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the Congo House. Season 1893-1894

CONGOLESE CHILDREN AT THE CONGO HOUSE IN COLWYN BAY (NORTH WALES, GREAT-BRITAIN), AT THE END OF THE 19th CENTURY.  
Unpublished documents.

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CURRENT RESEARCH INTEREST : - the presence of Africans in  
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- the attitude of the Belgian  
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Free State

#### SUMMARY

In the present study we like to focus the attention on the presence of Congolese children at the Congo House in Colwyn Bay (North Wales, Great-Britain) during the last decade of the 19th century.

The idea, which William Hughes conceived and which consisted of educating Congolese, in a first phase, and other African youth, in a second one, never received a just interest.

The experiment of Hughes, a former baptist missionary, was a unique specimen for Great-Britain. Henry Morton Stanley and King Leopold II were a little bit involved in the successful start of this initiative.

But this article has particularly in view an identification of the Congolese boys and girls who frequented the 'Congo House'!

KEYWORDS : Colwyn Bay, Congolese children, Education, End of 19th century, W. Hughes

## INTRODUCTION

During the last quarter of the 19th century, a lot of African children were sent out of the continent in order to receive a western education. Several young black boys and girls were taken to Belgium as well to Sweden, France, Germany, Italy, Malta, Great-Britain, Portugal, the United States and other countries (1).

Different kinds of black children were brought to the western world: someones were ransomed slave children; some others were sons of local chiefs! A lot of African kids individually crossed over to Europe or to the United States in the company of colonial army-officers, merchants, state-agents and missionaries.

Congolese assistants taken to England, Sweden and the United States.

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Some Congolese natives came to visit England as assistants of their missionaries. When H. Grattan Guinness translated a Kikongo grammar from Latin into English, he did so in co-operation with two Congolese lads called Francis and Robert brought over to England in 1881 by Henry Craven (2).

The language assistant Donzwau Nlemvo accompanied the Reverend William Hofman Bentley thrice to England: from 1884 to 1886; from 1892 to 1893; and from 1905 to 1906. Nlemvo was supposed to assist Mfumu Lomami or Mfumu Bentele in the redaction of a Kikongo dictionary and -grammar, and also in the translation of the Bible in the same language.

During his first stay in Great-Britain, Nlemvo met other countrymen, amongst whom a young girl from the Upper Congo, called Aku, who landed in England some months earlier together with Mantu and Lutunu from Ngombe Lutete. Aku had been captured by slavehunters and brought to Leopoldville where she was bought by the Reverend Thomas Comber. The latter who gave her some religious instructions, brought her to England. She was baptized in Wathen, Lower Zaire, on April 22th of 1888. Later she married Mantu (3).

At the end of 1887, the Reverend John McKittrick came on furlough in Europe and he brought at the Harley House, the London headquarters of the American Baptist Missionary Union

(A.B.M.U.), a Mololo boy, named Bompole. The presence of Bompole in England aroused great enthusiasm and brought in considerable funds. The Irish missionary McKittrick, who had been working with the A.B.M.U. in Equatorville (Mbandaka), intended to set up an independent mission among the Balolo of the Lopori-Maringa basin. The contacts between Grattan Guinness and the A.B.M.U. direction led to the cession of McKittrick and the creation of a new missionary society, namely the 'Congo Balolo Mission'. Early in 1889, McKittrick, his family and Bompole went back to Congo to start up the new mission (4).

William Hughes, the founder of the Congo Training Institute at Colwyn Bay, enumerated in his book 'Dark Africa ...', some cases of Congolese children who were brought to England in the society of a missionary (5).

We also know of young Congolese converts sent by pioneering American missionaries to the Maryland Seminary (Washington) or elsewhere to the United States of America. The education of these people, such as Margaret Rattray Nkebani, H. Mvemba Stephen, Nkoyo, Edith Lukoki and many others, was sometimes equal if not superior to that of most of the missionaries then in the field. Stephen Mvemba, graduated in 1894 from Shaw (Raleigh, North Carolina), a black American School, became the first university-trained native of the Congo Free State (6).

Hughes was convinced that the American missionaries appreciated the idea of advancing the physical, moral and intellectual abilities of the African children out of their world of daily life more than their British colleagues did. He also wrote that the African students staying in the U.S.A. were in close correspondence with his own black scholars (7).

Swedish protestant missionaries brought Congolese auxiliaries with them to their homecountry too. In that way, planning to do more work in Kikongo, Nils Westlind took with him to Sweden Makosi and Ndaki to help him. But the projected labour never was executed because Westlind died on the outward voyage. In 1905, K.E. Laman came with David Malangidila to Sweden in order to terminate his translation of the Bible (8).

African Institutes in Europe.

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Some persons espoused so fervently the cause of educating African converts in Europe that they undertook the creation of schools reserved to the reception and the christian formation of African children. So, in the midst of the 19th century, black children already arrived for instructions in Italy. Don Nicolo Olivieri, a priest of Genoa, conceived a work which consisted of buying off in Egypt young slave girls whom he lodged in various boarding schools all over France and Italy.

In 1828, Don Mazza created in Verona an institute for the christian education of young poor girls; in 1832, he established another one for young poor boys. In both places, ransomed slave children of the work of Don Nicolo Olivieri were housed. In 1856, a Franciscan priest, Ludovico Casoria, commenced in Naples a 'Collegio dei Moretti' or a College for young black boys; in 1859, the same Neapolitan priest extended this institute with a 'Collegio delle Morette' or a College for young black girls.

Later on, Dom Comboni acquired the same idea of furthering the religious advancement of black children in Europe. From July 1867 on, Daniele Comboni accepted that the establishment of the 'Istituto per le Missioni della Nigrizia' should be in Verona where Dom Tomba, the successor of Dom Mazza, ceded to him the African students (9).

Also Cardinal Lavigerie agreed with the education of African youth in non African surroundings. He choosed Malta to put his 'Institut des Jeunes Noirs', where 'cathéchistes-médecins' should get a training. At least five pupils from the Congo Free State were sent to Malta: André Faraghi, Léon Ousseme, Joseph Gatchi, André Mwange and Charles Faraghit. André Mwange had the honour to be received in audience, together with the Reverend Marqués, at the Belgian Royal Court in Brussels in June 1891. Leopold II was surprised by the talents of this black boy. Charles Faraghit came to Belgium too. He was brought to Brussels to distribute the programs of the 'Grand Concert' which was held in the 'Palais des Académies' on Sunday-afternoon, September 23th of 1888, in the favour of the Belgian Antislavery Movement. Interviews with Charles Faraghit appeared in some Brussels' newspapers (10).

From July 1888, Pierre Van Impe, a priest of the diocese of Gand and director of the Institut St Louis de Gonzague in Gyseghem, also manifested the desire to educate Congolese students in Belgium. His dream became true, and during one decade he was full of success with his 'Oeuvre de l'Education des Jeunes Congolais en Belgique' (11).

Being of a protestant confession, the Congo Training Institute was distinct from the above-mentioned catholic establishments. Before dealing with this african school, we found it interesting to know what a part the Congolese constituted in the whole number of Africans living amongst the Britons at that time.

#### Africans in Great Britain.

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Different books and articles make an attempt to put in historical perspective the black presence in Britain. Recently (1987), Ron Ramdin wrote about this subject a masterwork entitled 'The making of the Black working class in Britain. In a first part, the author gives a passionating summary of the history of the 'Blackamoores' presence from 1555 until 1900'. Also Paul Edwards and James Walving, in 'Black personalities in the era of the slave trade' retrace in a very interesting manner this history (14). The article of Folarin Shyllon, 'Blacks in Britain: a historical and analytical overview', published in 'Global dimensions of the African diaspora, edited by Joseph E. Harris, evenso contributes to a better understanding of this problem (12).

Nevertheless, it is peculiar that nowhere in the previously mentioned works attention is payed to the presence of Congolese in Britain. It is true that only a few Congolese made a sojourn in England, and maybe this reality can explain the negligence of their presence in the different publications. At the end of the 19th century, the number of blacks recorded in Britain reached more than 10.000, what made the group of Congolese very insignificant.

In the 16th century, black boys were serving in the houses of the nobility; in that time, African slaves were instructed to be interpreters and linguists. The number of these living exotic curiosa steadily increased. Their presence was not without provoking white racist reactions: in 1596 and 1601,

for instance, Queen Elisabeth I, who herself possessed black domestics, gave orders to expell the blackamoors because they were too many and "threatened the purity of English blood and the livelihood of English servants (13)".

But the expulsion orders never were entirely executed because the blacks became too well-entrenched at various levels of English social life. The Africans practiced various professions: some became sailors; others were simple beggars or serenaders. There were also blacks who joined the British army and navy; but even students, doctors, barristers and self-employed were in their ranks.

The end of the 19th century was the period when educated Africans began preparing the ground in Britain for the emancipation of Africa. It was in 1900 that the first pan-african conference was held at Westminster Town Hall. But we believe that these pan-african feelings never flourished in the 'Congo House'.

#### The Congo Training House at Colwyn Bay.

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The present contribution is only interested in Congolese boys and girls who got an education at the 'Congo Training House' (abbreviated locally to 'the Congo'), founded by the Reverend William Hughes in Colwyn Bay. The sojourn of Congolese pupils in Great-Britain has so far never formed an object of study.

Serufuri Hakiza only slightly touched this matter in his doctoral dissertation entitled 'Les auxiliaires autochtones des missions protestantes au Congo, 1878-1960. Etude de cinq sociétés missionnaires'. Barbara Yates also examined the work of Hughes in some of her papers, for instance in 'Educating Congolese abroad: an historical note on African elites', which was an elaborated version of one of the chapters of her published doctoral thesis 'The Mission and educational development in Belgian Africa (1876-1908), (Columbia University, Ann Arbor, Michigan, 1970). But by fortune we have come across a lot more documents about it through our investigations. The next pages will deal with these in a concise way. We are hopeful that we will have ultimately the opportunity to treat this subject more in detail (14).

The first chapter will tell about William Hughes, the founder

of the 'Congo House' and his ideas. In the second chapter, the 'patrons' of the above mentioned Institute, such as Henry-Morton Stanley and Leopold II, the King of the Belgians, will get a chance. The next one will be devoted to some of the Congolese pupils who passed some years at Colwyn Bay. We will also try to find out what their destination was upon their return back home. In a fourth chapter, the attitude of the Leopoldian government with regard to this form of education for Congolese children and the downfall of the Congo House will be taken into consideration.

We deem it most necessary to publish entirely the most important documents on which our study is based. Letters written by H.-M. Stanley or dictated by King Leopold II will be reproduced in the present article. But we are also proud to present here very significant letters written by some Congolese instructed at Colwyn Bay.

A lot of letters we use, are located in the 'Archives des Palais Royaux' in Brussels. Some useful material is also coming from the 'Archives Africaines du Ministère des Affaires Etrangères' in Brussels. Complementary documentation was likewise gathered during our short visit to the 'Archives of the University of Bangor' in North Wales. In Brussels and in Bangor as well we digged up a series of Annual Reports of the Congo Training Institute. These reports contain very useful informations. The book 'Dark Africa and the way out ...' written in 1892 by Hughes, is also a treasury of informations about the origin of the 'Congo' in Colwyn Bay.

#### WILLIAM HUGHES AND THE FOUNDATION OF THE CONGO HOUSE.

In 1882, William Hughes, after having received a college training, proceeded at the age of 26 as a member of the Baptist Missionary Society, to the Congo. On his arrival, he was left in charge in Bayneston Station (founded in May 1882 on the caravan-trail between Mbanza Manteke, L.I.M. 1879; and Mukimbungu, L.I.M. 1882), which included a tent, the stores made of grass, a few fowls, some coloured servants from the coast, and Kinkasa, a Kongo child.

Kinkasa helped him to assemble boys for the school. One of

the children who frequented this school, was Nsakala. The latter had inflamed eyes and his sight was almost gone, when Hughes met him for the first time. Hughes salved his eyes and used the best medicine in his chest, kept him from the glare and heat of the sun during the day, and after about a week of this treatment the boy was able to see much better, and began to like his new home immensely. It was in this way that Nsakala became his first pupil from amongst the natives at Bayneston, and he and Kinkasa became a kind of native preachers, talking to their fellows in a simple and hearty way that soon won their sympathy. Accompanied by these two native boys, Hughes visited the villages on the north and south banks of the Congo, seeking pupils for his school (15).

We are sure that Nsakala, in the sequel, became the auxiliary of Lievin Van de Velde, a Belgian lieutenant of the 'Force Publique'. This boy understood and mastered the English language quite well when he accompanied his master to Belgium from 1885 till 1887. We take also into account the fact that Van de Velde's Nsakala, coming from the region of Matadi, squinted (16).

Hughes remained in the Lower Congo until 1885. His health having broken down, he was advised to return home. Before leaving the Congo Free State, he already devised the plan to create an African Institute in Europe. He brought two native Congolese youths, Kinkasa and Nkanza, with him to North Wales. Disembarking in Liverpool in September 1885, Hughes and his black lads went to settle at Colwyn Bay, living on charity and money collected at lectures. In 1887, Hughes was appointed pastor of the Welsh Baptist Churches at Old Colwyn and Llanelian, followed in 1888 by the additional care of Tabernacle. In 1889, his dream of the foundation of a Congo Training Institute became fulfilled. A Committee was founded and the first meeting of the Congo Training Institute was held. In 1890, this Committee was able to meet in the new 'Congo House', a three-storey building, that today houses the clinics in Nant-y-Glyn Road in Colwyn Bay. Also in that year, this institute received another implied seal of approval when Hughes was elected a Fellow of the Royal Geographical Society. In April 1896, he was presented by President Joseph J. Cheeseman, on behalf of the Liberian Republic with a Diploma appointing him a Knight Official of that republic, an honour which was very seldom conferred on any white man. And in 1892 or 1893, Hughes, an idealist to the core,

relinquished his three pastorates to devote all his time to the education of African Children (17).

In its beginning, the Congo House has been mocked and ridiculed. Hughes wrote thereabout: "It was called by one teacher in Israel the Institution of the 'Cuckoo'. We had collecting cards to be used by the children during the months the cuckoo visits this country, and to please their childish fancies they were called 'Cuckoo Cards'. By this time it is spring in the history of our Institution, and its cuckoo begins to sing. Another teacher of the same doubting family said: 'They have black ones at Colwyn Bay from Africa, whom they will b...d and change the colour of the inhabitants of our land ... (18)".

Hughes had more criticisms to swallow. Someone objected to his plan because he feared that no one could continue the work of the Institute after the death of its founder. He said that nobody else would understand the language of the Africans, and take an equal interest in training them. Hughes was very self-confident and replied that "if God is the work, plenty of people will be found who will take an interest in it, and be able to carry it on satisfactorily (19)". He added that his leading idea was to give the African students an English training which they can use in their own country, in their own way, and in their own language; there was no special need for the teacher to understand their native language (20)".

Other faultfinders scattered the naught reflection that blacks educated in Europe got so proud and so spoiled. To this awful opinion, Hughes answered that "right training will never make either white or coloured people proud; religion and education tend rather to make people humble and useful (21)". That was also the reason why the founder of the Congo House forbade his African pupils to go about to other towns to speak at meetings, and be petted and spoiled in luxurious drawingrooms. Of course, there would be more money forthcoming from these meetings, but the black children "would grow proud and conceited, and lose their love of hard work and their singleness of purpose (22)".

And even his family tried to keep Hughes from his 'adventure', for fear that this should ruin him financially! The Congo House was established with the view of training

African boys in England in the hope that many of them would return to their native land either as missionaries, schoolmasters, or useful handicraftsmen, such as carpenters, blacksmiths, masons, bricklayers, wheelwrights, tailors, etc.

Hughes judged it useful that white missionaries in Africa should give more attention to industrial training than they should do in "India or China where for thousands years, the natives have been skilful handicraftsmen, weavers, builders etc.; where labour is considered honourable ... and the danger is in paying undue attention to trade and neglecting religion (23)". Just like the majority of his contemporaries, Hughes believed 'that the natives of Africa do not honour work, the men shirk work and despise the worker; they generally force the women to do the menial work, fetch water, cultivate the ground, build their huts ... (24)".

The real reasons for the establishment of the African Institute were promulgated in Hughes' 'Dark Africa and the way out ...' and in some annual reports:

1. Africa needs evangelising and enlightening.
2. The African is able to endure both European and African climates better than Europeans.
  - a) It is a fact, well established by medical authority, that people always stand a colder climate than their own better than a hotter one.
  - b) The above fact has been confirmed during the last six years' experience. All the coloured students who have come to England have stood our climate as well as any European; whereas, on the other hand, about one half of the white missionaries sent to some parts of Africa die in a few years.
3. Africans will naturally have more influence over their own countrymen than foreigners will.
  - a) They have been born in Africa, therefore they will be more in sympathy with their countrymen.
  - b) They are perfectly acquainted with the language of their own people.
  - c) They are of the same colour, and know well the native prejudices and modes of thought and action.
4. By keeping African students for some years in this

country, away from the surrounding superstitions and evil influences of their people, we have the best possible advantage of giving them a high moral, spiritual, and industrial training.

5. What they witness in the homes and lives of Christian people will be calculated to create in them a desire to evangelise and civilise their own countrymen.
6. An institution of this kind can be more easily and advantageously conducted in this country than in Africa.
  - a) Those who train the students enjoy better health, and are less hindered in their work by sickness.
  - b) The pupils have a better chance of learning our language, customs, etc., thoroughly (25)".

These reasons need some comment. Firstly, the above statements were confirmed by the fact that the Baptist Missionary Society, in which Hughes partook, lost twelve white members, several of whom died from their first fever, within a few weeks after their arrival in Congo.

Secondly, Hughes had the opinion that the formation of African auxiliaries in Europe offered a double advantage. On the one hand, an European missionary should always cost a lot more to his society than an African. Thereabout, he expounded that "coloured missionaries have been used to the simple and cheap food of their country, and they do not want European conveniences and the luxuries of civilised life. Their land is fertile, and by a little labour their support is assured from the soil. Fruitful trees abound, such as the palm or datetree, the plantain, orange, etc., the produce of which is the native food. There are no rents, tithes, or taxes; they are all freeholders there. Very little ready money is required, only a few pounds for European clothing, owing to their change of habits ... (26)". On the other hand, one should know that at the time, all building material for constructions at the banks of the Congo river, had to be bought in Europe and shipped at great expense.

Thirdly, Hughes, wishing the African missionaries to be self-reliant, wanted native preachers to be placed in native churches as soon as possible. In his thought, "it ought to be the first duty of every missionary when he enters a foreign field to look for native preachers to take the place of

himself ... the natural way of giving every country and kindred home missionaries (27)".

Here Hughes speaks as a native and nationalist Welshman! "The Africans, he continued, like every other nationality, desire that their teachers shall come from amongst themselves, and who can blame them for what is reasonable and natural (28)"? He asserted hereby that he had never known an Englishman master the Welsh language, nor a Welshman the English language, so as to speak and write fluently and grammatically correct, unless they began the study before they are twenty years old. He pretended also that it is a hard task to learn a foreign language at all, and almost impossible to pray in that language, but he could never pray in that language, praying being far harder than preaching, one's mothertongue except. Hughes, declaring he always preferred to pray in Welsh, revealed himself as a 'nationalist' on this point.

Hughes rejected the material and financial dependence of preachers from some outward source. He was convinced that churches ought to support their ministers. Briefly, he believed that "a minister or missionary should be dependent upon the people under his care, humanly speaking, for natural bread, as they are dependent upon him for spiritual bread - a very happy exchange (29)".

Hughes did not believe it should make any difference sending white or black American missionaries to Africa. And he asserted two reasons for this. On the one hand, missionaries from Europe and America, whether white or coloured, going to Africa, usually know little or nothing of the language of the people who were to be their flock. In this way, coloured missionaries from the United States also had to encounter this language difficulty. On the other hand, Hughes thought coloured men born in America could not stand the climate of Central Africa as well as the natives. The black Americans had breathed the air of America all their lives, drunk the water of America, and eaten the food of modern America. They were even so accustomed to the countless conveniences of a more industrialised world; they travelled from place to place in swift and luxurious steamcars, instead of toiling along the narrow, rocky paths of Africa; they slept on comfortable couches, not on hammocks, campbeds, and wooden tresles of the Congo; they lived in cosy houses, not in huts, tents and grass stores (30).

For a long time the Island of Madeira was believed to be the most suitable place for a training college, the climate being mild and healthy to both white and coloured residents. But finally, he found the moral surroundings not quite good enough: "Madeira is inhabited by Portuguese, who consider themselves to be a civilised people, yet their morals are awful, and this contaminating influence would imperil any educational institution (31)". In brief, he wanted the African converts educated in a protestant environment anywhere in Europe or in the New World!

At that time, he still feared that the climate of Britain would be too cold in the winter for African students. But seven years of experience removed that objection. Hughes believed also that there is no country on earth with such religious surroundings as Wales where there is a Bible in every house, and every can read it: "English visitors notice the frequency and fervour of our religious services, the hearty singing, the zeal, enthusiasm, and responsive 'Amens', the general and reverent observance of the Day of Rest, with its Sunday-schools, to which old and young are to be seen wending their way, Bible in hand (32)". Here again, Hughes is manifesting his Welsh nationalism!

And what is more, Colwyn Bay, sometimes called the 'Naples of Wales', had several attractions: "Its climate is mild and healthy, the town is beautiful and rising one, the people are pious and obliging, and in other respects it bears a good name, and will compare very favourably in the eyes of our African students with the miserable villages in their own country. The vicinity of Liverpool, the port of arrival, was another favouring fact. Then my ministerial duties brought me to Colwyn Bay ... (33)".

Hughes' plans also embraced an institute on similar lines for the education of African girls. So later on, he divided his establishment in a 'Girls' Institute' and a 'Boys' Institute'. We just have knowledge of one mulatto girl from the Congo, named Ernestina Francis, who stayed some years at Colwyn Bay.

By and by, the project rose to quarter African Institutes at different points on the African seaboard. There, natives should be trained for some years. Afterwards, the most promising elements would be selected and sent for further education to the 'Alma Mater Institute' at Colwyn Bay. So on

June 24th 1893, Hughes sailed on the S/S Teneriffe to a great many places on the West Coast of Africa and from this visit resulted the inauguration of five branch institutes: 1° the 'Pembroke Institute' in Victoria (Cameroons); 2° The Glamorgan Institute in Aqua Town (sic: Akwa-Douala, Cameroons); 3° The Ricks Institute near Monrovia (Liberia); 4° The Russell Institute in Clay Ashland (Liberia); 5° The Alfred Jones Institute in Bugama (Niger Protectorate). (34).

Hughes intended to bring African children for a four or five years' course of study and industrial apprenticeship. At the expiration of the term they were to return to their fatherland as missionaries, schoolmasters, and handicraftsmen. The first year was consecrated to learning English. At the close of the first twelve months the African pupils were allowed to choose a trade in which they were apprenticed. And most gratefully, Hughes could boast of Welsh masters accepting them without the usual fees. All students learned to work in the garden and look after poultry, but in the midst of all, the one great object of their presence in Colwyn Bay was training them to be ministers of the Gospel. According to their choices, one was apprenticed to a wheelwright, one to a carpenter, one to a printer and another to a blacksmith. They also received instruction from a doctor in the village in bandaging and dressing wounds.

The students even had to pass exams. The examiner's reports were sent to the Committee of the Congo House and sometimes reproduced in the annual report (35)".

This training school was more a kind of boarding-school, where the African pupils were residents and went out to take lessons. It was Hughes' dream to get more than fifty African internals in his establishment.

As a matter of course, no lessons about African history or geography were given, the African students receiving the selfsame studyprogramme as their Welsh fellows. Hence, there was no question of an adaptation of the courses to the daily reality of the African students.

These Congolese pioneers spoke and wrote a fluent English, and maybe Welsh as well, after their stay overthere. But it was harmful to them that they practically completely ignored French which was more frequently used by the Leopoldian Congo

Administration. So these English-speaking Congolese could not start even a little career in the colonial administration. Even their brothers and sisters who were educated at home by protestant missionaries, shared in the ignorance of French of their Anglo-saxon teachers. Only at the beginning of the present century, the protestant missionaries commenced to spare no pains to master French and teach this language to their pupils.

#### H.-M. STANLEY AND KING LEOPOLD II AS PATRONS.

As time went on, several important companies joined in sympathy with the Congo House. the 'Elder Dempster & Co' of the 'British and African Steam Navigation Company', generously offered to bring over converts from Africa to Liverpool, and to take them back, when educated, free of cost. Moreover, when this offer became known, the 'St Tudno Steamboat Company' agreed to convey them from Liverpool to Llandudno, near Colwyn Bay.

As we said earlier, in 1889, a Committee was created to carry on the work Hughes had started up. This Committee met the first time in April 4th 1889; Hughes was assigned to director and secretary. It must be said that Hughes worked intensively and that he was extremely preoccupied to gain the sympathy of Henry-Morton Stanley and the King of Belgium, Leopold II.

#### Stanley and the Congo House.

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Stanley, or John Rowlands with his real name, born in Denbigh on May 15th of 1840, and Hughes had both their Welsh origin in common.

Stanley acquired a deep understanding of Hughes' project for an obvious reason: He himself had formerly adopted an African child and he did all he could to bring this black assistant to Europe to raise his intellectual level.

Indeed, on September 7th of 1870, when looking for David Livingstone, Stanley received by an Arab chief in the surroundings of Tabora (Tanzania), a little boy named Ndugu Mhali, what means 'riches of my brother'. This name

displaying Stanley, the latter followed the advice of another Arab chief to call the little boy 'Kalulu' or 'the fawn of the pygmy-antelope', referring to the little body and the brilliant eyes of the child (36).

After his first expedition to Central Africa, Stanley returned to England accompanied by Kalulu. The last mentioned went for instructions to a British school. And when during his holidays Stanley set out for a mission to the Gold Coast, Edwan Marston accepted to take care of the young boy and sent the whole time through news about the educational progress to him. The adoptive son of Stanley even made a visit to the United States of America.

Kalulu went back homewards together with Stanley, and was a very exquisite and devoted assistant to his master. Nevertheless, it was a disillusion to Stanley when the apple of his eye ran away when an epidemy of smallpox broke out in the caravan. But on the way to Nyangwe (Congo Free State), Stanley lost his black ward who accidentally died on October 24th of 1876, when a gun felt and unloaded unfortunately in his direction (37).

Already in 1888, the renowned Congo explorer promised Hughes to lecture in favour of his Congo House. Stanley fulfilled his pledge on Monday 15th of June 1891, when he held a lecture at Carnavon Pavillion where he delivered a speech on his 'Twenty-three years in Africa'.

Stanley was showered with an incalculable amount of honours: Carnavan was profusely decorated with bunting, and excursion-trains from various ports arrived, so that it presented an animated appearance. A vast concourse of people came together and cheered enthusiastically the Africa explorer, this being his first visit to North Wales. In the evening, the great pavillion, capable of holding 8000 people, was three-parts full, notwithstanding the high price for admission.

Stanley made a warm pleading in favour of the Congo House, which he introduced as a grand enterprise. He expressed also in public his will to become one of the patrons of it. It goes without saying that Hughes took this occasion to ask him to use all his ingenuity and all his influence to enlist the collaboration of Leopold II for the Congo Institute (38).

And so Stanley voiced the longing of Hughes in a letter addressed to the Belgian monarch on July 7th of 1891:

"Sire, London, July 7th 1891  
I have been requested to bring to Your Majesty's notice the work of the Revd W. Hughes of Colwyn Bay - North Wales. Mr. Hughes was formerly a Baptist Missionary at Bayneston on the Congo. Finding that his health suffered greatly in Africa, and yet feeling great interest in Congo natives, he conceived the idea of bringing Congo natives to Wales and educating them there. The experiment began with has been carried out very successfully. Friends appreciating his efforts are beginning to subscribe liberally for enlarging the Institute so as to accomodate 50 boys. What I have seen of the boys and the teachers impresses me very much. As the latter does not confine himself to teaching them to read and write and become Christians, but he also teaches them to handle tools, until the boys have become skillful in carpenting and blacksmithing, etc. I am asked therefore as Mr. Hughes' efforts are directed to the improvement of some of Your Majesty's subjects, to intercede with Your Majesty that You will permit the use of Your Royal Name as Patron of the Institution. This does not involve any subscription, but Mr. Hughes believes that by Your Royal Patronage it would acquire rank and merit in the eyes of many Christians in his neighbourhood. I have the honor to enclose for Your Inspection the last Report of the Institute issued by Mr. Hughes. I beg to remain Your Majesty's most devoted Servant. To His Majesty, King Leopold II H.M. Stanley (39)"

Leopold II consented to be one of the Patrons of the Congo Training Institute. In his reply, the Belgian King took the opportunity of remembering Stanley of the delay encountered with the ratification of the Brussels' Conference. The following passage comes from his answer to Stanley:

"Ostend (Private) 15th July 1891  
Dear Mr. Stanley,  
I have to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 7th ... in accordance with which I have decided to grant my patronage to the Institution of Mr. Hughes for the education of African natives...  
To Henry Morton Stanley Léopold (40)"

Meanwhile, Stanley went to rest to Switzerland, whence, on July 17th of 1891, he informed Hughes about the gracious authorisation the Belgian monarch gave to use his name as a patron of his establishment (41)".

A day later, on July 18th 1891, Stanley announced to Leopold II that he had communicated to Hughes the royal approval to the patronage of the 'Congo House' of Colwyn Bay:

"Grand Hôtel des Alpes Murren, Switzerland

Sire,

July 18th 1891

I have conveyed Your gracious permission to the Congo Institute - North Wales to use Your Royal name as Patron of it. Expressing at the same time the hope, that the promise of usefulness, and good which I saw, and which recommended itself to Your gracious notice would be realised.

I have also noticed Your Majesty's remarks in reference to Your cherished project, the delay with ...

H.M. Stanley (42)"

The above mentioned correspondence clearly shows that the Sovereign of the Congo Free State attached importance to the recommendations and the opinion of Stanley, his beloved Congo traveller. We will also mention by the way that Leopold II already had accepted to be the godfather of 'Leopold Vidi', the first pupil of the abbot Van Impe, the founder of the 'Oeuvre de l'Education des Jeunes Congolais en Belgique'. People might expect the Sovereign of the Congo treat the catholic and the protestant missionaries on an equal base.

King Leopold II and the Congo House.

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The preceding paragraph already acknowledged how Leopold II came to accept to grant his patronage to the African Institute of Colwyn Gay; it happened through the medium of Stanley. The Chief of the King's Cabinet was charged to inform Hughes about the King's decision. Count de Borchgrave d'Altena fulfilled his task on July 14th 1891 (43).

Hughes was deeply appreciative of the royal assent and, in the name of the Committee of the Congo Training Institute, he thanked the Belgian King. In his answer, written on August 4th of 1891, the founder of the Congo House explained the importance of Leopold's patronage:

"Congo Training Institute

Colwyn Bay,...

Aug. 4th 1891

To His Most Excellent Majesty,  
Leopold II, King of the Belgians.

May it please Your Majesty to allow me on behalf of the Committee of the above Institute to convey their most sincere thanks for Your Majesty's gracious Patronage, with which our work has recently been so highly honoured. The following is the resolution which was unanimously passed by the Committee after the receipt of Your gracious letter.

That we desire most gratefully to acknowledge the great honour conferred upon our Institution, by His Most Excellent Majesty, Leopold II, King of the Belgians, for becoming its Patron, which gracious Act, we are confident, add much weight and influence to the success of a scheme destined to accomplish so much good in Central Africa.'

May it please Your Majesty to accept the enclosed report of our work. I have the honour to remain, with the profoundest respect, Your Majesty's most faithful servant.

W. Hughes (44)"

Hughes received from King Leopold's Cabinet the following words of thank for his previous letter:

"Cabinet du Roi, n° 3  
Monsieur,

Bruxelles, le 10/8/91

Le Roi a reçu votre lettre du 4 de ce mois par laquelle vous Lui faites part de la récente résolution du Comité de l'Institut pour l'éducation des Jeunes Africains et vous transmettez en même temps à S.M. un exemplaire du rapport de l'établissement pour les années 1889-1891.

Le Roi me charge de vous adresser des remerciements au sujet de cette communication.

Agréer ...

très distinguée ...

W. Hughes, Secrétaire ... de Borchgrave d'Altena (45)".

Hughes felt now unshakable ground under the feet; the patronage of King Leopold II excited him tremendously. At length, he began to prize above all the labor the Sovereign of the Congo Free State executed in the heart of Africa and which he described with the following words: "... a prince in his philanthropic ideas, (he) has expended millions on the banks of the Congo, in order to give the light of

civilisation to his forty million dusky subjects, and he said to a friend ... 'you can spend your money as you like; you can have a hobby whatever you like: this is my hobby, and there' I will spend my money (46)".

During the spring of 1892, Hughes published his book 'Dark Africa and the way out ...' This was dedicated to King Leopold, Stanley and to Elder Dempster. Hughes naturally sent a copy of it to the Belgian King. The next letter was annexed to it:

"Congo Training Institute Colwyn Bay, ...  
To His Most Excellent Majesty May 20th 1892  
May it please Your Excellent Majesty to accept a copy of a book which I have recently written, entitled: 'Dark Africa and the Way out', and which is dedicated to Your Most Excellent Majesty, H.M. Stanley ... & to the Chief supporters of our work Elder Dempster & C°, Liverpool.  
Your Majesty will notice references to the noble work accomplished by Your Majesty on the Congo.  
I also send a copy of our new report. I have the honour to remain with the profoundest respect, Your Majesty's most faithful servant.

W. Hughes (47)"

When passing the above letter to the King, de Borchgrave made the following jotting on it:

"Mons. W. Hughes qui, par la lettre ci-jointe, prie le Roi d'accepter un exemplaire de son livre 'Dark Africa & the way out' est le Secrétaire de l'Institut pour l'Education de Jeunes Africains, à Colwyn Bay, auquel le Roi a daigné accorder son Patronage au mois de juillet dernier, à la demande de M. Stanley. M. Hughes n'a pas été autorisé à dédier ce livre à Sa Majesté, en même temps qu'à Stanley et aux MM. Elder Dempster & C° (48)".

But Leopold II didn't take de Borchgrave's remark too seriously; he gave a very short answer: "accepter et remercier". And de Borchgrave made the following answer for Hughes:

"Cabinet du Roi, n° 167 Bruxelles, le 30/5/1892  
Monsieur,  
Le Roi a reçu votre lettre du 20 de ce mois et un exemplaire

de votre livre 'Dark Africa & the way out' et un rapport de l'Institut pour l'éducation de jeunes Africains.

Le Roi ayant consenti à accepter ces hommages m'a chargé de vous transmettre ses remerciements pour l'attention que vous avez eue de la Lui vouloir adresser.

Mr. Hughes, Secrétaire ... de Borchgrave d'Altena (49)".

Afterwards, the correspondence exchanged between the Congo House and the Leopold's Cabinet came to a halt for a while. But it didn't mean that the Belgian King ceased to grant his patronage to this institution.

When in 1902, the Congo House was incorporated and placed on a permanent and businesslike footing, Hughes endeavoured after a renewed enthusiastic interest of King Leopold II for his establishment. He informed the Belgian monarch by this way:

"African Training Institute Dec. 19th 1902  
To His Most Excellent Majesty,

May it please Your Majesty to accept from me a copy of our last report, together with a copy of the memorandum and articles of association, which will show Your Majesty that the Institute has recently been incorporated and placed on a permanent and businesslike basis. These documents have been printed at the Institute by the African students with their manager, and lawyers in London, who have unique experience in these matters, have carried the business through for us. I thought that Your Majesty, who takes such deep interest in the dark continent of Africa, would be pleased to hear of this important step taken by the Institute, as Your Majesty has been a patron of it for so many years through my friend, Sir Henry Morton Stanley.

Wishing Your Majesty a happy Christmas and a bright and prosperous New Year, I remain Your Majesty's most humble servant.  
W. Hughes (50)"

The Belgian Court didn't fail to answer Hughes' letter, although it did so in a very classical way:

"Cabinet du Roi, n° 03/15 Bruxelles, le 10/1/1903  
Monsieur,

Le Roi a reçu le dernier rapport de l'African Training Institute et les autres documents que vous avez eu l'attention de Lui adresser.

Sa M. a appris avec plaisir ce développement et les progrès de l'utile institution que vous dirigez, et Elle forme les meilleurs voeux pour que celle-ci sous sa nouvelle dénomination, celle continue à prospérer.

S.M. vous remercie également des souhaits que vous voulez bien Lui exprimer à l'occasion de la Noël et du Nouvel An. Veuillez ...Mons. Hughes ... très distinguée ... Colwyn Bay, North Wales ... de Borchgrave (51)".

Some months later, in May 1903, the Annual Conference of the African Institute got scent of the intention of Leopold II to visit next July Liverpool where he should meet his friend Alfred Jones. In a letter, dated May 18th, Hughes, on behalf of this Conference, proposed to invite the King to come and see the African Institute at Colwyn Bay, which was only about three hours sail from Liverpool:

"African Training Institute, May 18th 1903  
To His Most Excellent Majesty ...

May it please Your Majesty to accept this letter from me on behalf of the annual Conference of the African Institute, which was held here on Saturday last. I enclose for Your Majesty's perusal a short paragraph from one of the Liverpool papers containing an account of the meeting.

Our Association has noticed with pleasure that Your Majesty intends to proceed to Liverpool in Your Majesty's Yacht in July next, and to visit our great friend, Sir Alfred Jones, K.C.M.G.. Colwyn Bay being only about three hours sail from Liverpool it occurred to us that Your Majesty might graciously grant us the honour of a visit at this beautiful seaside resort, where Your Majesty would see about twenty-five African students, in whose race Your Majesty has taken such deep and practical interest in the past. I can assure Your Majesty that the friends of our institution, like Sir H.M. Stanley and Sir Alfred Jones, are too well acquainted with Your Majesty's philanthropic spirit and interest in Africa, to believe that the atrocities reported from the region of the Congo river, if true, have, in any way, Your Majesty's approval.

Colwyn Bay, in July and August, is visited by thousands of persons from all parts of the United Kingdom, and with Your Majesty's gracious permission, our association propose, on the occasion of that visit, to present Your Majesty with an address in commemoration of the benefits conferred by Your Majesty upon the continent of Africa, and of the honour



proposal, as the Council of the Institute, to present Your Majesty with an address referring to Your Majesty's philanthropic work in Africa, and also the Town Council of Colwyn Bay would feel it a great honour to be allowed to present a similar address on behalf of the town. If couring from Liverpool in Your Majesty's Yacht it would be needful to land at the pier at Rhos-on-Sea, which is about a mile from Colwyn Bay. With Your Majesty's permission we would have a band and procession with a carriage to drive Your Majesty to the Pavilion, where we would arrange a short musical programme in which some of the Welsh choirs and the African students would take part, afterwards driving up to the Institute for a short visit, and concluding with luncheon at one of the hotels.

I shall be greatly obliged if Your Majesty, when it is convenient, will let me know the time Your Majesty will be likely to visit us, and whether the above programme would be acceptable to Your Majesty.

I remain Your Majesty's most humble servant.

W. Hughes, (55)"

It needs no explaining that Hughes liked to use, once more, Leopold's project of meeting Alfred Jones in Liverpool as a felicitous means to give to his school a considerable publicity and a strong stimulus. But as far as we know, Hughes was out of luck because Leopold II cancelled his trip to Liverpool.

It is worth mentioning that in the beginning of the 20th century the composition of patrons became more africanised. On the annual lists figured from then on the names of Ademuyiwa, a prince from West Africa, sir Samuel Lewis, from Sierra Leone and the first African native to be knighted by the British Queen to be a companion of the most distinguished Order of Saint Michael and Saint George, and King Gbadebo, the Alake of Abeokuta.

#### THE CONGOLESE STUDENTS.

A list of the African students that had lived at the training school of Hughes, was reproduced in the annual report of 1908-1909. Eighty-four names, with the origin of each child

and his later field of labour, were given. At the moment that this African Institute had to close its doors, altogether eighty seven coloured pupils had been trained in North Wales. They all returned, except for the few that died there, to evangelize and to promote civilisation in various parts of the African continent. Some of them also passed successfully some years at the University of Edinburgh (56).

Twelve children from the Congo State had stepped ashore at Liverpool to be brought up in Colwyn Bay:

Names	Field of labour
Kinkasa	deceased
Nkanza Ross	deceased
Frank Teva	Upper Congo
Daniel Harvey	deceased
Thomas Wamba	Upper Congo
William Lufwilu	Upper Congo
M. Samba	deceased
George Fraser	Gold Coast
Ernestina Francis	Southern Nigeria
Mimpowkwa	Upper Congo
Nkanza Leger	Upper Congo
Lulu Coote	South Africa (57)

A few Congolese boys like Nkanza Ross, Daniel Harvey and Frank Teva Clark generally went by the name of the missionaries in whose trust they were or who had freed them from slavery. Hence a kind of fellowship arose between these boys and their masters, the Anglo-saxon missionaries. The system somehow made us think of the American negro slaves who herited the name of their owners.

Not all Congolese went back to their country: three of them, George Fraser, Ernestine Francis and Lulu Coote, were sent to work respectively in Gold Coast, Southern Nigeria and South Africa. Death took away two Congolese future missionaries from the Congo House: one of them died of sleeping sickness, having ailing from this complaint for nine months; the other met with an accident, a fall causing a rupture, and died (58).

For Hughes, it was highly desirable to get suitable students converted and trained in Africa as much as possible before

being sent to his institution, and evidence given that they are truly devoted and determined to consecrate themselves entirely to the service of God in their country in the future. When such evidence was supplied, the younger the students were when sent to Colwyn Bay, the better, he believed, because they would have a longer time for study, and be in a more receptive state for learning English and acquiring the education and practical training necessary for their future vocation. Hughes was aware, he said, that students who were over twenty, stood not so good a chance of picking up English or of assimilating the habits and customs of a christian country. Young minds, continued Hughes, would be more easily influenced and shaped by the Congo House than older ones.

The following pages are devoted to some of the young Congolese students who resided in Colwyn Bay. Some of them remained in touch with Hughes after they returned back home. Their letters will be reproduced in the present study.

Nkanza, one of the two first Congolese students  
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Nkanza and Kinkasa were the pioneer students who arrived with Hughes at Colwyn Bay in September 1885. Kinkasa died before the end of his education.

Nkanza was one of the eighteen boys, enlisted at Bayneston (Lower Congo) as his pupils. He came from the village, Vunda is the name. Nkanza was a slave to the old chief of this village, his mother also being a slave. She had begged Hughes to deliver her son, and between them they got the old chief willing to let Nkanza go, on condition that Hughes would pray so much for his freedom, for the chief was afraid that Nkanza would merely run away without the owner getting payment for him.

Hughes offered a bale of grey baft from Rylands', of Manchester, value about 4£10s. to the chief for Nkanza's freedom. An agreement was drawn up by Hughes; the chief and those next to him put their mark upon it, and two white men signed it together with Hughes. The latter kept the document, and wanted to give it to Nkanza on his return to show to the Government of the Congo Free State, if any attempt should be made to take him captive again.

When Hughes and Nkanza met each other for the first time, the latter had very bad feet; there were in it a lot of 'jiggers'; parasites which burrow in the skin and lodge itself in the feet, causing much suffering. Nkanza could hardly put his feet on the ground, only just the toe, the heel being completely honeycombed by these jiggers. Hughes, thinking on the biblical narration of the footwashing, washed first of all Nkanza's feet and extracted the pestilent creatures. And so Hughes won the sympathy of Nkanza (59).

Nkanza was with Hughes at Underhill for about eighteen months and was of great help to the Welsh missionary in getting a new school.

Once in Colwyn Bay, he quite soon received from his master, E. Owen, a prize for 'improvement in English grammar' and another for 'general improvement'. Then he was sent to Powlson to perfect himself in the printing trade.

About a year after his arrival in North Wales, the sorrowful news came to Nkanza that his mother had died. Nkanza, converted, was baptized and received in fellowship at Colwyn Bay in September 1889. He was subsequently trained to commit the New Testament in English to memory. At first, stated Hughes, he could only memorise six or eight verses a day, but as his English and his memory improved by practice, he gradually got to learn a chapter in a very short time. He committed the whole book of the Revelation to memory in nine days. The task, narrated Hughes, was done so quickly because Nkanza wanted to get a fortnight's holiday as soon it was finished.

With a faith to move mountains, Hughes immediately took on lecturing tours, hoping to collect money for his institute by that means. So he sometimes took Nkanza, a very valuable attraction, with him. Once at tour in Aberystwith, Nkanza repeated from memory to a minister in that neighbourhood, three chapters of Revelation, a one day's task.

Daniel Harvey, the first returned Congolese

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Daniel Harvey only made a very short stay in Colwyn Bay. He arrived at the African Institute together with Frank Teva, Nkanza and others in 1888. It was Isaac R. Hughes, a carpenter and probably relative of William Hughes, who did

praiseworthy efforts in teaching Daniel his trade. Daniel returned by the Nubia to his country on July 29th 1890.

By their departure, a lot of presences, such as books, tools, etc., were compiled in favour of them. Hughes preferred to support them by this way than by grants of money. He believed that to pay fixed stipends to native preachers would be a great mistake, because "such a system attracts a number of men for the sake of their salaries. It would, went he on, multiply hypocrites who preach for pence, and they are already too numerous (60)".

When Daniel Harvey departed, benefactors and benefactresses overloaded him with gifts such as: English & Welsh bibles, writing papers, a writing desk, and an English dictionary; pairs of scissors, singlets, socks, shoes, silk handkerchiefs and shirts; a walking stick, neckties, collars and hairbrushes; an iron foot & stand, sharpening stones, a moulding plane, a measuring line, a measuring tape, a saw, a reaper, pocket knives, a chisel and so on (61).

Upon his return, Daniel Harvey laboured at Lukunga with one of the American Baptist Missionaries. There he was of great use as a carpenter and preached the Gospel. Lukunga station was a center of great activity surrounded by branch stations which were visited by Daniel and other missionary helpers.

In one of his letters, he said that the people were very fond of asking him questions about the 'white man's country' (Mputu) and were most interested to hear all about it. They nicknamed him the 'white-black man' or the 'black-white man'; white because he had been to the far off unknown mputu, and black because he still was one of them (62).

From a letter which the mundele ndombe or white-black man Daniel Harvey sent to an friend of his in Colwyn Bay, we can notice that he soon was transferred to Kinkamba:

"... I must tell you that some of my friends are very pleased at your kindness of which I told them. I do hope by the Lord's help I shall soon be settled at a permanent station of my own. I am going to live at Kinkamba altogether for there I am to be and indeed I am anxious to get a native hut there until I will put up my own house.

Some are anxious to be taught by me carpentry and some are asking me to teach them English and they say 'we are willing to let you have one of our houses to live in until you build your own, but you must not go about preaching;' and then I told them 'If I live with you and teach you only what you think best I should be doing wrong thing against God and against you.' (63)"

Daniel Harvey remained in contact with Hughes. One of his letters addressed to his former master, illustrates, among other interesting things, that not all missionaries were happy with the initiative of the Congo House:

"My dear Mr. Hughes,

I hope you are quite well, as I am in Congo Land. I was really glad to get your very kind letter, but I was very sorry, to hear of the death of Mrs. Hughes'sisters. I am very sorry indeed. It is a good thing we are christians, we shall not meet again here, but we shall meet in heaven.

I am so glad Frank is coming to Congo this coming summer. I am going to live at Kinkamba and I am only waiting for another coloured carpenter to take my place then I shall go there. I have been there having a look at it and when I approached the place, I met the old stout King and he was very pleased with me and my visit. He said to me, 'I will take you to my son's house' and so indeed he did.

As we entered his town I saw two men looking very happy as they came towards us. One had a tall, fine, light body, not black as I am, not nearly so black and this was his son, and he has heard the Gospel. Both of them shook hands with me; they led me between them after the King. The christian son told me, 'we were just going down to Sama to our Morning service, but as we caught sight of your white coat we said 'our teacher is coming' and we returned to wait for you. Oh! We are glad that you have come.' They took me to their house and we had a talk about our Saviour and I spoke to others who had also come there to see me as soon as they heard that 'black-white man' had come. Some of them listened very attentively to the Gospel and the Christian son prayed and gave thanks to God for sending me to them to be their preacher. Again we very enjoyed the 3rd Sunday this year January 17th, 1892. The people were this time much more homely, not so suspicious as they are in some towns. The towns in this neighbourhood are large and there are plenty of people -larger than Lukunga and Palabala- and I am glad

to tell you that God is doing a wonderful work here. There are lots of places who want preachers to live among them and to teach them to read and write. We are few, but thank God He is able to increase our number and He will make known His will.

Please pray that the Great Creator God may bless me to bring lots of blind men and women to Jesus Christ who has made me a servant to do His work here. Please remember me to all my friends there, Mr. and Mrs. Evans, Old Colwyn, and all the friends at Colwyn Bay and Llandudno. The people are very pleased to see your photo and are also very pleased to see that of the little girls Katie and her young sister which Mrs. Hughes sent me last.

There are many good boys who would be very glad to come to your Institute, but there are some missionaries against their coming as you know. I have been told the Committee in America wrote also wishing to have some boys sent there. I will ask Mr. Harvey about it and I shall with all my heart and God's help send you some good ones.

Give my best regards to all in the Institute. I remain Yours very faithfully,

Daniel (64)".

By his return, Daniel had several offers to employ him, some of them very advantageous from a worldly point of view such as Heydes, a trader, who liked to have him to act as a transport agent at Matadi; but Daniel refused the offer, preferring the religious work (65).

Frank Teva Clark: the most popular Congolese

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Frank\* Teva Clark had been born in Palabala (Lower Congo). He was won over as a schoolboy by a Scottish missionary, Henry Craven. With the permission of his father, Frank Teva became one of the first pupils of the white missionaries on the Congo River. He remained for about five years in Craven's school, where he made excellent progress even before he was converted.

Frank Teva later told that Craven was not directly the instrument of his conversion; but that a Scottish lady, Miss Kakle, touched his heart one Sunday afternoon in school, and he felt the power of the Gospel more than even before. Frank was baptized in 1885 by Joseph Clark, another Scottish missionary, received into fellowship, and in about three

years sent by the same missionary to the African Institute. He arrived in Colwyn Bay in February 1888.

He was a favourite in the Congo House and in the town of Colwyn Bay as well. Frank learned the wheelwright's trade from a Mr Davies from the same town. Ultimately, he was taught a little surgery. At the end of 1892, Frank, together with other Africans,, Willie Lufwilu, a Congolese, and Kofele, a Cameroones, left Hughes' institute.

On Tuesday evening, November 15th 1892, a farewell meeting was held in the Baptist Chapel, Abergele Road, in Colwyn Bay, into mark the departure of these three black students. Joseph Clark, who had been nurturing Frank Teva in the Congo, was also present. The latter missionary had sent to the Congo House several Congolese lads. Frank and Willy Lufwilu returned to Congo with Clark to assist the latter in his work.

During the festivities, Hughes called upon Frank Teva to say a few words, "but it was easy to see that Frank was too full of emotion to say much to his many friends, amongst whom it can truly be said that he had found a home from home. What he did say, however, fwas said most feelingly and to the point. He thanked all the many kind friends for all their great kindness towards him during his stay in this country, and be entreated them not to forget him in their prayers when he should be far away, that he might be kept faithful and so be enabled to do great work for the Master, amongst his own people. His remarks were received most warmly, and there wer not a few whose eyes were evidently moistened as he bade them all farewell. To a few questions by Mr. Hughes, he replied in a most pleasing and satisfactory manner (66).

Afterwards, Hughes introduced Lufwilu, who offered up a prayer in his native language. The three Africans who were leaving Colwyn Bay, were overloaded with different gifts. By his departure Frank, just like the two other boys, was showered with gifts such as: a writing desk, an inkbottle, an inkstand, a penholder, medical books, a medical case, hymnbooks, clothes, washing soap, tools and so on (67).

On Wednesday-morning, November 16th, a party of eight missionaries set sail from Liverpool for Africa, in Elder Dempster and C's steamer 'Gaboon'. They went out under the

auspices of the Congo Training Institute of Colwyn Bay, and of the American Baptist Missionary Union. The shipping Co gave free passage to the three coloured members of the party; Frank Teva, Willie Lufwilu, and Miss Bessie E. Gardner, a coloured American missionary.

Immediately after his arrival in Matadi, Frank Teva sent the following letter to Hughes:

"Dear Mr. Hughes, Matadi Station, A.B.M.U.  
We have now arrived home safely, after the lot of trouble we have had through our voyage. We had very rough weather when coming through the Bay of Biobay, -all of us were sick. Sometimes Willie and I used to wonder at the rising of the waves- as if nothing could stop them, yet all their roughness and movements are controlled by the Almighty God, who is thier Maker. Again, when we came near Boma the ship struck on the sand, and they tugged, and tugged, to get her off, but it was all in vain, and we had to stay there about two days, and then they sent for a boat from Boma to fetch us, which took some of the things and brought us to Matadi. In about a week afterwards we heard that she had been got off. I must not, however, proceed any further with my letter without humbly giving my best thanks to the committee, and chiefly to yourself and Mrs Hughes, for all that you have done for me, and I myself cannot give you any return for your kindness; but God has a reward for you, and the more work we do for God, the more wages we shall get. May God grant that this work which you have founded may increase greatly! I always remember you in my prayers.  
We are just now at Matadi, making the boat into loads for the men to carry, and I expect that we shall be going to the Upper Congo as soon as we get through that. I have found a great change in this part of the country. If you came here again now, you would find houses all the way from Matadi to Lukunga, and these are fort the travellers to rest.  
The people in my town were crying for joy when they saw me, and they wanted me to stay and keep a school and teach the boys; but I could not agree tot that. The missionaries have been there a good while, and I believe God wants me to go to the Upper Congo, where there is more work to be done than here. I want you, dear Sir, to mention this in the Baptist Chapel, and ask them to remember us in your prayers for the people where we are going are savages. The way the people here seak about them is enough to frighten you, out I will

die for the word of God.

Please will you be so kind as to send me your photo and Mrs. Hughes's. I forgot to ask you for them before I left, and I shall be very glad to have your new report when out.

I have not seen Daniel yet, I dare say he would have been too glad to send his love to you all. My best love to all the friends at Colwyn Bay, and to all the boys. Please thank all the friends who have been so kind to me when at Colwyn Bay.

Hoping to hear from you soon, and may God grant that we may meet again (if not in this world, in the world to come), and may He always be in the midst of you all. My best love to Mrs. Hughes, and to yourself, and dear little Stanley. I remain with kind regards your affectionate,

Frank T. Clark (68)"

It is very striking, on the one hand, to read the very religious expressions of Frank Teva; on the other hand, it is remarkable how he was considering the people of the Upper Congo as 'savages'!

Willie Lufwilu, who went back to the Congo together with Frank Teva on November 16th 1892, arrived in Colwyn Bay on May 22nd 1891 in the society of three other Congolese students : Samba, Thomas Wamba and George Fraser. Frank Teva remained in touch with Hughes and his earlier friends in Old Colwyn and Colwyn Bay frequently. In the annual report of 1893-1894, we digged up the following undated letter which Frank sent to Mrs Hughes:

"Dear Mrs Hughes, Lake Matumba Station, A.B.M.U.

How pleased I was again to hear some Colwyn Bay news. I felt quite happy indeed, just like if I were there. A few days ago I had a letter from a kind friend at Colwyn Bay, and that again cheered me up. His name is Mr. Powlson.

We have at last come to the end of our journey, and I am now doing the work which God had appointed me to do, saying, 'Frank, leave your father and your mother and friends and come and work for me, for I am your king'. What a gratification it is to have God as your king and father. I am indeed very happy that my name is written in the book of life, but sorry about my friends at home. But it is their own fault. They got the chance, and yet they prefer to work for the devil.

Our boat is now finished, and she is very useful to us. Mr.

and Mrs. Clark are staying at Erabou (sic: Irebu) at present, but they come here every twelve days and go back again to Irebu. They have left me here at Ikoko. This is the name of the town. We are building our station with eight men; I get some money to pay them every day for working, and some medicine for bandaging their wounds, and so you see that the little medical training I had from Dr. Rutter was not in vain, but useful. I think it would not be a bad idea for every student in your Institute to know a little about medicine before he goes out to do the work, for it is a very useful thing.

Dear Mrs. Hughes, do not be disappointed because I did not answer your letter sooner, for we are very busy at present. Please tell Mr. Davies not to think that I have forgotten him, that the next letter will be his. I hope he is doing well at his work in Old Colwyn and Colwyn Bay. Give my best love to Mrs. Davies.

And so Mr. Hughes has gone through the gate of Africa once more. I hope he will do well in whatever part he is gone, and return home safe again. I was very sorry to hear that you lost your little baby. We must only look up to God. This is the worse part I have yet seen, we are apart so much in this world. It is best to be in heaven where there is no parting, only we must wait a little until we are called.

I was pleased to know of the progress you have made in your Institute. I hope you will always do well in your work through God's help, for what can a man do without God's help. Give my best love to Mrs. Brackstone, and tell her that I will write to her one day. Remember me to Kate and to Daisy, and to all the friends in the Bay. Do not be afraid to write a longer letter, for I will be too glad to hear from Wales. Mr. and Mrs. Clark send their best regards to you. Daniel and Mr. Harvey are very far from us. I must now, dear Mrs. Hughes, come to an end. I always think of you, like you think of me.

Yours, ever in Christ,

Frank Teva Clark

P.S.- If you see Mr. Barnard, remember me to him, and tell him that I will write to him some time. Don't be too long in writing to me, but write when you have time, for I shall always remember you as long as I live in this world. Tell Mr. Davies to write to me (69)"

In the above transcribed letter, Frank Teva expressed his

satisfaction about the medical course he got in Colwyn Bay and which he saw as very useful for working in Africa. This letter was addressed to Mrs. Hughes because William Hughes was on that moment on visit to West Africa.

In the annual report of 1897-1898, another letter of Frank Teva was printed. Once again, Frank was talking about his daily tasks but also about the future of the A.B.M.U.-missions in the Upper Congo:

"My Dear Mr. Hughes, Ikoko Station, A.B.M.U.

Lake Ntomba, C.F.S.

I am, through the Lord's power, well, and hope that you are all the same at the Institute, and that your work is still increasing.

Before I go any further, I must humbly beg your pardon for not writing to you earlier. Do not think that I have forgotten you. I shall not give up writing to you until I am called up from this world into heaven, where there is no more parting, and where we shall see each other, and enjoy the place together. Some months ago, a letter came from the American Union, saying that all the Mission Stations up here are to be given up. Irebo is the first station that has been given up. The missionaries that were staying at this place have gone down country, and Mr. Clark, the Ikoko missionary, has sent me here to take charge of this station, until some other arrangements are made. It may be, that it will be sold to the state. I do not know. It is not very far from Ikoko, about half a day's journey by steamer.

I hold services twice daily, besides the school, which are attended by a good number of persons, so you see I am doing God's work. I think I shall send you a walking-stick, made out of this wood, by Mr. Clark's brother-in-law, who will be going home in about a month's time.

Please will you kindly send me a book, 'How I found Livingstone', one of Mr. Stanley. I should like it very soon. My best compliments to all who have connection with the Institute, and all the kind friends in Colwyn Bay.

Please write soon. I must now end my letter, and remain, with kind regards, yours truly.

Frank Teva Clark (70)"

In the annual report of 1902, a new letter by Frank Teva was inserted. This time, he was telling about his removal:

"Dear Mr. Hughes, Ikoko Station, A.B.M.U.

Lake Ntomba, April 27th 1902

Before I go any further I must humbly beg your pardon for keeping you so long without a letter from me. But I dare say you will not mind it much -I mean the delay- as we are so busy in doing things which are connected with the Lord's work. Many, many thanks for the letter and papers you sent me a few months ago. I am staying at Ikoko just now. I have left the station that I was in charge of on the French territory, as you know; I dare say that the French do not like the English very much. They tried to bring small palavers just to get us away from their ground, and I did not like to hear palavers all the time so I was obliged to leave; though the people of those towns were so very sorry to see me leaving them, and begged me to stay, and said that they would give me plenty of money, I refused to stay with them. We are expecting to open another out-station at Ituta. It is by the lake, almost a day's paddle by canoe from Ikoko. The people are crying for me to go and live with them, and I shall go there in a few weeks and begin to build a house. They are so anxious for me to go there that they say they will cut all the sticks and get anything else that I will need for building the house. All the time I have been here I have been going round the Lake preaching to the people. I bought an accordion, which I take with me when I go out preaching and play it to the people, many of whom have never seen an accordion. When I played it, almost the whole town would come out to see what the noise was and then we would preach to them. It is very helpful indeed.

The work at Ikoko is getting on very successfully. We have a big school with about 250 children attending it; that includes the children from the station and the town. We have over 35 members in the church, and many of the bigger boys are married and building good clay houses for themselves. There is plenty of other work which I cannot mention to you just now as it is nearly time for Sunday School, and after that we shall go to the town to hold services amongst the people.

Dear sir, I shall be very thankful to accept the books you intend to send me, and hope that they will be very helpful to me in the work of God. I shall be very glad to get one of Stanley's books, all about his work and explorations as I did not receive the one which you sent me.

Dear sir, I must now close my letter. Hoping to hear from

you soon, I remain, with kind regards, yours truly,  
Frank T. Clark

P.S.- Thank you very much for the photograph of your children. I do not suppose that Katie remembers me now; my best regards to her and all at Colwyn Bay. F.T.C. (71)".

We must remember that the preceding letter had been written almost ten years after Frank Teva had left that very pretty and lovely spot in North Wales, namely Colwyn Bay. Frank Teva spent the rest of his life building the Ikoko station together with Joseph Clark. We think he died in 1927 (72).

#### THE END OF THE 'CONGO HOUSE'.

Although the government of the Congo State initially espoused the idea of giving a western education to some African children in Europe self, it would change its mind at the end of 1894. A royal decree of November 5th 1894 made it practically impossible to persons or to institutions to carry Congolese boys and girls out of its territory.

We think that the main reason for bringing an end to this kind of education, was the fact that the educational policy of the Congo State became more and more instituted. The creation of schoolcolonies had been laid down by the royal decree of July 12th 1890. Meanwhile, the colonial authorities had looked to Belgium for catholic congregations that were willing to assume educational responsibilities in the divers schoolcolonies all over the Congo State. The collaboration of the Scheutfathers was won in 1888; that of the Jesuits in 1893; and that of the Trappistfathers a year later, in 1894. Also female Belgian religious congregations began to conspire with it: the 'Soeurs de la Charité de Jésus et de Marie' (of Gand) and the 'Soeurs de Notre Dame' (of Namur) arrived in Congo respectively in 1891 and in 1894. So the arrival of the different catholic missionary societies enabled the Congolese government to organise on a larger scale the education of Congolese children in Congo; and the formation of Congolese abroad got less utility it believed.

Apparently, there was some trouble on the return of Frank

Teva Clark. When he arrived at Palabala, his home-village, in January 1893, he refused to stay there and work for the chief Noso, preferring to accompany the white missionary to the Upper-Congo. The Noso seems to have objected to Frank's project.

The Gouverneur Général asked for an explanation about this affair to A.L. Bain, at that time the representative of the A.B.M.U. at Matadi. A copy of the letter which E. Wangermée sent to Bain on February 24th 1896, is now missing in the Archives in Brussels. We just found the answer of Bain:

"A.B.M.U. Matadi, 15 septembre 1896  
His Excellency, the Governor General, Boma,  
Dear Sir,

I regret that I have not answered your letter of 24th February before now. Having had to wait for an answer from Mr. Clark and then mislaying his letter I could not answer. Now that I have it at hand I make haste to answer. In re Frank Iteva (sic) Mr. Clark writes: 'Frank came back with me and went to his town in January. The present Noso would have liked him to stay at Palabala to work for him, but Frank refused and engaged to accompany me to the interior, Frank's father and Noso were both aware of the lad's intention to accompany me, and both came and spoke to me about it. Neither made any objection to the plan. I know of no contract with him that was not fulfilled, as I understand he had simply to return to his town on arriving from England (He was there in a school which has King Leopold II as its patron) and return, he did with some presents to his father and chief.

As to Nkango as far as we know he died in America. Again acknowledging my regret that your letter was not answered before now, I remain, yours respectfully,

A.L. Bain (73)"

On September 29th 1896, E. Wangermée passed the preceding letter, together with the next note to de Cuvelier, State Secretary of the Congo State at Brussels:

"E.I.C. Boma, le 29 septembre 1896  
Gouvernement local ... n° 994  
Monsieur le Secrétaire d'Etat,  
Comme suite à ma lettre n° 581 en date du 27 février, j'ai l'honneur de vous faire savoir que je n'ai actuellement reçu

qu'une seule réponse aux lettres que j'adressais le 24 février à Mile Fleming à Irebu, seule signataire résidant au Congo, du contrat d'achat du boy Nkoyo Mbougna et à cette même date à M. le Révérend directeur de l'A.B.M.U. au sujet des boys Frank Iteva et Nkanga (sic Nkanza) emmenés en Angleterre ou en Amérique au mépris des contrats intervenus. M. le Révérend directeur de l'A.B.M.U. me fait savoir que le boy Frank Iteva est revenu au Congo son éducation terminée avec un certain M. Clark, signataire du contrat d'engagement dudit boy, lequel fut engagé le 22 juillet 1885 comme domestique à raison d'une pièce d'étoffe par mois, le boy à son retour s'est refusé à réintégrer son village et il s'est rendu à l'intérieur accompagnant M. Clark, pas un mot au sujet de la résidence actuelle de ce missionnaire.

Quant au boy N'Kanga, que M. Isaac Cardeman avait engagé le 7 décembre 1893, pour être soigné à la mission jusqu'à guérison complète, il serait mort en Amérique. Je prie M. le Directeur de la Justice d'écrire à nouveau à ces mêmes personnes au sujet de ces boys.

Monsieur le Secrétaire d'Etat Pour le Gouv. Gén. absent  
Bruxelles

l'Inspecteur d'Etat,  
E. Wangermée (74)"

There was a big misunderstanding on the side of the colonial government which had the feeling that Mr. Clark and Frank Teva got lost. This was enough to make de Cuvelier reiterate that the royal decree of November 15th 1894 should be respected by the European officials and employees and by the missionaries as well:

"Mr le Gr Gl, Bruxelles, le 5 novembre 1896

Il a été constaté à plusieurs reprises que des jeunes indigènes sont emmenés hors du territoire, sans que les blancs qu'ils accompagnent se conforment aux prescriptions de l'arrêté du 5 novembre 1894 sur cet objet.

La disparition des deux jeunes indigènes Nkoyo Mbougna et Frank Iteva dont m'entretient votre lettre du 29 septembre dernier n° sp 994f., prouve la nécessité d'appliquer strictement les prescriptions de l'arrêté en question et de n'accorder d'exemption que dans des cas tout à fait exceptionnels. J'ai eu soin d'appeler sur ce point l'attention de Mr le Procureur d'Etat Roicourt.

Il est à remarquer que les missionnaires sont en principe

comme des autres blancs, visés par les dispositions restrictives de l'arrêté.

Veuillez ...

Gr Gl, Boma

Van Eetvelde (75)"

We can be sure that from that moment on, no Congolese child was anymore allowed to complete his studies in Colwyn Bay or elsewhere in Europe or America. English-speaking West Africa furnished now the greatest number of black students to Hughes' establishment (76).

About 1900, the African Institute entered a period of crisis. In 1902, for example, Hughes wrote a circular wherein a appeal partly was made "because of the injury done to our (his) funds by the disastrous strike which took place a few years earlier in South Wales, the War in South Africa, the Indian famine, and ... the various Twentieth Century Funds have been draining all the denominations, which, of course assist their respective Institutions. During the financial year ending on March 31th 1908, the funds fell off considerably: the total receipts were £200 less than the previous year. This was a very serious matter for the African Institute for it was entirely depending on charitable contributions, and it had no endowment or reservefunds whatever. In addition to this, the printing department was also in pecuniary trouble.

But a problem of another nature would degradate the reputation of the African Institute of Colwyn Bay. At the end of 1911, H. Bottomley dedicated two articles to this establishment in the weekly newspaper 'John Bull'. In the numbers of December 16th and 23th 1911, this journalist pronounced very hard criticisms to the ancient Congo House. He therein disclosed a scandal respecting one of the coloured students. The rumour referred to was the birth of a half-caste child in Colwyn Bay in the month of February 1911.

The 'Colwyn Bay' of October 19th 1911, a paper owned and published by the African Institute, tried to deny this rumour, writing: "Warning:... We have investigated this matter thoroughly, and find there is no truth whatever in their report as far as this young man is concerned. Therefore, we warn such persons lest they should find themselves in the hands of the law (76)".

This denial gave rise to more gossip. That was for H. Bottomley all the more reason to look deeper into the matter. So anonymously he visited the African Institute as a special commissioner of 'John Bull'. And on Sunday, he assisted a service and the evening Bible class, on which public was cordially invited to attend. In the 'John Bull' of December 16th, he reproduced the very negative impressions he got on that Sunday-service.

In the number of December 23th 1911, Bottomley seriously attacked the moral behaviour of a lot of this black students. Firstly, he gave a brief account of the inquiry he did about the 'scandal of the half-case child'.

The student referred to was John Lionel Franklin, coming from Grenada (British West Indies), who worked for a while in Northern Nigeria (77). The prejudice of Bottomley was typical; he accused and defamed without any hesitation the black student, but took into protection the so called victim, the weak white girl, who was as much concerned!

Secondly, Bottomley didn't cease calumniating the African Institute. Mainly the 'intimate' contacts between 'English ladies and Negroes' were for him a thorn in the flesh: In the conclusion of his article, Bottomley showed also his distrust with regard to christian converts in their home country (78).

Hughes decided to bring Bottomley to court for these humiliating articles. But the founder of the Congo House lost this case of libel. Finally there was nothing else he could do than sending home the black students and declaring his institute bankrupt.

The first meeting of contributions in the matter of the British and African Incorporated Association, otherwise known as the African Training Institute, was held at Crypt Chambers, Chester, on Tuesday the 26th of March 1912 (79).

In 1917, he undertook a new visit to Africa. He took with him his private library, together with 2000 copies (2nd edition) of the 'Cameroon Hymn and Tune Book', at the express wish of the natives who had already provided a house for him and sent £30 for his passage (80). This enterprise clearly shows that Hughes, although the African Institute had been shut since 1912, and Africa and the Africans still loved each other.

The Reverend William Hughes died in January 1924 at Conwy, and was burried in Old Colwyn Cemetery (81).

#### CONCLUSION

We think that in the present contribution the context in which the 'Congo House' had its origin and in which it grew and evolved, is sufficiently outlined. Nevertheless, we are aware that some protestant missionary archives in Zaïre must conserve a lot more interesting information about the private life (work and family) of the Congolese who sojourned in Colwyn Bay. Also researches on the press of North Wales, generally, and of Colwyn Bay, particularly, will give a better outline of the daily life of the Congolese and other Africans of the 'Congo House', and will, by this way, fill the gaps which still remain now.

Finally, we like to finish our article by repeating the device which Hughes made his and which resumes better than anythingels his way of thinking: "Africa for the Africans; and Africa for Christ!"

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- (1) A good survey about the presence of Africans in Europe is given by H.W. DEBRUNNER, Presence and prestige: Africans in Europe, a history of Africans in Europe before 1918, Basel, 1979.
- (2) See B.M. BRAEKMAN, Histoire du protestantisme au Congo, Brussels, 1961, p. 63; and KIMPIANGA MAHANIAH, The first protestant theological trainingschool in Zaïre: the 'Ecole de Pasteurs et d'Instituteurs' at Kimpese, in Revue Africaine de Théologie, vol. 5, n° 9, April 1981, p. 22.
- (3) See F. BONTINCK, Donzwau N.D. Nlemvo (c.1871-1930) et la Bible Kikongo, in Revue Africaine de Théologie, vol. 2, n° 3, April 1978, pp. 5-32.
- (4) G. GUINNESS, The new world of Africa, London, March 1890. A good summary is outlined in chapter 4: 'Our New Congo Balolo Mission, p. 461 and following. See also R. SLADE, English-Speaking missions in the Congo Independent State (1878-1908), in Académie Royale des Sciences Coloniales, XVI-2, Brussels, 1959, p. 100.
- (5) W. HUGHES, Dark Africa and the way out. Or a scheme for civilizing and evangelizing the dark continent, London, 1892, p. 26: "... Scrivener, in a recent note, praises his boy who was in England with him. Another boy who was over there acts as cook, etc., to one of the American ladies, and another is a steward, etc., to Mr. Todd ... Mavuzi, who

- was home with Mr. Richards acts as one of our Capitans, and Francis has put up a good house (like a mission house) and has been 'acting as native assistant to a new American Mission"...
- (6) KIMPIANGA MAHANIAH, The first protestant theological trainingschool in Zaire ..., p. 23; Id., The presence of black Americans in Lower Congo from 1878-1921, in *Global Dimensions of the African Diaspora*, ed. by J.E. HARRIS, Washington, 1982, p. 269.
  - (7) W. HUGHES, Dark Africa and the way out ..., pp. 27-28.
  - (8) KIMPIANGA MAHANIAH, The first protestant theological trainingschool in Zaïre ..., p. 22.
  - (9) F. BONTINCK, D. Comboni, apôtre de la Nigritie, in *Telema*, n° 28, Kinshasa, October-December 1981-4, pp. 11-37; and H.W. DEBRUNNER, *Presence and prestige* ..., pp. 323-330.
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  - (13) F. SHYLLON, o.c., p. 173.
  - (14) SERUFURI HAKIZA, *Les auxiliaires autochtones des missions protestantes au Congo, 1878-1960. Etude de cinq sociétés missionnaires (thèse de doctorat inédite)*, Louvain-la-Neuve, octobre 1984; B. YATES, *Educating Congolese abroad: an historical note on African elites*, in the *International Journal of African Historical Studies*, vol. 14, 1981-1, pp. 34-64; Id., *The Missions and*

- educational development in Belgian Africa (1876-1908), Columbia University, Michigan, 1970, pp. 241-249. Our object in view is a doctoral dissertation about the presence of Congolese in Belgium, from 1885 until 1940.
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- (16) See ZANA AZIZA ETAMBALA, *L'interprète du lieutenant Liévin Van de Velde: Sakala, le premier étudiant congolais en Belgique*, dans *Les Nouvelles Rationalités Africaines*, vol. 3, n° 9, Louvain-la-Neuve, octobre 1987, pp. 83-103.
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- (18) W. HUGHES, o.c., p. 100.
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- (38) W. HUGHES, o.c., p. 141.
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- (47) Original letter of W. Hughes to Leopold II, May 20th 1892, in A.P.R.B., dossier 412.
- (48) Original note of de Borchgrave to Leopold II, annexed to previous letter of May 20th 1892.
- (49) Draft of letter of de Borchgrave to W. Hughes, May 30th 1892, in A.P.R.B., 412.
- (50) Original letter of W. Hughes to Leopold II, December 19th 1902, in A.P.R.B., 412.
- (51) Draft of letter of de Borchgrave to W. Hughes, January 10th 1903, in A.P.R.B., 412.
- (52) Original letter of W. Hughes to Leopold II, May 18th 1903, in A.P.R.B., 412. Sir Alfred Jones was the consul of the Congo Free State in Liverpool; see M. COOSEMANS, Jones Alfred, in B.C.B.-1, col. 558-559.
- (53) About the campaign against the cruelties in Congo Free State, see, for example, D. VANGROENWEGHE, Rood Rubber, Antwerpen-Amsterdam, 1985.
- (54) Draft of letter of de Borchgrave to W. Hughes, May 25th 1903, in A.P.R.B., 412.
- (55) Original letter of W. Hughes to Leopold II, June 4th 1903, in A.P.R.B., 412.
- (56) Annual Report of 1908-1909, p. 21, A.U.B.; the Nigerian Ayodesi Oyejola went as a medical student to the University of Edinburgh, see the brochure entitled: 'The African Institute of Colwyn Bay, 1902', in A.P.R.B., 412/11.
- (57) Annual Report of 1908-1909, pp. 21-22.
- (58) W. HUGHES, Dark Africa and the way out ..., pp. 16-17.
- (59) About Nkanza, see W. HUGHES, o.c., pp. 108-114; and also in Report of the Congo House Training Institute..., 1891, pp. 21-24.
- (60) W. Hughes, o.c., p. 4.

- (61) Report of the Congo House Training Institute for African Children, Colwyn Bay, ... 1889-1890 & 1891, pp. 27-28.
- (62) Report of the Congo House Training Institute ..., 1891, p. 19 (A.U.B.).
- (63) Ibidem.
- (64) Letter of Daniel Harvey to W. Hughes, published in Report of the Congo House Training Institute ..., 1891, p. 20 (A.U.B.).
- (65) Report of the Congo House Training Institute ..., 1889, 1890 & 1891, p. 14.
- (66) About Frank Teva Clark, see Report of the Congo House Training Institute ..., 1891, p. 21; a brochure 'Congo Training Institute, Colwyn Bay, North Wales. Reasons for Training the most promising of the African converts in this country, pp. 35-39 (Farewell Meeting of three students), in A.U.B.; W. HUGHES, o.c., pp. 106-108.
- (67) Acknowledgements, in Congo Training Institute ... Reasons for Training the most promising of the African converts ..., pp. 52-54.
- (68) Letter of F. Teva Clark to W. Hughes, published in the 'Colwyn Bay Weekly News of March 16th, 1893' and reproduced in News from a returned African student, in Congo Training Institute ... Reasons for Training the most promising of the African converts ..., pp. 45-46.
- (69) Letter of Fran Teva to Mrs. Hughes, published in Report of the Congo Training Institute ... 1893-1894, pp. 20-21.
- (70) Letter of Frank Teva to W. Hughes, in Report of the African Institute ..., 1897-1898, p. 14.
- (71) Letter of F. Teva to W. Hughes, April 27th 1902, published in Report of the British and African Incorporated Association, 1901-1902, pp. 7-8, A.P.R.B. (412/6).
- (72) KIMPIANGA MAHANIAH, The first protestant theological trainingschool in Zaïre ..., p. 23.
- (73) Copy of letter of A.L. Bain to de Wahis, September 15th 1896, in A.A.M., M590. About the royal decree of November 5th 1894, we refer to A. ROEYKENS, L'oeuvre de l'éducation des Jeunes Congolais en Belgique ..., pp. 103 and following. de Wahis became governor general on July 1st 1892: see F. DELLICOUR, de Wahis, in B.C.B.-1, col. 939-946. This letter and the following ones are already used by Serufuri Hakiza.
- (74) Original letter of E. Wangermée to Van Eetvelde, September 29th 1896, in A.A.M., M590. See J. STENGERS, Van Eetvelde, in B.C.B.-2, col. 327-353; and G. MOULAERT, Wangermée, in B.C.B.-1, col. 951-956.

- (75) Draft of letter of Van Eetvelde to de Wahis, November 29th 1896, in A.A.M., M590.
- (76) H. BOTTOMLEY, A Baptist Mission Scandal-1, How natives are prepared for the ministry, in John Bull, December 16th 1911, p. 858, and id., A Baptist Mission Scandal-2, A black scoundrel's record - rich ladies and 'converted' negroes, in John Bull, December 23rd 1911, p. 904. The special commissioner referred to is Horatio Bottomley as we can read in a cutting 'African boys lived here'. All these cuttings are conserved in A.U.B..
- (77) Annual Report of the British and African Incorporated Association ..., 1908-1909, p. 21, in A.U.B..
- (78) H. BOTTOMLEY, A Baptist Mission Scandal-2 ..., p. 904.
- (79) This information comes from a placard dated the 19th day of March 1912, A.U.B., EL 357.
- (80) A copy of an address presented to Hughes, of Colwyn Bay, on his third departure for Africa, in Third visit of the Rev. Hughes, Colwyn Bay, to the West coast of Africa, 1917, in A.U.B..
- (81) African boys lived here, a cutting from the North Wales Pioneer, 31st January 1924, in A.U.B..