# Education policies and the development of the colonial state in the Belgian Congo, 1916-1939.

Submitted by Marie Elizabeth Dunkerley, to the University of Exeter as a thesis for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in History, September 2009.

## Education policies and the development of the colonial state in the Belgian Congo, 1916-1939.

Submitted by Marie Elizabeth Dunkerley, to the University of Exeter as a thesis for the	he
degree of Doctor of Philosophy in History, September 2009.	

This thesis is available for Library use on the understanding that it is copyright material and that no quotation from the thesis may be published without proper acknowledgement.

I certify that all material in this thesis which is not my own work has been identified and that no material has previously been submitted and approved for the award of a degree by this or any other University.

(signature) Marie Dunkerley
-----------------------------

### **Abstract**

Taking the transformative potential of education as its starting point, this thesis analyses Belgian attempts to use schools policy to strengthen the hegemony of the colonial state in the Congo during the interwar years. Through an empirical treatment of the development of the colonial school system, based largely on archival research, the study pursues two main contentions. The first is that the Belgian colonial authorities played a far more direct role in formulating and implementing education policy than is often believed. The second is that the state authorities' interest in education was defined both by the economic imperative of colonial exploitation, which compelled them to train skilled workers, and the fear that access to education would fuel potential sedition. Six thematic chapters demonstrate that this paradox of necessity and fear shaped Belgian education policy in the Congo, looking at the reasons behind the fear of potential unrest, and at its ramifications. This thesis argues that these pressures caused the Belgian colonial authorities to try to mould Congolese society using education as a tool, by using specific streams of instruction to inculcate certain groups of Congolese, such as auxiliaries, healthcare workers, and women, with the principles of colonial rule. The thesis also considers how these policies were put into practice, focusing on relations between the colonial authorities and the Catholic and Protestant mission societies, and evaluates their efficacy. Moreover, this thesis attempts to establish, where possible, the reactions of colonized Congolese to European educational provision. Having analysed these issues, this thesis concludes that the colonial education system in the Congo during the interwar years failed to fulfil its main purpose and perpetuate Belgian colonial rule.

### **Table of Contents:**

Abstract	1
Acknowledgements and Note on the Text	7
List of illustrations.	8
List of acronyms, abbreviations, and frequently used translations.	9
Chapter One: Introduction	
1.1: Opening Remarks	10
1.2: Research Aims	12
1.3: Methodology	14
1.4: Sources	15
1.5: Structure and Argument	18
1.6: Context – Belgian Colonialism in the Congo	21
1.6.1.1: The Foundation of the Congo Independent State	21
1.6.1.2: The Rubber Trade	24
1.6.1.3: The Belgian Congo: the New Colonial State	26
1.6.2.1: Education in the Belgian Congo	33
1.6.2.2: Origins: Education in the Congo Independent State	33
1.6.2.3: Education in the New Colony	36
Chapter Two: The Historiography of Belgian Colonialism in the Congo.	
2.1: Introduction	47
2.2: Early Colonial Histories	48
2.3: Recent Developments in Colonial History	53
2.4: Recent Historiography of Belgian Colonialism in the Congo	57
2.5: Works on Colonial Education	59
2.6: Works on Education in the Congo	61

Chapter Three: Defining State Interest in Educational Development.	
3.1. Introduction	67
3.2. A Civilizing Mission?	68
3.3.1: The 1917 Questionnaires – Emerging Motivations	69
3.3.2: Questions of Language	75
3.3.3: Summary of issues raised by the survey	79
3.4: Internal Dangers	82
3.4.1: Kimbanguism and Kitawala	82
3.4.2: Islam	84
3.5.1: External Dangers	89
3.5.2: Pan-Africanism	89
3.5.3: Communism	93
3.5.4: Belgian fears of foreign intervention	95
3.6: Education policy – 'belgicisation'	96
3.7: Conclusion	97
Chapter Four: Auxiliaries or Usurpers? The Colonial Authorities	
and Catholic Mission Societies.	
4.1: Introduction	99
4.2. Existing Literature	101
4.3. Early Development	103
4.3.1: Missions	103
4.3.2: Belgians politics	106
4.4.1: Case studies	107
4.4.2.1: Case study 1 – the White Fathers	109
4.4.2.2: Normal schools – differing priorities	111
4.4.2.3: Local considerations for mission schools	113
4.4.2.4: Roelens and the Administration	116
4.4.2.5: The Ministry of Colonies, Roelens, and the official	
rural schools of the Eastern Province	118
4.4.2.6: Conclusion	119
4.4.3.1: Case study 2 – the Order of St Benedict	120

4.4.3.2: Competition with the Salesians	121
4.4.3.3: Collaboration with the <i>Union Minière du Haut Katanga</i>	124
4.4.3.4: De Hemptinne and the colonial authorities	126
4.4.3.5: The Benedictines and Protestant missions	126
4.4.3.6: Conclusion	128
4.4.4.1: Case Study 3 – the Trappists	129
4.4.4.2: Trappists and land policy	131
4.4.4.3:Trappist leadership in Belgium	132
4.4.4.: Conclusion	134
4.5: Chapter conclusion	134
Chapter Five: Colonial Allies or Foreign Rivals? The Belgian Colonial	
Authorities and the Protestant Missions.	
5.1: Introduction	137
5.2: Existing Literature	138
5.3: Early Protestant Activity	140
5.4.1: The Protestant Challenge to the Belgian Conception of the Congo	142
5.4.2.1: Protestant Missions and Education – Theory	142
5.4.2.2: The American Example – Adapted Education	143
5.5.1: Belgian Resistance to Protestant Influence	150
5.5.2: Comparative Development of Catholic and	
Protestant Mission Education	151
5.5.3: Kimbanguism	153
5.6.1: Government Policy and Protestant Reactions in the 1920s	157
5.6.2: Increased Competition and Antagonism	159
5.7: Impact of Catholic Expansion: the Case of the Baptist Missionary	
Society and the Huileries du Congo Belge.	162
5.8.1: Growing Pressure on Protestant Missions and the	
Debate about Identity in the 1930s	165
5.8.2: Congolese Protestants and their Rights	173
5.9: Conclusion	175

### Chapter Six: Fashioning the Congolese? Education Policy and the Development of the Colonial Administration.

6.1: Introduction	1/8
6.2: Aspects of State Development	179
6.2.1: The Expansion of the Colonial Administration	179
6.2.2: Shortages of European Staff	180
6.3.1: African Clerks and the 'écoles des candidats-commis'	182
6.3.2: Moves to increase the numbers of African Clerks	185
6.3.3: The Further Development of the 'official' schools	187
6.3.4: Educational Content	190
6.3.5: The Types of Students Being Trained as Clerks: A Focus on the 'métis'	191
6.3.6: Subsidised 'écoles des candidats-commis'	197
6.3.7: Further Developments: African girls and the 'écoles moyennes'	200
6.4: Indirect Rule and the 'écoles des fils de chefs'	200
6.4.1: Significant Aspects of Indirect Rule	200
6.4.2: The Concept of the 'écoles des fils de chefs'	202
6.5: Conclusion	208
Chapter Seven: Gender and Education Policies: Shaping Colonial Society	
7.1: Introduction	212
7.2: Existing Literature	213
7.3: Pre-Colonial Gender Roles in the Congo	217
7.4: Gender and the Early Development of Formal Education	<b>22</b> 3
7.5: Christian Missions and Gender: Missionary Ideologies	224
7.6: The Colonial Authorities and Gender	227
7.7.1: The 1925-1929 Reorganisation and its Impact on Girls' Education	232
7.7.2: The Impact of the 1925 Project and Subsequent Development	234
7.8: Reactions to Girls' Education	236
7.8.1: The Colonial Authorities' View	236
7.8.2: African Reactions (European Sources)	237
7.9: Conclusion	242

### Chapter Eight: Sickness and the State: The Training of Indigenous Healthcare Workers.

8.1: Introduction	245
8.2: Existing Literature	247
8.3: Government Medical Education	250
8.3.1: Initial Foundation Development	250
8.3.2: Development during the later 1920s	257
8.3.3: Reorganisation and the École Unique des Assistants	
Médicaux Indigènes at Léopoldville.	259
8.3.4: Debate over Boarding Arrangements at the École Unique.	261
8.3.5: Midwifery Training	268
8.3.6: Colonial Comparisons	271
8.3.7: Medical Auxiliaries as Agents of Hegemony?	273
8.4: Funding of Independent Medical Education	275
8.5: Conclusion	280
Chapter Nine: General Conclusion.	282
Appendices:	
Appendix A: List of Belgian Monarchs, Ministers for the Colonies,	
and Governors-General.	292
Appendix B: Text of Relevant Articles from the Berlin Act 1885,	
Convention between the Congo Independent State and	
the Vatican 1906, and the Convention of St Germain-en-Laye 1919.	294
Appendix C: Text of subsidy agreement between the Ministry of Colonies	
and the Catholic Mission Societies	298
Bibliography:	
Primary Sources:	
Archives	299
Printed Primary Sources	301
Secondary Sources	304

### **Note on the Text:**

All translations from the French are the author's own. Where appropriate the original is given as well the first time a term in used. Some words which lack a direct equivalent in English remain in French in the text. A list of commonly used terms follows the List of Illustrations.

### **Acknowledgements:**

I would like to express my sincere thanks to all those who have helped me during the research and writing of this thesis. Firstly, to my supervisor Professor Martin Thomas for all his very good advice, but most of all for his patience and unfailing optimism.

Particular praise must also go to M. Dandoy and to Magda, at the African Archives of the Belgian Foreign Ministry, for making my long research trip easier and more productive.

Most of all I would like to acknowledge the support of my lovely friends and family, who probably have no idea how much they have helped me to get through this. So to my Mum and Dad, Jo, and everyone else, and Simon, more than anyone, truly thank you for everything. It is done!

### **List of Illustrations:**

Figure 1: Administrative Map of the Belgian Congo, 1929	28
Figure 2: Organisation of subsidized education from 1925	42
Figure 3: Comparative chart showing the numbers of pupils in official,	
Catholic and Protestant schools.	152
Figure 4: Chart showing the total numbers of	
Catholic and Protestant missionaries	166
Figure 5: Known numbers of Congolese training in official clerks' schools	189
Figure 6: Numbers training in subsidized schools	197
Figure 7: Girls in subsidized schools	235
Figure 8: Pupils in écoles des assistants médicaux indigène	258
Figure 9: Women training as midwives or midwifery assistants	269

### List of acronyms, abbreviations and commonly used translations:

A.B.F.M.S. American Foreign Baptist Mission Society

B.M.S. Baptist Missionary Society

C.I.S. Congo Independent State/État

Indépendant du Congo

I.M.C. International Missionary Council

H.C.B. Huileries du Congo Belge

U.M.H.K. Union Minière du Haut Katanga

École des aides-accoucheuses School for midwifery assistants

École des assistants médicaux indigenes School for native medical assistants

École des candidats-commis Clerks' school (before 1936)

École primaire Primary School

École professionelle Professional/Vocational school

École moyenne Clerks' school (after 1936)

Enseignement Education

Hygiène Health

Métis/mûlatresses Mixed-race progeny of European and

African parents