

Early French Colonial Education in Hanoi, 1904-1930¹

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Abstract

During the early French colonization of Hanoi, the Vietnamese societies and cultures of this capital were extremely transformed and evidently assimilated to the European material and mental cultures, especially by means of French colonial education. Many questions have been raised: what are the French colonial educational policies in Vietnam?; what is the

¹ This paper is a part of my term report during my M.A. program in Southeast Asian Studies at Chulalongkorn University. As a former Dr.Siriwong Hongdawan's student, I would like to express my deepest condolences for eternal loss of the great and benevolent teacher. In memory of my beloved master, I chose to write this paper on Hanoi education, where she graduated, to pay tributes to her specialization.

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colonial education in Hanoi?; and how to periodize the French colonial education in Hanoi? Finally, the problematic of this study is the following: how did the French colonial education develop in Hanoi? The study will chronologically discuss about these three topics: the domination of the Vietnamese traditional education before 1904, the French educational reorganization from 1904 to 1917, and implementation of the Charter of 1917 until the impact of the Great Depression in 1930.

The objective of this study is to explore the development of the French colonial education in Hanoi from 1904 to 1930. The result of the study is the followings. Firstly, the French colonial education in Hanoi during 1904-1930 is an essential period which completely changes Sino-Vietnamese to European worldviews both in Hanoi and in Vietnam. Secondly, the essential operation of French colonial education may be arbitrarily divided into 2 phases: the first phase of 1904-1917 in which the French ideas of republic and colonial education were applied, and the second phase of 1917-1930 where the Charter of 1917 was implemented throughout Hanoi. In conclusion, the French colonial education was well established in Hanoi because of her position of centre of colonial administration and culture.

The French colonial education may be seen as the instrument of French cultural colonization which is more effective and less expensive comparing to force operations. The impact of this French acculturation period will be last long until now and becomes one of important components of Vietnamese culture complex's today.

Keywords: French colonial education; Hanoi; French acculturation; cultural history

Introduction

Soon after the French pacification during the Sino-French War (August 1884 – April 1885) in Tonkin³ in 1885, Hanoi was established as the capital of Tonkin and later as the administration capital of French Indochina in 1887⁴. Hanoi was obviously the ancient centre of Vietnamese culture even before the Vietnamese conquest of the Southern territories since the 11th century. Consequently, during the French colonization

³ Philologically the word “Tonkin” is derived from Sino-Vietnamese root “Đông Kinh” which means "Eastern Capital".

⁴ The bureau of French Indochina Government was moved officially from Saigon to Hanoi in 1902.

of Hanoi, the Vietnamese societies and cultures of this capital were extremely transformed and evidently assimilated to the European material and mental cultures, especially by means of French colonial education.

Prior to the French Indochina Government decree of April 27th, 1904 on the Creation of Tonkin Local Service of Education, the French education in Hanoi had partially been taken in charge by the *Missions Étrangères de Paris* who took care of primary education, and by the municipality which opened a secondary school for boys only in 1900 (Paul Doumer, 1902 : 101). During the mandate of governor-general Paul Beau since October 1902 to February 1907, the intense physical urbanization of Hanoi since the former governor-general Paul Doumer was headed to the intellectual cultivation, however not to serve individual improvement, but to serve the growth of French Indochina as a whole. The reorganization of public education was necessitated by the vote of French Parliament on republicanism idea of educational laicization, the need for educational supports in priority to the French staying in Hanoi, and the growing needs of francophone local labors for “*various services, trade and industry sub-assistance,*

secretaries, interpreters, accountants, foremen, and finally the general evolution of the Indo-Chinese to Western education” (Paul Doumer, 1902: 303).

The study of French acculturation in colonial Vietnam becomes crucial to understand profoundly and roundly modern Vietnamese societies. The problem has been raised: what is actually the French colonial education system in Vietnam, especially in Hanoi: school, teachers, school textbooks, and contents? Many previous studies⁵ were focused on the French colonial education in French Indochina in general, while the French educational policies in each area were specifically designed. Moreover, even though Hanoi is effectively considered as the original centre of Vietnamese politics and culture, there has not been yet any research on the topic. Consequently, this paper

⁵ Since the political unit of French Indochina was often seen as a unique entity, there is a tendency to study every dimension of the region with a general perspective without any balance between regional and local particularities. However, for the starting point to the French colonial education in Indochina, it is strongly recommended to study these important writings: Trinh Văn Thảo (2000) and Pascale Besançon (2002).

explores the development of the French colonial education in Hanoi from 1904 to 1930.

Interestingly, many questions have been asked: what are the French colonial educational policies in Vietnam?; what is the colonial education in Hanoi?; and how to periodize the French colonial education in Hanoi? Finally, the problematic of this study is the following: how did the French colonial education develop in Hanoi?

Note that there are different periodizations of the development of the French colonial education in the area. While Brocheux and Hémery (2009) divided the French colonial education in Indochina into 3 periods dated from 1860 to 1945 (the first 1860-1917; the second 1917-1930; and the third 1930-1945), Trinh Van Thao (2000) proposed 3 periods of French colonial education in French Indochina, starting from 1874 to 1945 (the 1st period 1874-1907; the 2nd period 1908-1917; and the 3rd period 1917-1945). Which one is more suitable for this study? None of them. Since the organization of French colonial education in each area was adjusted to local identities and Hanoi, different from other cities and regions, becoming the centre for new Franco-Vietnamese generations *par excellence*, this

study will propose to divide the French colonial education in Hanoi into 3 periods as the followings: the 1st period marked by the domination of the Vietnamese traditional education before 1904; the 2nd period marked by the French educational reorganization from 1904 to 1917 where the Charter for Indochinese education was declared to be realized; the 3rd period describing the implementation of the Charter of 1917 until the new reform of Indochinese Public Education caused by the impact of the Great Depression in 1930.

1. A survey of Vietnamese traditional education system before the French educational reform in 1904

In order to understand the French colonial education in Hanoi, it would be useful to briefly study the Vietnamese education before the French educational reform in 1904. The Vietnamese education is rooted of Confucian tradition. This educational system is designed for the recruitment of new officers through three levels of examinations: provincial, regional, and national. Consequently, the nomination of higher-ranked officers to the Vietnamese administration was primarily

based on the meritocracy: educational capacity. Especially, this examination system was witnessed by the emperor himself.

Since the French occupation of all Annam and Tonkin in 1885, the governors-general of French Indochina had tried to adjust the French education system to those of Vietnamese traditional education. This is the observation of French scholar, who worked in French Indochina cabinet in Hanoi. He described the relations between Vietnamese education and State office:

“The empire of Annam, apart from the Emperor who is the “agent of heaven”, and also the first scholar of the empire, was a rigorously democratic organization. Since the exemption from military service and the tax exemption, all favors and all the honors of the state were subordinated to the traditional literary graduation issued in a series of capacity tests.” (Louis Salaun, 1903)



Fig. 1: Photograph of the traditional Vietnamese private school in Hanoi:

a master is repeating the lessons to 2 disciples at home

As we can see in the Figure 1, there was no concept of public education in the Kingdom of Annam. Yet, the primary education for the children in each village relied on a private school whose master, who had been formed through the Confucian education system and became local official by means of regional or national examinations, would educate his students by mercy. He didn't ask for any presents from students. It was completely a Vietnamese culture to receive a

student with small gifts given to the master. Here are some observations by French point of view:

“However, it was not compulsory; the Annamese government was completely uninterested in even primary education. In each village it was a school teacher, who was usually a married man, old, to whom his students pay a few gifts. [...] The child learns to read and write. He learns so much moral and social duties. [...]”
(Louis Salaun, 1903)

For the success of the student life: to be a state officer, it depends a lot on the fortune of the family. To get the higher position in the administration, the student takes a lot of time. Each year he passed an examination until the last one so that he could get higher degree. More interestingly, all administrative positions were reserved for men, not for women. This traditional education system exceptionally had influenced to the Vietnamese during the imperial era. Even though, it tended to be faded down by the French colonial education system established in 1904, the Vietnamese traditional education system would continue in parallel to the French system until the educational reformation in 1918.

2. From idea to action: the French colonial education system in practice, 1904-1917

There were some changes in educational policy in metropolitan France: “what education for our colonies?”. Jules Ferry’s proposition presented to the Assembly aims to modify the goal of colonization: not only for the prestige of Nation in world political stage, but for the “*mission civilisatrice*” consisting of the Western acculturation of the colonized peoples and also for the economic growth of France. (Raoul Girardet, 1972) With this logic, the French colonial education will transform the Vietnamese into European élite on the one hand, and skilled labors with European knowledge and technology on the other hand.

According to his report to the French Ministry of Colonies in 1902, Paul Doumer tried to find a way to cultivate the colonized through European education. What does Paul Doumer, the maker of French Indochina, think about education in Tonkin?

“How is the teaching given to the natives in Indo-China? For this general question, it would be difficult to make a precise answer. [...] We have to admit that until now the form of French

education for the natives has not been found yet. Maybe, there is not any universal form, only partial solutions for the issue that changes over time and according to the countries and even provinces. ” (Paul Doumer, 1902 : 102)

To change the colonized Vietnamese into the Francophiles, the only way to get success is to remove the basis of moral and social ideas derived from the Confucianism. Paul Doumer understood the function of Confucian education in Vietnamese society: social order, social moral value, and recruitment of State officers by examinations and competitions.

“As long as the mentality and social condition of the natives will not be changed, and if only they never change, we must keep destroying what is the moral basis for their existence. The principles they have, and which make, in them, strong family, respected parents, obeyed public authority, are taken from the books of indigenous education. Learning the first few characters, they learn the basic rules of morality of Confucius. [...]” (Paul Doumer, 1902 : 102)

Paul Doumer expressed his goal why to form the Indochinese natives in the French style and who should be in the French schools. And this idea became the philosophy of French colonial education for succeeding in French Indochina governments who made their efforts to realize it during a short period of less than 40 years. According to Paul Doumer, the French school for the natives is mainly aimed to form the new social group, that is, the *élite*. With the knowledge of French language and Western culture, they will be offered to work in various colonial offices and to play the role of intermediaries among the people of two different cultures. 2 years later, Muselier, head of the Local Educational Services of Tonkin, confirmed this policy and proposed the other policy to reunite the educational policy and the World strategies of French presence in Indochina.

“If France applies the discriminatory policy consisting to exclusively reserve the public positions for the European personnel, it is necessary to emphasize the axis of primary-upper and primary-professional education. If France wishes to encourage the policy of association or protectorate, in this case, we

must focus on the axis of upper primary and secondary education, if necessary, based on the Confucian school.” (Trinh Van Thao, 2000 : 45-46)

We can say that during the mandate of the next governor-general Paul Beau, France lead the policy of association, called the educational policy of Protectorate. It means that France will strengthen French Indochina by the Indochinese themselves. But many objections were raised by the French settlers in Indochina. They did not wish that the Indochinese would become one day the “masters” of the French, who had been the “colonizer race”. Finally, Paul Beau had to leave French Indochina after the closure of the University of Indochina which had just been opened for only 2 months. However, Paul Beau had constructed many types of schools, necessary to different demands from various social groups in Indochina. Hanoi had witnessed the variety of social groups, coming to study from nursery school to university. Moreover, to complete with Japan, Hanoi was designed to open many faculties for the Chinese who tended to further study in Japan.

The policy of teaching French language in school was considered very important for the colonization of Indochina as well. The policy was aimed to use French language to convey French knowledge, social virtue, social codes, culture in the broad sense, and certainly for the administration of all Indochinese.

The objective of the educational reform in Tonkin since 1904 is clearly to strengthen the colony and her people. Hanoi hosted 3 types of schools directed by the Local Service of Education Commission: (1) French schools reserved in priority for the French and the European (Paul Beau, 1908: 306-307)⁶; (2)

⁶ According to the report Vol. 2 of Paul Beau (1908: 306-307), The French schools were attended by European children in the colony. “The parents desired to keep their children with them as long as possible, especially in Tonkin.” At the end of his mandate, there were:

-2 colleges (secondary education): The College Chasseloup-Laubat in Saigon and the College Paul Bert in Hanoi (130 students in 1907)

-16 primary schools [11 mixed schools]

-The Girl School of Hanoi (Institution de jeunes filles de Hanoi): 132 students in 1907. The school was intended to prepare teachers for local demanding.

Franco-Native schools, from the upper primary level to secondary level, designed solely at the onset to the academic and professional formations for the Indochinese; (3) Native schools, in villages and in towns, which took care of primary education of the children in general.

The success of the decree of 1904 made progress in producing lot of Franco-native teachers who could teach French language to the Vietnamese children. This leads to the educational reform in 1917 where the governmental budget for the public education tended to be limited by the world situation: the World War I in Europe.

In Haiphong, there were 1 Boy school (Ecole Henri Rivière) and 1 Girl school.

Total of European students in French Indochina in 1907 was about 1600 persons of which two-thirds enrolled in public school. Each of 4 levels of primary education functioned by examination:

- a) Certificate of primary education
- b) Certificate of Higher primary education
- c) Certificate of Elementary Education
- d) Certificate of Higher Elementary Education

3. Development of French colonial education in Hanoi from 1918 to 1930

With a view to reforming the colonial education in French Indochina, the governor-general Albert Sarraut signed the Charter for Indochinese education⁷ in December 21, 1917 and made it published in the *Journal officiel* in April 10, 1918. The Charter became an important instrument to deeply modify “*the organization of the Public Instruction Service in Tonkin like in the other areas of the Union.*” (Gouvernement Général de l’Indochine, 1918 : 276) What is the essence of the six-hundred-page Charter 1917?

⁷ In French : Le Règlement général de l’instruction publique. According to Trinh Van Thao (2000 : 51), “*the Charter nearly includes six hundred items grouped into seven books; each book is divided into titles and each title into chapters. In short, the real legal structure is not lacking so far, ambiguities and contradictions. The general provisions of the Charter give an overview of the school building under a single direction (the general government through the Direction-general of Public Instruction). More than half a century after the colonial conquest and almost forty years after the establishment of the Franco-indigenous schools in the South, the colonial authorities finally reached the goal of assimilation announced since Paul Bert*”.

A. The Charter for Indochinese Education, December 21st, 1917. The main propositions of the Charter of 1917, are the followings:

(1) The public education is exclusively placed under the French Indochinese Government in Hanoi, through the Direction-general of the public education.

(2) There will be three types of schools: firstly, French schools for primary, upper primary, secondary levels; secondly, Franco-Native schools for primary, complementary, and secondary levels; thirdly, professional schools.

(3) The compulsory status of the French language in the primary education (Book 1)

(4) Program and schedule from the primary classes to secondary certificate classes (in French: *la terminale*) in the Franco-Natives schools (Books 2 & 3)

(5) Regimes of examination and evaluation (Book 5)

(6) Regimes of scholarships (Book 6)

(7) List of the high schools in France accessible to the Indochinese fellows (Book 6)

(8) Higher education (Book 2)

- (9) Status of the educational staff (Books 1, 2, 3, 4)
- (10) Administrative organization of the Public education (Books 1, 3, etc.)
- (11) Functions of the teacher colleges (in French: *écoles normales d'instituteurs*) (Trinh Van Thao, 2000: 51)

However, the problems of lacking French native teachers cause the failure of some Franco-Native schools which could not provide sufficiently French teachers to the children while the teaching of Chinese language was under high control. The Chinese letters courses became elective and were reduced in every school. The *hán nôm* teachers formed by the Vietnamese traditional education were recruited as teacher assistants in primary schools. Moreover, the administration power emanated from the royal and legitimate formations of traditional State officers in *Huế* was transferred to Hanoi when the Direction-general of Public Education decided to create the new *École d'administration* (School of Administration).

On the behalf of the public education, the French destruction of Vietnamese traditional and

Confucian cultures was gradually and seriously achieved. Hanoi was re-immersed as the centre for French administration and culture in French Indochina without any mercy to the Vietnamese traditional and Confucian cultures rooted in this city since the 11th century. The imperial court of *Huế* became only the symbol of traditional power of administration and culture. Since then, Hanoi as the centre for administration of French Indochina replaced *Huế*. It was not the emperor any more who decided the best Confucian scholars and the highest ranking aristocrats to the imperial administrations. In contrast, it was actually the French colonial education system itself centered in Hanoi which controlled and judged the educational quality of the Vietnamese. And with the certificates accredited by French system, the young Vietnamese would get jobs in various sectors of the colony. It seems that it was the great transformation: physical and spiritual transfer of cultural and administrative centre from *Huế* [Vietnamese writing] to *Hanoi* [French writing].

B. The creation of the Direction of Public Education in 1920

The governor-general Albert Sarraut created the decree of March 2nd 1920 the unique superior

organization, centered in Hanoi, which looked after all educational affairs: the Direction-general of Indochinese Public Education. This organization had two functions as clearly described in the annual report of the government-general of Indochina in 1930: the enhancement of all forms of education and the assessment of the administration of higher education institutions, secondary and technical schools. (Gouvernement Général de l'Indochine, 1930 : 244)

This means that the government-general of French Indochina wished to mainly control the quality of secondary education and higher education. The primary education of all aspects and all levels was in charge by the Local Education Service. It can be said that the creation of the Direction-general of Public Education is not the real centralization system; it's rather a mix policy of educational decentralization and quality control. The Local Education Service was responsible for the primary education level with a view to avoiding the cultural “*déracinement*” (uprooting) (Gouvernement Général de l'Indochine, 1929(1) : 266). *In priori*, the Direction-general of Public Education had mission to develop, maintain, and gradually increase educational standard equivalent to educational system

in France with the intention of reducing the growth of Indochinese student migration to France. At the same time, the Direction-general intended to form qualified labors to strengthen the colonial administrative and economic systems.

Since its creation, the Direction-general of Indochinese Public Education had to be modified many times in accordance with administrative and technical needs.

C. French schools in Hanoi

Loosely speaking, the provision of education was initially aimed to form the French population in the colony. But having worries about the future careers of the children who had no enough socio-linguistic education, especially as comparably good as studying in France and about the colonial education unrecognized by the French national education system, the parents tended to send their children to the motherland. According to the principle of “*colonie de peuplements*” (colony of settlements) (Paul Leroy-Beaulieu, 1882), the governors-general of French Indochina learned to populate the colony by slowing down the colonial and francophone migration to the metropolitan country

because of lacking of a good education provision. The teaching of French language and general culture for European children in the primary level, which had been charged by the missionary, was lead by the Republican idea to the construction of laicized schools covering primary and secondary education.

Table 1: Development of student number in primary schools in Hanoi, from 1914 to 1918

Schools	Students														
	Total of Students					European and assimilated					Native and assimilated				
	1914	1915	1916	1917	1918	1914	1915	1916	1917	1918	1914	1915	1916	1917	1918
Collège Paul Bert[1]	245	303	338	370	n.d.	152	162	149	178	n.d.	93	141	189	192	n.d.
Institut de Jeunes Filles	225	226	259	280	317	221	222	256	280	n.d.	4	4	3	-	n.d.

Sources: Gouvernement Générale de l'Indochine, *Rapport au Conseil de Gouvernement, 1914-1919*

As shown in the Table 1, until 1917 on the eve of application of the Indochinese Education Charter of 1917, there were distinctly 2 primary schools in Hanoi: *Collège Paul Bert* which was boy school and the *Institute de Jeunes Filles* which was girl school. The students could be divided into 2 groups: European and

assimilated students and native and assimilated students. And in 1929 on the eve of educational reform caused by the Great Depression of 1929, Hanoi had 3 French primary schools: École primaire supérieure de garçons (the Upper Primary Boy School: 7 classes, 201 students), École primaire supérieure de filles (the Upper Primary Girl School: 8 classes, 175 students), and École primaire de filles du boulevard Rollandes (The Primary Girl School of Boulevard Rollandes: 8 classes, 186 students).

It should be noted that the French schools received both French and native children. During 1914-1918, although there were proportionally less native than European children in the girl school, from 1916 to 1917 the proportion of native children in the Collège Paul Bert was bigger than those of European children. This did not create the problems of discrimination, but rather the *protector's* linguistic assimilation. According to the observation, the native children preferred to play among themselves and they lost the linguistic capacity to communicate in French. The Direction-general for

Public Education wished the schools to keep dominant the European group.

However, this could be the effort to construct the Indochinese *collèges* (lower secondary education level) and *lycées* (upper secondary education level) with an aim to reflect the secondary schools in France. The Collège Paul Bert, founded in 1905 in Hanoi, was an example of many French colleges which were in charged to “*exclusively prepare the future candidates of colonial administration (secretaries of the Residents, interpreters, and instructors)*” (Trinh Van Thao, 2000 : 48). In 1924, the Upper Primary Boy School (*École primaire supérieure de garçons*) was opened in Hanoi and was installed in one part of buildings of the Collège Paul Bert. Besides, in 1929 the buildings of the Collège Paul Bert were renovated in order that the other educative institution could be installed: The Teacher College for Girls (*École normale d’institutrices indigènes*). (Gouvernement Général de l’Indochine, 1929(1) : 283)

When the French colonial education system was designed, many decrees were promulgated, so the

young French and European had to follow. When the number of students in each level and each degree came to the point that the classes had to be prepared, the constructions of the French *collèges* and *lycées* were successively operated in accordance to the priority and the available of annual budget. Certainly, the high schools and university faculties were planned to be especially built in the big and strategic cities of the French Indochina. This is the making of colonial education system in French Indochina.

Hanoi, as the capital of the French Indochina since 1887, disposed the biggest *lycée* of the French colonies in Far-East. The Lycée Albert Sarraut was built in the 1920s, since the initiative of the Sarraut Charter 1917. As in the Figure 2, the immense and well-equipped upper secondary school was photographed in 1931 and a lot of photographs of the “French colonial craft” in education, surely among others, were taken in 1931 where there was a Colonial Exposition de Vincennes in Paris. These photographs would be distributed to all France and neighbouring countries in

the region. It was a success? Not exactly, it is too early to answer. It may be the image. The Service of Tourism and Propaganda to the government-general of French Indochina, founded in 1922, had a mission to popularize and publicize the success of French colonization in Indochina.

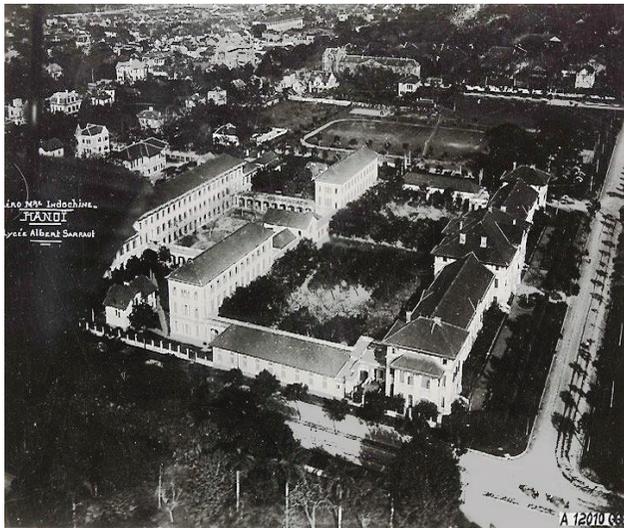


Fig. 2: Photograph of the Lycée Albert Sarraut in 1931,
Hanoi

Source:

<http://www.archivesnationales.culture.gouv.fr/anom/fr/>
Accessed on January 4th, 2013.

By visual documents, the transformation of cultural landscape of Hanoi, partly marked by grandiose educative buildings in European style, such as the Collège Paul Bert and the Lycée Albert Sarraut, would make believe that the French colonization of Indochina was successful in the eyes of the republican government in France, and that it was legitimated for the French Indochina Government to colonize this 5 countries in the eyes of the Indochinese.

The secondary education for the French and European children was highly paid attention by the government-general of French Indochina. Before the decree of 11th February 1930 which gave right to every student both French and native to be admitted to the *lycée français* (3 high schools in Indochinese Union), the Lycée Albert Sarraut, mixed-sex high school in Hanoi, had received almost only French and European children. Most native students preferred to continue 4 years of study in Teacher Colleges (two in Hanoi: *École normale d'instituteurs* for the boys and *École normale d'institutrices* for girls) or in the only one professional

school in Hanoi (*École des Arts appliqués de Hanoi*). However, the decree of 1930 indicated that the native students and French *protégés* could enroll in the *lycée français* on the condition of available places, age, and success in entrance exam. With the modifications of the educational system in France during late 1920s, all *lycées français* of French Indochina in 1930 had the general and definitive status, together with their value, similar to those in the motherland. (Gouvernement Général de l'Indochine, 1930 : 261-263) According to the government annual report of 1930, “*the time has come when French Indochina schools can assure, without fear, their value compared to similar institutions in the French metropolis.*” (Gouvernement Général de l'Indochine, 1930 : 262)

Briefly, from the first period of the Charter 1917's implementation until 1929, the French rulers were satisfied of the educational success in the same standard as in France and of the student migration control. (Gouvernement Général de l'Indochine, 1929(2) : 298)

D. The Franco-Native schools in Hanoi to 1930

The Franco-Native schools were created in order to provide qualified labors to the colonial administrative and economic purposes. Since the application of the Charter of 1917, the Tonkin Local Service of Education encouraged the communal schools to cultivate the children through Vietnamese language. After 3 or 4 years of study in communal schools, the children were obliged to continue their studies in the Franco-Native schools under the French colonial education system. Until 1929 among the 5 Franco-Native secondary schools in Tonkin, Hanoi disposed 3 schools: the Lycée du Protectorat⁸, the 2 Teacher Colleges, *École normale d'instituteurs* and *École normale d'institutrices*; the other two secondary schools were opened in Nam Dinh and Hải Phòng.

⁸ According to the decree of April 24th, 1929, the *Collège du Protectorat* was transformed into the *Lycée du Protectorat* and was in charge of lower and upper secondary education for the natives.

Table 3: Number of effective students in Franco-Native education in French Indochina, 1929

Levels	Classes	Tonkin	Cochinchina	Annam	Cambodia	Laos	Total
First Degree Education)	Nursery	38,748	56,387	22,847	1,979	2,529	122,490
	Preparations	19,165	36,979	21,885	1,549	1,294	80,872
	Elementary	16,738	16,899	5,562	596	1,052	40,847
	Total	74,651	110,265	50,294	4,124	4,875	244,209
	Intermediate 1	5,217	5,634	2526	610	501	14,488
	Intermediate 2	3,889	4,443	1864	405	276	10,877
	Upper	3,661	3,332	2110	378	171	9,652
	Total	12,767	13,409	6500	1,393	948	35,017
Second Degree (Secondary Education)	1 st Year	492 (84) ⁹	510 (144)	270 (51)	102 (22)	17	1,391 (301)
	2 nd Year	338 (74)	507 (169)	263 (57)	57 (14)	9	1,174 (314)
	3 rd Year	277 (64)	497 (145)	164 (38)	38 (9)	7	983 (256)
	4 th Year	240 (66)	284 (105)	138 (24)	28 (3)	2	692 (198)
	Total	1347 (288)	1,798 (563)	835 (170)	225 (48)	35	4,240 (1,069)
	1 st Secondary Year	49	22	-	-	-	71
	2 nd Secondary Year	18	10	-	-	-	28
	3 rd Secondary Year	18	4	-	-	-	22
	Total	85	36	-	-	-	121

Source: Gouvernement Générale de l'Indochine, *Rapport au Conseil de Gouvernement, 1929 Vol.2*, p. 311.

Apart from the information about the number of students who had success in each level, the Table 3 gives as well the information about the educational

⁹ The number in the parentheses means the number of the students in the teacher colleges.

system in Franco-Native schools, that is, there are 2 levels of education, namely the primary education consisting of 6 years of study and the secondary education consisting of 7 years of study. The primary education, called the 1st degree, is divided into 2 levels: 3 lower and 3 upper classes. For the secondary education, it is divided into 2 levels as well: 4 lower and 3 upper classes. It should be remarked that until 1929 the upper secondary education of the *lycée* level was limited to the 3 *lycées*, exclusively opened in Hanoi, Saigon, and Dalat. So, after the lower secondary education, many Indochinese students decided to continue their studies in professional schools or in the Teacher Colleges. Consequently, the secondary education would systematically differentiate the student groups and work opportunities, and afterwards the job positions in the colony. Hanoi hosted all types of schools they needed, including higher education.

E. The reestablishment of higher education: the University of Indochina

The École de Médecine (the School of Medicine – Image 5) had been opened in 1902, even before the foundation of the University of Indochina in 1906. After two months from the opening, the university was closed until the educational reform by the Sarraut Charter 1917. It was because the different pressure groups of the French colonizers in Indochina didn't wish to enlarge the number of native intellectuals for higher positions in the colonial administrations.

The new vision during the mandate of governor-general Albert Sarraut to reestablish the university is more ambitious. The university in Hanoi was encouraged to be a concurrence of those in Japan. Many Chinese students were admitted to the Japanese universities by Japanese scholarships. However, the students in Far-East acknowledged the modern and high-quality Japanese education. Besides, they shared similar cultures. These reasons are added by the situation of the gradual growth of Indochinese secondary student population.

The governors-general of French Indochina tried to open the door for the Chinese to the University of Indochina and at the same time to close the door for the Indochinese students who wished to further study in universities in France. (Trinh Van Thao, 2000 : 65-70)

The University of Indochina, founded in June 16th, 1906, was reopened by regrouping all specialist institutions under various ministries. According to the Table 4, until 1929 the University of Indochina had 9 faculties.

Table 4: Number of effective students in the University of Indochina, 1929

Schools and Departments (without School of Law)	1 st Year	2 nd Year	3 rd Year	4 th Year	Total	Intern Students in University dormitories		
						Fellows	Paying	Total
1. School of Medicine								141
1.1 Department of Doctor	13	7	3	3	26	16	1	
1.2 Department of Pharmaceutical Sciences	2	1	-	-	3	0	0	
1.3 Department of Certificate of Pre-Medicine (PCN)	15	-	-	-	15	4	2	
1.4 Department of Indochinese Medicine	48	18	8	20	94	74	11	
1.5 Department of Indochinese Pharmacy	12	3	2	-	17	14	0	
1.6 Department of Student Midwives	8	11	-	-	19	19	0	
2. Graduate School	4	14	8	-	26	21	1	22
3. School of Education								
3.1 Department of Letters	11	11	16	-	38	15	12	47
3.2 Department of Sciences	9	8	8	-	25	10	10	
4. School of Public Works	40	16	19	6	81	50	10	60
5. School of Business and Post-Telephone-Telegraph								
5.1 Department of Business	12	12	8	-	32	24	2	
5.2 Department of Post-Telephone-Telegraph	6	9	-	-	15	4	0	30
5.3 Department of Radiotelegraph	3	4	-	-	7	0	0	
6. School of Agriculture								
6.1 Department of Agriculture	9	3	3	5	32	28	2	30
6.2 Department of Forestry		3	4	5				
7. School of Animal Sciences	10	7	5	5	27	24	2	26
8. School of Fine Arts								
8.1 Department of Paintings	10	6	9	6	31	17	1	36
8.2 Department of Architecture	8	-	8	-	23	18	0	
TOTAL	220	140	101	50	511	33	54	392

Source: Gouvernement Générale de l'Indochine, *Rapport au Conseil de Gouvernement, 1929 Vol.2*, p. 345.

The number of graduate students from the University of Indochina would increase progressively. They were about 50, 101, 140, and 220 in the years of 1930, 1931, 1932, and 1933 respectively. These graduated would be absorbed by the colonial administrative, economic, social services sectors. These intellectual Indochinese natives constituted the new

and distinguished social group: the élite, maybe the same as the social group of the Vietnamese traditional scholars who had governed the empire before. Unfortunately, the growth of graduate student number in French Indochina was in the opposite directions of colonial administrative positions tending to be reduced by limited budget caused by the global economic depression since 1929.

Conclusion

During 1904-1930, it's a real success for French colonization to deeply transform French Indochina in general and Hanoi in particular through French education. The colonial policy of the French language for every level of education influenced to the changes of Vietnamese traditional worldview. It was a transmission of French material and mental culture to the Vietnamese society. On the behalf of *mission civilisatrice*, the colonial education had transformed, *à toute vitesse*, the physical landscape of Hanoi as well as

her traditional social structure and urban mentalities, towards one of the European cultural fountains and communities *d'outre-mer*. Finally, by colonial education the French Indochina makers wished that this colony would be an excellent example of economic and cultural success.

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