the convent to an open area that had previously been cultivated to the south. This location was much closer to the Spiritan property and central quadrangle, which it abutted to the south and west (this remains the site of the modern-day village of Ngasobil) (fig. 7.15). The site featured a life-sized statue of St. Joseph himself, donated by French benefactors, which watched over the road to Joal, the mission cemetery, and—now—the newly relocated village built along the road (Renoux 1877c). Shortly after the move, Renoux described the new village:

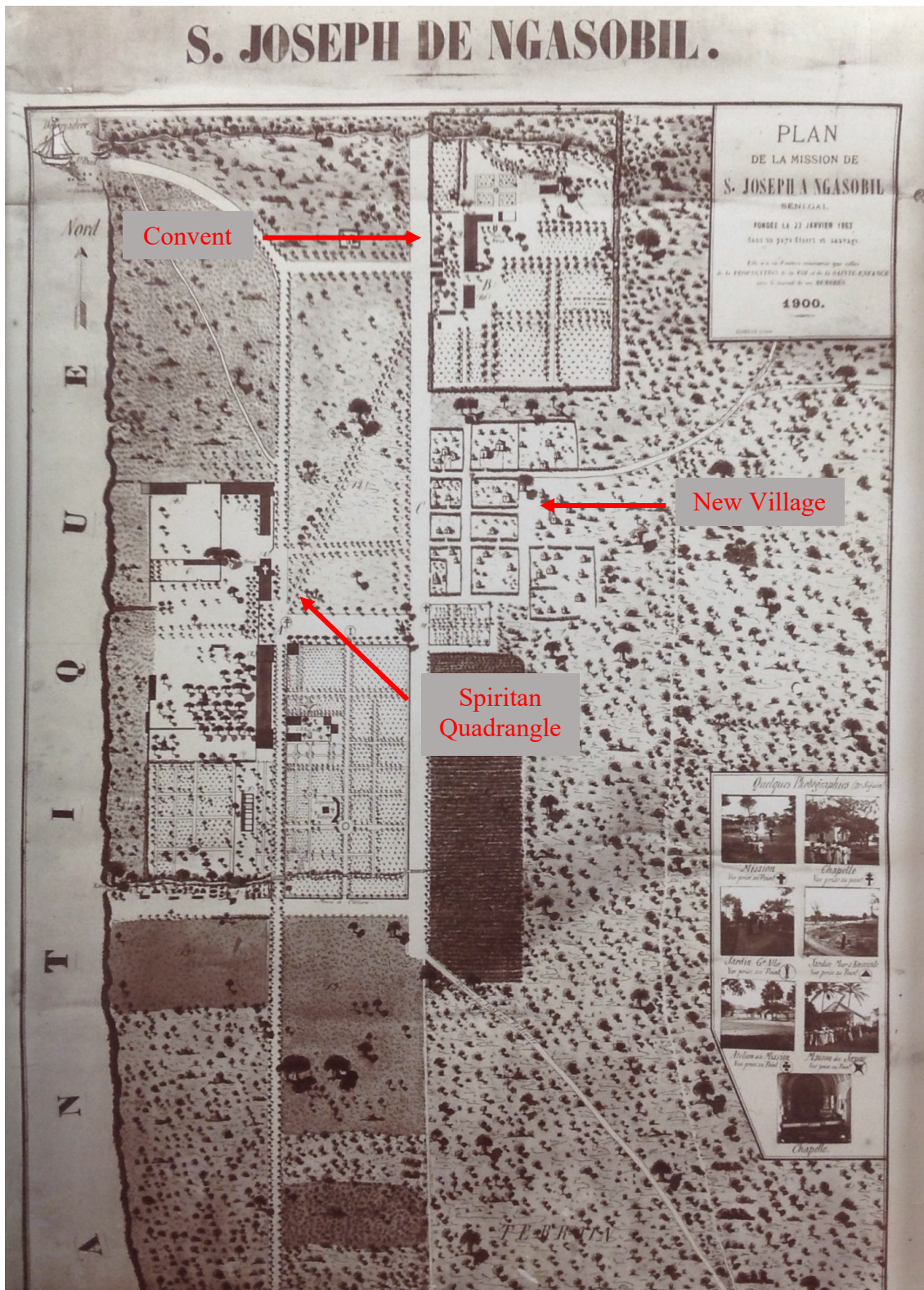


Figure 7.15. Note the new location of the mission village directly to the south of the convent enclosure and to the east of the Spiritan quadrangle. Plan de La Mission de S. Joseph de

Ngasobil (Ngasobil, 1900), 3i1.16a9, AGS. Courtesy of the Congrégation du Saint-Esprit (CSSp).

As space permitted, the [new] village was partitioned into several lots, each destined to one head of the household, and the very large streets were traced and aligned as best as possible by our brave Christians. The older people had at first some difficulties in transporting their homes to the new location, but it was necessary... Our Christians made, for the most part, square huts, divided on the interior with large straw partitions, like everything in the rest of the habitation. A 'sahes' (enclosure), made with millet stalks encircled the huts. In the interior yard, one finds the resources of the family: some goats, ducks, chickens, sometimes a granary. (Renoux 1877c)

He compared the new explicitly Catholic residences to other Senegambian domiciles, likely in direct and negative reference to the former village of Saint-Joseph:

All the huts of the blacks of this country are similar, being entirely constructed with grass and plants from the forest; they are circular in form and measure from nine to twelve feet in diameter, without any opening other than the front door, barely one meter in height. (Renoux 1877c)

While not explicitly criticized by Renoux, the preference for circular houses was much decried by missionaries in other African contexts (Ashley 2018; Crossland 2013; Reid et al. 1997), and this shift in domestic architecture for the new, more strictly Catholic village is not surprising. In contrast to the 1867 representation of Saint-Joseph, the map from 1900 shows that—just as Renoux described—households were no longer clumped together seemingly haphazardly, but rather, concessions were geometrically organized, with each household located within a crisply rectilinear enclosure. Houses appear as square cottages with windows; whereas outbuildings (likely granaries or animal shelters) tended to preserve the traditional circular footprint. As seen at other African mission sites (both Catholic and Protestant), the new village design highlighted the construction of square houses, private yards, and distinct property boundaries manifesting concepts of Euro-Christian order in the landscape—on both the intimate household level and across the mission as a whole, where all aspects of the landscape have been

organized, categorized, labeled, and contained on the map (Ashley 2018; Mark 2002; Martin 2002; *Plan de La Mission de S. Joseph de Ngasobil* 1900).

In her research on Spiritan missionization amongst the Maasai in Tanzania, Dorothy Hodgson (2005) characterizes late nineteenth-century Spiritan missionization as oriented around the creation of supervised Catholic villages, designed in adherence to modern Euro-Cartesian urban ideals (streets, rectilinear homes, plots of land for each nuclear family or adult individual). These designs recall early modern mission designs in the Americas, something that had been avoided in the original conception of St. Joseph's. The original site of Saint-Joseph, founded in 1863 as part of Monseigneur Kobès great experiment for missionization in the Apostolic Vicariate of Senegambia, did not adhere to these later ideals, but rather to the idea that conversion could take place without instilling material, quotidian changes in peoples' lives. The 1876 village relocation documents a key shift in the approach to conversion in Ngasobil, in which European spatial and architectural design (clear lines of sight, orthogonal streets, 'square' houses) combined with missionary surveillance (via proximity to the village and even the watchful eyes of the statue of St. Joseph) were mobilized not only to facilitate conversion, but to foster the permanence of that conversion by eliminating some of the social and material problems Spiritans identified in the old village as hindering conversion. In 1863, shaping converts' lives through their material world was not a priority, but in 1876 it seems that this element of missionization was being tested out in Ngasobil through the reimagining and relocation of the converts' village. By the late nineteenth century this model of the Christian village designed along missionary guidelines was being used by Spiritans throughout Africa (Martin 2002, Hodgson 2005). As seen in Chapter 3 in regard to the location of the convent in relation to the Spiritan quadrangle, St. Joseph's Mission served as the place where mission

design paradigms were worked out and then applied to subsequent Spiritan efforts on the continent.

Conclusion: The Ambivalence of Conversion

Overall, the location of Saint-Joseph within the mission's geography (Chapter 3), its architectural design and technology, and evidence for craft production paint a picture of a mission village that was markedly independent in comparison to *Reduccion*-style missions in the Americas and later African mission villages in which neophytes were housed well within the supervisory gaze (Foucault 1979) of European missionaries (Ashley 2018; Hovland 2007; Hodgson 2005; Martin 2002). This more regulated model came into play in Ngasobil in 1876 when Saint-Joseph was relocated, but the early design reveals that mid nineteenth-century Spiritans were still figuring out their modern missionization model. As the Spiritans' earliest successful concerted effort in West Africa, the mission in Ngasobil became a testing ground for modern missionization not only because of the expansion of vocation to Africans, but because of the experimentation with settlement design within the mission property that rejected older theories of conversion and sought to develop a better method (and then pivoted to yet another). On the African side of this missionization equation, Saint-Joseph's archaeological record gestures towards efforts to maintain autonomy within the mission system, the maintenance of local Senegambian craftsmanship (most especially potting) and economies, as well as the perseverance of Senegambian living patterns and spaces even within the larger institutional space of the St. Joseph Mission. There are also hints at the possible use of certain objects (wine glasses, imported refined ceramics, personal objects) and substances (wine) to index membership in the

mission community. It remains unclear whether or not such objects and their use signified (to their owners or to the missionaries) the spiritual embrace of Catholicism.

If the original instantiation of Saint-Joseph marked the first moment of conversion in Ngasobil, that moment appears ambivalent at best—if regarded with a strictly material view of missionization and conversion. The cluster of concessions connected by winding paths was located in resource-rich forest environment, connected to but not directly overseen by missionary authority. There are a few material traces in the archaeological record that testify to the mission's influence—a range of imported ceramics that were unlikely to be associated with non-elite households elsewhere in the region, buttons that may or may not gesture towards a limited adoption of European-style clothing, a crucifix pendant. But the material signature of daily life was not otherwise marked by distinctly articulated Euro-Catholic elements, which were—in any case—not particularly identified by missionaries themselves. Yet, archival documents speak to the successes of early conversions and the involvement of some inhabitants in Catholic learning and worship practices. This aligns with mid nineteenth-century missionary tenets of conversion, but—just as it poses a problem for the material inquiry of the archaeologist—this somewhat hands-off approach posed a problem for missionaries in the 1860s and 1870s. How *could* the Spiritans see conversion? How could they quantify to determine or share their success? They emphasized practices over appearances, looking to how well neophytes were learning prayers and the catechism, their public participation in ritual, and their efforts to convert family members. Yet, this approach seems to have left missionaries with too much uncertainty as to the depth of Catholic belief. Worries about the (feminine) domestic sphere and how Catholicism might be threatened in the privacy of the neophyte's home served to push Spiritan leadership towards a revised practice of missionization and theory of conversion. They came to emphasize

closer supervision (through visibility and proximity), European domestic aesthetics, and increased recruitment of children to their schools and orphanages (sometimes achieved through the promise of clothing in exchange for attendance) (Picarda 1887b). While archaeological evidence from the relocated village is not available, rich textual and visual descriptions of the new settlement characterize it in stark contrast to the original Saint-Joseph.

Neophytes who moved to the new village displayed their commitment to Catholicism by the very fact of making the move, as well as their construction of homes that followed the aesthetic preferences of European missionaries. From the missionary point of view, this strategy yielded positive results. In 1881, despite a small number of departures back to Saloum, mission records documented that most defections were by non-Catholics and that the new village was almost entirely inhabited by Catholics, resulting in the fact that adult baptisms were becoming more and more rare—not due to failure on the part of the mission, but as a result of its success (ARN 1930: 120-121). Yet, the narrative of conversion, population retention, and the relationship between villagers and Spiritans that emerges from archival documents points to the continued ambivalence of villagers towards missionary power, despite the undeniable growth and entrenchment of the small Catholic community in Senegal over the early decades of the twentieth century. Parents were sometimes hesitant to entrust their children to the mission schools (and more so to entirely relinquish their children to be raised by either the DHHM or Spiritans), and after the turn of the century it became more and more common for young people who had been educated in Ngasobil (in academics, crafts/trades) to parlay that education into employment in larger towns and cities, often working for the colonial government in one way or another (ARN 1930: 135). Records indicate that women were more likely to return to Ngasobil

(or not to leave in the first place) than young men, but when they did leave for urban centers, they were armed with skills learned at the convent school (ARN 1930: 168-169).

Alongside the robust role the DHHM played in cultivating the early Senegalese church (and especially its female population), the attachment of lay women to the mission served to strengthen their role in the propagation of the faith and the Catholic Church as a Senegalese institution. The increased implicit emphasis on domestic space (seen in the relocation and design of the village) also strengthened their potential position as propagators of Catholicism and shapers of the Senegalese church, given the gendered characterization of the Euro-Catholic domestic sphere. This emergence of the domicile as a location of missionary concern ties directly into the emphasis on the conversion and education of girls and young women (religious, academic, domestic) at the Convent of St. Joseph over the course the late nineteenth and into the early twentieth century.

Chapter Eight

Conclusion:

A St. Joseph's Day Reflection on Community Cultivation & Vocation

March 19, 2017, The Feast of St. Joseph

“We have been told that on Saturday we will celebrate the Feast of St. Joseph, and that means everyone must go to the *Séminaire* to eat, and then there will be a dance where supposedly everyone will dance, but not Sister Marie because she has to be in the kitchen, supervising the feast.”¹

Donned in our best church clothes, we ambled down the gravel road towards the center of the village, past the stone footprint of the defunct nineteenth-century church, and towards the mid-century bell tower underneath which a handful of vendors had set up their wares in anticipation of the day's festivities. Bright bolts of religious wax cloth were displayed alongside rosaries and other sundry religious items at the edge of the churchyard. No one was ready to buy



Figure 8.1. The St. Joseph of Ngasobil churchyard on the morning of the Feast of St. Joseph. Note the extra chairs being set up to accommodate church overflow during Mass and the religious wax textile vendor display on the ground. Photograph by author, 2017.

¹ This is an entry from my 2017 Field Notes Diary, written two days before the Feast of St. Joseph. The vignette that follows is based on my notes and recollections from the feast day itself (March 19, 2017).

anything yet, but early comers were happy to casually browse before entering into the coolness of the church (fig. 8.1).



Figure 8.2. The junior seminary student choir and band setting up for St. Joseph's Day Mass. Photograph by author, 2017.

We had been told what time Mass would start and warned to get there early so that we could get seats inside, but once there, we realized there were already far more people present than usually attended Sunday mass—which was generally pretty packed to begin with—and that our usual seats were already taken. One of the DHHM sisters saw us trying to figure out where to sit, and ushered us all the way up to the side of the altar where extra benches had been added in the small northern transept. From our vantage point we were able to see the junior seminary choir and band seated on the opposite side of the altar with their drums (*djembe*) and other percussion instruments (fig. 8.2a). Once Mass was underway, we had a clear view of each procession up the aisle to the altar (fig. 8.3a-b).



Figure 8.3. Offerings for the Feast of St. Joseph Mass, 2017: a) Offerings of a calabash filled with plentiful vegetables and grains and a hunting spear, representing the different alimentary contributions of men and woman in the framework of Senegalese gender traditions and familial ideals, which the DHHM sister speaking linked to the Catholic tradition of the Holy Family; b) Offerings of items associated with St. Joseph’s Day, including carpenter’s tools and grain. Photographs by author, 2017.

This being a special feast day, Mass was three times as long as usual and included several additional components—extra speakers who reflected on St. Joseph, the Holy Family, gender dynamics and roles in the Catholic Church, and the legacy of Ngasobil in Senegalese Catholicism. Having read archival descriptions of feast day over the course of the Mission of St. Joseph’s history, being able to attend a major liturgical celebration with the descendant community felt familiar (right down to the procession through the former mission grounds). The sight of school children propelling much of the Mass’ pageantry tapped into my own childhood memories of similar events and past Feasts of St. Joseph, as an American child attending Catholic parochial school. This St. Joseph’s Day was different from those I had experienced before; it was uniquely tied into Senegalese traditions, symbolism, and their attendant objects (calabashes, spears, millet) and yet legible within the context of the Catholic family, gender norms linked to the Holy Family with St. Joseph at its head, and attributes of the saint (carpenter’s tools).



Figure 8.4. Outdoor fête set-up for the 2017 Feast of St. Joseph festivities in Ngasobil. Photograph by author, 2017.

After Mass, we funneled out into the old mission quadrangle—now the junior seminary’s schoolyard—which had been entirely transformed into something like a fair ground. Huge tents with colorful awnings had been pitched, long banquet tables and lawn chairs were set up, a stage awaited its band (fig. 8.4). Kiosks scattered across the yard bore signs of different beverages available for purchase (fig. 8.5a). We caught a brief glimpse of Sister Marie rushing to and fro near the kitchen buildings, and already the rich aroma of *thiébou yapp* (Senegalese jollof rice with meat, in this case pork) wafted across the schoolyard. As temporary members of the convent community, pretty much everyone we knew in Ngasobil was busy with food preparation, sisters and their students alike. We settled into a shady spot with a couple of ice-cold Gazelle beers and took to people watching while we—along with the hundreds of other guests—awaited lunchtime. When the food was ready, we thought we might wait for the rush to pass but very quickly one of the girls we knew from the convent told us we better hurry and get our lunch

now. We joined the crush outside the kitchen window, and luckily one of us is rather tall and managed to snag two steaming hot plates of delicious *thiébou yapp* (fig. 7.5b).



Figure 8.5. St. Joseph's Day feast food: a) Kiosk selling wine at the Feast of St. Joseph celebration; b) *thiébou yapp* served to guests for lunch. Photographs by author, 2017.

As the mid-afternoon slipped into early evening, dining guests became dancing guests. By then, the DHHM sisters and convent girls had finished most of their 'hostess' duties and were enjoying themselves alongside everyone else. With some cajoling they even got me to join in the dancing. The girls had coordinated their new outfits for the day, each having picked from one of two religious wax fabrics to have their dress made, and each designed with individual detailing and flair. Their coordinated outfits set them apart from the rest of the guests as a distinct cohesive group within the gathering, even amongst the rainbow of religious wax worn by nearly all attendees—including us. We danced with the girls until the band packed up and guests began to disperse (fig. 8.6a-c).



Figure 8.6a-c. Dancing at the Feast of St. Joseph celebration. Photographs by author, 2017.

By the time the sun had set, most everyone had left the quadrangle—even the Feast of St. Joseph has an end time. Back at the convent—somehow—a bountiful Sunday-style dinner had been prepared (salad with tomatoes and green beans, *poulet fermier* and *frites*). I could barely eat

anything after the feast day lunch we had had, but the continued show of festivity through the medium of food testified to the importance of this day, not only in Ngasobil but for the entire Senegalese Catholic community it served and for which it remembered. It fit right into the lineage of annual liturgical celebrations held in Ngasobil since the mid-nineteenth century, but while tethered to that past, it was also distinctly of the present, serving the contemporary community, reflective on the past but not stifled by it.

*

The Feast of St. Joseph is, as I wrote in my field diary, “a big deal.” Honoring the patron saint of the village and the mission that once flourished there, it is a day of particular devotion and celebration in Ngasobil in which the entire community participates and which includes both solemn religious ritual and—to put it plainly—a lot of fun and socializing, as one might imagine a *fête* to involve. After a particularly elaborate mass in honor of St. Joseph and in celebration of the Catholic community in Senegal (historically devoted to the saint), there is music to be made, dancing to be done, food to be eaten, Gazelle beers, sodas, and wine to be drunk, trinkets and religious wax cloth to be bought, new clothes to be shown off, friends with whom to catch up, and new people to meet.

Just as would have been the case in the nineteenth century, the DHHM sisters residing in Ngasobil in 2017 participated in the special St. Joseph’s Day Mass and then orchestrated and facilitated the celebratory portion of the day. Prior to the feast, the sisters were occupied with preparations intended to accommodate not only the entire village but the busloads of visitors who also took part in the celebration (and as such would need to be fed). Visitors included Catholic

dignitaries (both current Senegalese Church leaders and elderly French missionaries who had spent time in Ngasobil during their working years), Senegalese and French religious sisters and brothers from other communities, graduates of the convent school programs and junior seminary, and other members of the broader Catholic community. These guests joined the residents of Ngasobil (village residents, DHHM, convent students, Brothers of St. Joseph, junior seminary students, faculty, and staff) on the former mission quadrangle to celebrate the feast day, but also to celebrate their community and in doing so to facilitate the reproduction of the Senegalese Catholic community in its affective center: St. Joseph of Ngasobil. The broader Catholic community keeps coming back to this place not simply because it is historically important or predetermines their identity, but because it continues to be affectively and pragmatically critical to the continued and ever-transforming life of Catholicism in Senegal. This social continuity is neither passive nor monolithic within Catholicism, but is creative and uniquely situated within the place of Ngasobil, as well as intrinsically tied to the ongoing socio-religious work of the DHHM.

Outside of important liturgical feast days and celebratory fêtes, the everyday work of the DHHM goes on. In their movements through Ngasobil, the DHHM and their students continue to create and be shaped by this place and its textured, materially tangible history. The generations of Catholic history and activity in Ngasobil are accreted in the landscape. This resonates with Tim Ingold's conception of the taskscape in which temporality, landscape, and dwelling are tied together and the human and non-human elements considered together:

...the landscape is constituted as an enduring record of—and testimony to—the lives and works of past generations who have dwelt within it, and in so doing, have left there something of themselves. (1993, 152)

Ngasobil as a place coheres the history, the ruins and traces of the mission, and the repeated practices that have evolved there over time. As such it is created by human action but also in itself produces place and temporality generative and integral to the community—both historically and in the present. In this dissertation I contend that the relationship between the DHHM, the place of Ngasobil, and the broader social community can be thought of as cultivation, in which the rhythms and practice of DHHM care are materialized in the landscape, crafting the symbolic and material tempo of communal life. This dynamic understanding of the mission place and community-building there resonates with Tim Ingold’s (1993) work on taskscapes, in which ongoing rhythms of life are cultivated collaboratively rather than abstractly produced and passively reproduced, and are ever in transformation at the scale of the world as lived.

Drawing from the century and a half history in Ngasobil as a site of missionary activity, I argue that this form of cultivation by the DHHM is not a necessary or even common component of missionary practice (in fact it runs counter to most histories of missionization). Instead, it can be linked on the one hand to a particular local Senegalese history of nineteenth-century dislocation resulting in a newly established and highly diverse mission population (rather than a pre-existing settlement targeted by missionization), and, on the other hand, a shift in nineteenth-century Catholic missionizing practice towards African vocation. In the first half of the nineteenth century, a number of Catholic missionary orders adopted a focus not just on converting indigenous subjects of European empires, but on identifying and fostering vocation within those groups; colonial Senegal was one of the first contexts in which this took place. In Ngasobil, community-building was an intrinsic element of missionization because of the nature

of that settlement as a destination for refugees and migrants. These two historical facts combine to produce a unique story of cultivation in Ngasobil.

Vocation involves the pursuit of holy perfection, which seeks to instill (rather than be inscribed by) a way of being exclusively attuned to living in a faithful manner and—in the missionary context—assisting others in pursuing that faithful life as well. This is where cultivation comes in once again. Vocation involves cultivating qualities in the self and in the community served that allow that community to take on its own creative form—in this case as Senegalese Catholicism. In colonial (and contemporary) Senegal, the presence of vocation changes conversion from being a singular event into an ongoing process arising organically within and by the community, rather than exclusively structured by outside (i.e., Vatican) forces. Vocation allowed Catholicism to work for Senegambian converts, to be a part of their lived lives and not simply a new hegemonic structure that reproduced French (or any other) Catholicism.

In this dissertation, I sought to better understand missionization as an historical global process, but also as a specific lived experience in colonial Senegal. It is through the case study of the St. Joseph Mission in Ngasobil that the integral role of gender in Senegambian missionization becomes clear. The DHHM are a particular example of women's missionary vocation that came into existence as a result of the theoretical reframing of missionization at the highest levels of the Church, taken up by French missionary orders in Africa in the second half of the nineteenth century. Founded upon this vocational logic, the missionary project of St. Joseph's relied largely on a suite of gendered labors to generate the self-sustained community of Ngasobil, carried out collaboratively by African and French sisters. These gendered labors are not important simply because they were carried out by women and girls and should be recognized as contributions to the missionary apparatus. They are significant because their

perspective and arena of action pursued conversion and the entrenchment of a Catholic tradition in Senegal differently from the officially recognized masculine perspective. The DHHM and SSJC proselytization strategy centered on ministries of care that cultivated community cohesion, despite their being classed as mere support to the individualistic salvation pursued by Spiritan priests. In addition to shedding new light on colonial Catholic missionization in Africa, this dissertation insists upon not merely acknowledging how gender intersected with missionization, but seriously analyzing the role of women—both religious and lay—in that project.

As the preceding chapters have laid out, the women of St. Joseph's mobilized a specific suite of practices to cultivate conversion and vocation in their own strategy of evangelization which was critical to the production and entrenchment of a strong (albeit small) Catholic community in Senegal, oriented around the Mission of St. Joseph (and, not incidentally, the DHHM Mother House). Even though much of the work both West African and French missionary sisters carried out in the Senegambian mission has been historically framed as support rather than missionization (or evangelization) in its own right, the history found at St. Joseph's pushes back on such a simplification of feminine missionary endeavors. Part of this argument about women's role in missionization hinges on Catholic vocation as a concept that framed the lives of those women and their activities under the larger umbrella of the missionary project. Vocation opens up a new way to think through and between the structures of missionary authority as part of the *mission civilisatrice*, on the one hand, and the actual effects and experience of missionization as a project of community cultivation on the other. This dissertation does not deny the structural position of religious sisters (both African and French), but neither does it continue to elide the thick ties of social life these sisters cultivated and of which they were a part.

In tracking these thick and accreting ties to both place and people, this dissertation troubles some of the foundational dualisms (mind/body, religious/secular, sacred/profane) that traditionally define studies of missionization. What is significant here, however, is not simply the affirmation that dualisms are more theoretical than practical, but that vocation both reinforces and yet at the same time dissolves the religious and the secular in the context of missionization. Vocation makes the profane (e.g., cooking, laundering, nursing) sacred by folding those labors into the religious way of life. This understanding of vocation, then, highlights the ways in which conversion (understood as newfound belief in and adherence to a religious system and its practices) may target the spiritual plane of existence, but also relies upon and permeates the terrestrial mundane lives of converts. While the role of colonial economies and imported commodities in signaling conversion to Christianity has been studied elsewhere, the Ngasobil case study gets at how such profane aspects of life might be connected to an understanding (or making visible) of conversion without relying on a primarily political economy explanation of missionization.

Furthermore, this dissertation differentiates itself by focusing on the lived lives of Senegambian missionaries and converts and taking seriously their role in evangelization and community-building (regarded as integral to the success of that process). Rather than focusing on a narrative of Church hegemony versus indigenous resistance, this dissertation maintains that what is interesting about Ngasobil is what was actually happening on the ground, the negotiation and creation of community and of a way of doing Catholicism that produced by Senegalese people, including and specifically propelled by women's practices and strategies. This is where the concept of everyday lived lives articulates with that of vocation—the complex nuance of the lived experience of missionization (or any social process for that matter) exceeds narratives that

simply rely upon us/them, good/bad, or power/resistance confrontations. Such confrontational framings miss the realities of negotiation, compromise, (re-)creation that characterize daily life. This research emphasizes that it is more realistic to think wholistically about the Mission of St. Joseph, the people who lived there, the landscape they inhabited, the practices and beliefs they embodied, and the project of missionization in which they were all involved in one way or another. What is revealed is that the women and girls of St. Joseph's were creatively involved in missionization far beyond the mere material support of Spiritan priests and brothers. They engaged in evangelization through seemingly non-spiritual labors of care, which came to define Senegalese-Catholic womanhood and to foster the Catholic community in Senegal as a whole. Some of the practices and characteristics that became linked to Catholic womanhood and family life also mapped onto French ideals of 'civilizedness' and gender norms prevalent during the period in question (1858-1930). While this confluence links the missionary project to the French colonial *mission civilisatrice*, there is not an explicit or consistent partnership between colonization and missionization, rather one might observe that certain European practices were mapped onto Catholic values and virtues through mission ministries and education, as a result of which those largely domestic (and feminine) practices became linked to the habitus of Catholicism in Senegal. It is not the case that such practices were exclusively associated with Catholicism (it would be untenable to posit that quotidian household tasks were somehow indicative of being Catholic), but rather that in the context of converted life and vocation these practices were reframed as integral to the embodiment of Catholic woman/girlhood.

Related to this, it would seem that missionization and conversion as its end-goal were both intrinsically tied to community-building which stemmed out of daily, repeated, necessary, but socially meaningful and creative practices. That is, a self-reproducing population of converts

cannot exist solely based on individual conversions and attention only to the interior experience and truth of conversion and belief. The story of the Mission of St. Joseph highlights the ways in which the exteriority of conversion is not simply about making the sincerity of that conversion visible (to missionaries, to fellow converts, to fellow countrymen, to researchers who arrive on the scene decades and even centuries later)—although that is part of it. The exteriority of conversion—communal movement through a landscape marked by both ritual and everyday tasks, communal participation in Church activities, the construction of cohesive village settlements, material contributions to the upkeep of the mission settlement as a whole—served to establish an idea of what Catholicism in Senegal was, who Catholics were, and not only how they acted, but how they embodied their faith through both ritual and mundane practices. These embodied acts of converted and professed individuals, carried out with a rhythmic but not stagnant temporality, describe the lived experience of conversion and the ways in which conversion cultivated through vocation, and therefore made self-sustaining in a tradition of belief that went beyond individual salvation(s).

Chapter Nine

Epilogue



Figure 9.1. Sunset in Ngasobil on the Feast of St. Joseph, March 19, 2017.

At the very end of the feast, as the number of guests dwindled and the sun began to sink over the Atlantic, Sister Marie relaxed at the edge of the clump of convent girls dancing the last dances of the day. Right before we posed for the only personal photographs I have of us together, she danced for *just* a moment, to everyone's delight.

**Appendix:
Artifact Data Tables**

Local Ceramics (Rims Only)

UNIT	LEVEL	NUMBER	WEIGHT (g)	Rim Type	Lip Type	Diameter (cm)	General Type	Vessel Shape	Function
1	2	1	9	everted (1a-3)	simple	12	slightly restricted	everted jar	UID storage/cooking
1	2	1	4	simple open	thickened (slightly out-turned)	20	unrestricted	open bowl or plate	serving/cooking
1	2	1	3	simple closed 2	tapered out	UID	restricted	closed ovoid jar	UID storage/cooking
1	3	1	4	everted (1a-3)	v-shaped	20	open	open bowl	serving/cooking
2	2	1	5	everted (1b)	simple	16	slightly restricted	oblique jar	storage/cooking
2	2	1	3	simple closed 1	thickened (folded over)	10	restricted	globular jar	storage/cooking
2	6	1	6	simple closed 1	simple	10	restricted	globular jar	UID storage/cooking
4	1	1	6	simple closed 1	beveled	14	restricted	globular jar	storage
4	1	1	3	simple closed 2	simple	5	restricted	ovoid jar	UID storage/cooking
4	1	1	4	simple	simple	UID	UID	UID	UID
4	1	1	2	simple open	simple	UID	unrestricted	open bowl or plate	serving/cooking
4	1	1	1	simple closed 2	simple	UID	restricted	jar	UID storage/cooking
5	1	1	5	simple closed 1	(slightly) thickened	18	restricted	globular jar	storage/serving
5	2	1	1	simple vertical (oblique?)	beveled	UID	unrestricted	bowl, plate, or oblique jar	UID
5	2	1	6	simple closed	beveled	20	restricted	closed ovoid jar	storage/cooking
5	2	1	8	simple closed	flat	22	slightly restricted	oblique jar	storage
5	2	1	1	UID	UID	UID	UID	UID	UID
5	2	1	2	simple open	thickened	UID	open	open bowl or plate	serving/cooking
5	2	1	2	UID	rounded	UID	UID	UID	UID
5	2	1	1	simple vertical (oblique?)	rounded	28	slightly restricted	bowl, plate, or oblique jar	UID
5	2	1	7	simple open	flat	18	unrestricted	open bowl or plate	serving/cooking
5	2	1	3	simple closed 2	beveled	UID	restricted	closed ovoid jar	storage/cooking
5	2	1	4	simple closed 1	beveled	UID	restricted	closed ovoid jar	storage/cooking
5	2	1	1	UID	simple	UID	UID	UID	UID
5	2	1	2	simple open	rounded	UID	unrestricted	open bowl or plate	serving/cooking
5	2	1	8	simple vertical (oblique?)	simple	UID	slightly restricted	bowl, plate, or oblique jar	UID
5	3	1	2	simple open	flat	UID	unrestricted	open bowl or plate	serving/cooking
6	2	1	3	simple closed 2	simple	UID	restricted	closed ovoid jar	storage/cooking
6	4	1	2	simple open	simple	24	unrestricted	open bowl or plate	serving/cooking
6	4	1	4	simple closed 2	simple	8	slightly restricted	jar (cup?)	UID
7	1	1	4	simple vertical (oblique?)	simple	12	slightly restricted	open bowl or oblique jar	UID
7	1	1	3	UID	rounded	UID	UID	UID	UID

UNIT	LEVEL	NUMBER	WEIGHT (g)	Rim Type	Lip Type	Diameter (cm)	General Type	Vessel Shape	Function
8	3	1	6	simple closed 2	beveled	18	restricted	closed ovoid jar	storage/cooking
10	2	1	4	simple closed 2	simple	UID	restricted	closed ovoid jar	UID storage/cooking
12	1	1	44	simple closed 2	thickened (slightly out-turned)	26	restricted	closed ovoid jar	storage/cooking
13	1	1	13	simple closed 1	tapered	23	restricted	globular jar	UID storage/cooking
13	1	1	8	simple closed 2	simple	16	restricted	closed ovoid jar	storage
13	1	1	6	simple open	T-rim	9	unrestricted	open bowl or jar	storage/cooking
13	1	1	3	simple open	thickened	UID	unrestricted	open bowl or plate	storage/cooking
13	1	1	2	everted	simple	UID	unrestricted	jar or bowl	UID
13	1	1	1	simple closed 1	simple	UID	restricted	globular jar	storage
13	1	1	3	simple open	simple	11	unrestricted	open bowl or plate	storage/cooking
13	2	1	29	everted (1c)	simple	UID	restricted	globular jar	storage
13	2	1	36	everted (1c)	thickened (slightly out-turned)	13	restricted	globular jar	storage
13	2	1	10.5	simple closed 1	simple	22	restricted	globular jar	UID storage/cooking
13	2	1	31	simple closed 1	simple	24	restricted	globular jar	UID storage/cooking
13	2	1	7	simple closed 2	thickened	15	slightly restricted	vertical or ovoid jar	UID storage/cooking
13	2	2	14	short collared	(?) simple	16	slightly restricted	ovoid jar	UID storage/cooking
STP13	2	1	5	simple closed 2	flat	13	restricted	closed ovoid jar	storage/cooking
STP13	3	1	5	simple closed 2	tapered	14	restricted	ovoid jar	UID storage/cooking
STP20	1	1	3	simple closed 1	simple	UID	restricted	globular jar	UID storage/cooking
STP24	3	1	5	simple vertical (oblique?)	flat	6	open	UID jar or cup	UID
STP25	2	1	2	simple closed 1	flat	8	restricted	globular jar	UID storage/cooking
STP28	2	1	1	simple closed 2	simple	UID	slightly restricted	jar (cup?)	UID
STP28	2	1	1	simple vertical (oblique?)	simple	9	slightly restricted	bowl, plate, or oblique jar	UID
STP30	2	1	4	simple open	thickened (slightly out-turned)	UID	unrestricted	open bowl or plate	storage/cooking
STP31	1	1	3	simple open	thickened	UID	open	open bowl or plate	storage/cooking

Local Ceramic Rims 2/2

Typology and method of analysis following Richard 2007.

Imported Ceramics

UNIT	LEVEL	NUMBER	WEIGHT	WARE	FORM	VESSEL	Vessel TYPE	DECORATION	CHRONOLOGY
2	2	1	4	transition pearlware to whiteware	edge of base	plate	servicing	clear glaze with blue tint	1820-1850
3	1	1	20	earthenwar e	curved	container	utility	interior orange tin glaze	18th-19th c
7	1	1	30	earthenwar e	curved	container	utility	interior orange tin glaze	18th-19th c
7	1	1	4	whiteware	curved	bowl	service or table	blue on white transfer print	post-1820
8	1	1	6	whiteware	curved	bowl	service or table	blue on white transfer print, Neoclassical landscape; possible English import?	post-1820
9	4	1		transition pearlware to whiteware	faceted & curved	bowl	serviceware	clear glaze with blue tint	1820-1850
9	5	1	2	whiteware	curved	container	service or table	clear-glaze earthenware	post-1820

1/5

UNIT	LEVEL	NUMBER	WEIGHT	WARE	FORM	VESSEL	Vessel TYPE	DECORATION	CHRONOLOGY
12	1	1	>1 g	faience brune	curved	container	UID	bright white glaze on inside; rich brown-red vitreous glaze outside	18th-19th c
12	1	1	>1 g	whiteware	curved	container	UID	clear-glaze earthenware	post-1820
12	1	1	38	salt-glazed stoneware	curved	container	storage or utility	salt-glaze; clear-glaze on inside; brown and taupe textured glaze exterior (orange peel effect from salt); may have part of a design or letter on outside	UID
12	1	1	6	faience fine	rim	container	service	opaque creamy glaze	post-1750
12	1	2	12	faience fine	base	plate?	service	lead-glaze with yellow pooling; makers mark: " ...ROLINE GIEN FRANCE"	20th c
STP20	1	1	16	earthenwar e	curved	container	utility	interior orange with lead glaze	UID
STP25	1	1	18	earthenwar e	curved	container	UID	exterior maroon tin glaze... could be a refined salt-glaze?	UID
STP26	1	1	2	transition pearlware to white	curved	container	service or table	clear glaze with blue tint	1820-1850

Imported Ceramics 2/5

UNIT	LEVEL	NUMBER	WEIGHT	WARE	FORM	VESSEL	Vessel TYPE	DECORATION	CHRONOLOGY
STP34	1	1	2	stoneware	curved	UID	UID	off-white salt glaze	UID
STP34	1	1	6	earthenware	base	container	utility or storage	white glaze (feldspar?)	post-1850
STP36	1	1	>1 g	earthenware	base	bowl	service or table	opaque white glaze (feldspar?) with polychrome	post-1850
STP38	1	1	1	whiteware	curved	container	UID	clear-glaze earthenware	post-1850
STP38	1	1	16	stoneware	curved	crock	storage	forest green glaze; fields of diapering (crosshatch) and columns	19th c
STP40	1	1	6	earthenware	curved	container	UID	green exterior glaze; lead? Interior glaze;	UID
STP41	1	1	6	earthenware	base	bowl or plate	serviceware	yellow glaze	UID
STP41	3	1	6	whiteware	curved	container	service or table	clear-glaze earthenware	post-1850
STP42	1	1	1	earthenware	curved	UID	UID	bright yellow glaze & white (verso): Gien Caroline design?	20th c
STP42	1	1	2	whiteware	curved	UID	UID	clear glaze	post-1850

Imported Ceramics 3/5

UNIT	LEVEL	NUMBER	WEIGHT	WARE	FORM	VESSEL	Vessel TYPE	DECORATION	CHRONOLOGY
STP44	1	1	2	semi-porcelain stoneware	curved	container	tableware	clear glaze	post-1850
STP47	1	1	>1 g	whiteware	curved	UID	service or table	clear glazed earthenware; cracks in glaze;	post-1850
STP47	1	1	6	stoneware	curved	container	storage or utility	salt-glazed grey-blue and brown	UID
STP49	1	1	>1 g	whiteware	curved	UID	UID	clear glazed earthenware; cracks in glaze;	post-1850
STP49	1	1	2	earthenware	UID	UID	UID	molded figural decoration: lower half of a flower?	UID
STP49	1	1		semi-porcelain stoneware	base	bowl or dish	service	clear-glazed; has translucence	post-1850
STP49	3	1	>1 g	semi-porcelain stoneware	curved	container	service or table	clear-glazed; has translucence	post-1850
STP49	3	1	4	whiteware	rim	plate	tableware	clear-glazed; creamy; foliate transfer-print border in brown	post-1820

Imported Ceramics 4/5

UNIT	LEVEL	NUMBER	WEIGHT	WARE	FORM	VESSEL	Vessel TYPE	DECORATION	CHRONOLOGY
STP49	3	1	6	transition pearlware to white	curved	container	UID	clear-glaze with faint blue tint; molding lines/band	1820-1850
STP49	3	1	16	whiteware	curved	container	UID	clear-glaze earthenware	post-1850
STP50	1	1	2	transition pearlware to white	base	bowl or plate	tableware	clear-glaze; blueish pooling near base	1820-1850

Imported Ceramics 5/5

Beads

UNIT	LEVEL	NUMBER	MATERIAL	TYPE	STRUCTURE	SECONDARY MOD.	SHAPE	LENGTH	DIAMETER (mm)	LUSTER	DIAPHANITY	MUNSELL	COLOR	DECORATION	ORIGIN	CHRONOLOGY	COMMON NAME
1	2	1	Glass	Drawn	Compound		Short Tubular	0.55	0.81	Dull	Translucent	N9	Colorless translucent [frosty] White interior.				Galet blanc
1	2	1	Glass	Drawn	Compound		Annular	0.27	0.585	Dull	Translucent	N9	Colorless translucent exterior, [frosty] White interior		Venetian	17th - 19th c	Galet blanc
1	2	1	Glass	? Wound	Compound		Short Tubular	0.65	1.015	Dull	Translucent	N9	Colorless translucent exterior, [frosty] White interior		Venetian	17th - 19th c	Galet blanc
1	2	1	Glass	Drawn	Compound		Short Tubular	0.7	0.75	Dull	Opaque	7.5R 3/8	opaque Brick Red exterior, pale green (UID) translucent interior		Venetian	17th - 19th c	Galet rouge
1	2	2	Glass	wound	Simple	1 edges ground flat, other unfinished	Donut	.46-.505	.89-.90	Shiny	Transparent		Colorless		European	19th c	
1	2	1	Glass	wound	Simple	Edges ground flat	Donut	0.45	1.03	Shiny	Transparent		Colorless		European	19th c	
1	2	1	Glass	wound	Simple		Barrel to globular	0.93	1	Shiny	Transparent		Colorless		European	18th-19th c	
1	3	1	Glass	Drawn	Simple	Ground edges	Short Tubular	0.71	1	Dull	Opaque	N9	White		Venetian	17th - 19th c	Galet blanc
1	4	1	Glass	wound	Simple		Donut	0.5	1.21	Shiny	Transparent	2/10	Royal Blue		European	19th c	
2	2	1	Glass	wound	Compound		Short Tubular	0.8	1	Dull	Translucent	N9.5	Colorless translucent exterior, [frosty] White interior		Venetian		Galet blanc
2	2	1	Glass	Drawn	Compound		Short Tubular	0.54	0.89	Dull	Translucent	N9	Colorless translucent exterior, [frosty] White interior		Venetian	17th - early 19th c	Galet blanc
2	2	1	Glass	Drawn	Compound		Short barrel (barrel)	0.68	0.74	Shiny	Transparent	2.5R 4/10	Rose Wine; very thin opaque white interior		Venetian	19th c	Comaline d'aleppo
2	2	2	Glass	wound	Simple		Donut	.39-.49	.99-1.05	Shiny	Transparent		Colorless		European	19th c	
2	2	1	Glass	wound	Simple	Edges ground flat	Short Tubular	0.7	1.04	Dull	Transparent		Colorless		European	19th c	
2	4	1	Glass	Drawn	Composite		Short barrel	0.19	0.21	Dull	Opaque		core: 10.0B 6/3; exterior: N9; stripes: Mist Blue; White; Dusk Blue 5.0PB 4/8	Four blue vertical stripes applied on white body with translucent light blue core	European		
2	4	1	Clay	N/A	N/A		Short barrel	0.34	0.48	Dull	Opaque	2.5YR 2/2	Dark Rose Brown		African		
3	1	1	Glass	Drawn	Simple		Short Tubular, oblong cross- section	0.51	0.77	Shiny	Translucent	N9.5	Bright White		Venetian		Galet blanc
3	1	1	Glass	? Wound	Simple	Ground edges	Short barrel	0.89	1.21	Dull	Translucent	N9	White		Venetian		Galet blanc
3	1	1	Glass	Drawn	Compound		Tubular	0.36	0.4	Shiny	Translucent	N9	Colorless translucent exterior, [frosty] White interior		Venetian	17th - 19th c	Galet blanc

UNIT	LEVEL	NUMBER	MATERIAL	TYPE	STRUCTURE	SECONDARY MOD.	SHAPE	LENGTH	DIAMETER (mm)	LUSTER	DIAPHRANEITY	MUNSELL	COLOR	DECORATION	ORIGIN	CHRONOLOGY	COMMON NAME
3	1	2	Glass	Drawn	Complex		Short Cylindrical	.18-.20	.25-.30	Dull	Opaque	core: 5.OPB 6/3 ; exterior: N8; stripes: 5.OPB 5/7	Powder Blue; Oyster White; Copen Blue	Four blue vertical stripes applied on white body with translucent light blue core		19th c	
3	1	1	Glass	wound	Simple		Annular or short barrel	0.22	0.42	Dull	Opaque	7.5 R 3/8	Brick Red exterior				
3	1	1	Glass	7 Wound	Compound	Ground edges	Globular	0.34	0.42	Shiny	Translucent	5.0R 3/6	Old Wine exterior, white opaque interior		Venetian	19th c	Comaline d'aleppo
3	1	1	Glass	wound	Simple		Donut	0.44	1.17	Shiny	Transparent		Colorless		Venetian	19th c	
4	1	1	Glass	UID	Simple	Edges ground flat	Short Cylindrical	0.21	0.3	Dull	Translucent	N9.5	Bright White		Venetian	17th - 19th c	Galet blanc
4	1	1	Glass	Drawn	Simple		Short Tubular	0.33	0.46	Dull	Translucent	N9	White		Venetian	17th-19th c	Galet blanc
5	1	1	Glass	Drawn	Simple		Short barrel	0.54	1.01	Dull	Translucent	N9	White		European		
5	1	1	Glass	Drawn	Simple		Short Tubular	0.67	0.82	Dull	Translucent	N9	White		European	17th - early 19th c	Galet blanc
5	2	1	Glass	Drawn	Composite		Short Tubular	0.25	0.34	Dull	Opaque	5.OPB 4/8	White; Dusk Blue	stripes on white opaque exterior over pale blue translucent interior			
5	2	1	Glass	Drawn	Compound	Ground edges	Short barrel	0.305	0.47	Dull	Opaque	7.5R 3/10; 10.0Y 7/5	opaque Dark Red Lacquer exterior, translucent Citron interior		Venetian	17th - early 19th c	Galet rouge
5	2	2	Glass	wound	Simple	Edges ground flat	Donut	0.34	1.255	Shiny	Transparent	7.5PB 2/10	Royal Blue		Venetian	19th c	
5	2	1	Glass	UID	Simple	Ground edges	Short barrel	0.225	0.365	Shiny	Translucent	5.0B 5/7	Bright Blue				
5	2	1	Glass	Drawn	Compound	Ground edges	Annular or short barrel	0.21	0.4	Shiny	Opaque?	2.5R 4/10; N9	translucent Rose Wine exterior; White opaque interior		Venetian	19th c	Comaline d'aleppo
6	2	1	Glass	wound	Compound		Tubular	0.85	0.94	Dull	Opaque	10.0R 3/8	opaque Barn Red exterior, translucent Olive Yellow interior with red swirls		Venetian	17th - early 19th c	Galet rouge
6	2	1	Glass	wound	Simple		Donut	0.53	1.3	Shiny	Transparent		Colorless		Venetian	19th c	
7	1	2	Glass	Drawn	Complex	Ground edges	Short Cylindrical	.67-.77	.7-.87	Shiny	Opaque	N9	White		Venetian	17th - early 19th c	Galet blanc
7	1	1	Glass	Drawn	Simple		Short Cylindrical	0.7	0.95	Dull	Opaque	N9	White		Venetian	17th - early 19th c	Galet blanc
7	1	1	Glass	Drawn	Complex	Ground edges	Short Cylindrical	0.67	0.79	Dull	Opaque	7.5R 3/8	opaque Brick Red exterior, red (UID) translucent interior				
7	1	1	Glass	wound	Simple	Edges ground flat	Donut	0.4	1.22	Dull	Transparent	7.5PB 2/10	Royal Blue			19th c	
8	1	1	Glass	wound	Simple	Ground edges	oblong cross-section	0.6	0.95	Dull	Translucent	N9	(frosty) white		European		
8	1	1	Glass	wound	Simple	Ground edges	Short barrel	1	1.45	Dull	Transparent		Colorless		European	18th-19th c	

Beads 2/4

UNIT	LEVEL	NUMBER	MATERIAL	TYPE	STRUCTURE	SECONDARY MOD.	SHAPE	LENGTH	DIAMETER (mm)	LUSTER	DIAPHANEITY	MUNSELL	COLOR	DECORATION	ORIGIN	CHRONOLOGY	COMMON NAME
8	1	1	Glass	wound	Simple	Ground edges	Short barrel	1	1.45	Dull	Transparent		Colorless		European	18th-19th c	
9	1	1	Glass	pressed			Globular faceted, hexagonal cross-section	0.54	0.61	Shiny	Nearly opaque	10.0R	Redwood; Barn Red; Rust Tan; Coral	Marbled	Probably Bohemian		
9	1	1	Glass	Drawn	Simple		Short Cylindrical	0.34	0.4	Shiny	Transparent		Colorless				
9	3	1	Glass	Mold-made	Simple	Ground edges	Rectilinear; regular faceted (4); square cross-section	0.8	0.64	Dull	Opaque	10.0Y	Lemon Yellow		European	19th to 20th c	
9	4	1	Glass	wound	Simple		Globular	0.48	0.575	Shiny	Translucent	7.5R 3/12	Tomato Red				
9	4	1	Glass	UID	Simple		Short Tubular	0.15	0.28	Shiny	Transparent	7.5GY	Leaf Green				
9	5	1	Glass	Drawn	Simple	Ground edges	Short Tubular	0.29	0.23	Shiny	Opaque	1.25YR	Bright Orange				
11	1	1	Glass	Drawn	Compound	Ground edges	Short Tubular	0.62	0.71	Dull	Opaque	7.5R 2/8	Brick red; pale green translucent interior		Venetian	17th - early 19th c	Galet rouge
11	1	1	Glass	Drawn	Simple		Short Tubular	0.57	0.62	Dull	Opaque		White		Venetian	17th - early 19th c	Galet blanc
12	1	1	Glass	Drawn	Simple	Ground edges	Annular	0.13	0.21	Dull	Translucent	10.0R	Bright Coral Red		European		
12	2	1	Glass	Presser	Simple		Globular	0.39	0.45	Shiny	Opaque	N9	White				
12	2	1	Glass	wound	Simple		Donut	0.35	1	Shiny	Transparent	5.0PB 4/8	Dusk Blue		European	19th c	
12	5	1	Glass	wound	Simple		Donut	0.325	1.02	Shiny	Transparent	7.5PB	Royal Blue		European	19th c	
12	5	1	Glass	wound	Simple		Donut	0.35	1.07	Shiny	Transparent	6.25PB	Ultramarine		European	19th c	
13	1	1	Glass	Drawn	Simple		Short Tubular	0.61	0.855	Dull	Translucent	N9.5	Bright White		Venetian	17th - early 19th c	Galet blanc
13	1	1	Glass	Mold-made	Simple		Cylindrical, but one side flattened	1.07	0.82	Shiny	Opaque	N9	White		Bohemian?		
13	1	1	Glass	Drawn	Simple		Short Tubular	0.41	0.55	Dull	Translucent	N9	White		Venetian	17th - 19th c	Galet blanc
13	1	1	Glass	Drawn	Compound		Short Tubular	0.42	0.81	Dull	Translucent	N9	Colorless translucent exterior, (frosty) white interior		Venetian	17th - early 19th c	Galet blanc
13	1	1	Glass	Drawn	Composite		Short barrel	0.3	0.32	Dull	Opaque	10.0B	Blue vertical stripes applied on white body with transparent light blue core		European	19th c	
13	1	1	Glass	Drawn	Complex		Short Cylindrical	0.68	0.73	Dull	Opaque	7.5R 3/8	Red; UID transparent interior		Venetian		
13	1	1	Glass	wound	Simple		Donut	0.37	0.87	Shiny	Transparent		Colorless		European	19th c	
13	2	1	Glass	Drawn	Simple		Short Tubular	0.57	0.77	Dull	Opaque	N9	White		Venetian	17th - early 19th c	Galet blanc
13	2	1	Glass	wound	Simple		Donut	0.45	1.2	Shiny	Transparent	7.5PB	Royal Blue		European	19th c	

Beads 3/4

UNIT	LEVEL	NUMBER	MATERIAL	TYPE	STRUCTURE	SECONDARY MOD.	SHAPE	LENGTH	DIAMETER (mm)	LUSTER	DIAPHANEITY	MUNSELL	COLOR	DECORATION	ORIGIN	CHRONOLOGY	COMMON NAME
13	4	1	Glass	Drawn	Simple	Ground edges	Tubular, oblong cross-section	0.6	0.82	Shiny	Transparent	7.5Y 8/6 - 7.5Y 9/16	Light Lemon Yellow / Canary Yellow				
STP 16	1	1	Glass	Drawn	Simple		Short Cylindrical	0.68	0.89	Dull	Translucent	N9	[frosty] White		Venetian	17th - early 19th c	Galet blanc
STP 16	2	1	Glass	wound	Simple		Donut	0.68	1	Dull	Transparent		Colorless		Venetian	18-19th c	
STP 17	1	1	Glass	wound	Compound		Short barrel	0.33	0.43	Dull	Translucent	2.5R 3/10; N9.5	translucent Ruby exterior; Bright White interior		Venetian	19th c	Cornaline d'aleppo
STP 17	1	1	Glass	wound	Compound		Short Tubular	0.19	0.29	Dull	Translucent	10.0RP 4/16; N9.5	translucent Rose Wine; opaque Bright White interior		Venetian	19th c	Cornaline d'aleppo
STP 18	1	1	Glass	Drawn	Simple		Short Cylindrical, oblong cross-section	0.57	1.02	Dull	Translucent	N9	[frosty] White				
STP 18	2	3	Glass	wound	Simple		Donut	.36-.42	1.11	Shiny	Transparent		Colorless		Venetian	18th-19th c	
STP 20	1	1	Glass	Drawn	Simple	Edges ground flat	Short Cylindrical	0.275	0.42	Shiny	Transparent	N9	White				
STP 20	1	1	Glass	UID	Simple	Edges ground flat	UID: Short Cylindrical or	0.38	0.93	Dull	Translucent	N9	[frosty] White				
STP 25	1	1	Glass	Drawn	Simple	Ground edges	Short Cylindrical	0.83	0.99	Dull	Translucent		Colorless		Venetian		
STP 25	surface 1	1	Glass	UID	Simple	Ground edges	Short Cylindrical	0.55	0.665	Shiny	Opaque	N9	White		European		
STP 26	1	1	Glass	Drawn	Simple	Ground edges	Donut	0.33	0.96	Shiny	Transparent		Colorless		Venetian	18-19th c	
STP 29	1	1	Glass	Drawn	Simple		Tubular	0.68	0.785	Dull	Translucent	N9	[frosty] White				
STP 29	1	1	Glass	Drawn	Simple	Ground edges	Tubular	0.79	0.725	Dull	Opaque	10.0R 3/8	Barn Red	stripes on white opaque exterior over pale blue translucent interior		17th - 19th c	
STP 30	1	1	Glass	Drawn	Composite	Ground edges	Tubular	0.3	0.38	Dull	Opaque	5.0PB 6/3; exterior: N9; stripes: 5.0PB 4/8	Powder Blue; White; Dusky Blue		European	19th c	
STP 32	2	1	Glass	UID	Simple		Short barrel	0.3	0.41	Dull	Opaque	N9.5	Bright White				
STP 40	1	1	Glass	Drawn	Compound		Tubular	0.57	0.43	Shiny	Translucent	2.5R 3/10	Ruby exterior; slightly yellow (UID) transparent interior		Venetian	19th c	Cornaline d'aleppo
STP 40	1	1	Glass	Drawn	Compound	Ground edges	Short Tubular	0.46	0.54	Dull	Opaque	10.0R 3/8	opaque Barn Red exterior; pale green (UID) translucent interior		Venetian		Galet rouge
STP 42	1	1	Glass	wound	Compound		Short barrel?	0.25	0.37	Shiny	Opaque	7.5PB 4/11	opaque Dark Lacquer Red exterior; UID translucent interior		Venetian		
STP 42	1	1	Glass	Drawn	Simple	Ground edges	Short barrel	0.3	0.4	Shiny	Opaque	7.5PB 4/11	Dutch Blue		European		
STP 44	1	1	Glass	Drawn	Complex	Ground edges	Globular	0.2	0.3	Shiny	Opaque	7.5PB 2/10	Blue vertical stripes on white body		Venetian	19th c	
STP 47	1	1	Glass	Drawn	Simple	Edges ground smooth	Short barrel	0.12	0.19	Shiny	Translucent	UID	White; Royal Blue		Venetian		
STP 48	1	1	Glass	Drawn	Simple	Ground edges	Short Tubular	0.42	0.64	Dull	Translucent	2.5Y 7/8	Light Gold				

Typology and method of analysis following DeCorse et al. 2003.

Beads 4/4

Glass (Containers & Flat)

UNIT	LEVEL	NUMBER	WEIGHT	COLOR	FORM	VESSEL	TYPE OF WARE	MNI	CHRONOLOGY
1	2	14	208	black (v. dark olive)	curved	bottle	storage	1	1845-1870
1	2	2	26	medium olive	curved	bottle	storage	1	pre-1900
1	2	1	>1 g	clear	flat	pane glass	n/a	1	UID
1	2	10	40	olive	curved	bottle	storage	1	UID
1	2	4	12	olive	curved	bottle	storage	1	UID
1	2	8	104	French olive	curved	bottle	storage	3	UID
1	3	1	6	olive	curved	bottle	storage	1	UID
1	3	1	4	olive	curved	bottle	storage	1	UID
1	3	1	16	French olive	curved	bottle	storage	1	UID
2	2	1	2	French olive	curved	bottle	storage	1	UID
3	1	3	>1 g	olive	curved	bottle	storage	1	post-1750
3	1	5	20	French olive	curved	bottle	storage	1	UID
3	1	1	>1 g	olive	curved	bottle	storage	1	UID
3	1	1	>1 g	clear	curved	UID container	storage	1	UID
3	1	15	16	olive	curved	bottle	storage	1	UID
4	1	4	6	black (v. dark olive)	curved	bottle	storage	1	19th c
4	1	5	6	French olive	curved	bottle	storage	1	UID
4	1	2	>1 g	clear	flat	pane glass	n/a	1	UID
4	1	1	>1 g	clear	curved	bottle	storage	1	UID
4	1	1	>1 g	clear	curved	bottle	storage	1	UID
4	1	18	56	olive	curved	bottle	storage	1	UID
4	2	1	2	olive	curved	bottle	storage	1	UID
5	1	4	4	lavender	curved	glass	tableware	1	1870-1920
5	1	1	20	French olive	base	bottle	storage	1	19th c
5	1	2	2	pastel green	curved	bottle	storage	1	post-1940
5	1	1	4	French olive	curved	bottle	storage	1	UID
5	1	1	>1 g	clear	curved	UID	UID	1	UID

UNIT	LEVEL	NUMBER	WEIGHT	COLOR	FORM	VESSEL	TYPE OF WARE	MNI	CHRONOLOGY
5	1	1	>1 g	medium olive	curved	bottle	storage	1	UID
5	2	8	4	lavender	curved	glass	tableware	1	1870-1920
5	2	1	2	black (v. dark olive)	curved	bottle	storage	1	19th c
5	2	1	40	medium olive	base	bottle	storage	1	19th c
5	2	4	4	olive	curved	bottle	storage	1	UID
5	2	1	4	olive	curved	bottle	storage	1	UID
5	2	2	8	olive	curved	bottle	storage	1	UID
5	2	1	2	French olive	curved	bottle	storage	1	UID
5	2	1	>1 g	clear	flat	pane glass	n/a	1	UID
5	2	1	>1 g	olive	curved	bottle	storage	1	UID
5	2	1	>1 g	French olive	curved	bottle	storage	1	UID
5	2	3	2	clear	curved	bottle	storage	1	UID
5	3	1	2	lavender	curved	glass?	tableware	1	1870-1920
5	3	2	12	olive	curved	bottle	storage	1	UID
6	2	1	>1 g	olive	curved	bottle	storage	1	UID
7	1	2	12	black (v. dark olive)	curved	bottle	storage	2	1865-1920
7	1	1	1	clear	curved	UID	UID	1	UID
7	1	5	24	olive	curved	bottle	storage	1	UID
7	1	1 (2)	4	clear	flat	pane glass	n/a	1	UID
7	1	2	4	medium olive	curved	bottle	storage	1	UID
7	1	4	28	French olive	curved	bottle	storage	1	UID
7	1	3	10	olive	curved	bottle	storage	1	UID
7	1	3	2	clear	curved	UID	UID	1	UID
7	1	9	16	olive	curved	bottle	storage	1	UID
7	1	1 (2)	8	medium olive	curved	bottle	storage	1	UID
7	2	1	2	medium olive	curved	bottle	storage	1	UID

Glass 2/15

UNIT	LEVEL	NUMBER	WEIGHT	COLOR	FORM	VESSEL	TYPE OF WARE	MNI	CHRONOLOGY
8	1	4	40	black (v. dark olive)	curved	bottle	storage	1	1830-1920
8	1	5	8	olive	curved	bottle	storage	1	19th c
8	1	1	2	olive	curved	bottle	storage	1	UID
8	1	4	4	clear	flat	pane glass	n/a	1	UID
8	1	3	2	clear	curved	UID	UID	1	UID
8	1	1	<1 g	olive	curved	bottle	storage	1	UID
8	1	1	3	olive	curved	bottle	storage	1	UID
8	2	1	10	olive	curved	bottle	storage	1	pre-1925
9	1	1	6	clear	curved	jar	storage	1	post-1868
9	1	4	2	lavender	square	bottle	medicinal or cosmetic	1	1870-1920
9	1	1	6	deep 7up	curved	bottle	storage	1	20th-c (possible late 19th)
9	1	1	>1 g	white	curved	container	UID	1	UID
9	1	1	>1 g	amber	curved	UID	UID	1	UID
9	1	25	10	clear	curved	container	UID	1	UID
9	1	10	4	clear	curved	container	UID	1	UID
9	1	2	4	deep greenish aqua	curved	bottle	storage	1	UID
9	1	5	6	pale blue green	curved	bottle	storage	1	UID
9	1	3	4	pale blue green	curved	bottle	storage	1	UID
9	1	1	8	olive	curved	bottle	storage	1	UID
9	1	1	2	olive	curved	bottle	storage	1	UID
9	1	2	1	olive	curved	bottle	storage	1	UID
9	1	2	>1 g	olive	curved	bottle	storage	1	UID
9	1	1	>1 g	aqua	curved	bottle	storage	1	UID
9	1	4	14	amber	base	bottle	storage	1	UID
9	1	1	2	olive	curved	bottle	storage	1	UID
9	2	1	2	pink	curved	UID	UID	1	1870-1940
9	2	3	6	clear	curved	container	storage	1	UID

Glass 3/15

UNIT	LEVEL	NUMBER	WEIGHT	COLOR	FORM	VESSEL	TYPE OF WARE	MNI	CHRONOLOGY
8	1	4	40	black (v. dark olive)	curved	bottle	storage	1	1830-1920
8	1	5	8	olive	curved	bottle	storage	1	19th c
8	1	1	2	olive	curved	bottle	storage	1	UID
8	1	4	4	clear	flat	pane glass	n/a	1	UID
8	1	3	2	clear	curved	UID	UID	1	UID
8	1	1	<1 g	olive	curved	bottle	storage	1	UID
8	1	1	3	olive	curved	bottle	storage	1	UID
8	2	1	10	olive	curved	bottle	storage	1	pre-1925
9	1	1	6	clear	curved	jar	storage	1	post-1868
9	1	4	2	lavender	square	bottle	medicinal or cosmetic	1	1870-1920
9	1	1	6	deep 7up	curved	bottle	storage	1	20th-c (possible late 19th)
9	1	1	>1 g	white	curved	container	UID	1	UID
9	1	1	>1 g	amber	curved	UID	UID	1	UID
9	1	25	10	clear	curved	container	UID	1	UID
9	1	10	4	clear	curved	container	UID	1	UID
9	1	2	4	deep greenish aqua	curved	bottle	storage	1	UID
9	1	5	6	pale blue green	curved	bottle	storage	1	UID
9	1	3	4	pale blue green	curved	bottle	storage	1	UID
9	1	1	8	olive	curved	bottle	storage	1	UID
9	1	1	2	olive	curved	bottle	storage	1	UID
9	1	2	1	olive	curved	bottle	storage	1	UID
9	1	2	>1 g	olive	curved	bottle	storage	1	UID
9	1	1	>1 g	aqua	curved	bottle	storage	1	UID
9	1	4	14	amber	base	bottle	storage	1	UID
9	1	1	2	olive	curved	bottle	storage	1	UID
9	2	1	2	pink	curved	UID	UID	1	1870-1940
9	2	3	6	clear	curved	container	storage	1	UID

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UNIT	LEVEL	NUMBER	WEIGHT	COLOR	FORM	VESSEL	TYPE OF WARE	MNI	CHRONOLOGY
9	4	1	42	clear	curved	bottle	storage	1	19th c or later
9	4	3	2	pale blue green	curved	container	UID	1	19th c or later
9	4	1	>1 g	pale blue green	curved	container	UID	1	19th c or later
9	4	4	4	clear	base	container	UID	1	19th c or later
9	4	1	1	golden amber	curved	bottle	storage	1	UID
9	4	1	4	medium olive	square	bottle	storage	1	UID
9	4	2	8	olive	square	bottle	storage	1	UID
9	4	64	12	clear	curved	glass	tableware	1	UID
9	5	1	>1 g	clear	curved	UID	UID	1	UID
9	6	1	>1 g	clear	curved	UID	UID	1	UID
10	1	2	18	clear	base	bottle	storage	1	1891-1900
10	1	1	>1 g	clear	curved	container	tableware	1	1870-1920
10	1	1	4	7up green	curved	bottle	storage	1	20th-c (possible late 19th)
10	1	2	6	olive	square	bottle	storage	1	pre-1925
10	1	1	2	olive	curved	bottle	storage	1	UID
10	1	2	>1 g	clear	curved	UID	UID	1	UID
10	1	1	2	medium olive	square	bottle	storage	1	UID
10	1	1	6	lime 7up	curved	bottle	storage	1	UID
10	1	2	>1 g	clear	curved	container	UID	1	UID
10	2	1	>1 g	clear	curved	UID	UID	1	UID
11	1	1 (2)	8	olive	square	bottle	storage	1	post-1625
11	1	1	2	amber	curved	bottle	storage	1	post-1800
11	1	9 (10)	4	lavender	neck	bottle	medicinal or cosmetic	1	1870-1920
11	1	1	>1 g	clear	curved	ampoule	medicinal	1	post-1890
11	1	1	>1 g	deep 7up	curved	bottle	storage	1	20th-c (possible late 19th)
11	1	2	>1 g	olive	curved	bottle	storage	1	UID
11	1	1	2	clear	curved	container	UID	1	UID

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UNIT	LEVEL	NUMBER	WEIGHT	COLOR	FORM	VESSEL	TYPE OF WARE	MNI	CHRONOLOGY
11	1	1	>1 g	clear	curved	UID	UID	1	UID
11	1	1	>1 g	olive	curved	bottle	storage	1	UID
11	1	1	1> g	olive	curved	bottle	storage	1	UID
11	1	2	4	olive	curved	bottle	storage	1	UID
11	1	8	6	clear	curved	container	UID	1	UID
11	1	2	2	sapphire	curved	container	UID	1	UID
11	1	1	>1 g	cobalt	curved	container	UID	1	UID
11	1	1	4	French olive	curved	bottle	storage	1	UID
11	2	2	>1 g	clear	curved	container	UID	1	UID
11	2	1	>1 g	clear	curved	UID	UID	1	UID
11	2	1	2	olive	curved	bottle	storage	1	UID
11	2	3	2	clear	flat	pane glass	n/a	1	UID
11	3	1	>1 g	opaque baby blue	curved	container	UID	1	1800-1940
11	3	2	>1 g	clear	square	bottle	medicinal or cosmetic	1	1870-1920
11	3	1	>1 g	sapphire	curved	container	UID	1	UID
11	3	1	>1 g	olive	curved	bottle	storage	1	UID
11	3	1	1	olive	curved	bottle	storage	1	UID
11	3	1	>1 g	clear	curved	container	UID	1	UID
11	3	1	2	clear	curved	container	UID	1	UID
11	3	1	6	olive	curved	bottle	storage	1	UID
12	1	2	2	lavender	curved	container	UID	1	1870-1920
12	1	1	2	clear	base	container	UID	1	1882-1950
12	1	2	>1 g	yellow	neck	ampoule	medicinal	1	post-1890
12	1	1	4	clear	base	bottle	storage	1	1891-1930
12	1	21	20	clear	rim	jar?	storage	1	post-1920
12	1	1	22	olive	base	bottle	storage	1	19th c

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UNIT	LEVEL	NUMBER	WEIGHT	COLOR	FORM	VESSEL	TYPE OF WARE	MNI	CHRONOLOGY
12	1	3	20	7up green	shoulder	bottle	storage	1	20th-c (possible late 19th)
12	1	1	1	deep 7up	curved	bottle	storage	1	20th-c (possible late 19th)
12	1	9	7	7up green	curved	bottle	storage	1	20th-c (possible late 19th)
12	1	1	>1 g	pale blue green	curved	container	storage	1	UID
12	1	1	2	amber	curved	container	UID	1	UID
12	1	1	4	pale blue green	curved	bottle	storage	1	UID
12	1	1	2	olive	curved	bottle	storage	1	UID
12	1	12	12	citron	curved	bottle	storage	1	UID
12	1	2	4	clear	base + neck	jar?	storage	1	UID
12	1	1	>1 g	clear	curved	container	storage	1	UID
12	1	1	>1 g	clear	base	bottle	storage	1	UID
12	1	1	10	clear	base	bottle	storage	1	UID
12	1	1	2	olive	curved	bottle	storage	1	UID
12	1	1	>1 g	olive	curved	bottle	storage	1	UID
12	1	4	2	light green	curved	bottle	storage	1	UID
12	1	3	2	clear	curved	container	UID	1	UID
12	1	3	2	clear	curved	bottle	storage	1	UID
12	1	4	>1 g	clear	curved	container	UID	1	UID
12	2	1	4	black (v. dark olive)	curved	bottle	storage	1	19th c
12	2	1	>1 g	pale blue green	curved	container	storage	1	UID
12	2	1	>1 g	black (v. dark olive)	round	n/a	n/a	1	UID
12	2	2	>1 g	clear	curved	container	UID	1	UID
12	2	1	8	pale blue green	curved	bottle	storage	1	UID
12	3	2	2	clear	curved	container	UID	1	UID
12	6	1	6	olive	curved	bottle	storage	1	UID
13	1	1	6	black (v. dark olive)	curved	bottle	storage	1	19th c
13	1	4	6	old amber'	curved	bottle	storage	1	19th c

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UNIT	LEVEL	NUMBER	WEIGHT	COLOR	FORM	VESSEL	TYPE OF WARE	MNI	CHRONOLOGY
13	1	3	4	medium olive	curved	bottle	storage	1	UID
13	1	1	2	medium olive	curved	bottle	storage	1	UID
13	1	2	2	olive	curved	bottle	storage	1	UID
13	1	2	2	olive	curved	bottle	storage	1	UID
13	1	1	>1 g	pale blue green	curved	container	UID	1	UID
13	1	1	1	olive	curved	bottle	storage	1	UID
13	1	4	>1 g	clear	curved	container	UID	1	UID
13	1	1	>1 g	French olive	curved	bottle	storage	1	UID
13	2	4	80	French olive	finish	bottle	storage	1	pre-1880
13	2	1	1	olive	curved	bottle	storage	1	UID
13	2	2	1	olive	curved	bottle	storage	1	UID
13	2	2	>1 g	clear	curved	container	UID	1	UID
C-1	S	1	10	lavender	finish	bottle	medicinal or cosmetic	1	1870-1920
C-1	S	1	12	lavender	base	bottle	storage	1	1870-1920
C-1	S	1	18	lavender	base	container	UID	1	1870-1920
C-1	S	1	80	olive	base	bottle	storage	1	1905-1980
C-1	S	1	>1 g	deep blue green	curved	container	UID	1	19th or early 20th c
C-1	S	1	12	black (v. dark olive)	finish	bottle	storage	1	19th c
STP13	S + 1	1	>1 g	lavender	curved	bottle	storage	1	1870-1920
STP13	S + 1	1	14	olive	curved	bottle	storage	1	UID
STP13	S + 1	1	>1 g	clear	curved	bottle	storage	1	UID
STP14	1	3	2	olive	curved	UID	UID	1	UID
STP14	1	2	4	clear	flat	pane glass	n/a	1	UID
STP15	1	1	>1 g	7up green	curved	UID	UID	1	UID
STP16	1	1	4	olive	curved	bottle	storage	1	UID

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UNIT	LEVEL	NUMBER	WEIGHT	COLOR	FORM	VESSEL	TYPE OF WARE	MNI	CHRONOLOGY
STP17	1	1	>1 g	French olive	curved	bottle	storage	1	UID
STP18	1	2	8	olive	curved	bottle	storage	1	UID
STP19	1	1	8	pale blue green	finish	bottle	storage	1	1880-1925
STP19	1	1	6	olive	curved	bottle	storage	1	UID
STP20	1	1	12	black (v. dark olive)	push-up	bottle	storage	1	1830-1870
STP20	1	4	16	olive	push-up	bottle	storage	1	UID
STP20	1	1	>1 g	olive	curved	bottle	storage	1	UID
STP20	2	1	>1 g	olive	curved	bottle	storage	1	UID
STP22	1	1	6	olive	curved	bottle	storage	1	UID
STP22	1	2	6	medium olive	curved	bottle	storage	1	UID
STP22	2	2	10	medium olive	curved	bottle	storage	1	UID
STP24	1	1	4	olive	curved	bottle	storage	1	UID
STP24	2	2	>1 g	olive	curved	bottle	storage	1	UID
STP24	2	1	>1 g	medium olive	curved	bottle	storage	1	UID
STP25	1	1	>1 g	red	UID	UID	UID	1	1840-1880
STP25	1	1	>1 g	clear	flat	pane glass	n/a	1	UID
STP25	1	1	>1 g	clear	curved	container	storage	1	UID
STP26	1	1	4	black (v. dark olive)	curved	bottle	storage	1	19th c
STP26	1	2	>1 g	olive	curved	bottle	storage	1	UID
STP26	2	1	>1 g	olive	curved	bottle	storage	1	UID
STP28	1	3	14	olive	curved	bottle	storage	1	UID
STP28	1	1	10	olive	curved	bottle	storage	1	UID
STP28	1	1	>1 g	medium olive	curved	bottle	storage	1	UID
STP29	1	1	>1 g	medium olive	curved	bottle	storage	1	UID
STP29	1	1	>1 g	clear	curved	container	UID	1	UID

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UNIT	LEVEL	NUMBER	WEIGHT	COLOR	FORM	VESSEL	TYPE OF WARE	MNI	CHRONOLOGY
STP29	1	2	4	olive	curved	bottle	storage	1	UID
STP29	1	1	2	olive	curved	bottle	storage	1	UID
STP29	1	2	4	olive	neck	bottle	storage	1	UID
STP30	1	1	2	clear	curved	bottle	storage	1	UID
STP30	1	1	1	olive	curved	bottle	storage	1	UID
STP30	1	1	1	brown	curved	bottle	storage	1	UID
STP31	1	3	>1 g	clear	curved	UID	UID	1	UID
STP31	1	1	1	olive	curved	bottle	storage	1	UID
STP31	1	8	20	French olive	curved	bottle	storage	1	UID
STP31	1	1	1	olive	curved	bottle	storage	1	UID
STP31	1	1	2	brown	curved	bottle	storage	1	UID
STP31	2	1	8	olive	push-up	bottle	storage	1	UID
STP31	2	1	>1 g	clear	curved	container	UID	1	UID
STP34	1	1	>1 g	yellow	curved	ampoule	medicinal	1	1890-
STP34	1	1	8	deep 7up	base	bottle	storage	1	20th-c (possible late 19th)
STP34	1	1	>1 g	deep blue green	curved	UID	UID	1	likely 19th or early 20th c
STP34	1	1	2	olive	finish	bottle	storage	1	UID
STP34	1	1	>1 g	olive	curved	bottle	storage	1	UID
STP34	1	1	>1 g	brown	curved	container?	UID	1	UID
STP34	1	3	1	clear	curved	UID	UID	1	UID
STP34	1	1	>1 g	clear	curved	UID	UID	1	UID
STP34	1	1	>1 g	clear	curved	UID	UID	1	UID
STP35	1	1	>1 g	clear	curved	container	UID	1	UID
STP36	1	2	2	clear	curved	bottle	storage	1	19th c or later
STP36	1	4	10	olive	curved	bottle	storage	1	UID
STP36	1	2	4	white	base	plate	tableware	1	UID
STP36	1	1	2	olive	curved	bottle	storage	1	UID

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UNIT	LEVEL	NUMBER	WEIGHT	COLOR	FORM	VESSEL	TYPE OF WARE	MNI	CHRONOLOGY
STP36	1	1	2	medium olive	square	bottle	storage	1	UID
STP36	1	3	4	olive	curved	bottle	storage	1	UID
STP36	1	9	16	clear	rim & base	jar	storage	1	UID
STP36	1 (2??)	1	>1 g	7up green	curved	UID	UID	1	UID
STP37	1	1	>1 g	straw	curved	UID	UID	1	1910-1950
STP37	1	1	>1 g	clear	curved	UID	UID	1	UID
STP37	1	3	>1 g	clear	curved	UID	UID	1	UID
STP37	1	6	18	clear	base	container	storage	1	UID
STP37	1	4	6	clear	rim	container	tableware	1	UID
STP38	1	1	22	clear	rim	bottle or jar	storage	1	post-1890
STP38	1	2	4	pale blue green	curved	bottle	storage	1	19th-c or later
STP38	1	1	>1 g	olive	curved	bottle	storage	1	UID
STP38	1	1	>1 g	amber	curved	container	UID	1	UID
STP38	1	1	1	clear	curved	container	UID	1	UID
STP38	1	1	>1 g	clear	curved	container	UID	1	UID
STP38	1	2	2	clear	flat	pane glass	n/a	1	UID
STP38	1	1	>1 g	clear	flat	pane glass	n/a	1	UID
STP38	1	1	>1 g	clear	flat	pane glass	n/a	1	UID
STP38	1	2	4	deep greenish aqua	curved	bottle	storage	1	UID
STP38	2	2	6	pale blue green	curved	UID	storage	1	UID
STP38	2	5	>1 g	clear	curved	UID	UID	1	UID
STP38	2	3	>1 g	clear	curved	UID	UID	1	UID
STP38	2	1	2	pale blue green	curved	UID	storage	1	UID
STP38	2	1	>1 g	olive	curved	bottle	storage	1	UID
STP38	3	1	4	olive	square	bottle	storage	1	UID
STP39	1	1	8	7up green	curved	bottle	storage	1	20th-c (possible late 19th)
STP39	1	1	2	olive	curved	bottle	storage	1	UID

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UNIT	LEVEL	NUMBER	WEIGHT	COLOR	FORM	VESSEL	TYPE OF WARE	MNI	CHRONOLOGY
STP39	1	1	8	olive	curved	bottle	storage	1	UID
STP39	1	1	>1 g	clear	flat	pane glass	n/a	1	UID
STP39	1	1	1	clear	flat	pane glass	n/a	1	UID
STP39	1	1	2	clear	curved	UID	UID	1	UID
STP39	1	1	>1 g	clear	square	bottle	medicinal or cosmetic	1	UID
STP39	2	4	10	medium olive	curved	bottle	storage	1	1850-1925
STP39	2	1	12	pale blue green	finish	bottle	storage	1	pre-1880
STP39	2	1	8	medium olive	curved	bottle	storage	1	UID
STP39	2	1	>1 g	clear	curved	UID	UID	1	UID
STP39	2	1	>1 g	olive	curved	bottle	storage	1	UID
STP39	2	1	>1 g	clear	curved	UID	UID	1	UID
STP39	2	1	2	clear	curved	UID	UID	1	UID
STP39	2	3	4	olive	curved	bottle	storage	1	UID
STP39	3	1	>1 g	clear	curved	UID	UID	1	UID
STP39	3	2	8	olive	curved	bottle	storage	1	UID
STP40	1	1	>1 g	clear	flat	pane glass	n/a	1	UID
STP40	1	1	>1 g	clear	curved	container	UID	1	UID
STP40	1	1	2	olive	curved	bottle	storage	1	UID
STP41	1	3	18	deep greenish aqua	curved	bottle	storage	1	19th c or later
STP41	1	1	6	olive	curved	bottle	storage	1	UID
STP41	1	1	>1 g	olive	curved	bottle	storage	1	UID
STP41	1	1	>1 g	clear	curved	UID	UID	1	UID
STP41	2	1	4	deep greenish aqua	curved	bottle	storage	1	19th or early 20th c
STP41	2	1	2	amber	curved	UID	UID	1	UID
STP41	2	2	4	olive	push-up	bottle	storage	1	UID
STP41	2	2	16	olive	base	bottle	storage	1	UID
STP41	2	1	>1 g	clear	curved	UID	UID	1	UID

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UNIT	LEVEL	NUMBER	WEIGHT	COLOR	FORM	VESSEL	TYPE OF WARE	MNI	CHRONOLOGY
STP41	3	1	>1 g	medium olive	curved	bottle	storage	1	UID
STP41	3	3	>1 g	clear	curved	container	UID	1	UID
STP41	3	1	1	clear	flat	pane glass	n/a	1	UID
STP42	1	2	2	lavender	curved	bottle	storage	1	1870-1920
STP42	1	1	>1 g	straw	curved	UID	UID	1	1910-1950
STP42	1	3	6	white	curved	plate or bowl	tableware	1	20th-c
STP42	1	2	1	7up green	curved	bottle	storage	1	20th-c (possible late 19th)
STP42	1	1	>1 g	7up green	curved	bottle	storage	1	20th-c (possible late 19th)
STP42	1	2	4	olive	square	bottle	storage	1	UID
STP42	1	1	>1 g	pale blue green	curved	bottle	storage	1	UID
STP42	1	18	10	clear	curved	UID	UID	1	UID
STP42	1	1	8	medium olive	square	bottle	storage	1	UID
STP42	1	2	>1 g	amber	base	bottle	storage	1	UID
STP42	2	1	2	clear	flat	pane glass	n/a	1	UID
STP42	2	1	>1 g	clear	curved	UID	UID	1	UID
STP43	1	1	1	clear	rim	jar	UID	1	post-1950
STP43	1	5	4	clear	neck	bottle	medicinal or cosmetic	1	UID
STP43	1	1	>1 g	pale blue green	curved	UID	UID	1	UID
STP43	1	1	>1 g	clear	curved	UID	UID	1	UID
STP43	1	2	>1 g	clear	curved	UID	UID	1	UID
STP43	1	1	2	deep greenish aqua	curved	bottle	storage	1	UID
STP43	1	1	2	amber	curved	UID	UID	1	UID
STP44	1	13	10	clear	curved	UID	UID	1	UID
STP44	1	3	>1 g	clear	curved	UID	UID	1	UID
STP44	1	2	1	olive	curved	bottle	storage	1	UID
STP44	1	1	>1 g	clear	curved	UID	UID	1	UID
STP45	1	1	>1 g	olive	curved	bottle	storage	1	UID

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UNIT	LEVEL	NUMBER	WEIGHT	COLOR	FORM	VESSEL	TYPE OF WARE	MNI	CHRONOLOGY
STP45	1	1	>1 g	olive	curved	bottle	storage	1	UID
STP45	1	1	>1 g	clear	curved	container	UID	1	UID
STP45	1	3	>1 g	olive	neck	bottle	storage	1	pre-1925
STP45	2	1	>1 g	clear	curved	container	UID	1	UID
STP45	3	1	>1 g	clear	flat	pane glass	n/a	1	UID
STP47	1	1	8	black (v. dark olive)	curved	bottle	storage	1	19th c
STP47	1	1	>1 g	7up green	curved	bottle	storage	1	20th-c (possibly late 19th)
STP47	1	5	8	deep greenish aqua	curved	bottle	storage	1	pre-1920
STP47	1	1		>1 g	curved	bottle	storage	1	UID
STP47	1	2	2	olive	curved	bottle	storage	1	UID
STP47	1	1	>1 g	cobalt	rim	container	tableware	1	
STP47	2	1	>1 g	olive	curved	bottle	storage	1	UID
STP47	2	1	2	clear	shoulder	bottle	storage	1	UID
STP48	1	4	4	clear	finish	bottle	storage	1	pre-1880
STP48	1	1	>1 g	clear	curved	UID	UID	1	UID
STP48	1	2	>1 g	clear	curved	UID	UID	1	UID
STp48	1	1	>1 g	clear	curved	UID	UID	1	UID
STP48	1	1	2	amber	curved	container	UID	1	UID
STP48	2	1	>1 g	clear	curved	UID	UID	1	UID
STP48	2	1	8	clear	curved	bottle	storage	1	UID
STP49	1	1	2	7up green	curved	bottle	storage	1	20th-c (possibly late 19th)
STP49	1	1	>1 g	pale blue green	curved	container	storage	1	UID
STP49	1	3	3	clear	curved	container	UID	1	UID
STP49	1	1	>1 g	olive	curved	bottle	storage	1	UID
STP49	2	3	8	7up green	finish	bottle	storage	1	20th c
STP49	2	1	>1 g	deep greenish aqua	curved	bottle	storage	1	pre-1920
STP49	2	1	4	olive	square	bottle	storage	1	UID

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UNIT	LEVEL	NUMBER	WEIGHT	COLOR	FORM	VESSEL	TYPE OF WARE	MNI	CHRONOLOGY
STP49	2	1	2	clear	faceted	container	UID	1	UID
STP49	2	4	2	clear	curved	UID	UID	1	UID
STP49	2	1	>1 g	clear	curved	UID	UID	1	UID
STP49	2	1	2	pale blue green	curved	container	storage	1	UID
STP49	2	1	12	amber	curved	bottle	storage	1	UID
STP49	2	1	8	clear	curved	bottle	storage	1	UID
STP49	3	2	16	deep greenish aqua	neck	bottle	storage	1	pre-1920
STP49	3	6	4	clear	curved	UID	UID	1	UID
STP49	3	1	>1 g	olive	curved	bottle	storage	1	UID
STP49	3	1	2	deep 7up	curved	bottle	storage	1	UID
STP49	3	1	2	7up green	curved	bottle	storage	1	UID
STP49	4	1	4	clear	curved	container	storage	1	UID
STP49	4	1	10	clear	base	bottle	cosmetic	1	UID
STP50	1	1	10	light emerald green	curved	bottle	storage	1	UID

Color identification following the Society for Historical Archaeology

Metal

UNIT	LEVEL	CATEGORY	NUMBER	WEIGHT	CHRONOLOGY
1	1	slag catchment	1	70	
1	2	slag	1	14	
2	2	flat metal	1	>1 g	
2	2	large hand-forged square nail	1	32	19th c
2	2	serated flat metal (blade?)	5	4	
3	1	coiled thick wire or spring	1	12	
3	1	flat metal	3	10	
3	1	wire nail	1	>1 g	post-1880
4	1	flat metal	2	>1 g	
5	1	flat metal	2	>1 g	
5	2	flat metal	2	>1 g	
7	1	thick curved metal: cauldron	1	40	late 19th c
7	1	thick curved metal: cauldron	1	16	late 19th c
7	1	flat tin	8	1	
7	1	flat tin	2	1	
7	1	flat metal	1	1	
7	1	linear metal rod	1	14	
8	1	flat lead	1	4	
8	1	metal bands/fragments	1	1	
8	1	slag	1	52	
8	1	square cut nail	2	8	1800-1890
8	1	wire nail	1	4	post-1880
9	1	barb	1	2	
9	1	flat metal	4	2	
9	1	tin foil	1	>1 g	post-1870
9	1	wire fragments (nails?)	9	4	
9	1	small wire nail	1	>1 g	post-1880
9	1	large wire nails	5	14	post-1880
9	1	medium wire nails	3	2	post-1880
9	2	metal can fragments	13	8	
9	2	wire fragments (nails?)	4	>1 g	
9	2	wire nails	3	2	post-1880
9	3	stainless steel belt buckle	1	16	post-1918
9	3	large door hinge	1	148	
9	3	hollow metal rod	1	46	
9	3	metal can fragments	98	44	
9	3	nail or wire fragments	44	14	post-1880
9	3	wire nails	6	6	post-1880

UNIT	LEVEL	CATEGORY	NUMBER	WEIGHT	CHRONOLOGY
9	3	small nail	1	>1 g	
9	3	springs or coiled wire	4	6	
9	3	thick metal fragments	7	34	
9	3	tin can fragments	22	16	
9	3	twisted wire fragments	7	2	
9	3	UID nail (square cut?)	1	2	
9	4	binding clip	1	>1 g	post-1866
9	4	copper fitting	1	12	
9	4	flat metal	4	>1 g	
9	4	flat metal	16	4	
9	4	fragments: wire or nail	9	2	
9	4	wire nail fragments	9	2	post-1880
9	4	square cut nail	1	>1 g	1800-1890
9	4	UID nail	1	2	
9	4	wire	5	10	
9	4	wire nails	3	4	post-1880
9	5	flat metal	3	>1 g	
9	5	wire fragments (nails?)	2	>1 g	
9	6	flat metal	1	>1 g	
10	1	clothespin spring	1	2	post-1884
10	1	mystery Xs (barbs?)	10	4	
10	1	small square cut nail	1	>1 g	1800-1890
10	1	medium square cut nail	1	2	1800-1890
10	1	large square cut nail	1	4	1800-1890
10	1	thin wire	1	>1 g	
10	1	twisted wire fragments	7	4	
10	1	washer	1	>1 g	
10	1	wire fragments	7	>1 g	
10	1	wire nail fragments	2	>1 g	post-1880
10	1	medium wire nails	2	2	post-1880
10	2	wire fragment	1	>1 g	
11	1	binding clip	1	>1 g	post-1866
11	1	clothespin spring	1	2	post-1884
11	1	flat metal	4	4	
11	1	square cut nail fragment	1	1	1800-1890
11	1	medium square cut nail	1	1	1800-1890
11	1	small square cut nail	1	1	1800-1890
11	1	wire fragments	3	>1 g	
11	1	medium wire nail	1	1	post-1880

Metal 2/6

UNIT	LEVEL	CATEGORY	NUMBER	WEIGHT	CHRONOLOGY
11	1	wire nail fragments	1	>1 g	post-1880
11	2	binding clip	1	>1 g	post-1866
11	2	flat metal	4	>1 g	
11	2	large square cut nail	1	2	1800-1890
11	2	UID nail	2	3	
11	2	wire fragments	5	2	
11	2	medium wire nail	1	2	post-1880
11	2	medium wire nails (thin)	2	1	post-1880
11	3	flat metal	7	>1 g	
12	1	aluminum foil	3	>1 g	post-1910
12	1	barbed wire	1	2	
12	1	small [shoe?] buckle	1	1	
12	1	can rims & flat metal	37	18	
12	1	flat strips	2	>1 g	
12	1	flat strips	2	>1 g	
12	1	loops of wire	3	>1 g	
12	1	perforated tin steamer	1	>1 g	
12	1	medium square cut nail	2	2	1800-1890
12	1	large square cut nail	1	2	1800-1890
12	1	construction staple	1	1	
12	1	paper staple	1	>1 g	post-1877
12	1	tin foil	5	2	post-1870
12	1	UID nail	1	1	
12	1	UID nail	1	3	
12	1	wire fragments	6	2	
12	1	small wire nail	1	>1 g	post-1880
12	1	large wire nails	2	4	post-1880
12	2	flat metal	8	2	
12	2	frag of square cut nail	3	1	1800-1890
12	2	perforated tin steamer	1 (2)	4	
12	2	very large square cut nail	1	6	1800-1890
12	2	large square cut nail	1	4	1800-1890
12	2	medium square cut nail	2	4	1800-1890
12	2	UID nail	2	4	
12	2	upholstery tack	1	>1 g	1800-1890
12	2	wire fragment	1	>1 g	
12	2	small wire nail	1	1	post-1880
12	3	flat metal	4	2	
12	3	large square cut nail fragments	5	2	1800-1890

Metal 3/6

UNIT	LEVEL	CATEGORY	NUMBER	WEIGHT	CHRONOLOGY
11	1	wire nail fragments	1	>1 g	post-1880
11	2	binding clip	1	>1 g	post-1866
11	2	flat metal	4	>1 g	
11	2	large square cut nail	1	2	1800-1890
11	2	UID nail	2	3	
11	2	wire fragments	5	2	
11	2	medium wire nail	1	2	post-1880
11	2	medium wire nails (thin)	2	1	post-1880
11	3	flat metal	7	>1 g	
12	1	aluminum foil	3	>1 g	post-1910
12	1	barbed wire	1	2	
12	1	small [shoe?] buckle	1	1	
12	1	can rims & flat metal	37	18	
12	1	flat strips	2	>1 g	
12	1	flat strips	2	>1 g	
12	1	loops of wire	3	>1 g	
12	1	perforated tin steamer	1	>1 g	
12	1	medium square cut nail	2	2	1800-1890
12	1	large square cut nail	1	2	1800-1890
12	1	construction staple	1	1	
12	1	paper staple	1	>1 g	post-1877
12	1	tin foil	5	2	post-1870
12	1	UID nail	1	1	
12	1	UID nail	1	3	
12	1	wire fragments	6	2	
12	1	small wire nail	1	>1 g	post-1880
12	1	large wire nails	2	4	post-1880
12	2	flat metal	8	2	
12	2	frag of square cut nail	3	1	1800-1890
12	2	perforated tin steamer	1 (2)	4	
12	2	very large square cut nail	1	6	1800-1890
12	2	large square cut nail	1	4	1800-1890
12	2	medium square cut nail	2	4	1800-1890
12	2	UID nail	2	4	
12	2	upholstery tack	1	>1 g	1800-1890
12	2	wire fragment	1	>1 g	
12	2	small wire nail	1	1	post-1880
12	3	flat metal	4	2	
12	3	large square cut nail fragments	5	2	1800-1890

Metal 4/6

UNIT	LEVEL	CATEGORY	NUMBER	WEIGHT	CHRONOLOGY
STP38	3	wire fragments	5	2	
STP39	1	flat metal	4	2	
STP39	1	medium wire nail	1	>1 g	post-1880
STP39	1	large wire nail	1	1	post-1880
STP39	1	wire nail fragments	2	>1 g	post-1880
STP39	2	flat metal	1	>1 g	
STP40	1	flat metal	1	>1 g	
STP40	1	wire fragment	1	>1 g	
STP41	1	flat metal	uncounted	50	
STP41	1	largewire nail	1	2	post-1880
STP41	2	flat metal	2	>1 g	
STP41	3	flat metal	4	>1 g	
STP41	3	wire nail fragments	1	>1 g	
STP42	1	aluminum foil	1	>1 g	
STP42	1	aluminum buckle	1	>1 g	
STP42	1	flat metal	4	2	
STP42	1	tin foil	1	>1 g	post-1870
STP42	1	large wire nail	1	6	post-1880
STP42	1	wire nail fragments	3	4	
STP42	1	medium wire nails	2	2	post-1880
STP42	1	medium wire nails	2	2	post-1880
STP42	3	flat metal	1	>1 g	
STP43	1	flat metal	1	>1 g	
STP43	1	small wire finishing nail	1	>1 g	post-1880
STP43	1	wire	1	10	
STP43	1	medium wire nail	1	1	post-1880
STP43	1	wire nail fragments	2	>1 g	post-1880
STP44	1	flat metal	1	>1 g	
STP44	1	flat metal	2	>1 g	
STP44	1	thin rebar	1	20	
STP44	1	wire	1	>1 g	
STP44	1	wire nails	2	2	post-1880
STP44	2	flat metal	1	2	
STP45	1	tin foil	2	>1 g	post-1870
STP45	2	medium wire nail	1	1	post-1880
STP45	3	small wire nail	1	1	post-1880
STP46	1	clothespin spring	1	2	post-1884
STP46	1	wire fragments	2	>1 g	
STP46	1	medium wire nail	1	1	post-1880

Metal 5/6

UNIT	LEVEL	CATEGORY	NUMBER	WEIGHT	CHRONOLOGY
STP47	1	crown bottle top	1	>1 g	
STP47	1	grommet	1	>1 g	
STP47	1	upholstery tack	1	>1 g	
STP47	1	wire	1	>1 g	
STP47	1	large wire nail	1	2	post-1880
STP47	2	straight pin	1	>1 g	
STP47	2	large wire nail	1	2	post-1880
STP48	1	large square cut nail	1	6	1800-1890
STP48	1	wire fragments	5	1	
STP48	2	flat metal	2	>1 g	
STP48	2	square cut nail	1	1	1800-1890
STP48	2	UID nail fragments	2	>1 g	
STP49	2	flat metal	1	>1 g	
STP49	2	flat metal	1	20	
STP49	2	grommet	1	>1 g	
STP49	2	UID nail fragments	2	>1 g	
STP49	2	wire nail fragments	2	>1 g	post-1880
STP49	3	aluminum foil	4	>1 g	post-1910
STP49	3	container rim	1	14	
STP49	3	flat metal	3	4	
STP49	3	flat metal	1	>1 g	
STP49	3	flat metal	18	10	
STP49	3	UID nail fragments	4	2	
STP49	3	wire fragments	2	>1 g	
STP49	3	very large wire framing nail	1	12	post-1880
STP49	4	flat metal	2	4	
STP49	4	flat metal	1	>1 g	
STP49	4	UID nail fragments	1	2	
STP49	4	wire	1	4	
STP49	4	large wire nail	1	2	post-1880
STP50	1	wire fragments	3	2	
STP50	1	medium wire nail	1	2	post-1880
STP50	2	small square cut nail	1	1	1800-1890

Metal 6/6

Small Finds

UNIT	LEVEL	NUMBER	WEIGHT (g)	ITEM	CHRONOLOGY
2	2	1	1	handmade bone button	UID
2	3	1	<1	handmade bone button	UID
5	2	1	<1	white clay pipe stem	UID
9	1	1	<1	eyelet (metal)	post-1828
9	2	1	1	Prosser "china" button	post-1852
9	3	1	<1	wire loop link	UID
9	3	1	<1	wire s-loop	UID
9	3	1	9	pendant necklace	19th c
9	3	1	<1	handmade painted bone button	UID
9	3	1	<1	hook closure (metal)	1898-1914
9	5	1	>1 g	indigo cake fragment	UID
9	6	1	<1	metal sequin	1600-1940
10	1	1	<1	shell (mother-of-pearl) button	UID
10	1	1	1	shell on metal cap button	UID
10	3	1	<1	metal military button cap	1851-1870
11	1	1	<1	metal sequin	1600-1940
11	1	1	<1	round-cut paste emerald	post-1850
11	1	1	1	watch gear (metal)	UID
11	2	1	<1	eye closure (metal)	UID
11	2	1	<1	eyelet (metal)	post-1828
12	3	1	2	white clay pipe bowl fragment	UID
13	2	1	16	molded white clay pipe bowl	UID
STP 13	1	1	2	UID pipe stem	UID
STP 36	1	1	2	slate pencil	UID
STP 41	2	1	<1	snap closure (metal)	post-1885
STP 47	1	1	6	slate pencil	UID
STP 49	4	1	1	fragment of "wheat" chain and c-clasp (metal)	UID
STP 49	4	1	>1	rosary medallion (metal)	UID
STP 50	2	2.5	<1	metal sequins	1600-1940
STP 50	2	1	<1	barrel clasp (metal)	UID

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