

Scenes from a changing colonial “Far West”. Picturing the early urban landscape and colonial society of cosmopolitan Lubumbashi, 1910-1931

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Abstract

In this contribution, we present a visual essay of the first two decades of the existence of Lubumbashi, DR Congo, from roughly 1910 onwards till 1931. During this twenty year period, this Congolese city changed from a modest, informal settlement into a colonial mining town, the urban landscape of which became dotted by elegant buildings. Our narrative is structured along ten photographs (or pairs of photographs), with each “scene” depicting a specific aspect of Lubumbashi as a cosmopolitan city informed by various forms of mobility: from European migration flows arriving via the railroad from Southern Africa and the recruitment of temporary labour for the mining industry sometimes coming from far away regions, to flows of goods and people between this urban centre and its rural hinterland, as well as to opportunities for social mobility through particular forms of education. Spatializing these forms of mobility by linking them to particular sites and buildings, we also seek to “think with” the ambiguity of colonial photographs as a source of historical knowledge, highlighting as much what is depicted on them as what at times remains absent. Drawing on a wide array of sources, this visual essay thus sheds new light on a Belgian colonial city which was to large extent built by “des gens d’ailleurs”.

A city constructed by “*des gens d’ailleurs*”¹



The founding in 1910 of Lubumbashi, the former Elisabethville, second major city of the Democratic Republic of the Congo (DRC), can largely be understood as a geopolitical act on behalf of the Belgian government to secure its claims on a Central African territory full of mineral resources, already reputed at the time for being a “geological scandal”.² In particular, the choice for its

location was a clear attempt to put a stop to “a threatening” British influence coming from the South. Yet, the first and until the late 1920s the only railroad to connect Lubumbashi to the outside world established an important vector for the influx of goods, peoples, ideas and practices from what was at the time called *l’Afrique australe*, being the territories of South Africa and Rhodesia (the actual Zambia and Zimbabwe). As a result, Lubumbashi developed as a city built, as contemporary Belgian commentators remarked not without concern and regret, by “*des gens d’ailleurs*” (“people coming from elsewhere”) (De Hertogh 1911 : 10-11). If the history of the city of Lubumbashi has commonly been written as that of the “*capital du cuivre*” of the Belgian colony, a mining city the everyday life of which was dominated by the *Union Minière du Haut-Katanga* (UMHK), only more recently its “cosmopolitan” nature has received scholarly attention (Amuri 2013).

¹ Image: Drawing by Walter and Luc(ienne) Vigneron. Source: Cornet, René Jules (1950): *Terre Katangaise. Cinquantième Anniversaire du Comité Spécial du Katanga 1900-1950*. Brussels: M. Lesigne ed., 159 (collection Johan Lagae).

²Jules Cornet, geologist and father of René Jules Cornet, author of the 1950 book *Terre Katangaise* to which we shall refer later (Cornet 1950), described Katanga as a “truly geological scandal” because of the immense mineral resources to be found in the region.

In this contribution, we present a visual essay of the first two decades of the city’s existence, from roughly 1910 onwards, when the still premature settlement was connected to the southern railway network, till 1931, the year during which an international fair was organized in Lubumbashi but also the moment when the city started to witness a strong decline. Indeed, the worldwide economic crisis, triggered by the crash of Wall Street in 1929, was strongly felt in the Belgian Congo and hit the industrial Katanga province particularly hard, turning Lubumbashi in a “ghost town” in the early 1930s (Louwers 1933). During this twenty year period Lubumbashi changed from a modest, informal settlement into a colonial town, the urban landscape of which was dotted by elegant buildings leading one observer to describe the city, in 2006, as an “open air architectural museum” (Pabois 2006).

We will structure our narrative along ten “scenes”, each depicting a specific aspect of Lubumbashi as a cosmopolitan city informed by various forms of mobility: from European migration flows arriving via the railroad from the South and the recruitment from sometimes far away regions of temporary labour for the mining industry, to flows of goods and people between this urban centre and its rural hinterland, as well as to opportunities for social mobility through particular forms of education. Arguing, in line with Anthony D. King, author of the seminal 1976 book *Colonial Urban Development*, that “how people build affects how people think [at least as much as] how people think governs how people build”, we seek to spatialize these forms of mobility by linking them to particular sites and buildings in Lubumbashi (King 1984: 99). As such, this paper is a further exercise in spatializing and visualizing the history of Congolese cities, which has been a prominent line of our research at Ghent University since a decade.³

³ Apart from Lubumbashi, our research has focused so far on the cities of Kinshasa, Matadi, Boma, Kisangani and Mbandaka.

“Thinking with” Lubumbashi’s visual archive

We chose to illustrate our introduction with a drawing taken from a 1950 book entitled *Terre Katangaise* and written by René Jules Cornet, a prominent voice in the colonial literature on the Congo (Cornet 1950). The drawing is authored by Walter and Luc(ienne) Vigneron, a locally based couple of artists (Cornelis 2008: 162f.), and suggestively evokes the immediate pre-history of the site, when Lubumbashi still very much was an informal “Far West”-like colonial settlement. As such, the image sets the zero point of our narrative.

Each of the following scenes is illustrated by one or by a pair of photographs (see annex, pp. 43) and introduced by the original caption(s) accompanying the image(s). Some of these images already have a pedigree in the public domain, as they circulated as postcards or were published in illustrated books and brochures of the time (scenes 5, 7a, 7b). Others have been dug up from the immense visual archive on the Belgian Congo. Two photographs were found in the archives of missionary congregations active in Lubumbashi, one catholic and one protestant (scenes 10b, 10a). The largest number are drawn from the extremely rich collections of the fund *Koloniaal Bureau* or *Office Colonial* (O.C.), held by the Royal Museum of Central Africa (RMCA) in Tervuren (scenes 1, 2, 3, 4, 6, 9).⁴ Holding over 7.000 clichés, the O.C. fund was produced for documentation and propaganda purposes of the colonial government. As the index cards of the O.C. photographs selected here reveal, they were authored either by Edmond Leplae or by Ernest Gourdinne, both prominent figures of the early colonial establishment. Between 1910 and 1914, Leplae travelled through the colony as the director of the Agricultural Department of the Ministry of Colonies, producing an extensive photographic documentation on, among

⁴Scene 8 also comes from the holdings of the RMCA, but from the A.P. fund (Anciennes Photos), an extremely rich collection of several tens of thousands of clichés which formed the basis for the *Congo belge en images*-exhibition & book by Carl De Keyzer and Johan Lagae (Bishop 2012).

others, the Katanga province (Van den Abeele 1955: 515-518). Gourdinne supervised an official mission that crossed the economically crucial regions of the colony between 1917 and 1919 and came back with over 12.000 meter of film and 5.000 photographs, part of which was used in propaganda campaigns to recruit colonial agents. During the following years, Gourdinne's films on the Congo reached an immense audience in the métropole (Vints 1981: 24).

Several of the selected archival images serve here for the first time as historical source material. Given the very specific context in which they were produced, their use requires some caution. Indeed, as scholars like Ann Laura Stoler have argued since over a decade, we should consider (colonial) archives as "cultural agents of 'fact' production, of taxonomies in the making, and of state authority", not as objective sources of information (Stoler 2002: 87). Despite its wealth, the visual documentation available on the Belgian colony provides a specific, biased perspective and offers only a glimpse of colonial realities on the terrain. This holds particularly true for images of the O.C. fund, which focus in particular on the physical traces of modernization introduced via colonization, such as railroads, hospitals, warehouses, ports, plantations, etc. (Lagae 2010). Yet, as visual historians have amply demonstrated, the medium of photography possesses "an ambiguity as source of historical knowledge" since the meaning of photographs is not fixed but open to de-contextualization and reinterpretation (Bishop 2012: 522). In the conception of the visual essay presented here, we follow a line of thought presented by Elisabeth Edwards, who writes on (colonial) photographs as "raw histories", as historical material "to think with" (Edwards 2001). The image(s) presented in each scene thus form a starting point for a discussion of a particular phenomenon linked to (the issue of mobility in) cosmopolitan Lubumbashi between 1910 and 1931. In most cases, this discussion transcends what is depicted in the specific photograph(s), and also highlights what actually remains absent in these images. Each scene therefore is informed by a wide array of other different sources, from written and graphical archival documents to

elements from Lubumbashi's oral history, collected over almost a decade and a half of research and engagement with this particular Congolese city.⁵

SCENE 1 / "La gare. Départ du train pour le Cape"

The first scene takes place at the city's railway station, the one place that linked the young mining city to the outside world since 1910. The original caption demonstrates the important link between Lubumbashi and Cape Town (South Africa), a trajectory of about 3.500 kilometers that many Belgians and Europeans coming from the old continent actually followed to reach the southern part of the Belgian colony. Since its foundation, the city thus had stronger ties via this railroad to South Africa, but also to cities in the southern colonies of Africa, like Bulawayo and Salisbury (Zimbabwe), and to port cities like Beira (Mozambique), than it had with Kinshasa (the former Léopoldville), which became the capital city of the Belgian Congo in 1929. While already in the early 1910s prominent figures of the Belgian colonial establishment declared that it was of crucial importance to build a "national" railroad that would completely fall within the boundaries of the colonial territory, it was not until the realization of a track between the colony's administrative and industrial capitals – Kinshasa and Lubumbashi – in the late 1920s that such became possible (Moulaert 1939: 65-66).⁶ If the railroad city of Lubumbashi functioned as a "portal of globalization" (Geyer 2010),⁷ in the beginning global forces were thus predominantly coming from *l'Afrique australe*.

⁵ In footnotes and the final bibliography, we only indicate sources that are easily available in published form. As such, we have avoided extensive references to archival documents. Anyone interested in those references should consult our publications on Lubumbashi/the Belgian Congo, some of which are indicated in the bibliography at the end of this essay.

⁶ After a railroad-connection was established with Kinshasa in the late 1920s, another railroad was constructed that linked the Katanga province to the port city of Lobito in Portuguese Angola.

⁷ We thank Geert Castryck for having pointed out this concept, which formed the theme of a session he organized at the ESSHC Conference in Vienna, April 23-26, 2014.

The photograph shows part of a metal structure providing passengers waiting for the train protection against sun and rain. A bit further along the track, we see a building the function of which remains unclear. Perhaps it was the railway station. Given that this photograph is taken by Gourdinne between 1917 and 1919, the elegant 1920s art deco building that still functions as Lubumbashi's railway station today, was not yet built. The waiting passengers framed by the photographer are almost exclusively male and predominantly white. Women are absent and only a few Africans appear in the scene. But the setting is more complex than the use of a binary framework of white and black permits to dissect. In the middle of the picture, an African domestic servant seems to be wearing a traveling bag for his European employer, while on the left hand side, we can discern two well-dressed African men whose posture suggests that they are not stuck in a subordinate role as other African figures in the image clearly are. On the bench in the left margin of the photograph we see a hopsack. It is not impossible that it was prepared by the post service, part of which was lodged in the railway station, and filled with letters to be distributed to family members and relatives of the city's European residents who stayed in Southern Africa or even the home country.

In the upper margin of the photograph appears a lighting fixture, indicating that at the time this site already benefitted from artificial lighting after dawn. In his 1919 account of Lubumbashi, Henri Segaert informs us that public lighting indeed already existed in certain areas of the town, when he describes his experience of being driven in a car along the illuminated road leading to the site of the *Union Minière* in a manner that explicitly draws on the dichotomy of man-made modernity and "savage nature" which characterizes large part of the colonial literature of the time: "*Quel contraste de se sentir emporté à quarante kilomètres à l'heure sur une machine de luxe, par cette route empierrée, illuminée à l'électricité, au milieu de la brousse sauvage où rodent encore, la nuit venue, les fauves africains*". (Segaert 1919: 55) That the railway station was lit at night was, of course, because it constituted one of the most representative sites in town. But we should not forget that it was

also the gateway par excellence for those migrating to the Belgian Congo from the south. As such, having the railway yard illuminated after dark was also a means of allowing a strict control of incoming and outgoing migration flows.

SCENE 2 / “Groupe de travailleurs indigènes ayant fini leur terme”

Packed with bags containing their few personal belongings just before returning to their villages of origin, a group of African workers is posing at the request of the photographer in front of the buildings in which they had been living for a couple of months during their service as laborers. Browsing through the other images taken by Gourdinne of the same setting, we are informed that what we see is part of the workers' camp of the *Union Minière du Haut-Katanga* (UMHK), the main colonial enterprise in Lubumbashi and one of the driving forces of Belgian Congo's economy. As the caption suggests, these African laborers were only hired on a temporary basis. In the first decades of Lubumbashi's existence, large enterprises like the UMHK indeed implemented a recruitment policy based on short-term, six months' contracts to counter the lack of cheap local labor. As a result, Lubumbashi witnessed a continuous flow of coerced migration of African labor force, which in the early days was coming mainly from Rhodesia and South Africa (Higginson 1989, Perrings 1979).

The photograph illustrates two stages of the accommodation that was provided for housing this temporary African labor force. On the left side and in the background, we can discern the first type of the UMHK's African workers' houses: small round loam houses topped with straw roofs, which referred to what was considered a “genuine African” housing model. But their strictly orthogonal arrangement goes a long way in informing us on the technocratic considerations underscoring the UMHK's conception of workers' camps. Hygiene, economy and surveillance indeed were the key principles informing the design of these sites (De Meulder 1996). The photograph also presents a later stage of workers' housing in the form of a

rectilinear housing block, constructed in brick. It is composed of a repetitive series of rooms –in the image we can see seven of them–, each having a door and a small window with a wooden shutter. The building no doubt already constituted an advancement in terms of comfort for the worker, as the roof was conceived in such a way that the interior space could be naturally ventilated. But the façade's composition hints at the minimal size of the accommodation offered. At the time, as official reports and UMHK manuals inform us, doctors still prescribed only 3 square meters per single male worker meaning that behind each door and window probably three to four laborers were housed. As research of local historians, including studies drawing on oral history, has amply demonstrated, living conditions in such a barren environment were harsh (Dibwe 2001). Yet, the design guidelines applied followed a quite common standard in colonial territories in those days. Indeed, there is evidence that the UMHK directors were in fact modelling their workers' camps on those to be found in Johannesburg or in the Rhodesian Copperbelt.

From the early 1920s onwards, the recruitment policy was revised and transformed into an approach that was at once more economic –the recruitments had proven to be a very expensive enterprise– and would allow the colonial enterprises to become more independent from the British colonies. The strategy of short-term contracts was replaced by the so-called "stabilization policy", that aimed at creating and maintaining within the borders of the city a stable African workforce, which now was recruited mainly from other regions in Congo and even from Rwanda and Senegal. This new policy resulted in an elaborate program of social engineering that had a profound impact on the built environment of Lubumbashi's workers' camps. Over time and in particular after World War II, the modest lodgings for single male workers were replaced by new, more comfortable individual houses for laborers and their families, and the camps were provided with public facilities such as schools, dispensaries or "*foyers sociaux*".⁸ However,

⁸ Some other photographs of Gourdinne's series also depict a number of African women and children in front of the brick block building, suggesting that already before the

this new format of workers' camps still bore witness of the paternalistic nature of the Belgian colonial project.

SCENE 3 / "Elisabethville – Panorama"

This photograph of a streetscape of Lubumbashi, taken between 1917 and 1919, demonstrates an important shift occurring in the urban landscape of the city. While the middle building seems a remnant of the first kind of constructions that were erected, the shop on the left already illustrates the use of brick as a building material that was to become popular in the late 1910s. On the far right end, a new building is under construction, the design of which is more elaborate as can be seen from the detail of an arched arcade popping up behind the scaffolding. As such, the image bears witness of a moment when Lubumbashi was changing from a kind of "Far West"-environment, the image of which was lamented in the Belgian architectural press (De Hertogh 1911: 11), to a true colonial town, the shape of which was gradually being defined, as Henri Segaert observed in his 1919 account, by "*des bâtiments vastes, imposants et d'une belle ligne architecturale*" (Segaert 1919: 49). Further elements in the photograph sustain the emergence of such an urban environment: we can see a series of young trees planted at an equal distance that contrast with the more dispersed, already existing trees, a gutter that borders the street and in the left margin an electricity post that stands as a marker of modernity in what was, only a decade ago, still a uninhabited territory full of termite hills and vegetation.

The street sign indicates that we are looking at the *Avenue de l'Étoile*, on a corner that was one of the most frequented and animated places of the city's European quarter in those days. Colonial administrators were planning to turn this avenue into the city's most prominent commercial axis where prestigious stores offering luxurious goods to a European clientele were to be located. It was the first avenue where strict building regulations were

"stabilization policy", some families were already residing in the UMHK's workers' camps. But at that time, this was still the exception, not the rule.

applied from the 1920s onwards, in order to create an aesthetically pleasing streetscape. Owners were as such obliged to construct a covered gallery in front of their shops, a typology for commercial urban zones that was common in "modern" South African cities situated along the railway connecting Lubumbashi to the outside world, but that in fact could also have been inspired by the *Rue de Rivoli* in Paris, which had become the model *par excellence* for the design of commercial streets in North African colonies from the 1900s onwards.

The publicity panels form an interesting feature of the photograph. Reading, from left to right, we can discern: "R. Blum[ent]hal, grocer", "M. Ka[l]k, expert watchmaker, jeweler and engraver" and "Librairie internationale Wentworth & Gray". These inscriptions remind us of the Vigneron drawing included in our introduction and testifies of the still strong Anglophone sphere of influence in Lubumbashi. In the first decades of the city's existence, newspapers were bilingual French/English and English combined with the so-called "Kitchen-Kaffir", a pidgin language used in South Africa, was a common language in everyday parlance between Europeans and Africans, only to be replaced in the early 1920s by French and Swahili, when colonial officials were seeking to affirm the Belgian colonial order and turn Lubumbashi in a "genuine Belgian colonial town" (Fabian 1986: 60-63; 178).

The image is part of a larger series of photographs Gourdinne took of the streetscape of the *Avenue de l'Étoile* that, seen together, suggests a strong sense of *mise-en-scène*. The white lady, pushing a baby stroller and accompanied by a little girl, in fact, appears on several of the images, as if to give not only a sense of scale but also to stress the colonizer's family presence in a city where whites still formed a minority. The three African boys on the left side gaze on the passers-by and form a counterpoint in the photographic composition. On closer analysis, they seem occupied by what constituted one of the crucial tasks of domestic servants, or "boys" as they were commonly called: they are filling a cart with water from one of the distribution points along Lubumbashi's streets, as houses were not yet

serviced by running water. In Lubumbashi's immense visual archive, this photograph in Gourdinne's series of the *Avenue de l'Étoile* forms one of the rare depictions of the crucial role played in everyday colonial life by African domestic servants who, as we shall discuss further, often navigated through the city center "off radar".

SCENE 4 / "Katanga de 1910 à 1914"

This photograph, taken by Leplae, presents a typical house of the first decade of the colonial settlement in Lubumbashi. With its living areas lifted from the ground, its elongated shape, its roof extensions covering an all-round veranda, the house has all the key features of the typology defined as a "colonial bungalow" in the 1895 book *How to live in Tropical Africa* written by the British doctor John Murray. This manual was well-known in Belgian colonial circles. Just as Anthony D. King has argued for the British colonial territories, the first accommodations for colonizers in the Belgian Congo were intended first and foremost as instruments of "environmental control" (King 1976). As contemporary sources commonly argued, a key obstacle to a successful colonization of Central Africa was the troublesome "acclimatization" of the white colonizer's body to a tropical climate and "hostile" surroundings. Colonial architecture, then, was a topic first discussed among doctors and engineers, not by architects or designers (Lagae 2001).

There is a striking difference between the rather clumsily assembled wooden stilts on which the house rests and the main body of the construction. On closer analysis, we may assume that the façades of the house were made out of metal building components.⁹ Such gable elements most probably were locally assembled, but the components might well have been imported from Rhodesia or even South Africa. It was not until the late 1910s that buildings in Lubumbashi started to be constructed in bricks that

⁹ Another photograph in Leplae's series depicting a number of Africans transporting a complete gable element of a house similar to this one further supports this hypothesis.

were locally produced, often by contractors who for the largest part were of Italian descent and started to settle in the booming mining town (Esgain 1997: 25ff.).

While the area in front of the house does not really seem to fit the description "garden", it clearly testifies of an attempt to domesticate nature. We can discern some recently planted elements that in time might become tall trees, and two areas that resemble flower beds. Given the temporary nature of residing in the colony - the Belgian Congo never was intended as a settler's colony even if the situation in Katanga forms somewhat of an exception- work in the garden was one way of creating a personalized environment. Early official guides such as the 1900 edition of the *Manuel du Voyageur et du Résident au Congo*, targeting an audience of young male bachelors who were to leave for the colony to work in the enterprises or the colonial administration, promoted such garden work, stressing the importance of countering feelings of homesickness by turning the house into a home, something more than just a roof over one's head. And in the late 1920s, when the number of families arriving in the Belgian Congo was steadily rising, the garden was presented as a tool *par excellence* to create a "comme chez soi": together with the interior, the garden allowed to project one's identity on a house in which one was only to reside temporarily, since colonizers generally came to Congo on 2 to 3 year contracts (Lagae 2001).

The cloth protecting the left part of the outdoor veranda forms a peculiar element in the photograph. As Raymond Moenaert, a Belgian architect travelling the colony in the late 1920s observed, this was a widespread phenomenon (Moenaert 1929): curtains and screens made out of bamboo were often used to protect against sunrays and turn the outdoor space into a comfortable living area, as the inside of the early colonial bungalows often turned out to be a suffocating environment due to a lack of natural ventilation. Especially in the early decades of Belgian colonization, everyday life thus was played out on the veranda, quickly turning it into the object of harsh criticism. In official circles, it was often referred to as a

“refuge des paresseux”. During a profound discussion on the typology of the “ideal colonial house” that occurred within the milieu of the *Association pour le perfectionnement du matériel colonial* during the early 1910s (Lagae 2001), a military officer offered a striking counter-argument against the all-round veranda, which at that time still was a constitutive element of colonial architecture in the tropics. By living outdoors, he stated, *“le blanc se barbarise lui-même et il ne donne pas au noir l'exemple civilisateur qu'il devrait lui donner”* (Jenssen 1913: 456). As some images from the rich visual archive of the Belgian Congo indeed reveal, dwelling practices of colonial bachelors often did not comply with the norms and forms of the official *“mission civilisatrice”*. But then, living in the colony meant being confronted with a condition of displacement “in which the meaning of things and places — even the most common ones— is not a shared convention, but part of contested territory”, and whereby “appropriate schemes [were] no longer available to guide practical behavior” (Heynen & Loeckx 1998: 100). In a colonial context, perhaps more than in the métropole, domestic spaces thus were continuously renegotiated and reshaped by their users.

SCENE 5 / “Immeuble Type 22”

This page from the 1931 edition of *La Maison au Katanga*, a commercial brochure published by the *Compagnie Foncière du Katanga* (Cofoka), a building enterprise linked to the UMHK, announces another radical shift in the urban landscape in Lubumbashi. The “Immeuble type 22”, as well as the other housing types presented in this publication, testify of the introduction of a villa-typology in the Belgian Congo that was to replace the earlier model of the “colonial bungalow” from the mid-1920s onwards. Demonstrating a larger architectural ambition –the brochure specifically stressed that the design aimed to produce more “gracious” houses– and marking a much more explicit difference between front and back façades, these villas constituted the first truly urban type of house in the Belgian Congo. Avenues aligned with different Cofoka-houses, with pleasing front gardens only separated from the public realm via a low hedge or wall,

hence resulted a new image for Lubumbashi, leading contemporary observers to define it as "garden city". In 1931, for instance, a journalist of *African World*, a Rhodesian based newspaper that closely followed developments in Katanga, described Lubumbashi as follows: "The Belgians have brought with them their love of gardening, and here in the heart of Central Africa there is a city with an African air, yet strangely reminiscent of the Continent in many of its features [...] Elisabethville [...] strikes one as a place developing according to a plan, with a view to preserving in a big town the attractive features of the homely village". (Julyan 1931: VI)

Informed by several considerations, some technical, others more psychological in nature, the change in typology from bungalow to villa was to have a profound impact on dwelling practices in the colony, precisely at a moment the colonial government was promoting the establishment of complete families. Creating moral upheaval in the colony underscored this policy since the behavior of young male bachelors was often considered as undermining the "*mission civilisatrice*". This point of view was sustained by the colonial medical staff, one prominent member of which stated as late as 1946 that "*le célibataire est la moitié d'un être. C'est métriquement et biologiquement un anormal*" (Habig 1946: 192). The elimination of the all-round veranda, one of the main constitutive elements of the colonial bungalow, thus is intimately linked to the arrival in larger numbers of the colonial spouse in the colony. And as their number grew, so did the anxiety for racial *métissage*. Discussions within the milieu of the *Association pour le perfectionnement du matériel colonial* during the early 1910s reveal that underlying the efforts to eliminate the veranda was a changing attitude towards African domestic servants. Replacing it with only one outdoor room or loggia would allow to interiorize colonial life, the necessity of which was argued by one member of the association on the basis of "*quelques expériences que j'ai fait avec ma femme et que je voudrais à l'avenir épargner à d'autres*" (Jenssen 1921: 439).

As exemplified by the plan of the “Immeuble type 22”, the distribution of interior spaces in the villa differed substantially from that of the bungalow typology and provided new opportunities to (re)negotiate the levels of accessibility for domestic servants to the colonizer’s dwelling. The descriptions accompanying the various housing types presented in the Cofoka-brochure draw explicit attention on the grouping of the kitchen and laundry room in a well-defined “service area”, situated at the back of the house. What the illustrated brochure fails to show, however, is that this service area was linked to another crucial component of the colonial house, namely the “boyerie”, a small shack located at the back of each parcel in which the domestic servant and his family were housed. From the “boyerie”, they could easily access a back alley, or “*ruelle sanitaire*”, a secondary circulation network in Lubumbashi’s city center that the boys were requested to use in order to transport in an out-of-sight manner the waste, including the excrements, of the master’s household. Leaving almost no traces in Lubumbashi’s visual archive, it requires alternative sources to grasp the colonial realities embedded in these “hidden landscapes”.¹⁰ Accounts of former “boys”, for instance, provide a glimpse of the deprived living conditions in Lubumbashi’s “boyeries” (Lagae/Boonen 2010), while some rare official reports of the early 1930s suggest that the “*ruelles sanitaires*”, by making the circulation of domestic servants invisible, also offered them opportunities to escape the disciplining gaze of the colonizer, resulting in a “*problème policier*” to be dealt with (Lagae 2014).

SCENE 6 / “Garden Party”

The overexposure of the photographic print does not do justice to this intriguing, skillfully composed image. In the foreground, shadows create a complex graphic pattern revealing that some people are standing outside of the frame, not far from the photographer. In the middle ground, two scenes attract our attention. On the left, we see a male figure with bow tie and

¹⁰ We borrow the notion “hidden landscapes” from Rebecca Ginsburg, who studied the living environments of domestic servants in apartheid Johannesburg (Ginsburg 2011).

colonial helmet, holding a baby while a child –a girl? – passes in front of him. The scene on the right is more complex, consisting of different groups of figures whose positions create various layers of depth against a frame formed by a brick house with a veranda and a roof made out of metal sheeting. In front of the veranda, we see two ladies, elegantly dressed in light colored dresses and wearing a hat and, to the right, a table dressed with a white cloth on which are placed, we may assume, cups and plates. Two children with their backs to the camera stand next to it, probably waiting to be served by the lady standing behind the table. On the veranda, we see a little boy sitting and a man partly masked by a wooden post upholding the roof while his face casts a sharply delineated shadow on the brick wall. Further to the left is another child and on the other side of the all-round veranda, we can see some more silhouettes. The garden party attracted, so it seems, a reasonable number of participants, some of which have arrived by bicycle, a mode of transportation common in the early days of Lubumbashi and which, as the Vigneron drawing accompanying our introduction suggests, was sometimes nicknamed "kaffir truck" in local parlance. Further in the background, to the left of the most extreme post of the veranda, we can discern another human figure that is actually hard to distinguish as his silhouette is partly absorbed by the grey area formed by the vegetation of the trees. When enlarging the photograph, the figure most likely can be identified as a soldier of the *Force Publique*, known for their distinctive costume, including a fez. His posture suggests that he is leaning on a rifle.

Photographs of garden parties, festive encounters, official dinners, sports competitions, etc. form an important trope in (early) colonial photography. We can trace quite a number of them in the documentation produced by Ernest Gourdinne, but also in the pages of *l'Illustration Congolaise*, the most prominent propaganda magazine that was published from 1926 onwards (Morimont 2001), such images abound. As historian Jean-Luc Vellut has argued, such events were crucial components in a colonial strategy of community building in a context where the white colonizer still formed a

minority (Vellut 1982). Contemporary accounts also stress such events in their attempt to sketch a “genuine image” of colonial life. Henri Segaert’s 1919 account of Lubumbashi forms a telling example. When addressing a Brussels audience in 1932, the prominent Lubumbashi architect Raymond Cloquet made an effort of erasing the common ignorance of urban realities in the Belgian colony by stating that “*toutes les tables d’Elisabethville étaient recouvertes de nappes et bien d’autres choses encore, délectables et succulentes, à ne rien envier aux tables bruxelloises, cependant somptueuses!*” (Cloquet 1932: 58). From a present day perspective, there is something uncomfortably artificial in these accounts, as well as in the images of such moments of colonial leisure. Rather than conveying the impression of a joyful event, this photograph of a garden party indeed seems to talk as much of a moment of boredom, that fundamental condition of colonial life which surfaces in (studies of) colonial literature more than it has done so far in scholarly studies of Congo’s colonial past (Halen 1993).

As the photograph was taken by Gourdinne, we may assume that the garden party depicted here took place between 1917 and 1919. In those years, the presence of the colonizer’s wife was still far from common, and her arrival added to feelings of anxiety among the white community. These were fueled by the local press, which reported in a biased manner on incidents between white and black inhabitants of the town (Esgain 2001). Hence, relationships between both communities became subject of more strict regulations, both in spatial and in social terms. Is this then how we need to understand the presence of the soldier of the *Force Publique* in this image? As a guardian securing the site of the garden party? Yet, we should also not forget that colonial society was not only restricted by race, but also by social class. For sure, not all members of Lubumbashi’s white community were invited to this garden party. Access to the *Cercle Albert Elisabeth*, which constituted the most prestigious colonial place of encounter and was modelled on the English club, for instance, was equally restricted according to class (Esgain 1997). Until the early 1920s, there was a strong presence in Lubumbashi of low class, British white laborers coming from Rhodesia, as

their expertise was needed in the starting-up phase of the mining industry. But when white workers triggered the outbreak of social unrest in the Copper belt and South African mines, the Belgian colonial government quickly initiated a policy of eliminating the class of “*Blancs pauvres*” from the Belgian Congo, a decision that marked the beginning of the “stabilization policy” and the creation of a new class of well-trained African laborers. Leisure in Lubumbashi thus often was a marker of exclusion as much as it was one of inclusion. It is no coincidence, then, that Greeks, Italians, Jews and even Indian or Asian traders who generally were considered as “second rate whites” by the colonial authorities all set up their proper associations and places of leisure, including restaurants.

SCENE 7 / “Elisabethville. Habitation privée” & “Elisabethville. Théâtre Parthenon”

These two postcards constitute only two examples of the large number of propaganda postcards showing the realizations in the colony produced by the Brussels based printing business Nels, which already became active in the late 19th century and became a crucial contributor to the constitution of the visual archive on the Belgian Congo (Geary 2003). Both images convey the emerging urban landscape of 1920s Lubumbashi, the design of the two buildings clearly evoking architectural ambitions that had lacked construction efforts during earlier stages of the city’s development. As such, they not only testify of the growing role architects were starting to play in the colony –and in this respect, cities in Katanga were at the forefront when compared to Kinshasa–, but also of a professionalization of the building industry.

Circulating in Belgium as signs of an emerging modern cityscape in the colony, the two postcards we have selected also invite an alternative reading of interwar Lubumbashi as a cosmopolitan city under the influence of migration flows coming from *l’Afrique australe* as well as from other European countries than Belgium. The postcard entitled “*Habitation privée*”

(“private house”) presents a residence which in its formal language differs substantially from the housing types constructed by the *Compagnie Foncière du Katanga* (Cofoka). In terms of dimensions, it by far surpasses the common Cofoka-villa, suggesting that it was constructed by a person of considerable means. The architecture of the Cofoka-villas furthermore evokes a link with the mother country, while this house mentally transports us rather to the southern part of the African continent. Indeed, the design of its façades is typical for what is commonly called in architectural history surveys the “Boer”- or “Cape Dutch”-style. As such, this private house bears witness of the important migration flow coming from the Cape area, a flow which can actually be traced by documenting the chronology of the acquisition of land in the city center of Lubumbashi from the very beginning through a detailed investigation of the Land Registration Archives (Boonen forthcoming).

As the name already suggests, the *Théâtre Parthenon* highlights the presence of yet another community in Lubumbashi’s colonial society, namely the Greeks who arrived in large numbers from the very founding of the city. While some arrived in the context of the construction of the railroad coming from Rhodesia, others also migrated directly from Greece and the Dodecanesos, arriving in the Belgian colony via a route passing the Suez Canal and the east coast of the African continent, crossing the British colony of Tanzania, or by passing through Sudan (Antippas 2008: 50-59). The edifice was established in 1920 by Bombas, a Greek citizen, in the heart of the European commercial zone of the town. Described in contemporary sources as a building “in Greek style”, the façade of which was illuminated each evening “*comme celle des plus beaux cinémas bruxellois*” (De Bauw 1920: 134), it soon became one of the city’s most frequented places. Providing a diverse program appealing to a European clientele, the *Théâtre Parthenon* constituted a crucial cultural and social venue within *Lushois* urban life during the interwar years, and one of the few sites, where a cosmopolitan encounter truly took place.

Lubumbashi’s urban landscape counts several buildings that mark and affirm the identity of different communities within the city’s colonial society, such as the Italian consulate; the synagogue, a remarkable architectural landmark constructed in 1929; the Wallace Memorial Church, built by the Methodist Episcopal Church in 1928; and the Greek Orthodox Church, only inaugurated in 1956 (Maheux/Pabois/SongaSonga 2008). Demonstrating the cosmopolitan nature of Lubumbashi, the building histories of these edifices, however, unveil as much the tensions and social differences that ran all across its urban society and structured relationships within as well as between the white and black urban communities. Most non-Belgian Europeans in fact were active in small trade, and Portuguese, Greek, or Jewish traders were reputed for entertaining a more direct contact with the African population than did Belgian colonial agents, giving the former, in the eyes of the Belgian colonial establishment, a status of so-called “second rate whites” (Lumenganeso in Antippas 2008; Bilonda 2001: 28). As they performed a crucial role in the urban economy, these groups blurred the strict spatial and social boundaries between the black and white communities on which the colonial order was based. As such, they illustrate the ambiguity inherent in the colonial/imperial endeavor as described by Frederick Cooper. The empire indeed was “an ambiguous structure in relation to networks and discourses –possibly too big, too hard to control, too ambiguous in its moral constitution to be immune from widespread mobilization. The empire needed functioning trading diasporas [...]. In the twentieth century, empire tried to exclude some forms of cross-regional networking –pan-Arabism, for instance– while allowing others, such as Indian traders in East Africa.” (Cooper 2001: 38)

SCENE 8 / “Boucherie à Elisabethville (Elakat)”

This photograph, of which the author is unknown, testifies of a carefully composed setting. Although the architectural space in itself is symmetrical, the photographer deliberately opted for an oblique perspective, enhancing the dynamic character of the composition. The straight line of the metallic

rail contrasts with the curved lines of what seems a festive-like decoration above the counter while the carcasses hanging from it provide a strong vertical rhythm. In the middle, five figures in white shirts are lined up, four young ones flanking, two by two, an older man in the middle, probably the owner of the butcher shop. In the background, a male figure in a contrasting dark shirt and pants forms a counterpoint. Our attention is immediately drawn to the flag spread out over the counter. Although the image is black and white, given that this is Lubumbashi, we quickly assume this to be the Belgian flag with its three colored vertical stripes: black, yellow and red. The caption does not provide any information on the kind of event that served to legitimize the exposure of the flag. Perhaps this is November 15th, the day on which Belgium celebrates its royal dynasty, an official holiday having a particular resonance in the Belgian Congo, because of the crucial role played by Leopold II and his successors in the colonial project in Central-Africa.

The Elakat butcher shop was situated on a triangular-shaped site in the city center, in a delicately designed art deco building that shaped the new urban landscape of Lubumbashi, just as did contemporary, nearby buildings as the post office, the palace of justice, the cinema complex and a series of hotels. In *l'Illustration Congolaise*, the most prominent propaganda magazine of the time, such edifices were presented to testify of the emergence of "Le Katanga ultra-moderne" (Morimont 2001).¹¹ This modernity, however, went hand in hand with a growing segregation of the urban realm along racial lines. During the 1920s, a "zone neutre" or sanitary corridor was introduced in Lubumbashi's urban form, separating the European from the African neighborhoods and even within buildings a similar spatial segregation was introduced (Lagae/Boonen/Liefooghe 2013). It is telling that we do not see any African in the interior of the Elakat butcher shop, which was targeting a white clientele. Domestic African servants, or "boys", who needed to enter the shop to pick up errands for their white masters, also remain absent from

¹¹ Today, one will look in vain for the Elakat butcher shop, the edifice having been destroyed between 2006 and 2007 to make place for a non-descript office building.

the image. A rare family movie of the interwar era in which the Elakat shop features, illustrates that these “boys” were in fact served at a separate counter.¹² Constituting a crucial component of everyday life in the city center of Lubumbashi, “boys” nevertheless remain conspicuously invisible in large part of Lubumbashi’s visual archive. But then again, they were able to navigate “off radar” in the city center via the secondary circulation network of “*ruelles sanitaires*”, located at the back of parcels (Lagae 2014).

The shop was part of the larger empire of Elakat, the acronym of the *Compagnie d’Élevage et d’Alimentation du Katanga*, which was founded in the middle of the 1920s (Essor du Congo 1931). At its origin was Barnett Smith, a cattle trader of Russian origin who, after having made (and lost) his fortune in South Africa and Rhodesia, arrived in Lubumbashi in the early 1910s in search of new opportunities. A prototype self-made man and belonging to the quite important Ashkenazi community that was migrating to the city in the early years (MacMillan/Shapiro 1999: 16–37), Smith quickly managed in securing an almost monopoly position by establishing excellent relationships with some of the leading figures of the Belgian colonial establishment, among which Jean-Felix de Hemptinne, the head of the Benedictine fathers and one of the city’s most powerful personae. As such, the Elakat butcher shop reminds us of the cosmopolitan nature of Lubumbashi’s society and of the opportunities the city provided for some non-Belgian whites, even if the majority of them were regarded “second rate whites”. Seen from such a cosmopolitan perspective, the presence of what appears to be a Belgian flag in the center of the photograph becomes less straightforward as it might seem at first glance.

SCENE 9 / “Elisabethville – Le marché couvert”

This photograph constitutes one of the rare images of Lubumbashi’s first public market, which was situated in the center of the European quarter’s

¹²This film was found by André Huet, who founded in 2004 an association called *MémoiresInédites*, see <http://www.memoires-inedites.com/index.php> (18.06.2015).

commercial zone, on the crossing of the *Avenue Royale* and the *Avenue du Sankuru*, the site where today stands the post office. It depicts a number of Africans, most of which are standing in front of the building while some sit –and wait– under its covered arcade composed of large brick arches, an architectural feature that demonstrates the building’s importance. Indeed, colonial authorities considered the “*marché couvert*” as a prominent urban project, being an indispensable instrument of Lubumbashi’s urban economy as it assured the provisioning of the rapidly increasing African workers’ population. The covered market building stood out among the streetscape as one of the most imposing edifices of its time.

The debates on the public market of Lubumbashi, which in fact predated those on the same topic in Kinshasa (Beeckmans 2009), are informative of ideas regarding the spatial segregation along racial lines of the urban realm since the market constituted one of those sites *par excellence* where the racial boundaries of the segregated city at times were blurred and where a particular form of encounter between Africans and Europeans could take place. In the early years of Lubumbashi’s existence, there was only one public market. Hence, despite its location in the European part of town, it was frequented mainly by an African population, composed not only of African domestic servants but also of residents of the so-called “*cités*” or African quarters. It also constituted a site of mobility between the city and its hinterland, as African “vegetable farmers” (*marâichers*) came there to sell their products. Indeed, several attempts to establish a Belgian agricultural colonization around the newly founded mining city had proved unsuccessful, forcing the colonial authorities to allow African “vegetable farmers” to settle themselves in the rural areas near the outskirts of the city (Jewsiewicki 1979; Esgain 1997). In the course of time, these obtained considerable rights, such as entering the European quarter at the eve of the market day and putting their goods on sale on the European market.

When in the early 1920s, racial segregation was reinforced via the creation of a “neutral zone” between the European and African quarters, a proposal

was launched to equally segregate the public market. This implied constructing a market in the African "*cité*" while erecting another new market building in the city center, which would be accessible only for the city's white community. A limited number of European merchants offering goods not yet provided by African traders would be authorized to run a market stall at the African market. But the market in the European quarter needed to be conceived to allow the inevitable presence of the African merchants procuring food from the rural areas around the city, as well as African domestic servants running errands for their masters. The proposed project of the new public market building in the European center, designed in 1928-29, demonstrates to what extent its internal organization was informed by the notion of racial segregation. Two monumental entries gave access to the European part of the market. The outside stalls were situated along the most prestigious and animated axes of the quarter's commercial zone. But only a modest entry to the area of the building accessible for Africans was planned, with few external stands to serve the African domestic servants. The new market building was, however, never built. In the end, Lubumbashi's main market was relocated to the edge of the "neutral zone", a decision that actually was in tune with emerging guidelines of colonial urban planning in the Belgian Congo, as defined by engineer-architect René Schoentjes in the early 1930s. As such, Lubumbashi's public market remained a contact zone between the two communities (Schoentjes 1933).¹³

¹³In Schoentjes model scheme of an ideal colonial city for the Belgian Congo, the market place was situated in between the European city and the "native town", as it was considered a public site accessible to both communities. Archival evidence such as the reports of the Comité Urbain indicate that Lubumbashi's market indeed functioned as such a contact zone.

**SCENE 10 / "School and social building, Elisabethville" &
"Elisabethville. Hôpital des Noirs. Pavillon central côté nord'."**

This pair of photographs reminds us of the important role missionary congregations played in the making and shaping of Lubumbashi. The top image provides a view of a building that functioned as a school, a place of encounter and even temporarily as a church for the Methodist Episcopal Church, a protestant congregation active in Lubumbashi since 1917.¹⁴ The photograph is taken at the very moment Africans are leaving the premises. As we only see African women, and some children, perhaps a training in household tasks had just taken place. The lower image depicts part of the hospital for Africans, the so-called Hôpital Léopold, which opened in 1913.¹⁵ At the demand of the colonial authorities, it was operated by the *Zusters van Liefde*, a Flemish catholic congregation some members of which we see standing amidst a fairly large group of Africans. Some of the latter clearly look like patients while others, dressed in white, obviously belong to the medical staff. Both buildings were situated not far from one another, the Methodist school being situated on the *Avenue Limite Sud* which marked the outer limit of the European quarter. The Hôpital Léopold was located close to the other end of this street, albeit from a certain distance of it, as it was actually situated in the so-called "*zone neutre*". Both photographs testify of an urban landscape still very much in the making. Streets are not paved, but we can discern already a lamppost as well as well-trimmed border zones, and the presence of a car in both images announces a modern city in the making.

The buildings are constructed in brick, revealing the ambition of both congregations of developing a long term activity in Lubumbashi. The

¹⁴ The Methodist actually only built their main church, an impressive edifice that still forms an architectural landmark in Lubumbashi, in the late 1920s.

¹⁵ At the time, the hospital for Africans was still very modest in size, with four small rooms each containing six beds. A more important infrastructure was built on the same location in 1925.

respective building programs, a school and a hospital, bear witness of the philanthropic nature of both congregations who settled in Lubumbashi in order to deploy activities at the service of the growing African population. As such, both buildings also were potential sites for social mobility. Given the very particular educational policy implemented in the Belgian Congo, with an almost exclusive focus on low level mass education to procure docile servants needed in various domains of the colonial project (De Paepe/Van Rompaey 1995), there actually were few opportunities for Africans to obtain an intellectually challenging training. Becoming a pastor in service of the protestant missionaries provided one way out,¹⁶ while a training as an *assistant medical indigène* (AMI) needed to staff the rapidly expanding medical health care service from the 1920s onwards, was another. The latter profile quickly resulted in the formation of a class of Africans that have been described as "middle figures", possessing a more promising social status and larger geographic mobility than most of their peers (Hunt 1999). We can safely assume that the three male figures with white aprons in the centre of the second photograph constitute exactly such "middle figures" and their posture even suggests that they were in some way celebrated at the time this image was taken. Perhaps they had just finished their training.

But there were, of course, limits to the opportunities for social mobility. Candidates enrolling in an AMI-training were subject to a very strict selection process, including an assessment of their "behaviour". In Lubumbashi, the training facility for these AMIs was also located in the "neutral zone", subjecting them to the spatial disciplining of colonial urban planning. While constituting an important community within the growing milieu of the so-called "*évolués*", these AMI were never granted the same responsibilities as the white medical staff, not even on the eve of independence. Career opportunities within the Methodist church seemed less restricted by the norms and forms of Belgian colonialism. The

¹⁶ The photo albums of the Methodists contain several portraits of such African pastors, such as Moses Mukonwe and Joseph Jutu, which date from the mid-1910s.

protestants active in Lubumbashi had a US background and held quite different views on the civilizing mission as did Catholic missionaries (Hoover 2010). But the space of manoeuvre of the Methodist Church in the Belgian Congo, and in Katanga in particular, became gradually limited from the 1920s onwards. By the time the Methodists started the construction of their new church, they had been losing their foothold in the region. The Belgian government had strengthened its control on what had been until then a rather open-minded, cosmopolitan city. It not only restricted migration into the Congo, but also downplayed the use of English in everyday parlance, thus handicapping the Anglophone Methodists. During the 1920s, the UMHK changed its labour policy, training Congolese workers rather than recruiting labourers from the South, which had always constituted the most significant target group for the Methodists. In 1929, Jean-Félix de Hemptinne, head of the Benedictine Fathers, launched his vehement public attack on the Protestant Missions in the Congo, leading to a three year open conflict between the Catholic and the Methodist Church in Lubumbashi. And finally, the worldwide economic crisis that in the aftermath of the 1929 crash of Wall Street, hit the Belgian Congo hard (Louwers 1933), turned Lubumbashi into a “ghost town” in the years to come. In such a context, there was little room for social mobility neither for Africans, nor for the less wealthy non-Belgian Europeans who were forced to stay. It would last until the 1940s before the city’s economy again boomed, but by then, due to a rising African contestation of colonial authority, the first irreparable “cracks” in the colonial system had already emerged.

Snapshots of complex colonial realities

Through this series of ten scenes, selected from the immense visual archive on colonial Lubumbashi, we aim at providing a glimpse of some of the complexities of the lived realities in this mining city during the early decades of its existence. The series present a narrative on a particular colonial urban context focusing on various forms of mobility, both physical

and social; forms of mobility which were shaped by the urban spaces as much as they were influenced the very design of these spaces in turn. While the selection is based on an informed choice, both authors being well - acquainted with Lubumbashi’s history, it nevertheless remains arbitrary and subjective. Other scholars working with the same visual archive probably would have chosen other photographs. But what this contribution in the end seeks to argue is that such images, despite the epistemological limitations of the “colonial archive” pointed out by Ann Laura Stoler, remain fascinating documents to “think with”. They can, in fact, help us to reassess our understanding of the colonial past.

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SCENE 1 / “La gare. Départ du train pour le Cape”

Source: AP.0.1.64, collection RMCA Tervuren; photo E. Gourdinne, ca 1918.



SCENE 2 / "Groupe de travailleurs indigènes ayant fini leur terme"

Source: AP.0.1.158, collection RMCA Tervuren; photo E. Gourdinne, ca 1918.



SCENE 3 / "Elisabethville – Panorama"

Source: AP.0.1.112, collection RMCA Tervuren; photo E. Gourdinne, ca 1918.



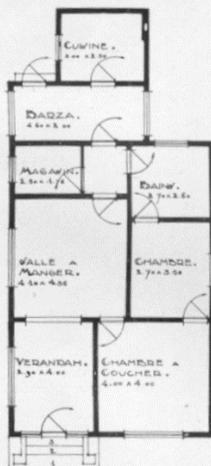
SCENE 4 / "Katanga de 1910 à 1914"

Source: AP.0.1.1771, collection RMCA Tervuren; photo E. Leplae, 1910-1914.

COMPAGNIE FONCIÈRE DU KATANGA



Immeuble Type 22.



Vue d'intérieur de cette maison.

22

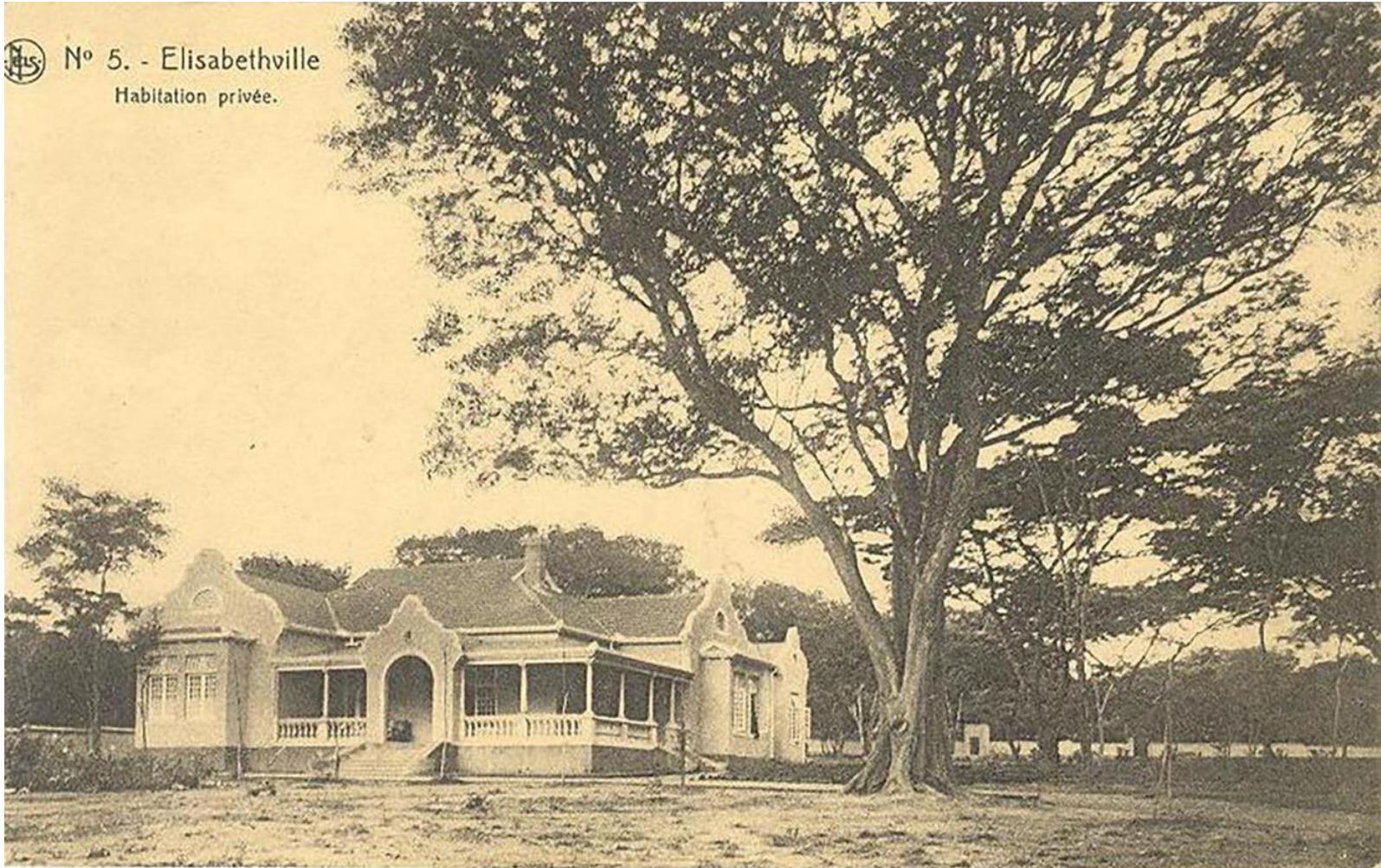
SCENE 5 / "Immeuble Type 22"

Source: *La maison au Katanga*, Compagnie Foncière du Katanga, Brussels, 1931, s.p. (collection Johan Lagae).



SCENE 6 / "Garden Party"

Source: AP.0.0.20656, collection RMCA Tervuren; photo E. Gourdinne, ca 1918



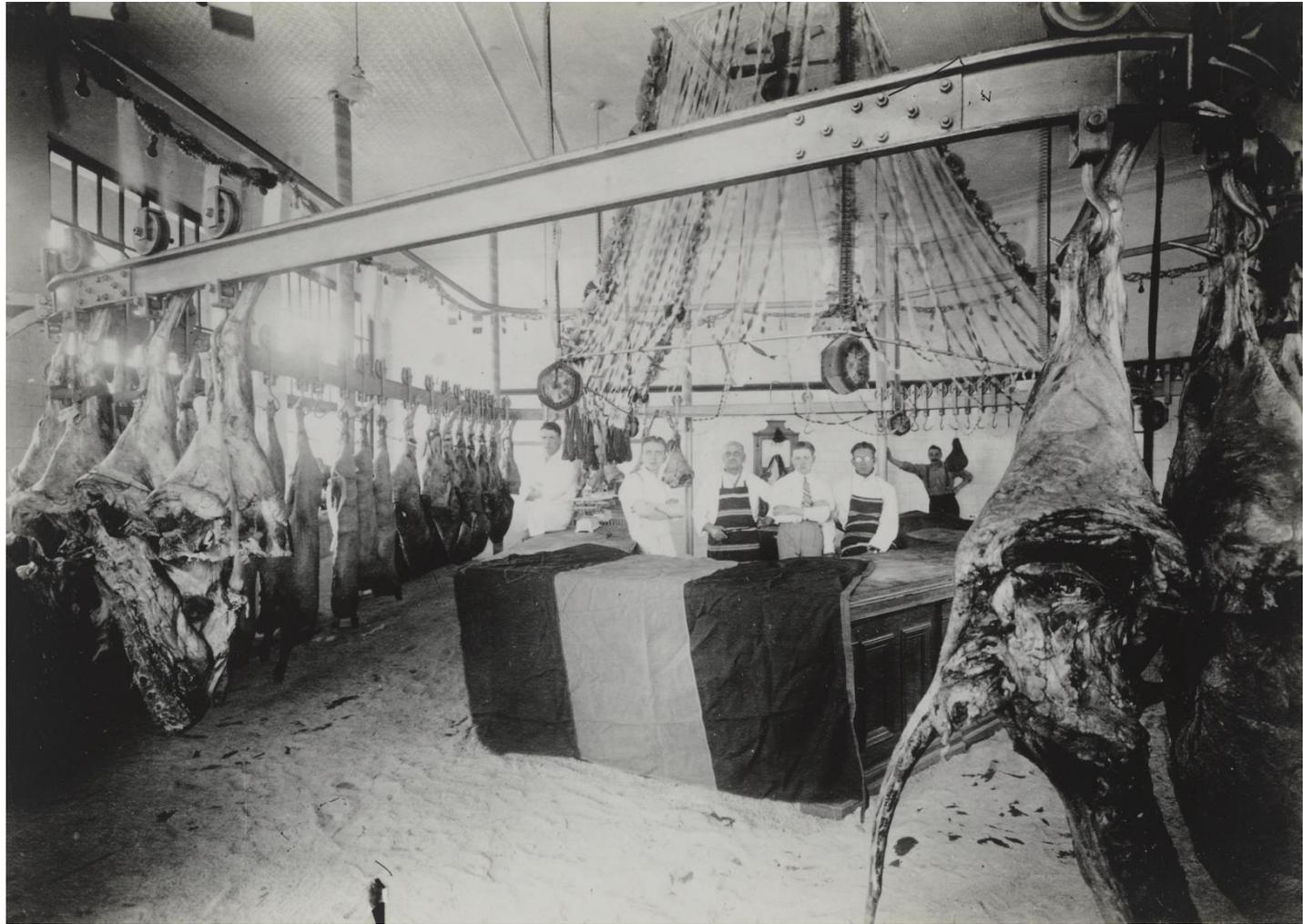
SCENE 7a / "Elisabethville. Habitation privée"

Source: Postcard, produced by Nels, Brussels, ca. 1920s (collection Sofie Boonen)



SCENE 7b / "Elisabethville. Théâtre Parthenon"

Source: Postcard, produced by Nels, Brussels, ca. 1920s (collection Sofie Boonen)



SCENE 8 / "Boucherie à Elisabethville (Elakat)"

Source: AP.0.0.29948, collection RMCA Tervuren; photo Elakat.



SCENE 9 / "Elisabethville – Le marché couvert"

Source: AP.0.1.103, collection RMCA Tervuren; photo E. Gourdinne, ca 1918.



SCENE 10a / "School and social building, Elisabethville"

Source: Mission Albums Africa, Album nr. 14, cliché 95176, United Methodist Archives & History Center, Drew University.



SCENE 10b / "Elisabethville. Hôpital des Noirs. Pavillon central côté nord."

Source: Nr. A74-CON-Lubumbashi (Charles Lwanga), Archives of the Zusters van Liefde, Ghent.