

NOT AVAILABLE FOR LOAN

THE  
EDUCATION OF THE INDIAN  
IN NATAL

( 1860 -- 1947 )

being a thesis  
presented for the degree of  
Doctor of Philosophy (Ph.D.)

at the  
University of Cape Town

by  
SOMARSUNDARUM COOPPAN  
B.A.(S.A.), M.A., M.Ed., (Cape Town)

March, 1948.

(In Two Volumes)

VOLUME ONE  
(1860 - 1910)

The copyright of this thesis is held by the  
University of Cape Town. Reproduction  
of the whole or any part may be made for  
study purposes only, and not for publication.

The copyright of this thesis vests in the author. No quotation from it or information derived from it is to be published without full acknowledgement of the source. The thesis is to be used for private study or non-commercial research purposes only.

Published by the University of Cape Town (UCT) in terms of the non-exclusive license granted to UCT by the author.

## P R E F A C E.

This historical, critical study of "The Education of the Indian in Natal 1860-1947", in two volumes, is presented as a thesis in fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in the Faculty of Education at the University of Cape Town.

The study was commenced in April, 1943 and carried on as a full-time engagement, except for an unavoidable total suspension of work during the whole of 1945, part of 1946 and part of 1947. The greater part of the collection and collation of the material had been completed by the middle of 1944. The final draft of the chapters covering the period 1860-1894 was written and typed in the second half of 1944.

The drafting of the chapters covering the period 1895-1910 was not undertaken till March 1946. This break in the continuity of the work might have slightly affected the style of the subsequent chapters. On the other hand, the interval was a blessing in disguise for it placed me in possession of certain original correspondence, press cuttings and notes belonging to the late Mr. H.L.Paul, an Indian interpreter of the Magistrate's Court, Durban, which threw considerable light upon the educational development of this period, and in which Mr. Paul himself played no mean part. Had it not been for this additional material the story of the growth of Indian education in this period would not have been as full as it is now, owing to the scantiness of material from official sources.

After another break, further research and final drafting of the chapters covering the period 1910-1947 was regularly undertaken from about May 1947. Originally it was intended to carry the study up to the year 1943, but it has now been extended up to the year 1947. I have incorporated various new items of information published since 1943 and also various new developments that have taken place since then, and brought the study as nearly up-to-date as it/.....

it was possible. It is hoped that this may compensate for the long delay in the completion of the project.

When I commenced this project there was no record of any similar work having been undertaken by any other person. But in July 1944 my attention was drawn to a thesis on the same topic submitted by one H.D. Kannemeyer for the degree of Master of Education at the University of Witwatersrand in April 1944 (1) This work covers the period 1860-1937. Except for occasional similarities which are unavoidable, there are many respects in which our two works are different, and, I believe, that my own study throws a certain amount of new light on the subject. Again, in February, 1948 I was shown another thesis on the same field presented for the Master of Education degree of the University of South Africa in November 1946, by one C.Kuppusami (2). Here again our arrangement and treatment of the subject are different.

#### ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS :

This study was made possible by the financial assistance rendered by the Natal Research Council and Board of the Union Education Department with a university research scholarship for two years, and supplemented by the generous donation of the following persons to an enlarged research fund : Messrs Suliman Ismail Mia and Co., V.Gokal and Co., Takkandas Bros., I.C.Ashabhai and Co., Vallabhai B.Patel and Co., Japan Bazaar, N.Parbhoo Bros. and Co., Master Bros., (all of Johannesburg), and Mr.J. Hendry, a European, of Irvington Dairies (Durban). Moulvi Mohamed Mia of the Waterval Islamic Institute, Johannesburg, and the late Professor Alfred Hoernlé took great pains to

- 
1. "A Critical Survey of Indian Education, 1860-1937"  
by H.D.Kannemeyer.
  2. "Indian Education in Natal, 1860-1946"  
by C.Kuppusami.

to raise the supplementary fund without which it would not have been possible to undertake the present research. To the Union Education Department and these other persons I hereby record my grateful thanks.

I also wish to acknowledge the assistance received from the following officials and private persons, and desire to express my thanks to them :

The High Commissioner for the Government of India, his Secretary and clerical staff for access to information in their files and reports, and for representations on my behalf to various officials to secure their co-operation in my work.

The Natal Provincial Secretary and the Natal Provincial Executive for access to the memoranda presented to, and minutes of evidence of the 1921, 1928 and 1937 Education Inquiries. They were invaluable aids in arriving at the trend of thought in those days .

Mr. Basson, the Commissioner for Immigration and Asiatic Affairs, the Protector of Indian Immigrants and his Indian staff for their kind co-operation. My early researches started in their offices.

Mr. B.M.Narbeth, Chairman of the Indian Technical Education Committee (now of the Council of the M.L.Sultan Technical College, Durban) for access to minutes and records of the Committee and the College in connection with the development of technical education for Indians in Durban.

Mr. S.M.Moodley of Greenwood Park, Durban for reports and press cuttings relating to the beginnings of continuation classes for workers in Durban.

The Secretary, Maritzburg Indian Technical Institute for information concerning the Institute.

Dr. Denison, ex-principal Natal University College, and Dr. Mabel Palmer, Organiser of the Non-

/European.....

European University Classes in Durban, for permission to use valuable material connected with the development of university education for non-Europeans in Durban.

Mr. R.A. Banks, Director of Education (Natal), for the loan of certain Annual Reports of the Superintendent of Education.

Dr. Venter, Archivist at Pietermaritzburg (Now at Cape Town).

Professor Ferguson of N.U.C. for loan of a thesis on early European education in Natal.

Mr. Wm. Anderson, Principal of Sastri College for certain sources of material.

The Natal Indian Teachers' Society, the late Mr. A.I. Kajee of Durban and Mr. P.S. Aiyar, editor of the "African Chronicle" for certain blue books and sources of material.

The Natal Indian Congress for access to their files.

Mr. H.S. Done, Principal, Clairwood Senior Indian Boys' School, Durban for loan of the late Mr. H. Louis Paul's collection of papers.

Mr. R.M. Naidoo of Durban, Accountant, for use of his office and calculating machine.

Mr. R.N. Kain of Pietermaritzburg for his kind hospitality during my period of work at the Archives.

Above all I wish to make a special acknowledgement to Professor W.F. Grant, of the Faculty of Education, University of Cape Town, who was the guiding spirit behind this whole project. I thank him for his keen interest and ready sympathy in my difficulties. He has been a real guru in the Indian sense.

I also wish to thank the following persons : Mrs. B. Law (Cape Town), Miss T.M.E. Lawrence and Miss A. George for typographical assistance ; and my brother

/S.N. Cooppan....

S.N.Cooppan for the maps of Natal.

Finally, I must pay a tribute to the patience and understanding of my wife in putting up so long with the wanderings and unprovident ways of a research scholar.

Signed by candidate

S. COOPPAN.

March, 1948,  
DURBAN.

C O N T E N T S.VOLUME I.

## INTRODUCTION

p. ixvii

## SECTION I.

The Beginnings of Indian Education in  
Natal. (1860-1878)

| Chapter |  | page |
|---------|--|------|
| I       | The Importation of Indian labour<br>into Natal.      | 1    |
| II      | The Beginnings of Education for the<br>Indian child. | 21   |

## SECTION II.

Educational Progress under the Indian Immigrant  
School Board.  
(1879-1894)

|      |  |     |
|------|--|-----|
| III  | The Foundations of an Educational<br>Policy.   | 63  |
| IV   | The Background to Educational Develop-<br>ment.  | 95  |
| V    | The Finance of Indian Education.   | 110 |
| VI   | Teachers and Teacher-training.   | 149 |
| VII  | The Growth of Schools.   | 169 |
| VIII | The Curriculum in Indian schools.  | 217 |
| IX   | Critical Estimation of the Administrat-<br>ion of the Indian Immigrants School<br>Board. | 229 |

## SECTION III

Indian Education During Responsible Government  
in Natal.  
(1895-1910)

|     |   |     |
|-----|---|-----|
| X   | The climax of Racial Hostility.                     | 252 |
| XI  | Segregation and the Higher Grade<br>Indian Schools. | 276 |
| XII | Educational Facilities for the<br>Indian Masses.    | 307 |

---oOo---

VOLUME II.

## SECTION IV.

Indian Education under the Union Government.  
(1911-1947)

|      |   |     |
|------|---|-----|
| XIII | General Background to Indian Education. | 352 |
| XIV  | Finance of Indian Education.            | 402 |

| Chapter.      | page.  |
|---------------|--|
| XV            | The Development of Primary and<br>Secondary Education for Indians        |
|               | (i) Administration. 475  |
| XVI           | (ii) Growth of schools and<br>Pupils. 502                                |
| XVII          | (iii) Teachers and Teacher training. 586                                 |
| XVIII         | (iv) Curriculum and 650  |
|               | (v) Critical Estimate of Progress. 665                                   |
| XIX           | Technical, Vocational and University<br>Education for Indians in Natal - |
|               | (i) Technical and Vocational. 680  |
| XX            | (ii) University. 710   |
| CONCLUSION    | 739  |
| SUMMARY       | 756  |
| BIBLIOGRAPHY. | 768  |

TABLES.VOLUME I.

| Chapter. |   | Page. |
|----------|---|-------|
| II       | Table 1. Comparison of Progress of European Education in 1861 and 1878.   | 35.   |
|          | Table 2. Return of State-aided Indian schools in 1872.  | 46.   |
|          | Table 3. Comparison of European and Indian Education in 1878.   | 56.   |
| IV.      | Table 4. Economic Progress of Indians (in terms of licenses and rateable value of property) 1870-1889.                | 98.   |
| V.       | Table 4 (a) Summary of expenditure on Indian education, 1879-1894. (Gross and Unit costs).                            | 115.  |
|          | 4 (b) Gross Expenditure on Board Schools and Grants-in-aid, 1883-1893.  | 116.  |
|          | V Analysis of State Expenditure on Indian Education - 1879-1893.  | 116.  |
|          | VI Percentage Distribution of State Expenditure, 1883-1893.   | 117.  |
|          | VII Unit cost on Indian education. (Board, Aided and All Schools) 1883-1893.  | 117.  |
|          | VIII Distribution of Grants-in-aid amongst Managers, 1885 and 1893.   | 140.  |
|          | IX Extent of Free Education in Some aided Indian schools, 1890.   | 146.  |
|          | X Total Fees Collected in Aided Schools (including number of free pupils), 1885-1893.                                 | 147.  |
| VII      | XI XI Distribution and Register of Indian Schools, 1879-1893 (showing when started, by whom, and length of existence) | 180a. |
|          | XI (a) Topographical Distribution of Indian Schools, 1885-1893.   | 181.  |
|          | XII Growth of Schools 1879-1894 (Board, aided and evening and total)  | 181.  |
|          | XIII Total Attendance, 1879-1893.   | 182.  |
|          | XIV Certain Comparative Statistics of Attendance, 1885-1893.  | 183.  |
|          | XV Annual Average Attendance 1883-1894.   | 183.  |

/XVI.....

| Tables (contd.)   | Page. |
|---|-------|
| <b>Chapter.</b>   |       |
| <b>VII.</b> Table XVI. Total Attendance - boys & girls, 1879-1893.  | 184.  |
| XVII. Total Attendance - Board and Aided (Boys & Girls)   | 185.  |
| XVIII. Quinquennial Statistics. (Schools and pupils) 1879-1894.   | 185.  |
| XIX. Average Attendances at certain Indian schools. 1884-1893.  | 186.  |
| XX. Fluctuation in Life of Day Schools 1879-1893.   | 193.  |
| XXI. Stability and Continuity of Certain Schools.   | 194.  |
| XXII. Evening Schools, 1885.  | 207.  |
| <b>IX.</b> XXIII. Inspection Statistics 1885, (showing number of visits per school, and distances of each school from Durban central.                 | 240.  |
| XXIV. Children Leaving school. 1885-1892. (showing their attainment at time of leaving)   | 245.  |
| XXV(a). Examination Statistics - number examined.   | 247.  |
| XXV(b). ditto - subject passes (in the different Standards)   | 248.  |
| <b>XII.</b> 1. Annual gross Government Expenditure on, and Fee Revenue from Indian School 1894/95 - 1909/10.  | 313.  |
| 2. Comparative Statement of State Expenditure on the Higher Grade & Government Elementary Indian Schools, 1900-1907/8.                                | 314.  |
| 3. State Expenditure on State and State-aided Indian schools 1894/95 - 1909/10.   | 316.  |
| 4. (a and b) Comparative Statement of per capita Expenditure on Indian children - based on average attendance and average enrolment 1894/5 - 1909/10. | 318.  |
| (c) Per Capita Costs on the different Races 1900/01 - 1909/10.  | 318.  |
| 5.5 Growth of Indian Schools, 1895-1909/10.   | 326.  |
| 6. Growth of School population.<br>(a) Average Enrolment 1900-1909/10.<br>(b) Average Attendance 1895-1909/10.  |       |

Tables (contd.)  
Chapter.

Page.

- 7 Return of Indian Teachers' Salaries & allowances 1900. 344.

---oOo---

VOLUME II.

|       |  |      |
|-------|--|------|
| XIII. | 1. Natal Population Structure 1936.  | 353. |
|       | 2. Age Structure of the Natal Population 1936.   | 354. |
|       | 3. Occupational Distribution of Indian Population over 15 years of Age (Natal), 1936.  | 376. |
|       | 4. Ditto - Expressed as a Percentage of those Gainfully occupied, 1936.  | 377. |
|       | 5. Property Ownership of Indians in "Old" Borough of Durban and Added areas (compared with Europeans) 1927 and 1940.                 | 381. |
|       | 6. Religions distribution of Asiatics (Natal) 1921 and 1936.   | 389. |
|       | 7. Home Languages of the Asiatics population (Natal & Zululand) 1936.  | 392. |
|       | 8. Official Languages spoken by Asiatics (Natal) 1936.<br>(a) persons 7 years (i) under and (ii) over.<br>(b) Urban and Rural areas. | 393. |
| XIV.  | 1. Natal Provincial Recurrent Expenditure on Indian Education 1910/11 - 1945/46.   | 456. |
|       | 2. Quinquennial Expenditure on Education by Racial Groups in Natal (1910/11 - 1946/47)   | 457. |
|       | 2(a) Percentage Distribution of Total Expenditure on Education by Racial Groups (Natal), 1910/11-1945/46.                            | 458. |
|       | 2(b) Percentage Distribution of Pupils of Different Races at School in September 1946. (Natal)                                       | 458. |
|       | 3. Ratio of Expenditure on Indian and European Education since 1910 (Natal)  | 459. |
|       | 4. Natal Provincial Contribution to Indian Education in excess of Union Government Subsidy, 1925/26 - 1945/46.                       | 460. |
|       | 4(a) Natal Provincial Contribution expressed as Percentage of Total Expenditure on Indian, Coloured and European Education.          | 462. |
|       | 5. Annual Unit Costs of Indian Education (1911-1945/46) Natal.   | 463. |
|       | /5(a) $\frac{1}{2}$ .....  |      |

## Tables (contd.)

## Chapter.

|              |  | Page.        |
|--------------|--|--------------|
| <b>XIV.</b>  | 5 (a) Comparison of Nett Unit costs by Racial Groups (Natal) 1911 - 1945/46.<br>(i) Government and<br>(ii) Government-aided schools. | 464.         |
|              | 6. Capital Expenditure on Education by Racial Groups (Natal) 1910/11-1945/46.  | 465.         |
|              | 7. Grants-in-aid to Indian schools, 1910/11 - 1945/46.   | 466.         |
| <b>XVI.</b>  | Table 1. Growth of Indian Schools (Natal) 1911 - 1947 - State and state-aided.   | 511.         |
|              | 1 (a) Distribution of Management of Aided Indian Schools, 1910.  | 537.         |
|              | 1 (b) Ditto -- 1927.   | 538.         |
|              | 2. Growth of Pupils in Indian Schools 1911-1947 (State and State-aided)-by Average enrolment.  | 544.         |
|              | 3. Growth of Average Enrolment (boys and Girls), 1911-1945.  | 545.         |
|              | 3 (a) Average Enrolment (Boys and Girls)<br>(i) Government Schools.<br>(ii) Aided schools.   | 546.<br>547. |
|              | 4. Geographical Distribution of Indian Schools and pupils, 1925 and 1946.  | 548.         |
|              | 5 (i) Growth Indian Secondary Education : Enrolment by Standards (VII - X) 1918-1946.  | 5 62.        |
|              | 5 (ii)- ditto - Indian Girls only (1932-1945)  | 563.         |
| <b>XVII.</b> | Table 1. Indian Teachers-in-Training (Natal) 1911-1946.<br>(Full-time and Part-time)   | 613.         |
|              | 2 (a & b) Comparison of Certificated and uncertificated Teachers in Indian Schools, 1912 and 1943.                                   | 618-<br>619. |
|              | 3. Scale of Salaries of Indian teachers in Govt. Schools (Natal) 1921.   | 631.         |
|              | 4. Ditto 1946. (for teachers in Govt. and Govt.-aided Indian Schools).   | 635-<br>636. |
|              | 5. Scale of Salaries of Indian Assistant Teachers in Aided-Schools 1929.   | 644.         |

| Tables (contd.)<br>Chapter. |  | Page. |
|-----------------------------|--|-------|
| <b>XVIII.</b>               | <b>Table 1. Enrolment of Indian Pupils by Standards (Natal), 1940-1945.</b>  | 669.  |
|                             | 2. Percentage Distribution of Indian pupils by Standard (Natal) 1930, 1940, 1945.  | 670.  |
|                             | 3. Cumulative Percentage Distribution of Indian pupils by Standards (Natal) 1930, 1940 and 1945.                                 | 671.  |
|                             | 4 (a) Percentage Distribution of Pupils of all Races in 1945.  | 672.  |
|                             | (b) Cumulative Percentage Distribution of Pupils of All Races in 1945.   | 673.  |
|                             | 5. Ratio of Enrolment in Each Standard to Sub-Standard 1, taken as 100 of Indian pupils (Natal) (compared with European pupils.) | 674.  |
|                             | 6. Elimination of Pupils in Indian schools (Natal)   | 675.  |
|                             | 7. Calculation of Average School Life of Indian Children.  | 676.  |
| <b>XIX.</b>                 | <b>Table.1. Average Enrolment at Continuation classes (Durban) 1930-1946.</b>  | 694.  |
|                             | 2. Individual Enrolment at all the Classes conducted by the Indian Technical Education Committee, Durban, 1931-1946.             | 699.  |
| <b>XX.</b>                  | 1. Enrolment at the N.U.C - Non-European Classes 1936-1946.  | 737.  |
|                             | 2. Total number of University Degrees secured by Natal Indians 1903-1947)  | 737.  |

DIAGRAMS & FIGURES & SCHEDULES.VOLUME I.

| Chapter. |   | Page. |
|----------|---|-------|
| VIII.    | Schedule of Standards for Indian Schools, 1886. | 221.  |

VOLUME II.

|        |  |       |
|--------|--|-------|
| XVII.  | Schedule of Subjects for T5, T4, and T3B Teachers' Certificate Examinations.   | 622.  |
| -----  |  |       |
| VII.   | <u>Diagram I.</u> System of Schools for Indians (Natal) (1879-1894)  | 177.  |
| IX.    | <u>Diagram II.</u> Administration of Indian Education in Natal (1879-1894)   | 229a. |
| XII.   | <u>Diagram III.</u> System of Schools for Indians (Natal) (1895-1910).   | 324.  |
| XV.    | <u>Diagram IV.</u> Administration of Indian Education in Natal, 1946.  | 483.  |
| XVI.   | <u>Diagram V.</u> System of Schools for Indians (Natal) 1911-1947.   | 503.  |
| XIX.   | <u>Diagram VI.</u> System of University and Technical Education for Indians - 1947.                                    | 683a. |
| XVIII. | <u>Graph.</u> Progress of Indian Education (1860-1947) in terms of Schools, pupils and State expenditure (Natal)       | 679a. |
| XVIII. | <u>Block Diagram.</u><br>Proportional Distribution of pupils and State expenditure, shewing Racial Comparisons (Natal) | 679b. |
| II.    | Map of Natal.  | 61.   |

ABBREVIATIONS.

|            |   |
|------------|---|
| C.S.O.     | COLONIAL SECRETARY'S OFFICE.  |
| C.S.N.     | COLONIAL SECRETARY, NATAL.  |
| C.I.A.     | COOLIE IMMIGRATION AGENT.   |
| G.H.       | GOVERNMENT HOUSE RECORDS.   |
| D.P.       | DOCUMENT PRESENTED.   |
| N.B.B.     | NATAL BLUE BOOK.  |
| N.P.P.     | NATAL PARLIAMENTARY PAPERS.   |
| Votes.     | VOTES & PROCEEDINGS OF THE<br>LEGISLATIVE COUNCIL OF<br>LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY. |
| G.N.       | GOVERNMENT NOTICE.  |
| P.N.       | PROVINCIAL NOTICE.  |
| Supt.Edn.  | SUPERINTENDENT OF EDUCATION.  |
| N.E.D.     | NATAL EDUCATION DEPARTMENT.   |
| S.N.A.     | SECRETARY FOR NATIVE AFFAIRS.   |
| PROTECTOR. | PROTECTOR OF INDIAN IMMIGRANTS (Natal)  |
| I.I.S.B.   | INDIAN IMMIGRANTS SCHOOL BOARD.   |
| I.T.E.C.   | INDIAN TECHNICAL EDUCATION COMMITTEE.   |
| Comtee.    | COMMITTEE.  |
| Comsn.     | COMMISSION.   |
| U.G.       | UNION GOVERNMENT.   |
| N.I.C.     | NATAL INDIAN CONGRESS.  |
| N.I.T.S.   | NATAL INDIAN TEACHERS' SOCIETY.   |

"Education is the instrument which modern society employs to promote social well-being. In simple language, it is the means whereby the State provides opportunity for its members to make the best of themselves and to make their fullest contribution to the health, wealth and happiness of all. The Union of South Africa can be sound, stable and progressive only if it is healthy in all its parts. The denial of education, by virtue of color or race, is, therefore, morally unjust and socially indefensible."

Professor W. F. Grant,  
University of Cape Town.

"Post-War Reconstruction in the United Nations"  
by I.L.Kandel (edit.): 21st Educational  
Year Book (1944) of the International  
Institute of Teachers' College, Columbia  
University, U.S.A.

## I N T R O D U C T I O N.

It has been frequently stated that the South African complex of races, languages, religions and cultural patterns is analagous to the microcosm of the macrocosm of world society. The problems and difficulties of human relations and human growth are said to be reproduced here in miniature. South Africa is the meeting place of the peoples of Europe, Asia and Africa. But the stresses and tensions, the friction and conflict, the aches and pains of social growth and adjustment are so acutely reproduced here, out of all proportion to the size of her population, that South Africa finds herself in the unenviable position of having her internal domestic affairs thrust upon the world stage for international scrutiny and discussion.

Just now the question of the status and treatment of her Indian minority is receiving considerable publicity and attention. The present study is offered as a contribution to the historical and critical study of one aspect of that question, namely, education. The process of education, and the development of an educational system, however, do not take place in vacuo. Education is most intimately related to the dynamics of politics, economics, science and psychological attitudes. An attempt is made in this study to give an account of the education of the Indian in Natal in this context.

The study of Indian education has been limited to the Province of Natal because the Indian question is essentially a Natal question. It may even be said to be mainly a Durban question. Owing to the prohibition

From the inter-provincial migration of Indians, in 1946, out of every 10 Indians in South Africa eight lived in Natal (1); nearly half of the Natal Indians, or 41 out of every 100 Indians in South Africa were found in the city of Durban (2). The Indian community of South Africa was about one-fortieth of the total population, and about one-eighth of the total European population. But in Natal, and in Durban, the European and Indian populations were about equal.

This study traces the growth of the educational development of a racial minority, transplanted from its Motherland, with all its traditions and social customs, to an alien racial, cultural and climatic setting. It shows the efforts of the minority group to establish a firm settlement and preserve its racial and cultural identity, while for economic and political reasons it was compelled to adapt itself to the dominant Western cultural patterns of the adopted land.

This study also traces the human story of an immigrant community, who starting life from lowly beginnings as indentured labourers on the sugar plantations made brave efforts to rise above the limitations of their circumstances. It shows their keenness to acquire the benefits of education not only for immediate economic gains but also for social prestige and social power. It shows how an economically and socially depressed community gradually came to realise that education was a potent instrument of social progress and social well-being. Once

---

1. Census Return, May 1946.: 232, 317

2. Ibid : 117,065

See also "S.A. Jour. Economics" -Sept, 1947: "An Approach to the Indian Problem in South Africa" by Prof. H.R. Burrows (Natal University College).

they came to appreciate that fact, they made great sacrifices to secure an educational background for their children. This study indicates the contribution of the Indians themselves to their own educational progress.

This study also traces the restrictive effects on the educational development of the Indians resulting from the clash of political and economic interests between the Europeans and Indians in Natal. It shows how easily men are tempted to use absolute power to further their own particular sectional interests to the detriment of other communities. This study will illustrate, from the history of Indian education, how risky it is to entrust the life and destiny of one race entirely in the hands of another race, despite the claims of the latter to a higher degree of civilisation and despite their professed concern for the more backward peoples. In the present stage of the development of humanity it still holds true that absolute power corrupts absolutely.

This study shows the development of a dual standard of educational opportunity in Natal ---one for the privileged few and the other for the underprivileged masses. It also traces the development of the doctrine of racial segregation in the field of education, and the effects of the policy of segregation on Indian education.

Finally, this study illustrates how working and living conditions, and opportunities for economic progress and the exercise of political responsibility are important incentives for the growth of education.

S E C T I O N 1

THE  
BEGINNINGS OF INDIAN EDUCATION  
IN NATAL.

1860 - 1878

## CHAPTER I

### THE IMPORTATION OF INDIAN LABOUR INTO NATAL.

The history of the education of the Indian in Natal begins with the immigration of Indian "coolie" labour in 1860. (a) Continuous importation till 1911 and various inducements calculated to retain the services of the labourers for as long a period as possible led to the augmentation of their numbers and a permanent settlement in Natal. Security of land tenure, opportunity of economic progress, cultural cohesion and a suitable climate induced and assisted the Indian to transplant the social organisation and cultural conditions of his mother country to South African soil.

The desire for education and the development of facilities necessary for the provision of such education are the result of many complex factors. The elements of what may be termed an educational situation are inherent in the colonisation process, in that a group of individuals is encouraged and assisted to settle and form an organised community. Every phase of educational development reflects in itself the various factors influencing the development and organisation of that community.

In a similar manner the forces that shaped the growth of educational services for the Indian immigrants are so intricately interwoven with the labour problems of Natal, with the political and social conflicts arising out of the impact of races and cultures, that it would be necessary to study, as a background to the educational development, the salient features of Indian life and labour in Natal.

The British annexed Natal in 1843. The mineral and agricultural possibilities of the colony were great. Coal in the North existed in workable quantities but there was no railway transport available. In the Upland districts pastoral farming was the rule and agriculture the exception; the chief products were wool, dairy produce, and maize. In the coastal belt were produced arrow-root, indigo, cotton, coffee and sugar; ultimately sugar cane came to be the dominant industry.

Now the abolition of slavery in the British Empire in 1834, the reluctance of ex-slaves to work, the unwillingness of the indigenous Zulu to enter into long term contractual wage-earning employment (1), the discouragement by the Shepstone administration of the employment of natives for wages (2), seriously threatened the growth of the young sugar industry and the general prosperity of the whole

---

Footnote (a) "Coolie" in Tamil means "wages". The term was applied to one who offered his services for wages in money or reward.

1. Lord Hailey, "An African Survey", page 319.
2. Thompson, Leonard M., "Indian Immigration into Natal, 1860-1872", M.A. thesis (1938), University of South Africa, page 17.

coastal belt; the economic development of the colony, by the attraction of capital into the growing industries of Natal, was almost paralysed owing to the lack of a reliable, continuous and cheap form of labour (3). Natal had unsuccessfully experimented with Amatonga from the Portuguese territory, half-castes from Mauritius and St. Helena, and even with Chinese and Malays (4). It is true that Europeans of the labouring class came to South Africa, but they soon obtained large grants of land and joined the ranks of the employing class (5).

But the large scale importation of cheap indentured Indian labour had solved the labour problems of other tropical and sub-tropical sugar planting Colonies (6). Natal was aware of the success attending these experiments, particularly at Mauritius, and so the planting interests on the Natal coast prevailed upon the Government of the Colony to commence negotiations with the Government of India directly, and through the Secretary of State for Colonies, with a view to obtaining a similar supply of Indian labourers for Natal (7). Many years passed before any agreement was reached. In 1859 the Natal Legislature passed three laws (8) which set up the early machinery for the importation of Indian coolie labourers, at private or public expense,

- 
3. Jeshi, P.S., "Tyranny of Colour", page 47, quotes Sir Liege Hulett.
  4. "Natal Mercury" - 11th. February, 1858.
  5. G.H. Vol. 6; accompanying Despatch No. 34/1855 - letter sent by Col. Sec. (Cape) to Govt. of India applying for Indian labourers.
  6. Thompson, L.M., op.cit., page 21; Mauritius, Jamaica, British Guiana, Trinidad, St. Lucia and Grenada; French Colonies of Reunion, Martinique, Guadelope and Fr. Guiana.
  7. Thompson, L.M., op.cit., first chapter; also (Miss) Z.A. Stein "A History of Indian Settlement in Natal, 1870-1893", M.A. thesis (1942), U.C.T. page 8.
  8. Laws 13, 14 and 15 of 1859 (Natal).

under the specific terms and conditions of the Government of India emigration acts (9).

The first shipload of Indians arrived at Durban on the 17th. November, 1860.

Socio-economic Condition of the Immigrants.

Reference was made in the previous section to the indentured system of labour supply. It is necessary to know something about the workings of this system because Indian life and labour from 1860 to 1911 was very much influenced by it. In the first place, it was a system for supplying a steady and continuous flow of labour to the Colonies after the abolition of slavery. Secondly, the labourers were recruited in India by the paid agents of the importing Colonial Governments. Thirdly, the labourers contracted with the Colonial Government to work away from their homes in some far distant land, for a fixed scale of wages and rations, for a fixed period of time, and for an employer in whose selection they had no choice. Fourthly, during the period of indenture or contract they did not enjoy the ordinary rights and privileges of free and independent workers with the right of terminating the contract if the conditions under which they worked became unsatisfactory. However, a measure of protection against unfair and unjust treatment was given them under the special laws governing indentured immigrants. On the expiry of the term of indenture

---

9. Act 33 of 1860 and 13 of 1864 (India).

they came under the ordinary laws of the country.

The early Indian immigrants were recruited entirely with a view to supplying unskilled manual labour to the plantations. Not much discrimination was shown by the recruiting agents with regard to the character of the individuals selected; nor were the planters, in general, very much disturbed on this score provided the immigrant was able-bodied and fit for the arduous tasks on the plantations (10). In the first two decades, it would appear that a queer assortment of adventurers, fugitives from justice, women of loose character, industrious and educated family men, and even some men of high caste and strict code of morality entered the country. The bulk of the emigrants seem to have been drawn from the class of Hindu agricultural labourers, artisans, members of the depressed class, some Muslims and a fair number of Brahmins of the high caste (11). They were recruited mostly from the provinces of Madras, Oudh, North West Provinces, and Central India. Tamil, Telugu, and Hindi were the chief languages spoken by the Natal immigrants. Quite easily nine-tenths of them belonged to the Hindu faith, the rest being followers of Islam and Christianity. After about 1885 indentured immigrants were followed by a new type of Indian immigrant. These persons paid their own passage to Natal and came mainly from Bombay and East Africa primarily to

- 
10. Report, Protector of Indian Immigrants, 1885. The following categories of persons, 85 in all, were returned to India as undesirable immigrants: beggars, shop-keepers, barbers, hawkers, writers, weavers, toddy-drawers, peons, snuff-maker, opium preparer, pot-makers, lamp-lighters, palanquin bearers, goldsmiths, sepoy, schoolmaster, salt-makers, trader, tailor, food-carrier, postman, watchman and professional dancer.
11. G.H. vol. 21: Report, Protector of Emigrants (Calcutta) 1872-1873; with Despatch No. 126. HINDUS: Brahmins & High Caste: 2521; Agricultural castes: 4974; Artisans: 1537; Low castes: 5309. MUSLIMS: 2910 CHRISTIANS: 8.

trade. Their language was Gujerati, and amongst them were both Hindus and Muslims.

For a number of years an outstanding and deplorable feature in the life of the immigrants was the paucity of women. The emigration acts of India prescribed that each batch of emigrants should consist of at least 25% of females, and in 1866 Carnarvon, Secretary of State for Colonies, raised the minimum to 50%. In practice Natal maintained an average of 30%, that is, one female to every three males (12). The inequality of sexes produced chaos in Indian social life. Venereal disease was rife on the plantations; seduction, adultery, and other sexual offences were frequent; divorce was often sought by the women but not by the men. The Protector of Immigrants in Natal attributes this to the paucity of women and draws attention to the fact that marriage is an almost universal custom in India (13). Even the Secretary of State for India, Lord Salisbury, was constrained to remark on this aspect of Indian emigration to the Colonies in these words (14):

"If it be accepted that the object of the system is to encourage permanent colonization, I need hardly say it becomes more than ever desirable to promote to the utmost the emigration of a sufficient proportion of women of an honest and decent class. The reports shew that the habits of morality and decency of the Indian population of some of the Colonies are much affected by the scarcity of honest women and want of family life".

The best type of labourers belonged to a caste which did not take its women along. <sup>with them.</sup> The position

- 
12. Thompson, L.M., op.cit., pages 45-47.  
13. Report, Protector of Indian Immigrants (Natal) 1876  
14. G.H. Vol. 200; Despatch No. 39/1875 - Sec. of State for India to Governor-General of India-in-Council. Accompanies Circular Despatch of 26th. Oct., 1877.

could have been improved by offering bonuses to married <sup>e</sup>man to emigrate with their families but the cost would have been heavier to the planter. Though a large number of women "most lax in their morals" had emigrated to the Colonies, yet it is remarkable that Indian social life did not completely degenerate. The reason appears to have been that these women of fallen character, when they arrived in the Colonies, found homes for themselves, became reclaimed and took their part in the family life of a rising community (15). A further fact that prevented complete disintegration of the Indian family system was the gradual introduction of wives and families by ex-indentured Indians, who had decided to make their homes in Natal, from about 1890 (16).

The basis of social progress is a stable family life; it is a prerequisite for the establishment of a sound system of education. The home is an important unit of the educational structure. Now it would have been to ask too much of nineteenth-century vested interests, concerned primarily with the exploitation of labour, to show any great regard for the family life of the workers. After all slavery had been abolished legally in the British Empire only in 1834, and it is <sup>was only</sup> but to be expected that social attitudes formed during the days of slavery would die a slow death in the semi-servile indentured system.

- 
15. G.H. Vol. 200; memorandum by F. Colepeper, chief clerk of the Indian Immigration Department, (Feb. 28, 1878) on Carnarvon's Circular Despatch, Oct. 1877.
  16. Compared with 40 years ago the sex ratio is today normal. 1936 Census.

In fact the Natal planters who regarded Indian immigration as a migration of labour to supply Colonial deficiency considered the minimum of 25% too high and expensive, and made efforts to have the limit reduced but without any success (17).

According to the various reports of the Protector of Indian Immigrants the young immigrant and the Colonial-born youth showed considerable improvement in health and physique in the invigorating climate of Natal. The housing conditions of the Indians were not very satisfactory. Some planters allowed their employees a plot of ground for their own cultivation, and the Indians usually built dwellings of wattle and daub to be near their garden. Such an arrangement was preferred by the more industrious and enterprising immigrants to the brick built compounds. Employees of the Natal Government Railways, the Durban and Pietermaritzburg Corporations, were housed in barracks, with common bathrooms, washplaces, and latrines. Some of these are still to be seen in Durban. Overcrowded conditions in these barracks were conducive to neither health nor morals of the young; undesirable habits built up here constantly undid the work of missionary and teacher.

The indentured Indian performed all kinds of work on the estates, from unskilled manual tasks to semi-skilled occupations in the mills. Women were not liable to indentured service in Natal but those who contracted voluntarily were engaged on

---

17. Thompson, L.M., op.cit., page 45.

light tasks. Indenture in the first instance was for five years, and renewable for periods not exceeding one year. Attempts were made to keep the Indian perpetually under indenture (18). The hours of work were nine hours a day, from sunrise to sunset, with an hour for rest; usually no Sunday labour was exacted ~~except~~ beyond necessary work such as feeding the animals. They were supposed to be remunerated for this additional work. Indian festivals were recognised as holidays.

The wages paid to indentured labourers on the estates and elsewhere were on a scale approved by the Government of India. Adult males i.e. 18 years and over, commenced at 10/- per month in the first year of the contract and rose to a maximum of 14/- per month in the fifth year. Women started at 5/- per month in the first year and rose to a maximum of 7/- in the fifth year (19). But adult males imported for domestic service had to be paid a minimum wage of 18/- per month. Ex-indentured labourers who contracted under the Master and Servants Ordinance of 1852 commanded a higher cash wage: 18/- to 25/- per month. Sirdars (overseers) and men in other responsible positions sometimes earned as much as £60 to £100 per annum (20). Fines, deductions, and other penalties for absence from work usually reduced the cash wages to a very

- 
18. G.H. Vol. 22; Despatch No. 73 from the Secretary of State for Colonies re-Law 19/1874 D.P. 8/1894 or G.N. 144/1894; Natal delegation to India.
  19. From an actual contract in the Pietermaritzburg Archives: 1443/1901.
  20. Report, Protector (Natal): 1876.  
Report, Protector of Indian Immigrants (Natal) 1876.

small sum, and this forced women and children to work on the estates or in the gardens growing vegetables for sale.

Besides cash wages the employer contracted to provide the employee and his family with food, lodging, medical attendance and medicine (21). The scale of weekly food rations was drawn up by the Government of India. It is estimated that the monthly cost to the planter of each male adult during the five years was about £1.5.0 (22). Colepeper, chief clerk of the Immigration Department, thought at that time that the Indian was best off during his indentured period; that 10/- a month with food and lodgings sounded "munificent" to the majority of the class to which the Natal agents made their appeal (23). This view, perhaps, was justified in so far as it concerned itself only with the physical man and envisaged the Indian's function and status in society as that of a mere hewer of wood and drawer of water.

A class that was steadily growing in number consisted of persons who had served their term of indenture and were now free to engage in whatever occupation they wished. Skilled workers earned 30/- to 40/- per month; the Natal Government Railways paid its workers 20/- to 30/- per month, with food and lodgings (24). Economically the time-expired Indian

- 
21. Schedule of Contract; Law 15 of 1859  
Law 2 of 1870  
Act 25 of 1891.
22. D.P. 8/1894; wages 10/-, rations 8/-, medical tax 1/-, instalment on passage 5/10, TOTAL 24/10d.
23. G.H. Vol. 200 ; see reference No. 15.
24. Sessional Papers No. 1: Report of the Coolie Commission (1872), page 2 ; D.P. 13/1872.

was very much better off than the indentured emigrant; there were many who were both prosperous and wealthy, whatever may have been their position in India. Like all emigrants of all races they succeeded in bettering their position in the new country. It was amongst these Indians that the desire to educate their children manifested itself early. The report of the Commission in 1872 gives us a picture of their economic activities (25):

"In the neighbourhood of Durban there are many small locations of Coolies, who cultivate land and carry on a thriving trade in the sale of vegetables and tobacco, grown by themselves. Some are employed as boatmen, and hold shares in boats plying between the wharf and the shipping in the harbour. A considerable number are thriving well as fishermen and enjoy almost a monopoly of the supply of fish.

".....and Coolies have retired from estates and settled on land adjacent thereto, to grow sugar there, and to avail themselves of the mill on the estates they vacated".

Ex-indentured Indians were then occupied variously as domestic servants, traders, shopkeepers, market gardeners, railway and municipal employees, dhobees (launderers), waiters and cooks. When the usefulness of Indian labourers became generally known there was great demand for their services from the up-country districts as well (26).

A picture of the life of the Indian community in the early days of immigration would not be complete without a brief reference to the relations between master and servant. So long as their liberty was somewhat circumscribed under the stringent indenture laws, some employers took advantage of the physical

---

25. Ibid : page 13.

26. Various reports of the Protector of Indian Immigrants (Natal), especially 1876. Also Colepeper's memorandum: See reference No. 15.

weakness, ignorance and illiteracy of the labourers. Irregularity of payment of wages and the issue of rations, underpayment of wages, heavy deductions from the monthly pay for absences from work (27), assaults (28), lack of proper medical attention (29), and insufficient supervision by the Protector (30), were subjects of considerable correspondence and investigation. There were many cases of desertions, and even suicide "to escape the annoyance of being compelled to work when sick and of being beaten" (29). The life of these people on many estates was made miserable under tyrannical and inconsiderate masters; and yet there were some employers who had learnt from experience that a little kindness went a long way to ensuring a supply of labour. Thompson, who had given much time to the study of the first decade of Indian immigration, states that:

"One cannot escape the impression that employers and Government combined from interests direct, and indirect, positive and negative, to exploit the insignificant immigrant" (31).

It was not very much better in the subsequent decades; the decrease in the numbers re-indenturing speaks for itself (32). Under such conditions of living there could have been little leisure or opportunity for cultural activities, and less desire for

- 
27. Two days' wages for one day's illness or absence. G.H. Vol. 20: enclosures to Despatch No. 83/1872.
  28. G.H. Vol. 19: Despatch (no number given); Also G.H. Vol. 20 accompanying Despatch No. 25 of 24th. Feb. 1872 - Murdoch to Herbert.
  29. G.H. Vol. 20: accompanying Despatch No. 34: Madras Govt. Order No. 408 - 26th. March 1872.
  30. G.H. Vol. 200: memo by Col. B.P. Lloyd, Protector (Natal), accompanying Carnarvon's Despatch.
  31. Thompson, L.M., op.cit., page 107.
  32. (Miss) Z.A. Stein, op.cit. page 5, Also, Kannemeyer, H.D., "A Critical Survey of Indian Education in Natal, 1860-1937" - M.Ed. thesis (Rand), 1943: graph on page 39.

learning. The majority of these men on completing their contract joined the ranks of the ex-indentured and by their industrial habits and skill proved the advantage of retaining such a race of men in the country (33).

This brief account of the socio-economic conditions of the Indian immigrants in the last century, when compared with their subsequent achievements, should serve to throw some light on the quality and calibre of the settlers.

But the consensus of European opinion was changing rapidly from about 1885 towards Indian immigration and settlement (33). In view of the fierce opposition to Asiatic competition in trade and independent agriculture a commission of enquiry was appointed in 1885 under the chairmanship of Justice Wragge to estimate the extent of this competition and its detrimental effects on the economic position of the European colonists (34). The Commission reported in 1887 that there was no cause for this alarm. But the agitation continued, gaining force after 1890. Under responsible government Natal imposed various disabilities on the Indians settled in the country, such as the taking out of an annual licence for residence in Natal, costing £3, by both men and women not under indenture (35), and the parliamentary disenfranchisement in 1896(36). Yet the importation of indentured Indian labourers did not stop till 1911.

- 
33. Coolie Commission Report, 1872 page 13.  
33. See also H.D. Kannemeyer, op.cit. p. 38 et seqq.  
34. Report of the Indian Immigration Commission 1885/1887. Consulted in the office of the Protector of Indian Immigrants at Durban.  
35. P.S. Joshi, op.cit, page 71.  
36. Disenfranchisement Act No. 8/1896.

For various reasons the system had to be continued in order to maintain an adequate supply of labour. Firstly, the terms of indenture only bound an immigrant for five years, with the option of re-indenturing for periods not exceeding one year. Thus there was no guarantee that any particular immigrant would continue to work for the same employer or another employer, under or out of indenture. Those who did continue to work for their previous employers usually preferred not to be bound by the irksome restrictions of indenture; they were acutely conscious of the advantages of their newly acquired status as free men.

Secondly, in as much as they had been patient under the unattractive conditions of indentured service, they now to that degree displayed an impatience to better their economic position by independent activities. Examples of success and prosperity were not wanting. Even outside the boundaries of the Colony there were brighter prospects; the Diamond Fields, and later the Goldfields, offered highly remunerative employment for cooks and waiters, or opportunity of trading. Thus there was continuous depletion in the numbers available for plantation labour.

Thirdly, the depletion was accentuated by those who always wanted to go back to India.

Fourthly, the availability of public monies for continued importation made it easier to overcome the labour deficiency (37).

---

37. Indian Immigration Trust Board created by Laws 19 and 20 of 1874.

Fifthly, the dependence of a large number of Europeans, directly or indirectly, for their livelihood on the presence of the Indians was considered sufficient cause to continue importation as long as possible (38).

Security and Opportunity of Settlement.

Even before immigration had taken place there was a clear view of the permanent effects of the importation of Indian labour on the population structure and the economic life of the country. Colonisation was known to be a concomitant feature of this migration of labour. The presence of nearly a quarter of a million Indians in South Africa today is not by any means the result of fortuitous circumstances. Without some form of inducement, security and opportunity of progress, settlement would not have been possible.

In 1855 when first applying for Indian labour the Colonial Secretary of the Cape, who then acted on behalf of the Natal colonists, held out to the Government of India the prospect of the labourer becoming "a petty proprietor himself, when he is desirous and has the means of retiring from service"; he thought it a fortunate circumstance that small detachments of Indians would be scattered amongst a European population, chiefly in villages,

"where the immigrants and their families will be rather treated as members of the household,

---

38. P.S. Joshi, op.cit., page 49 - quotes evidence of Henry Binns and Sir J.L. Hulett to Wragge Commission of 1885/1887. Again on p. 68 quotes findings of Indian Immigration Commission (1909). Also Dhane Brandaw, "Out of the Stable" - a pamphlet, reviewing the history of Indians in South Africa from 1910 - 1935, page 5.

and will consequently have a better chance of profiting by instruction and enjoying other civilizing influences" (39).

That Natal held out an inducement to the Indians to settle is clearly and unambiguously stated in her laws. On the expiry of the term of five years indenture the immigrant was free to dispose of his services, and after a further period of five years "industrial residence" in the colony he was entitled to a free passage to India (40). But the immigrant could commute the right to a free passage for the value in Crown land to the amount of the cost of such passage. He would have been entitled to about 20 to 30 acres of land according to the value of land then (41). Thus the most lasting of ties ---land--- was offered to induce them to settle in the country. The Commission of 1872 went to the extent of recommending the grant of 8 to 10 acres of land in lieu of the free passage because this would be more economical (42). This section of the law was repealed in 1891; it was the first legislative measure to indicate the rising opposition of the European colonists to Indian settlement.

The Natal Government, however, adopted dilatory tactics and only a small fraction of the applicants obtained grants of land; the claims of the rest were ignored and even brushed aside by this ex post facto Act of Parliament. But so long as this section of the Law of 1870 remained unrepealed it was regarded by the immigrants as providing opportunity and security, whilst

- 
39. G.H. Vol. 6; Despatch No. 34/1855 - accompanying Grey's despatch to India.  
40. Law 14/1859 section 24;  
Law 2/1870 section 51.  
41. Law 14/1859 section 28.  
Law 2/1870 section 51.  
42. Report, Coolie Commission 1872, page 13.

in effect every obstacle was placed in the way of their acquiring land as an alternative to a free passage back to India.

Lord Salisbury, Secretary of State for India, in his despatch to the Governor-General of India, made it clear that he desired to encourage settlement and colonisation rather than mere temporary engagements in the colonies (43). The Protector of Indian Immigrants (Natal) in several of his reports to the Natal Government constantly referred to the desirability of keeping the Indians in the country, advised Government to honour its legal obligations to time-expired labourers with regard to the grant of land, and many a time complained of the tardiness in dealing with the question. Lieutenant-Governor Bulwer, in one of his despatches to the Secretary of State for the Colonies, writes that he did not think that such a system of land grants could be established for the Indians even though section 51 was still on the statute book (44)! From another despatch (45) we gather that he did not concur with the Imperial Government on the question of the desirability of colonising any part of Natal by Indian immigrants. The Natal Government then had no intention of keeping faith with the Indians. Many no doubt bought, leased or rented land for cultivation purposes while the result of their applications was pending; had they waited for Government to implement its undertaking their position would have been precarious indeed !

---

43. G.H. Vol. 200; copy of Despatch No. 39/1875.

44. G.H. Vol. 281; Despatch No. 75/1878 - Bulwer to Sec. of State for Colonies.

45. G.H. Vol. 281; Despatch No. 132/1878 - ditto.

Apart from this there were other methods by which the Indian was induced to prolong his stay in Natal. Law 14/1859, section 24, permitted 18 months' grace within which to apply for a free passage after the expiry of the ten-year period; but by Law 2/1870, section 46, this period was extended to three years, thus making it possible for an immigrant to stay in Natal for 13 years without forfeiting his right to a free passage. The Attorney-General went to the extent of indicating to the Governor how by use of his discretionary powers this period of grace could be extended for another three years, if the circumstances demanded it (46).

Yet again by section 18 of Law 19 of 1874 a bonus was offered to an immigrant for deferring his return to India and re-indenturing for another 5 years, but the section was disallowed by the Imperial Government because the Government of India protested that it unduly interfered with the independence of the immigrant. The Secretary of State for Colonies, Lord Carnarvon, appreciating the desire of Natal to retain the Indian in the country, made a counter-suggestion to the effect that an offer should be made of part land and part money in lieu of free passage back, provided the immigrant agreed to remain in Natal for another 5 years as a free immigrant (47). This apparently did not meet with the approval of the coastal interests who certainly did not favour the idea of the Indian becoming a petty proprietor; nor did they relish the

---

46. C.S.O. 991/1873 and 1313/1873; Protector to C.S.N.

47. G.H. Vol. 22: Despatch No. 73/1874.

prospect of his return to India.

The point of significance is that it could hardly be expected of one who had spent 13 years in a country, having given the best years of his life to develop that country; one who had before him the prospect of becoming a small landholder in return for services rendered, and who perhaps in that time had married and brought up a family unused to conditions in India ---it can hardly be expected that such a man would want to return and start life anew. It is inevitable that he should have made a permanent home in the land of his adoption; and especially when it was intended that,

"Indian settlers who have completed the terms of service for which they agreed as the return for the expense of bringing them to the Colonies will be in all respects free men, with privileges no whit inferior to those of any other class of Her Majesty's subjects resident in the Colonies" (48).

Sufficient evidence has been presented to indicate that both the Imperial and Indian Governments intended colonisation to be the sequel to Indian emigration, and they secured the concurrence of the Natal Government in this view by getting her to adopt measures designed to assist this process. But while on the one hand Natal encouraged importation of Indian labour and held out certain inducements for the Indians to settle in the country, yet on the other hand she did not accord the ex-indentured labourer that equality of opportunity in the economic sphere promised him in return for his services. However, the Indian settlement grew and consolidated its position in an increasingly inimical

- 
46. C.S.O. 991/1873 and 1313/1873; Protector to C.S.N.  
47. G.H. Vol. 22; Despatch No. 73/1874.  
48. G.H. Vol. 200; Despatch No. 39/1875. Secretary of State for India to Governor-General of India.

atmosphere by sheer industry and thrift, and prepared the ground for the educational advancement of the people.

## CHAPTER II

### THE BEGINNINGS OF EDUCATION

for the

### INDIAN CHILD

1860 - 1878

#### The Responsibility for the Education of Indian Children:

The eighteen years between 1860-1878 form a distinct stage in the development of Indian education in Natal. The whole period is marked by crude, ill-organised and sporadic efforts to provide educational facilities for the Indian children settled and born in the colony.

The politically and economically dominant group of European settlers had formulated an educational policy for themselves. As a result of both the Voortrekker and English traditions, the principle that the State was responsible for the education of its children became the basis of Natal policy (1). The application of this principle was not extended in practice to the children of Indian settlers until 1869. The entire system of education in Natal was mainly based on a scheme of grants-in-aid and, in consequence, the education of Indian children was promoted by philanthropic bodies or individuals. The promotion of vernacular education was largely in the hands of Indian societies or religious sects.

---

1. Malherbe, E.G., "Education in South Africa, 1652-1922", Chap. 9, page 198.

The parties responsible for the introduction of the immigrants and their families into Natal were the Government of India, the Government of Natal and the employers of Indian labour. The Natal Government negotiated and gave guarantees on behalf of the Natal colonists; the Government of India safeguarded the interests of the emigrating labourers. The British Imperial Government, through the Secretary of State for the Colonies, the Secretary of State for India and the Emigration Commissioners, acted both as a regular channel of negotiation between the Governments, and as a directing force in Colonial development. From its character and constitution the Government of India was in effect a department of the British Imperial Government, and its own decisions must be judged on the principle that all colonial questions were regarded as subordinate to British Imperial policy and interests.

On an examination of available records it would seem that the Government of India, as a party to the emigration scheme, might, in the first instance, be held responsible for the absence of a requirement that educational provision should be made in Natal for the Indian child. The part played by the Government of India placed a great responsibility on its shoulders for the protection and welfare of the Indian emigrants. For instance, as early as 1857 and 1858 it became known that emigration to Natal was subject to the conditions imposed by the Government of India. The India Board, the Court of Directors of the East India Company and the Emigration Commissioners in England acquainted the Government of Natal to this effect (2). Furthermore,

- 
2. G.H. Vol.8:(a) Enclosures to Despatch No.4/1857 - India Board to Merivale.  
(b) Desp. No.5/1858-Court of Directors to India Board.  
(c) Desp. No.6/1858-Govt.of India to Court of Directors  
(d) Desp. No.7/1858-Emigration Commisnrs.to Merivale.

the action taken by the Government of India in suspending emigration to Natal in 1872, pending the investigation and overhauling of the whole system of legislation and supervision of the immigrants in Natal, is an indication of the powers possessed by that government (3). The following extract from one of the despatches makes clear the obligations assumed by the Indian Government:-

"But we cannot permit emigration thither to be resumed until we are satisfied that the Colonial authorities are awake to their duty towards Indian emigrants and that effectual measures have been taken to ensure that class of Her Majesty's subjects full protection in Natal". (4).

The various acts governing emigration from India were comprehensive and detailed in regard to the protection and care of the emigrant from the time of recruitment in India to the time of assignment in the Colony. Emigration was permitted only when the Governor-General of India-in-Council was satisfied that such laws and provisions had been made for the protection of Natives of India emigrating to such a place (5). We may note from this alone that the Government of India had to be fully informed of all measures affecting the welfare of the Indian immigrants. It was the Government of India that in 1872 insisted on the appointment of a Protector of Indian Immigrants with magisterial powers and duties defined by law; he had to submit copies of his annual report direct to the Government of India. Though there was the prerogative of imposing any reasonable condition on the importing Colony, yet there is no specific condition or reference to the education of Indian children in any of the Emigration Acts of India; nor is there such a requirement prescribed in any of the indenture laws of the Colony. In the indenture contract signed between employer and

- 
3. G.H. Vol.20; (a) Desp.No. 25/1872 and 35/1872 - Emigration Commissioners review complaints of labourers returning to India in 1871. (b) Desp. 128/1872 Sec. of State Colonies to Lt. Gov. Musgrave (Natal)
  4. G.H.Vol.20; Encl. to Desp.83/1872-Govt. of India to Duke of Argyll.
  5. Act 13/1864 (India) - section 5.

employee in Natal there is no undertaking by the employer that he would also provide education for the children of the labourer (6).

The reason for the absence of such a condition is revealed in 1877. In reply to a despatch of the Secretary of State for India the Government of India explicitly stated (7) its policy and attitude towards emigration as "one of seeing fairplay between the parties to a commercial transaction, while Government altogether abstains from mixing itself up in the bargain". And further:-

"As regards the terms offered to intending emigrants, Government maintains the same position - that of the protector of the weak and the ignorant, bound to supply their deficiencies with its own full knowledge, so that, as far as possible, they may be placed upon an equality with the more robust races of the West, and that in the bargain which they freely make with those who bid for their labour they may not be worsted or imposed upon... In all these things we merely supplement the ignorance of the emigrant, and stipulate on his behalf for conditions necessary to his comfort, for which, if he were better instructed, he would stipulate himself".

In so far as the Government of India had undertaken to act on behalf of the ignorant to the extent of stipulating conditions for his benefit and welfare, the responsibility for the omission of the requirement of educational provision for children of Indian emigrants must rest with it.

Apart from the clarification of its relationship to the emigrant labourer, which itself throws some light on the question, there is, however, in the same despatch, a passage which gives us a direct answer to the problem:-

"The education of the children of Indian

- 
6. Schedule of Contract in Law 14/1859 or Law 2/1870 or Law 25/1891.
  7. G.H.Vol.200: Desp. 39/1875 - Sec. State for India to Govt. India.  
Desp. 15/1877 - reply of Govt. India to above.

immigrants is also a very desirable object, but it is beset by difficulties, and especially the difficulty of procuring teachers acquainted with the language of the children. It has been suggested to us that it should be provided in our Emigration Act that it should be competent to the Government of India to stop emigration to any Colony in which adequate provision is not made, both by law and in practice, for the instruction of the children of Indian immigrants in reading, writing and arithmetic, but we much doubt whether, in practice, we should be able to enforce such a provision".

The concluding words of the above quotation become intelligible in the light of another extract from the same despatch:-

".....while it is our policy to use every means in our power to secure the due fulfilment by the Colony of its contract with the labourer, for the Government of India directly to guarantee the fulfilment of that contract would, in our opinion, be inconvenient. It would shift the responsibility from the shoulders of the Colony on which it now lies to ours".

One point is now clear: the Government of India had considered the desirability of guaranteeing the children of emigrants instruction in at least the 3 R's. The Government, however, felt that not only would it have been difficult, in practice, to enforce such a provision but also inconvenient and embarrassing to guarantee the fulfilment of such a contract in the Colonies. In other words, it preferred to follow the policy of laissez faire in this matter.

There was no disguising the grave concern of the Government of India as to the physical comfort and material welfare of the adult labourer and his family; its vigilance was directed to the business side of emigration to protect the minimum standards of living promised to the emigrant. The educational needs of the child counted little in comparison with the pressing physical needs of the labourer. Such an attitude is a reflection of the times. It should be remembered that the great need

of the Colonies was labour. The Indian labourers were prepared to supply that demand. The immediate incentive for emigration was the hope of an improved economic position in life in the new country. In this situation the Government of India found an opportunity of serving Imperial interests and at the same time assisting enterprising men and women to raise their economic status. The Government of India took the view, therefore, that the guarantee of sufficient food, adequate clothing and shelter, regular payment of wages, and reasonable protection by law against ill-treatment and deception, were matters of very great importance to the emigrant labourer. These were, indeed, the primary requirements for an economically depressed class of persons emigrating to a foreign land.

That educational provision for the children was an equally important requirement was unrecognised. It was, in fact, hardly to be expected that the Government of India would insist on such a provision in the Colony, when no educational provision was made in India at the time for the class from which the emigrants were largely drawn. Considered in the light of the mid-nineteenth century view as to the education of the labouring classes, such an omission is hardly surprising. What would have been, perhaps, a remarkable social phenomenon in 1859 would have been the insistence on the education of the working class in England or India. The ruling class did not favour the education of the labouring class at all. Even in England the legal provision for universal elementary education was made only in 1870, and it was some 20 years before any real benefit was derived from this measure.

Furthermore, this was a period of rapid colonial expansion and Empire consolidation. The development and exploitation of colonial resources took precedence over the material and spiritual welfare of the working class. The question of the education of the Indian working class had not at this time a racial character, but insistence on such a provision in the Colony would certainly have been considered a betrayal of class interests and an uncalled for impediment in the way of colonial development. This is, perhaps, a reasonable explanation of the attitude of the Government of India to the question of the education of the children of the immigrant labourer in Natal.

In fairness to the Government of India it should be remarked that they had at times, when the occasion offered, urged the adoption of measures calculated to raise the status of the emigrant population in the Colonies where they had been settled. Trinidad, for instance, had adopted measures which successfully contributed to the elevation of the status of the Indian immigrant (8).

The Government of India rightly believed that the provision of educational facilities for the children of Indian settlers was the responsibility of the importing Colony. In two respects, at least, the expectations of the Government of India were realised. In Mauritius, it was the practice to provide schools for the education of Indian children (9). In British Guiana such a provision was made by a law of the Colony, and it is interesting to

---

8. Same despatch: 15/1877 - para. 22 - See Reference No.7  
9. C.S.O. 2478/1863: Petition Rev. Sabon to Lt.Gov. Scott (Natal) - minute dated 16th. Nov. 1863 by C.S.N: D. Erskine.

note the policy adopted there.

Indian immigration to British Guiana had commenced in 1844, and in the Report on the progress of Indian education in 1872 (10) it is stated that school rooms had been erected on a large number of estates and that every effort had been made to induce the immigrants to send their children to school. This report indicates that the responsibility for the education of Indian children was thrown on the planters. In 1873 the British Guiana Consolidating Ordinance was passed (11), and Lord Kimberley, Secretary of State for the Colonies, suggested to the India Office, that it should be proposed to the other Colonies that the main features of this Ordinance should be adapted to local conditions and incorporated in local legislation (12). Under this Ordinance responsibility continued to be thrown on the planters, while Government reserved for itself supervisory powers. The age classification of immigrants showed a progressive trend. Under Part I of the Ordinance the following definitions are given:-

"Adult": an immigrant of, or above, 15 years of age  
"Minor": under 15 years, and of, or above, 10 years  
"Infant": under 10 years.

Under Part V, section 52, appeared the following educational clauses:-

"Minor immigrants shall not be indentured to any employer who shall not previously have made provision to the satisfaction of the Governor for the instruction of such minor immigrants in reading, writing and the elements of arithmetic; and the Immigration Agent-General shall every year furnish to the Board of Education a list of schools at which the instruction of indentured minor immigrants is provided for by their employers, with the names of the plantations on which they are respectively indentured; and in each such school it shall be the duty of the Inspector of Schools especially to enquire into the attendance and progress of such pupils and to report upon the same in his Annual Reports

- 
10. N.P.P. Vol. 112: D.P. 51/1874 - report by Sub-Immigration Agent-General in 1872: page 12.
  11. D.P. 51/1874: Br. Guiana Ordinance 7/1873.

to the Governor and Court of Policy, and copies of such parts of each Report as shall especially relate to the education of such pupils shall be transmitted by the Inspector to the Immigration Agent-General".

There is no evidence, however, that the Government of India brought pressure to bear upon the Natal Government for the inclusion of similar terms in the laws of the Colony. The Indian Government's views on the education of the immigrant children were brought to the notice of the Natal Government in 1877 only indirectly, when the Secretary of State for the Colonies, Lord Carnarvon, forwarded copies of the correspondence between the Imperial Government and the Government of India. By this time the Natal Government was already preparing, ~~on its own initiative,~~ legislative measures to provide educational facilities for Indian children. It is interesting to note that though Indian immigration to Natal and British Guiana was taking place contemporaneously, there was considerable divergence in their educational policies. Neither in the laws of the Natal Colony or in the contract of indenture was there any responsibility placed on the employers of Indian labour for the education of Indian children.

In these circumstances it would seem that the responsibility for the education of the Indian children rested with the Government of Natal. It was stated earlier that the Government of India believed this to be so and acted accordingly. It was even contended in subsequent years that the Natal Government had actually contracted with emigrants in India to undertake this responsibility. At a Provincial Enquiry into Indian education in Natal held in 1928, the South African Indian Federation presented a memorandum in which appears this statement (13):-

---

13. Copy available in the records of the Provincial Council (Natal): page 3.

".....but it may be pointed out that the educational facilities sought for by the community, are in the major portion, for the descendants of Indian labourers who came to this country at the request and cost of the old Natal Government, which covenanted with these Indians in terms of their contracts to safeguard the interests, to mete out just treatment, to EDUCATE THEIR CHILDREN".

There is no documentary evidence to support this contention that the education of the Indian child was a contractual obligation of the Natal Government. The statement given in evidence by the Federation could refer only to a contract signed before embarkation. All the contracts signed in Natal between employer and employee, under Laws 14 of 1859, 2 of 1870 and 25 of 1891 do not contain the words quoted in the memorandum (14). The only available copy of a contract signed in India with the Government of Natal is dated 1898 (14a), and this

---

14. Polak, H.S.L., "The Indians of S. Africa" - page 65.  
~~Concurs with me. Makes a similar statement.~~

14a. Natal Archives - Indian Immigration Papers: I  
1520/1898.

I have not been able to find in the Archives copies of such contracts signed prior to 1898. This is probably due to the destruction by fire of the Coolie Immigration Department Records prior to 1874. The existence of such a contract prior to the passing of Law 20/1878 would settle the question of responsibility during the period 1860-1877.

In reply to a letter, the Government of India, through the Secretary to the High Commissioner for India in South Africa, informed me (Letter No. 1386 dated 26 June, 1944) that they had no definite information as to whether there was a contractual obligation on the part of the Natal Government to educate the children of Indian immigrants. They suggested that a contract regarding the education of Indian children might have been mentioned in the indenture contract, copies of which are not available in India.

Kannemeyer, op.cit., on pages 31 and 32, refers to similar contentions by Indians in 1908 and 1914. He also was unable to find any documentary evidence to support this contention.

The contract of apprenticeship for destitute children under Ord. 2/1850 makes reference to provision for education and religious instruction, and placed the responsibility on the employer (I 1447/1898).

contains no reference to the education of the child. By this time, however, there was already a system of education for Indians under the control of the Education Department. The statement as it stands would infer a definite undertaking by the Natal Government ~~and~~ the non-fulfilment or neglect of which would be a serious breach of faith.

Even if such a contract did not in actual fact exist there are other grounds on which such a responsibility must devolve upon the Colonial Government. In the first chapter it was established that the Natal Government and the European colonists benefitting by Indian labour were parties to the permanent settlement of the Indians in the Colony. After the completion of the terms of indenture they were entitled to all the rights and privileges of citizenship, including the right to vote, to sit on the councils of the Colony, and the right to have educational facilities provided for their children. The principle established in Natal was that the State was responsible for the education of its children. The Indian settler, no less than the European settler, looked to the Government to provide these educational facilities.

There is ample proof that the Government of Natal was awakened to its sense of responsibility in this direction as early as 1863 (15), again in 1869 and 1870 (16), and yet again in 1872 (17) and 1877 (18). The Superintendent of Education, Warwick Brooks, in his report for 1869 draws the attention of the Government in these words:-

- 
15. G.S.O. 2478/1863 - Nov. 2; Rev. Sabon to Lt.-Gov. asking for assistance to establish a school for "coolies".
  16. Report, Supt of Edn.: 1868 (D.P. 32/1869);  
1869 (D.P. 8/1870).
  17. Report, Coolie Commission - 1872. (D.P. 13/1872).
  18. Report, Protector of Indian Immigrants (Natal) - 1877.

"Another departure from the rule (19) seems almost forced upon the Government so long as the Municipalities take no share in the education of the children of these cities - a Coolie population is settled in Durban and along the coast and has no means of education save such as are supplied by the zeal of religious bodies, and yet these people should be educated as well as the Native race if only as a matter of policy".

And again in 1870 he stresses the need for the education of the Natal-born Indian who for good or evil would form hereafter a distinct element in Natal's mixed population.

Seventeen years after the arrival of the Indians, the Protector of Indian Immigrants reported in 1877 as follows:-

"No systematic effort has ever yet been made for the education of the children of Indian immigrants in this Colony.....and I am inclined to think that more satisfactory results will be achieved by this means (20) than would be likely to attend any Missionary effort in the same field, and that the whole resources at the disposal of the Government for this purpose should be directed to the support of its own secular schools".

We thus see that even the officers of the Natal Government rightly thought that the responsibility for the education of Indian children rested with the Natal Government. It is also clear that Natal had no formulated policy regarding the education of Indians; nor did the Government bestir itself to an active sense of responsibility when the question was brought to its notice repeatedly. While it may be charged with apathy and indifference, there is, however, no evidence that the Natal Government had at any time during this period repudiated its responsibility or obligation. Just as in

- 
19. Warwick Brooks, at this time, was advocating that only model schools should be established by Govt. in Durban and Maritzburg; that the local authorities should finance the education of children in their areas. Govt. to aid rural areas.
20. He was referring to Education Laws 15 and 16 of 1877, but he was mistaken in believing that they also provided for the education of all classes of the population. Law 20 of 1878 was specially enacted to provide education for Indian children.

England or India, this laissez faire policy of a Government dominated by interests dependent on "coolie" labour is but a reflection of the times. The Colony of Natal could hardly be expected to show greater progressiveness than the older countries of Europe. Only the threatened prohibition of emigration in 1872 stimulated the Government to show some concern for the then existing working conditions of the Indian labourers. It is not surprising that Indian education was neglected during the first period.

#### Early Indian Education in Natal:

In order to view the development of Indian education in Natal in the right perspective it is necessary to know

- (a) the position of European education in Natal prior to 1878;
- (b) the position of Native education in Natal prior to 1878;
- (c) the position in regard to the education of these immigrants in India.

During the years 1843-1860 education for the European in Natal (21) was quite unorganised, and the onus of providing educational facilities was left largely to missionary and private enterprise. Private schools gradually came under Government control from the year 1852 when a system of grants-in-aid was established; many schools, however, remained independent of State control.

- 
21. The information on early European education has been taken largely from R.O. Pearse, "Early European education in Natal - 1843-1894" T.I thesis (1934) - N.U.C. The relevant pages are 41-103.  
See also standard works on the history of education in South Africa, such as:  
E.G. Malherbe, "Education in South Africa 1652-1922"  
E.G. Pells, "European, Coloured & Native Education in South Africa 1652-1938"  
M.E. McKerron, "A History of Education in South Africa 1652-1932".

Government action in the matter of European education dates from the foundation of the two Government primary schools in Pietermaritzburg and Durban in the years 1849- and 1850 respectively.

A chief Central Board of Education was founded in 1859, which established local school committees and secured the appointment of a Superintendent of Education. Thereafter, it ceased to function; the entire responsibility fell upon the Superintendent of Education.

During the period 1860-1877, aided schools increased to a remarkable degree. Unfortunately the increase in schools tended to concentrate in the two towns to the grave neglect of country education. Though the enrolment grew yet there was no improvement in efficiency; buildings and equipment were in a deplorable state; a very large number of children were still not in school.

Throughout this period the onus of expanding the educational system was still largely left to private effort. The amount of local aid was in excess of Government expenditure, if buildings and the value of board and lodging granted to teachers were included. Pearse, who had made a detailed study of early European education in Natal, sums up the growth of the system in these words (21a);-

"The Natal system appears to have grown up in a casual and undirected way; occasional Government Notices appeared, and for the rest it was simply a matter of putting things on the estimates".

In 1877 a vigorous effort was made by Lieutenant-Governor Henry Bulwer to place European education on a more satisfactory basis. In this year

two educational laws - Laws 15 and 16 - were enacted, creating a Council of Education and determining the policy to be followed with regard to primary and secondary education.

The following table of comparative statistics (21b) would indicate the progress made in European education between 1861 and 1878:-

TABLE I

|                               | 1861       | 1878       |
|-------------------------------|------------|------------|
| European Population           | 12,538     | 23,000     |
| Pupils enrolled               | 1,076      | 2,501      |
| State schools                 | ( 2<br>35( | ( 6<br>63( |
| State-aided schools           | (33        | (57        |
| Pupils in State schools       | 357        | 609        |
| Pupils in State-aided schools | 719        | 1,892      |
| Government expenditure        | £1,912     | £8,817     |
| Private contributions         | £1,406     | £3,965     |
| Cost per head; State school   | 42/-       | 51/-       |
| State-aided school            | 53/-       | ?          |

With regard to Native education the position was not very satisfactory. However, a number of Christian Missions appear to have interested themselves in their welfare and a start had already been made to provide educational facilities for the purpose of industrial training and formal instruction. In 1864 (21c) the position was as follows:-

---

21b. Taken from Statistics compiled by Pearse from Natal Blue Books. Relevant pages: 194, 196, 198.

21c. N.B.B. - 1864;  
and Report of Superintendent of Education for 1864.

|        |   |         |
|--------|---|---------|
| (a)    | Number of schools aided and inspected by the Government:  | 28      |
| (b)(1) | <u>Day Schools receiving an annual grant of £50 (First class):</u>  | 7       |
|        | Evening schools " " " " ;   | 2       |
| (2)    | <u>Day schools receiving an annual grant of £24 (Second class):</u>   | 10      |
|        | Evening " " " " ;   | 3       |
| (c)    | <u>Industrial schools receiving an annual grant of £200:</u>  |         |
| (1)    | Indaleni Wesleyan Mission Station: ten boys being trained as carpenters, wheelwrights, masons, plasterers and brick-makers.   |         |
| (2)    | Verulam Wesleyan Mission Station: thirteen boys being trained as carpenters, joiners, cabinetmakers and shoemakers. thirteen girls as tailoresses and seamstresses. |         |
| (3)    | Edendale Wesleyan Mission Station: eight boys being trained as carpenters, joiners and wagon-makers.  |         |
| (4)    | Springvale Church of England Mission Station: sixteen being trained to use the plough, to make bricks and to build and thatch houses.                               |         |
|        | <u>Industrial schools receiving an annual grant of £100.</u>  |         |
| (5)    | Umtwalume American Mission Station: same type of work as the others.  |         |
| (6)    | Umgababa Church of England Mission Station: Being trained to cultivate coffee.  |         |
| (d)    | Number of students in these 28 schools:   | 1,190   |
| (e)    | Yearly revenue derived from Natives in day schools:   | £183    |
| (f)    | Native population in 1864 (including a few Indians):  | 175,220 |

The Indian men and women who had emigrated to Natal belonged largely to the labouring class of India. While there were amongst the immigrants a fair number able to read and write in the vernaculars, it can hardly

be said that as a body they were literate (21d). At this time in India there does not appear to have been a well-organised system of education which reached the masses of the people (21e). In 1854 there were about 108,000 children being educated in the Government and Government-aided primary schools conducted along Western lines (21f). By 1882 there were about 2,000,000 children under instruction in 80,000 elementary schools- Government, Government-aided, and private.

Side by side with these new schools established by the English, the old Pâth<sup>h</sup>âlas continued in the Hindu villages, and the Maktabs in the Mohammedan villages. These village schools were financed by voluntary contributions and paid little attention to Western art or science which trickled into the towns through the English high schools. It is highly probable that a number of the Indian immigrants had received some form of elementary instruction in these Pâth<sup>h</sup>âlas and maktabs.

The number of children of school-going age not under instruction in the State or State-aided system of schools was estimated to have grown from 26 millions to 28 millions in the period 1870-1880. There were millions of children receiving no instruction either in the old style village schools or in the new style Western schools.

- 
- 21d. Report, Protector of Indian Immigrants: 1876 -  
Statement by Rev. Ralph Stott - page 4.
- 21e. Even in England the principle of universal elementary education was introduced only in 1870.
- 21f. This and subsequent facts have been borrowed from Siqueira, T.N., "The Education of India" - pages 55, 65 and 73.

The earliest recorded attempt to bring education to the children of Indian immigrants was that of the Rev. Father Sabon, a Roman Catholic priest of Durban, who appears to have taken some interest in Indian immigrants of the same faith. Having acquired a piece of land adjoining the Roman Catholic chapel, to the west end of West Street, Durban (22), he petitioned the Government in 1863, through Lieutenant-Governor Scott, to erect a school building for Indian children on this land (23). He stated in this petition that the Indians had expressed an earnest desire to have a school established, where they and their children might receive instruction in English and Tamil. The Coolie Immigration Agent, who at this time was in charge of the Indian indentured labourer in Natal, forwarded this petition to the Lieutenant-Governor with a supporting minute (24), drawing the attention of the Government to the necessity of providing a school and religious instruction for the "coolies" settled in Durban, especially as the importation of labourers from India was likely to increase.

The Colonial Secretary, D. Erskine, also supported this petition and observed to the Lieutenant-Governor that several such schools had been established in Mauritius; he suggested that financial provision should be made for the following year (25). Scott, however, doubted the practicability of establishing such schools in Natal for some time to come owing to the smallness of the Indian

- 
22. C.S.O. 1613/1863 - July 1: Acting Mayor Durban to C.S.N.  
23. C.S.O. 2478/1863 - Nov. 2: Rev. Sabon to Lt.-Gov. Scott per the C.I.A. and C.S.N.  
24. Ditto: Minute of C.I.A. (Tatham) to C.S.N.: Nov. 11.  
25. Ditto: Minutes dated 14th. and 16th. Nov.

population in Natal. He directed the Colonial Secretary to reply to the effect that he would be glad to see such an institution established but that there were "no funds provided for such a purpose", and, therefore, it would depend on the willingness of the Legislative Council to appropriate revenue for that service (26). The Rev. Sabon renewed his application the following year but it appears to have met with the same fate (27).

It seems that in this matter Scott came to a decision without taking into consideration the practice existing at the time. In the first place, it would have been quite proper to refuse Sabon's request for the erection of a school building by Government on land which was not alienated for educational purposes. The correspondence between the Colonial Secretary and the Lieutenant-Governor do not refer to this aspect of the question at all. It is not clear whether the statement quoted above from the letter of reply to Sabon, "that no funds were available for this purpose", were intended to convey this meaning. In any case, if Scott had been really anxious to establish a school for Indian children, he could have fallen back on the existing practice of granting building loans (28); he could at least have suggested this alternative to Sabon. At this time the Government preferred to restrict its commitments for education to grants-in-aid to cover the salary of the teacher. The general practice seems to have

- 
26. C.S.O. 2478/1863: 18th. Nov. copy of letter to Sabon from C.S.N.
  27. C.S.O. 540/1864: there is no trace of this letter or a copy of the reply to it; the receipt of such a letter is recorded in the Register of Letters Received. In view of the fact that no financial action was taken in the matter till 1869, it may be presumed that the second application was also turned down.
  28. Supt. of Education: Report for 1861 (D.P. 9/1862).

been for a group of people first to provide a room, a cottage, a barn or a chapel for a school, and then to seek Government aid for interior fittings, furniture, and the salary of the teacher (29). In 1861 the Superintendent of Education reported (28) that provision had been made in the estimates for giving assistance towards building school premises in eight localities; he recognised the necessity for such assistance to make the service of education available to all for he wrote thus:-

"A small help of this character often enables a district to build a school at once, when the work might yet be deferred for two or three years without assistance .....the construction of a school building is one of the most valuable aids that can be given to the cause of education in a particular spot".

Scott evaded the issue by throwing the entire responsibility on the "willingness" of the Legislative Council. It was true that the ultimate responsibility for the making of grants-in-aid or grants for building loans rested with the Legislative Council, but the usual procedure (30) of requesting the Superintendent of Education to investigate the merits of the application and to make his recommendations as to whether it should be placed on the estimates or not, was not followed. In fact the Superintendent of Education was not even consulted in this matter.

It is also doubtful whether the smallness of the Indian population in Durban could have been a valid reason for refusal, for provision had been made for a "fifth-class" school, i.e. a school with an attendance of less than twelve pupils, to earn a grant-in-aid of £16 per annum (31).

- 
29. C.S.O. 2440/1873 - Oct. 17: Supt. to C.S.N.  
30. Supt. of Edn. Supplementary Report: May 1863.  
(D.P. 16/1863).  
31. Supt. of Edn. Report for 1862. (D.P. 7/1863).

During the years 1865-1867 the Colony passed through a severe period of depression, which did not lift completely till 1870 (32). It was not likely in these circumstances that new items of expenditure for Indian children would be approved by the Legislative Council.

During this period some Indian children were receiving a form of instruction through the efforts of religious bodies (33). In 1865 a school was conducted by a Mr. Earl on the Isipingo plantation; this was attended by Natives and Indians (33a). The Rev. Sabon, for instance, having enlisted the sympathy and aid of philanthropists overseas (33) opened his school in July, 1867; The Superintendent of Education assisted him with a few books and maps (34). There were thirty children in attendance. In asking for a grant-in-aid the Rev. Sabon stated that the children were of all creeds, that there was no interference with religious views, and that it was almost a free school. In 1867 on the Reunion Estate a hospital was converted into a school room for Indian children on the estate (34a).

In 1868 reference is made for the first time in official documents (33;34) to the name of the Rev. Ralph Stott, a Wesleyan missionary. The Rev. Ralph Stott and,

- 
32. Ellison, P.A., "The History of the Natal Sugar Industry: 1848-1910"  
M.Econ.thesis (1932)-N.U.C.-pp 59-61
33. Supt. Report 1868 - D.P. 32/1869
- 33a. Report Native Schools 1865 - S.N.A., Vol 315 - pp 19&20.
- 
34. C.S.O. 2587/1868 - Nov 7: Sabon to Lt. Gov.  
1266/1868 - Feb 25: Supt. to C.S.N. - suggestions for 1869 Estimates.
- 34a. G.H. Vol 56: Keate to Buckingham: Desp. No. 47 - 20 Sept. 1867 - Para. 3.
-

after his retirement, his son, the Rev. Simon Horner Stott, are the real pioneers in the field of Indian education in Natal. The elder Mr. Stott went as a missionary to North Ceylon in 1830. He soon learnt Tamil and began to preach in that language. He had acquired, in the course of his education, a good knowledge of Latin, Greek, Hebrew, Mathematics and Astronomy. His son was born in Ceylon in 1836 and he also spoke fluent Tamil. After 18 years work in Ceylon the Rev. Ralph Stott returned with his family to England. In 1862 he was sent by his Society to work amongst the Indians in Natal. His son gives us a vivid picture of the work of his father in his book (35):-

"My father's work was principally among those at such a short distance from the port that he could go to them and return the same Sunday. To visit those at a distance he perhaps was away sometimes as long as a week. He always travelled on horseback, and took with him a number of scripture portions in Tamil, Telugu, Hindustani, Hindi and Gujerath. His appearance when on his journeys was well-known, for he rode a tripping horse, and had a white umbrella strapped across the front of his saddle. There were houses at which he was cordially welcomed. At some places he held a Sunday evening service and baptized many children".

There is no information available as to how soon after his arrival in 1862, he began his educational activities, but it is known that in 1867 a day and an evening school for Indians existed in Durban under his management (36). About February, 1868, the attendance in both schools was between 40 and 50; in November 1867, the day scholars numbered 18 (36;37). The Superintendent of Education in his estimates of expenditure for 1869 (37) proposed a grant of £25 to Stott's schools, and £36 to

---

35. Stott, S.H., "A nonogenarian's Experiences and Observations", page 103.

36. Supt. of Edn., Report for 1868.

37. C.S.O. 1266/1868: Supt. to C.S.N.;

Sabon's school. In 1868 Rev. Barker conducted a day school at Umzinto attended by Natives and Indians(37a). This was also an evening school (37b) for Natives and Indians in the employ of the Umzinto Company, but it was not confined to them; it was also attended by the servants of the families in the neighbourhood (37c). The evening school was supported by the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel and Mr. Walker, a representative of the Company (37c). The support was withdrawn when the scholars ceased to attend, owing in a great measure to the stoppage of the sugar works of the Company. The subjects taught were the 3 R's and a little geography. The Rev. Canon Barker then went on to write:-

"These were, however, secondary, and used only so far as to pave the way for the more direct work of a Missionary. A portion of the Bible was read every evening and explained. The school began and ended with prayer".

At this time there was a different school for the white population, about a mile from the Company's works.

In 1869 the first grant-in-aid of £25 for an all-Indian school was given to the Rev. Ralph Stott (38). The Rev. Sabon received £25 .

The first official report of the first Government-aided Indian school in Natal is of some historical

- 
- 37a. S.N.A. - Vol 16, No. 26: Barker to Brooks - 31 March 1868.
- 37b. S.N.A. - Vol 315 - Report by Brooks - 30 April 1869 Para. 59.
- 37c. Pamphlet (Natal Archives): C 1699/1 - "Church Missions in Natal - a statement compiled chiefly from Reports of the Clergy in 1875" - T.B. Kenkinson. Page 30.
38. C.S.O. 162/1869: Supt. to C.S.N. - approval of grant voted by Leg. Council.

interest (39):-

"The grant for Coolie schools at Durban has been put into the Rev. Stott's hands; with it he has kept an evening school near the Railway Station for grown-up Coolies, and a school for children at the Coolie barracks, belonging to the Corporation, during the day. The school is made up of boys only, the Coolies refusing to have their girls taught to read. The Coolies seem careless about the schooling of their children, and do hardly more for the master, a Coolie, than make him occasional presents of food for his services. The room occupied by the day school is small and utterly devoid of furniture, desks, forms, black-boards etc".

It was under such unenviable conditions that the first State-aided institution was started.

In 1870 two applications for grants-in-aid were received from planters at the Lower Umkomanzi and Muckle Neuk, near Verulam (40). Mr. McKenzie of Lower Umkomanzi, and Mr. Campbell of Muckle Neuk, both offered to support an Indian teacher, who could speak and write English, by providing lodgings, rations and a school-room. During 1871 a school at Lower Umkomanzi received a grant of £16 per annum (41), and the Durban day and evening schools an increased grant of £36 per annum; the Acting Superintendent of Education, Warwick Brooks, proposed a grant of £12 for Muckle Neuk, but owing to the refusal of the Legislative Council to pass the vote of £200 for new and additional grants, a number of applications had to be left in abeyance (42). A point to be noted regarding these applications from the planters is that schools were not started before a Government grant-in-aid was assured; the missionaries, Sabon and Stott, conducted their schools from 1867 to 1869 without receiving grants-in-aid.

- 
40. C.S.O. 1407/1870 - July 18 and 2153/1870 - Nov. 1; Supt. to C.S.N.
  41. C.S.O. 1735/1872: the Supt. states that this school was on Mr. George Robinson's estate at the mouth of the L. Umkomanzi. McKenzie might have been the first applicant but apparently Robinson ultimately received the grant.
  42. C.S.O. 2/1871 - Jan 2; Supt. to C.S.N. and ensuing correspondence.

Applications from planters expressed a willingness to offer some facilities for the elementary instruction of the children of their "coolie" labourers if they were assured by the Government that a grant-in-aid was forthcoming.

In 1872 another estate school was opened at Sea Cow Lake on Mr. Kennedy's Estate. It had received a grant of £16 but only £8 of this had been paid, indicating that the school had not been conducted for the whole year (43).

The year 1872 was a critical one for the importers of Indian labour owing to the suspension by the Government of India of Indian emigration to Natal pending an enquiry into the condition of Indians in that Colony. An interesting and useful document (44) is available in which the Superintendent of Education reviewed the progress of Indian education up to 1872. The bulk of the Indian population was in Durban and on the coastal plantations. The 1870 census had shown that the Indian population of Pietermaritzburg, for example, was only 176 with probably 30 children of school-going age. As the Indian families comprising this total were widely scattered, so it would have been difficult to secure the attendance of their children at school. The Durban census for 1871 had shown 908 Indians with probably 150 children "fit for school". In Durban too the Indians were widely scattered and it would have been difficult to get them all into one school; the children of one family attended a European school (45).

---

43. Auditor's Report for 1872 (Natal): D.P. 6/1873.

44. C.S.O. 1735/1872 - Sept 18: Supt. to C.S.N.

45. See also Coolie Commission Report 1872: evidence of Ramsay, storekeeper of Durban, page 31.

He thought it would be possible to open another school at the East end of Durban, in the Addington area, if Mr. Stott could find families near enough to send their children. In this report he also mentioned that the Rev. Sabon promised to secure the attendance of the children of Roman Catholic Indians but that he had been unable to find a master. If the Rev. Sabon's original intention had been to establish an Indian Catholic School it would appear that during the course of time the school originally established by him had come to lose its Catholic character.

Referring to the planters the Superintendent of Education stated that they were ready enough to open schools on the estates but the difficulty was the lack of suitable schoolmasters. The Superintendent's concluding remarks on the Indian children shows the changes taking place in Indian life in Natal:-

"The children born or reared here are growing up a far better race than their parents in matters of 'physique', and have less of the servile air which clings to their parents".

The Superintendent of Education observed in his Report that the Indians were "in a measure overcoming their objection to have their girls taught".

The return of Indian schools receiving State aid at the end of June, 1872 is given below:-

TABLE 2.

| <u>DURBAN COUNTY.</u>    | <u>Boys</u> | <u>Girls</u> | <u>Total</u> | <u>Average attendance daily</u> |
|--------------------------|-------------|--------------|--------------|---------------------------------|
| 1. Coolie Day School     | 33          | 7            | 40           | 22                              |
| 2. Coolie Evening School | 12          | 0            | 12           | 5                               |
| 3. Lower Umkomanzi       | 7           | 3            | 10           | 10                              |
| <u>VICTORIA COUNTY.</u>  |             |              |              |                                 |
| 4. Sea Cow Lake          | <u>21</u>   | <u>5</u>     | <u>26</u>    | <u>23</u>                       |
|                          | <u>73</u>   | <u>15</u>    | <u>88</u>    | <u>60</u>                       |

The Auditor reported that in 1872 the total amount of the grants-in-aid paid to Indian schools was £60

£36 to Stott's schools, £16 to the school at Lower Umkomanzi and £8 to the Sea Cow Lake school (43).

The very small number of Indian children enrolled in schools is striking. Out of an estimated population of 5,700 Indians of all ages in the Colony (46) and an estimated school-going population of about 950, only 88 children were at school. It is clear that a large number of children were growing up in ignorance and illiteracy. It is not, therefore, surprising that the Coolie Commission of 1872 strongly urged upon the Government of Natal the expediency of early measures to provide education under proper superintendence; it went so far as to suggest compulsory education (47). The Indians themselves were said to be eager to obtain schools for their children; and the Rev. Stott stated in his evidence (47) before the Commission, that he knew "nothing more likely to tend to keep the coolies on estates and satisfied, than the establishment of schools on estates". At least one illustration of such eagerness was found on the Sea Cow Lake estate: the Indian teacher, Chinnah Villay, in his evidence (48), stated that there was a night school, as well as the day school, at which ten Indians attended; the school hours were from seven to ten in the evening; the pupils were obliged to find their own books, and they also provided the candles; they were instructed in English and in their "vernacular language".

Schools on the estates were usually short-lived. A school would suddenly spring up, function for half a year or more, and suddenly disappear. The year 1873, for

---

46. Coolie Commission Report, 1872 (D.P.13/1872) page 7  
47. Ibid., page 18.  
48. Ibid., page 22.

instance, started with four state-aided institutions: Stott's day and evening schools, Lower Umkomanzi, and Sea Cow Lake. In the second half of the year Lower Umkomanzi was closed owing to the resignation of the teacher (49), and a new school was opened at Merebank, on Mr. Lamport's estate, about the same time (50). The position during 1874 is not clear because of contradictions and omissions in the official sources of information. Stott's schools still continued to function; Sea Cow Lake seems to have gone out of existence (51); Merebank, now under the management of Mr. Joel Lean, seems to have continued with an enrolment of 20 and an average daily attendance of 7, but it earned the full grant of £16 (52); from the report of the Superintendent of Education (53) however, we gather that Merebank and Lower Umkomanzi, both plantation schools, were closed, and it is more than probable that they were closed because the average daily attendance at Merebank fell to 7, and at Lower Umkomanzi to 4 (52).

In 1874 the Superintendent of Education reported (54) the establishment of another school at Prospect Hill, (today called Prospect Hall - at Durban North) on Mr. Churchill's estate through the efforts of the Rev. Ralph Stott, who had secured a teacher; Mr. Churchill had undertaken to provide the school, a "hut" for the teacher, and his rations. This school

- 
49. <sup>C.S.O.</sup> 620/1874 - Feb 16: Supt. to C.S.N.  
50. C.S.O. 1893/1873 - July 17: Supt. to C.S.N. asking for approval of grant of £8 for the half year, and which was approved. The Auditor's Report for 1873 (D.P.1/1874) makes no mention of this school.  
51. No reference to it in the Auditor's Report for 1874, nor in the Natal Blue Book, (Educational Return) for 1874, nor in the Supt. of Edn. Report for 1874.  
52. Natal Blue Book 1874 (D.P. 1/1875).  
53. Report of Supt. of Edn. for 1874 (D.P. 15/1875).  
54. C.S.O. 283/1874 - Jan 22: Supt. to C.S.N.

This school received a grant of £18 for the teacher's salary, and an additional grant of £10 from the vote "Grant-in-aid of building and fitting up schools" (54); this is the first time that a grant of the nature was made to an Indian school. But there is no mention of this school or of the grant either in the Auditor's Report or in the Report of the Superintendent of Education; nor is it mentioned in the Natal Blue Book for 1874. We cannot be certain whether this school was ever established. In the same year an abortive attempt was made to open a school at the Lower Umgeni, near Stainbank's Coffee Works (55). Bishop Macrorie, of the Church of South Africa, asked the Natal Government for a movable shed or building as a temporary accommodation for an Indian school; but the reply from the Civil Engineer's Department indicates that the request was refused and there is no further information available as to what Bishop Macrorie did next. It may be noted that the application of Bishop Macrorie is the earliest evidence of the interest of the Church of South Africa in the education of the Indian child in Natal.

In 1875 the Rev. James Fairbrother (St. James), who had been only 7 weeks in the Colony hoped to begin a day school for Indian children and an evening school for adult Indians at the Sea Cow Lake (54a). He had to delay his project for want of a suitable teacher - a real problem in those days.

In May, 1875, a few Indians residing in Pietermaritzburg sent a memorial to the Acting Lieutenant-

---

54a. Natal Archives: Pamphlet C 1699/1 -

See ref. No. 37c for full statement.

55. C.S.O. 3468/1874: Bishop Macrorie to C.S.N.

Governor G.J. Wolsley asking for a grant-in-aid for a school teacher's salary (56). The memorialists pointed out that there was no school or educational establishment in Maritzburg to which Indian children could be sent for instruction in the English or Indian languages, and that considerable numbers were growing up in ignorance. They stated that 25 children were old enough to be sent to school, and that parents were prepared to pay 2/- a month in school fees. The Superintendent of Education in his minute on this application stated that a suitably qualified teacher was not available, the Indian teacher available at the moment being able to instruct only in Tamil. He reported that he had found, to use his own words, a "hovel" in the Indian quarters, the rent of which was 12/- per month. He was prepared to give this school a trial in view of the fact that the first object was to try and "get the urchins out of mischief into any school". He asked for a total grant of £24 to be allocated thus:

£11.5.0 for salary of teacher for 5 months,

3.0.0 for rent for 5 months,

10.0.0 for books, desks, forms, slates, ink, etc.

The Acting Lieutenant-Governor Wolseley would not consent, however, to the establishment of a Tamil school with State assistance. Ultimately a European, William Emmings, discharged for intemperance the previous year from his position as interpreter at Verulam, who was the writer of the above memorial to the Acting Lieutenant-Governor, was appointed in the absence of a better teacher (57), and a grant-in-aid of £12.10.0 was authorised for the third and fourth

---

56. C.S.O. 1431/1875 - May 5: seven Indians to the Lt. Gov. per the C.S.N.

57. C.S.O. 2454/1875 - Aug 20: Supt. to C.S.N.

quarters of 1875 (58).

In March, 1873, Lieutenant-Governor Musgrave appointed a commission to enquire into the whole question of education in the Colony of Natal; this Commission reported in September 1874 (59) and made the following recommendations regarding Indian education:-

1. Teachers and Central School:

that the Protector of Indian Immigrants should correspond with the proper authorities in India, with a view to securing for the Colony the services of efficient, trained teachers capable, not only of conducting a Central School in Durban for "Coolies", but also of preparing young men to become teachers at the schools on the plantations.

2. Construction of School-buildings in Durban:

that the Corporation of Durban be requested to co-operate with the Government in the immediate construction in Durban of airy and well-furnished school houses for the use of "Coolie" children, at such points as may be found most convenient.

3. Government assistance to Planters:

that the Government give every assistance to the owners or managers of plantations to maintain schools for the "Coolie" children on them.

4. Compulsory Education:

that wherever school houses and Masters have been established, all "Coolie" children within a reasonable distance shall, under the direction, and with the approval, of the Protector of Indian Immigrants, be compelled to attend.

The minority report was substantially the same except for a minor division of opinion on paragraph one: under paragraph one it was added that teachers should be imported not only for a central school in Durban but also for schools in other centres of Indian population.

The Legislative Council, before accepting the

conclusions and recommendations of the Commission, desired to have some further information as to the actual condition of assisted schools, and so Robert Russell, who had been headmaster of the Durban Government School, was appointed as Associate Inspector with instructions to examine into and report on the state of the schools receiving Government aid (60). The Commission had reported that the existing system of grants-in-aid was a failure; it condemned the whole system of education in Natal; but it was silent as to the reasons for the condemnation. Such questions as to the number of schools in the Colony, the numbers of children receiving education, the quality of the education given, and the results of the education given, were not touched upon in the Report.

Robert Russell presented his Report on Government-aided education in October, 1875, after having made 181 visits to 75 aided schools during the 147 school days (61). He examined the children and classified them according to a schedule of "Standards" drawn up by him on English lines; he examined every individual child in every subject, and he also examined them collectively. In his List of aided schools in 1875 he mentioned only Stott's day and evening schools, and the Maritzburg day and evening schools; but his Report indicates that he had examined only Stott's schools. The reports on these two schools are given in full as being the only detailed description we have of the condition and quality of Indian education towards the end of the first stage:-

Report on Coolie Day School, Durban.

"This school is held in a wood and iron building

---

60. D.P.32/1877: Minute on Education by Lt)Goy Henry Bulwer (N.P.P. Vol. 117).

61. "Report on Government-aided Education", by Robert Russell (D.P. 17/1875).

21x17x9 feet, adjoining the Corporation Coolie Barracks. The furniture consists of 3 writing desks to hold thirty, forms without backs, one blackboard, and two wall maps - the Hemispheres. There are no reading cards or lesson sheets, and there is no ball frame.

The books in use are a few odd spelling books and a few (Class or standard?) II Irish Reading Books. A supply of Infant-school Reading Books and Slates is much needed.

The school hours are from 9 to 12, and 1 to 3. One Register of Daily Attendance is in use. The number enrolled is 37 - all boys. Seven are under 8; sixteen between 8 and 12; and fourteen between 12 and 16. The average attendance is 23, and the number present and examined was 28.

All except three are mere beginners - learning the alphabet and mono-syllables, making figures and working in addition, and transcribing the letters or easy words on slates. One boy read fairly in Standard II, and two in Standard I. One passed Standard III in writing, one passed in Standard II, and ten others had smudged copy books with strokes and curves. One boy can work the four simple Rules.

The teacher asked to be allowed to examine the children himself in Grammar and Geography. He called up his first class of three boys, and got them to repeat "parrotlike" something about "written language", "articulate speech", "syllables", and "prosody". The Geography in similar manner consisted of "descriptions of the earth", "natural phenomena", and etc. No one could tell me the parts of speech or could point out or tell anything about India or London.

The teacher - Mr. Francis D'Vaz - has been here for only three months. He was lately sirdar on a sugar estate, and was educated and has taught in schools in India. He seems quite capable, under proper supervision, and with a little help in the way of apparatus and books, of managing and instructing the children satisfactorily. Mr. D'Vaz receives 1/- a month from each child, and £24 a year from Government".

The standards and methods at the evening school were similar but here education was free. An interesting point is the age distribution of the 18 boys in attendance: four were under 8, six between 8 and 12, and eight between 12 and 20. Though it was considered to be an adult evening school, the bulk of the pupils were under 12; they were drawn mostly from the Indian Barracks belonging to the Natal Government Railways. Of the 18 enrolled only 5 had been in attendance over a year. Russell reported the following facts about the teacher:-

"Henry Nundoo - the teacher - received a fair education in Benares. In Natal for past 11 years, is a printer by trade, and has had charge of this school since 1868. His salary 10/- a month. The Rev. Stott attends three evenings a week, and teaches the teacher. One evening

he reads Sanscrit, another Persian, and the third he devotes to general subjects. The Government grant of £12 remunerates the teacher, and pays for lighting and other incidental expenses".

No action was taken on the Report of the Commission or on Russell's Report until 1878 (62). But in May 1874, the Superintendent of Education, who had also been a member of the Commission, anticipating various changes that might be necessitated by the Commission's recommendations presented estimates for 1875 which greatly exceeded those of previous years. He proposed a sum of £700 for Indian education for 1875 (63); this was indeed a big jump from the amount of £68 for 1874. Unfortunately the schedule setting out the details of the proposed expenditure of £700 is missing. The estimates for education submitted by the Superintendent were, however, considerably reduced by the Legislative Council, and the vote for Indian education actually passed was (64):-

|                                      |                 |
|--------------------------------------|-----------------|
| Coolie school in Durban and Victoria | £100.0.0        |
| (Counties                            |                 |
| Passage money for teacher from India | 25.0.0          |
| Salary of a Coolie teacher           | <u>80.0.0</u>   |
|                                      | <u>£205.0.0</u> |

The expected expansion did not take place; the teacher from India did not arrive for many years to come and the only schools which continued to function till 1878 were those established by the Rev. Stott in Durban. The sum expended on Indian education during 1875 was £36 for Stott's schools, and £12.10.0 for the Pietermaritzburg school. The Pietermaritzburg school ceased to exist after 1875.

The administration of both European and Indian education, other than private education, during 1860-1877

---

62. C.S.O. 296/1877-Feb 1; Robt. Russell, Supt Edn to Lt-Gov.  
63. C.S.O. 1638/1874-May 13; Supt to C.S.N. and Minute No. 46  
64. Law 37/1874 (Supply). (of 22 June, 1874

devolved mainly upon the Superintendent of Education, who was responsible to the Lieutenant-Governor.

In 1858 a Central Board of Education had been appointed to carry out the recommendations of a Legislative Council Select Committee on Education; in 1859 a Superintendent of Education was appointed by the Lieutenant-Governor to act as its Secretary and Chief Executive Office. Provision was also made for the formation of local boards or committees, subject to the control of the Central Board of Education, to establish and maintain schools and to receive the grants-in-aid given by the State. But after passing a series of resolutions the Central Board of Education ceased to function, and the local bodies for various reasons failed to be a success (65). In the circumstances the Superintendent of Education had to do the work of the central and local bodies, in addition to his own duties of school inspection.

In 1875 a committee of enquiry into the working of the various Public Departments (66) defined the duties of the Superintendent of Education thus:

"The general duties of the Superintendent of Education are to superintend all matters connected with the education of persons of European, or Indian descent, over which the State has any control, and to report upon such education for the information of the Lieutenant-Governor; to inspect by himself or his deputies, all Government schools, or schools receiving aid from the Government; to inspect and certify the pay sheets of the masters of Government schools, and to receive and pay the rents, salaries, and petty expenses of such schools; to furnish the Treasury with returns of schools entitled to grants, supporting the same by authority; to receive from the Treasury and distribute such grants; to receive and pay into the Treasury fees received in Government schools, and to render monthly returns of such payments".

This committee recommended the appointment of

- 
65. Pearse, R.O., op.cit., chap. 9;  
also Henry Bulwer's Minute on Edn. (D.P. 32/1877.  
66. C.S.O. Vol. 551; Report of committee to enquire into  
the working of Public Departments.

one or more assistant Inspectors to aid the Superintendent. In 1875 Robert Russell was appointed Associate Inspector.

Such sums as were allocated to Indian education by the Natal Government, on the recommendation of the Superintendent of Education were included in the general vote for education. Grants-in-aid to Indian schools were calculated on the same basis as for European schools, and there does not appear to have been any thought of a differential scale at this stage, perhaps, because of the fewness of Indian schools. Up to the end of 1878 there were only two Indian schools which had a continuous existence from 1867: Stott's day and evening schools; and at no time were there more than four schools in existence at the same time. The following comparative statistics for the year 1878 indicate that a start had hardly been made in providing for the elementary instruction of the Indian child:-

TABLE 3

|  | <u>European</u> | <u>Indian</u> |
|--|-----------------|---------------|
| Population in Natal                          | 23,000          | 17,862        |
| Pupils in State and State-aided<br>(schools) | 2,501           | 48            |
| Percentage of population in school           | 11              | 0.26          |
| Number of schools: State                     | 6               | Nil           |
| State-aided                                  | 57              | 2             |
| Government expenditure                       | £8,817          | £40.13. 9     |

While the duties of the Superintendent appear to have been beyond the powers of any one man to carry out efficiently it would be difficult to account for the neglect of the education of the Indian child on the ground that the duties of the Superintendent of Education were too onerous. The fact that there was only 0.26 per cent of the population in the schools indicates that the need for initiating a policy of giving some kind of elementary instruction to the children of the Indian labourers remained unrecognised.

It must be pointed out that the educational policy of the Natal Government was not at this time explicitly based on the segregation of pupils on the ground of colour or race. In theory the schools of the Colony were open to all; in practice the children of the indentured Indian were seldom found on the same benches as the European. Although the school established by the Rev. Stott was attended by a few Indian pupils, it must be emphasised, therefore, that the investigation and report of the Education Commission of 1874 and the Report of Robert Russell in 1875 are reports on what was in effect, the system of education for Europeans. Although the fact remained that there was no legal bar to the admission of Indian children to the schools the effective bars to their enrolment were economic, geographical and a growing colour prejudice on the part of the Europeans. From the standpoint of the Indian the objection to European schools was that they did not meet the linguistic, religious, and cultural needs of the Indian people.

Now the Report of the Education Commission and that of Robert Russell set forth the weaknesses that existed in 1874 in the Natal school system. These weaknesses were the more obvious in the case of Indian schools. The reason for the lack of schools for Indian children should be considered in this context. Lieutenant-Governor Henry Bulwer, after studying the Reports of the Education Commission (1874) and Robert Russell (1875), most ably diagnosed the weak points of the existing system in these words:-

"But the system had failed and had been a failure in this respect - that it had not secured the means of education wherever education might be needed, or however much it might be needed, and it had not secured that the education, where given, should be good and efficient.

Education might be provided where it was required, and it might be good where provided; but the system did not secure that it should be good, and did not prevent it, where given, from being indifferent, nor prevent many districts from being left without any education at all (67a).

And again:-

"The system made no provision for ascertaining or meeting the educational requirements of the several localities. It was left to the localities themselves to ascertain their own wants, to declare them, and to take measures to provide for them; or to private adventure to discover the wants of the localities and to meet them if it was worth while, and so far as it was worth while, to do so. Where the localities themselves, or private adventure, took action, it was open to them under the system, to recur to and receive assistance from the Government, but, failing such action, the system itself did nothing to meet any want there might be or however great it might be.

Thus it was simply a matter of accident or chance, dependent upon the public spirit and the power of initiative action in any locality, or upon the action of individuals, whether educational wants of a district were provided for or not" (67b).

In short, the development of European education and, to an even greater extent, of Indian education was almost at a standstill because the following were lacking:

- (a) sufficient school accommodation
- (b) good accommodation
- (c) proper standard of instruction
- (d) maintenance of that standard
- (e) qualification and competency of teachers
- (f) encouragement of good teaching
- (g) proper inspection of schools
- (h) checking the results of education by tests from time to time.

To remedy these defects Lieutenant-Governor Henry Bulwer introduced two Bills which on enactment became Laws 15 and 16 of 1877, for the promotion of primary and secondary education respectively. These laws abrogated the existing educational machinery and arrangements, and provided for a reconstruction of the system. In his report of 1878, the Superintendent of Education enthusiastically declared them to be based "on a plan which is equally adapted for a population of ten thousand

---

67a and 67b. Bulwer's Minute on Education: pages 40 and 41 respectively. (D.P. 32/1877).

or ten millions". But these laws mark the introduction of an important change in educational policy, for they were not to be applied to the education of the Indian. Sir Henry Bulwer in a despatch to Sir M.E. Hicks Beach, in reply to the observations made by the Lords of the Committee of the Privy Council on Education, stated inter alia (68) :-

"The Law of 1877 had no bearing on, and did not propose to provide for, the education of the Indian population. The subject has been dealt with by the Government this year, and a Law making the necessary provision was introduced and passed during the recent session of the Legislative Council".

The law to provide for the promotion of education among the children of Indian immigrants in Natal was passed in September 1878, and is known as Law 20 of 1878. The provisions of this law and the change of policy introduced by its enactment form the subject of the next chapter.

On the eve of the second stage in the development of Indian education i.e. in 1878, there were only two schools in existence - Stott's day and evening schools, Durban. We gather the following facts from the educational return appended to the Superintendent's annual report for 1878:-

|                       | Highest number in attendance for any one quarter |          |           | Average daily attendance for year |
|-----------------------|--|----------|-----------|-----------------------------------|
|                       | B.   | G.       | Total     |                                   |
| Indian day school     | 24   | -        | 24        | 15                                |
| Indian evening school | <u>24</u>  | <u>-</u> | <u>24</u> | <u>16</u>                         |
|                       | <u>48</u>  | <u>-</u> | <u>48</u> | <u>31</u>                         |

Average number of free scholars: 48

Amount expended by Government during the year: £54.5.0

---

68. Attached to C.S.O. 4500/79: Vol. 721. para. 9  
Also Votes & Proceedings 1877; Lt-Governor: Speech on opening of Legislative Council Session - page 4.

Note: this represents FIVE quarters grants.

Age of pupils: 18 of the 43 pupils were over 16 years of age

Results of examinations by Robert Russell:

(a) Number examined: 24 (b) Subject passes gained:

(1) Reading: Std. 1....6 passes  
" 11....3 "  
" 111....2 "

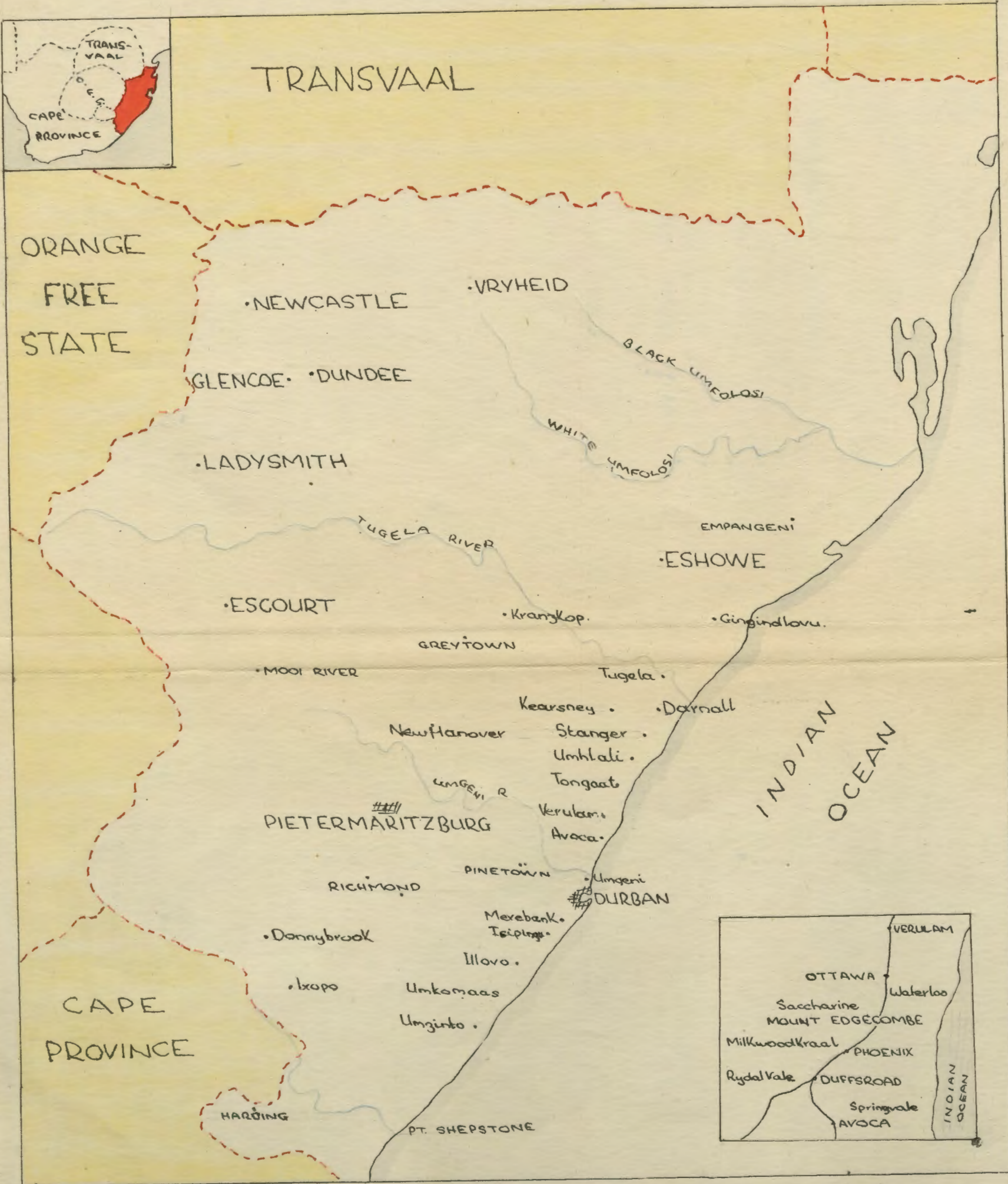
(11) Writing: Std. 1....5 passes  
" 11....3 "  
" 111....4 "  
" IV....2 "

(111) Arithmetic " 1....4 "  
" 11....2 "  
" 111....1 "

- (c) Total passes: 32
- (d) Number of pupils for whom no payments made because pupils were over standard age for that group: 19
- (e) Grant for results: £3. 5. 0
- (f) Attendance grant: £2. 0. 0
- (g) Total capitation grant earned: £5. 5. 0
- (h) Private contributions and fees in 1877 amounted to: £12. 0. 0  
Government grant in 1877 was £36. 0. 0

This was the only time that capitation grants for results of examinations and attendance were earned by an Indian school, since the Law 15 of 1877 had introduced the system of "payment by results" for all schools.

It is eloquent testimony, indeed, to the Rev. Ralph Stott's devotion to, and interest in, Indian education that he kept the torch of learning burning, however dimly, in those difficult days for a period of over ten years. The one bright hope in the midst of this mass illiteracy, superstition, and backwardness was the Rev. Stott's day and evening school in Durban.



MAP OF NATAL

S E C T I O N II

EDUCATIONAL PROGRESS

UNDER THE

INDIAN IMMIGRANT SCHOOL BOARD

1879 - 1894

## CHAPTER III

### THE FOUNDATIONS of an EDUCATIONAL POLICY. 1879 - 1894.

It is clear then from the previous chapter that the obvious intention of Education Laws 15 and 16 of 1877 was to place the organization and administration of European education in Natal on a more satisfactory basis. It does not appear to have been the intention to improve in the same measure the provision of education for the Indian child. These laws were not to be applied to the schools established for Indian children only. For the first time in the history of Natal laws were enacted for the education of the European child which, it was expressly stated, were not to be applied to the education of the Indian. Therefore, 1877 marks the inauguration of a new educational policy, based on race, in the Colony.

In enacting a special education law for the Indian certain fundamental assumptions appear to have been made;

- (I) that the Indians were a separate and alien element in the social fabric of Natal;
- (II) that the economic and political interests of Europeans and Indians could not merge;
- III) that the cultural development of both races must proceed along different lines;
- (IV) that, therefore, a separate administrative body had to be set up to devote its entire attention to the development of Indian education.

With the enactment of the Indian Education Law two parallel systems of primary education were established (1): one exclusively for the Indian; the other mainly for the Europeans, though there was no provision <sup>in</sup> on the laws for the exclusion of Indians from any schools thus established for the European. (2). It must be emphasised that though it was openly intended (2) to apply Laws 15 and 16 of 1877 for making more effective provision to meet the requirements of the European community, there was no racially restrictive clause in the laws. In fact the principle that there should be no racial differentiation in the schools was stated more than once prior to the enactment of Laws 15 and 16 of 1877 and Law 20 of 1878. For instance, the 1874 Education Commission in setting forth what should be the essentials of any scheme of education for the Colony stated (3) that the system should operate without prejudice to sect or party, colour or creed, and recommended the abolition of all existing arrangements and the building up from the foundation a new system of Colonial Education. Again, Lieutenant-Governor Keate had laid down the rule that all children were to be admitted whose habits were not repugnant to Western civilization, and that all objections to such admissions were to be referred directly to him; he added, that if those objections could not be removed, and the school was manifestly injured, then the Government had to yield (4). Lastly, Acting

- 
1. Taking into account the provisions made for the education of the Africans, there would really be three systems of education in Natal.
  2. G.H. Vol 281: Desp No. 185 - 4th Dec 1878 - Para. 9  
Desp No. 9 - 17th Jan 1879 - Para. 4  
Votes and Proceedings for 1877: page 4. Lt. Gov's speech.
  3. L.C. No. 9 - Report of Education Commission - Appendix - Introductory Remarks - Para. 6.
  4. Supt. of Edn., Report 1875 - D.P. 20/1876 - Para. 17.

Lieutenant-Governor Sir Garnett Wolseley stipulated (5) that all schools supported by the Government were to be open to all classes of Her Majesty's Subjects.

This new legislation by the explicit separation of Indian and European education opened the way for a differentiation of educational facilities; for financial provision on different scales and thus for different standards of education for Indian and European children. Whether Indian education kept pace with the advance of European education, depended to a large degree upon the willingness of the Legislative Council to vote sufficient money, and this in turn depended upon the attitude of European Colonists to Indian hopes and aspirations.

The reasons submitted (6) by Lieutenant-Governor Bulwer for enacting this legislation were that while the schools established and maintained or assisted under the Education Laws of 1877 did not, indeed, exclude the children of any class, but

- (a) did not secure, in practice, that education would reach the children of the Indian population, *and*
- (b) <sup>to be</sup> be suitable <sup>to</sup> for their <sup>needs</sup> wants, *and, therefore,*
- (c) required special provisions and employment of special means to secure education for these children.

The main provisions of Law 20 of 1878 are summarised below:-

1. A Board of Education, entitled the Indian Immigrant School Board, was constituted for the purpose of promoting and superintending the education of children of Indian parentage.
2. Constitution of the Board:
  - (a) five persons nominated by the Lieutenant-Governor,
  - (b) including the incumbent of the office of Protector of Indian Immigrants, and

- 
5. Ibid: on the 27th Aug 1875.  
Govt. Gazette 31 Aug, 1875 page 322.  
C.S.O. 3515/1875: F. Napier Broome's Minute of 16.12.75.
  6. G.H. Vol 281: Desp. No. 9 - 17 Jan 1879 - Bulwer to Sec. of State Colonies. Para. 4.

- (c) two members of the Council of Education
- (d) The Secretary of the Council of Education to act as Secretary of the Indian Immigration School Board also, and to be remunerated by the Legislative Council,
- (e) all members, except the Protector of Indian Immigrants, to hold office not longer than two years.

3. Powers of the Board.

- (a) To administer monies voted for the education of Indian children;
- (b) The Board may promote Indian education by making use of
  - (1) schools established under the provisions of Laws 15 and 16 of 1877; or,
  - (11) schools already established for the special instruction of Indian children; or,
  - (111) schools to be established for the special instruction of Indian children.

4. The Board may

- (a) assist any primary school established or conducted by private persons for the special instruction of Indian children, provided such a school complied with the rules and requirements of the Board;
- (b) establish and maintain Government schools, wherever necessary, for Indian children.

5. School-fees in Government Schools:

- (a) The Board to determine the scale of school fees to be paid;
- (b) Exemptions to indigent children may be granted;
- (c) Fees to be paid into the Public Treasury.

6. Duties of the Board:

- (a) To determine the course of education to be given in the schools established and maintained under this law;
- (b) To determine the text-books to be used;
- (c) To frame rules and regulations for:-
  - (I) the above purpose
  - (II) the government and discipline of schools
  - (III) the appointment and payment of teachers

- (IV) the holding of examinations and inspections
  - (V) the awarding of prizes for the encouragement of children; and
  - (VI) in respect of all other matters coming within the intent of this Law
- (d) Power to repeal, alter or amend all rules so made;
- (e) Provided all rules, repeals, alterations and amendments must first obtain the approval of the Lieutenant-Governor-in-Council before they have the force of Law.
7. The Board was required to present an annual report on (a) the condition of all schools under its supervision, and (b) a statement of revenue and expenditure; and, (c) copies of the report and statement to be laid on the table of the Legislative Council.

These provisions thus laid considerable responsibility on the members of the Indian Immigrants School Board, and Lieutenant-Governor Bulwer himself felt (7) that the Board must have a knowledge of Indian peculiarities in order to be successful in its work. He wrote a note to Sir Bartle Frere (7), who had had some administrative experience in India, asking him for his suggestions regarding the most suitable instruction that could be imparted to Indian children. Unfortunately there is no trace of Sir Bartle Frere's reply. The continuity of office ensured to the Protector of Indian Immigrants was evidently the result of a desire to retain the services of a person more closely connected with, and probably having a greater knowledge of, Colonial Indian affairs than any other individual; in this respect, there was some similarity to the practice of British Guiana (8).

---

7. C.S.O. Vol 1911 - accompanying 2808/1878:  
Note on Law 20 of 1878. Bulwer to Sir Bartle Frere, High Commissioner for Britain.

8. See Chapter 2.

The nomination of two members of the Council of Education, established by the Education Laws of 1877, and the appointment of a common Secretary, was probably intended to secure for the Indian Immigrants School Board the efficient methods of working and the larger experience of educational affairs of the Council of Education. The Superintending Inspector of Schools was the Secretary to the Council of Education and the Indian Immigrants School Board. A Select Committee of the Legislative Council in 1883 criticised the fact (9) that the Superintending Inspector held a dual position as Superintending Inspector and Secretary to the Boards of Education. From November 1884 he ceased to act as Secretary to the Council of Education or the Indian Immigrants School Board (10).

In the case of the Council of Education it was stipulated in the law that of the ten members who were to constitute the Council, five should be members who were on both the Legislative Council and the Executive Council (11); close relation between the Legislature Executive and the Council was thus ensured (12). There was no such stipulation with regard to the Indian Immigrants School Board, but in practice there was at least one member who was also a member of the Legislative Council. Sir Henry Binns, for instance, who was elected chairman of the Indian Immigrants School Board several times during its regime from 1879 to 1894, was a member of the Legislative Council. Incidentally,

---

9. Pearse, R.O., op.cit., pages 154-155.

10. Ibid. page 156.

11. Section 2, Law 15 of 1877.

12. This was amended by Law 35 of 1884 by deletion of the words requiring them to be members of the Executive and the Legislative Council. This weakened the effectiveness of the Council by the lack of business-like men (Pearse p. 171).

he was also a planter.

The Indian Immigrants School Board, by reason of the presence of two members of the Council of Education, was in no way subordinate to, or even an adjunct of, the Council of Education. It had come into existence as an independent body, charged with specific duties, and was responsible only to the Lieutenant-Governor for its actions.

Two facts may be noted regarding Law 20 of 1878:

- (a) The Indian Immigrants School Board was empowered to establish and assist only primary schools (13);
- (b) the finance of Indian education was separated from the finance of European education (14).

The omission of many of the provisions contained in Law 15 of 1877 from Law 20 of 1878 ~~are~~ indicative of the view <sup>then</sup> ~~now~~ held in the Colony in regard to Indian as distinct from European education. A different policy, as yet vague and undefined, was in the process of formulation. Lieutenant-Governor Bulwer clearly conceived (15) it to be an experimental measure and he had, for the reason, avoided laying down any positive course of action by legislative enactment, leaving the details to be worked out by the Board. The necessity for the adoption of such a guarded course is revealed to some extent in the following message (16) of the Lieutenant-Governor to the Legislative Council:-

"What is more particularly required, in the first instance, is the action and directive influence of a Board, which will necessarily have to be guided, to a great extent, by the circumstances with which it will find itself called upon to deal". (my italics.)

- 
- 13. Clause 4 (a).
  - 14. Clause 3 (a).
  - 15. G.H. Vol 281 - Desp. No. 132 - 7 Sept. 1878.  
Bulwer to Sec. State Colonies. Para. 6.
  - 16. Votes and Proceedings (1878): Message 11/1878 -  
accompanying the Indian Education Bill.

To turn now to the omissions from Law 20 of 1878. Section 2 of Law 15 of 1877 expressly debarred any clergyman or minister of religion from being a member of the Council of Education. This precaution was obviously taken to prevent the Council of Education from being used to further sectarianism; in other words, to divorce the central direction and control of education from denominational influence. The character of the religious instruction in Government primary schools was to be strictly non-denominational (17); no such stipulation was made in regard to <sup>a</sup>sided schools, but a conscience clause formed part of the condition of receiving a grant-in-aid (18). All this was in keeping with English practice.

Sections (2) and (11g) were omitted from Law 20 of 1878. There was nothing in the law to debar a minister of religion from being nominated to the Indian Immigrants School Board. The names of the Rev. Ralph Stott, the Rev. W. Wynne and the Rev. S.H. Stott - all Wesleyan ministers of religion - appeared on the lists of members nominated to the Board in the early years but after 1884 ministers do not seem to have served on the Board. Their influence was strongly felt in the Government-aided schools in which through the omission of Section 11 (g) no conscience clause was obligatory for Indian schools receiving grants-in-aid from the Government.

The warning note sounded by Francis Colepeper, who later became the Inspector of Indian Schools, was

---

17. Law 15 of 1877: Section 19.

18. Ibid : Section 11(g): that no child receive any religious instruction objected to by the parent or guardian of such child, or be present while such instruction is given.

apparently unheeded by the Lieutenant-Governor. In his memorandum (19) on the 1877 circular despatch of Lord Carnarvon, Secretary of State for the Colonies, Colepeper made the following observations on this very aspect of Indian education:-

"There is no doubt a wide field for exertion in respect of education. Old immigrants are most willing to send their children to school, and, if nothing beyond the rudimentary English education which will be obtainable in the Primary Schools created by Law (15) of 187(7), were attempted, important results might be looked for; but if the work be entrusted to missionaries, I am of opinion that considerable difficulty will be experienced from the contempt and dislike these people have for the dogmas of Christian religion".

It seemed as if Government, by omission of the conscience clause and by not debarring ministers of religion from sitting on the Indian Immigrants School Board, did not wish to offend the missionaries who were the only persons who had shown any interest in educating the Indian. On the other hand, this manner of <sup>recognizing</sup> recognition of the contribution of the Christian missionary to Indian education, gave tacit support to the proselytizing zeal of the missionary at the expense of Hinduism and Islam.

The primary motive of the Christian missionaries of whatever denomination or creed in establishing schools was to teach little children Christian doctrine. Indeed, it was thought that without some preparatory teaching the Gospel could not be intelligently received or believed. To missionaries of whatever religion the school is the most important agency through which converts can be made and an elementary religious foundation laid. The aided schools for Indians in Natal were no exceptions to this rule. Usually the only school available on, or near, an estate was the one established by a Christian missionary,

and so in this way the Christian Church enjoyed a monopoly of Indian education. The Government did not question this state of affairs. It was in accord with efforts of Christian missionary enterprise that the Indians should be converted.

Another serious omission in the law was with regard to the payment of capitation grants to Indian teachers. By section 17 of Law 15 of 1877 the sum payable to any school as a Capitation Grant in proportion to the attendance of pupils and to the educational results would be determined by the Council of Education, and would be divided among the Principal Teachers, Assistant Teachers, and Pupil Teachers, in such proportions as the Council might direct. The attendance grant (20) was in respect of numbers and the regularity of pupils at the school. The grant on educational results <sup>was</sup> is based on the number of subject passes obtained at the annual examination by the Inspector. The latter is known as the system of "payment-by-results". Though recommended by Robert Russell in 1875, the "payment-by-results" system was actually incorporated into the Natal system of education by Law 15 of 1877. The idea was borrowed from the English system of education and was introduced to stimulate teachers to greater effort and better teaching by the prospects of material recognition at the end of the year. There was, however, a fundamental difference between the English system and the Natal system. In England the whole of the teachers' salaries depended upon the results of the yearly examinations; in Natal the salary was fixed, whether he did good

---

20. Section 15 - Law 15 of 1877.

or bad work, and he was merely in receipt of a bonus. The Natal teachers were never paid by results. The Capitation Grant was in addition to the fixed grant (21).

The remuneration of a teacher in a primary school, whether Government or Government-aided, was defined by Section 15 of Law 15 of 1877 to consist of:-

- (a) a salary
- (b) a Capitation Grant based on attendance
- (c) a Capitation Grant based on educational results.

A part of the school fees in aided schools usually went to the Headmaster.

Each pupil attending a minimum fixed number of days in the year was to count as a "unit" for the calculation of an attendance grant (22). In order to calculate educational results Russell prepared in 1877 a schedule of standards, which were <sup>was</sup> modified and amended from time to time (22). This was done to ensure a uniform standard of examination in all schools.

The scale on which the Grants were made varied much more than the actual standards of examination. The scale for 1878 was as follows:-

1. Every child who attended at least 175 full days in the year became a unit for a grant of 4/-.
2. Every separate pass in reading, writing and arithmetic secured a grant of 5/-.
3. Every pupil had to advance at least one standard per year before payment was made.

- 
21. Pearse, op.cit. pages 143-144. He goes on to state that even Dr. Malherbe in his "Education in S. Africa" fails to make the distinction. In England no fixed salaries were paid at all then.
  21. For this and the information to follow on the Capitation Grants I am indebted to Mr. R.O. Pearse's work pages 138-142.
  22. 1882.

In 1882 a new scale was published. Its terms were as follows:-

1. Attendance grants were made at the rate of 4/- for each child attending a minimum of 175 days of not less than  $4\frac{1}{2}$  hours school work.
2. Grants for educational results remained the same as before i.e. 5/- per subject pass.
3. No payment for results was to be made in respect of any child who had not advanced at least one standard since the last annual inspection, or of any child over 12 who passed lower than Standard III.
4. No payment for results was to be made in respect of any child who had not attended the school for at least three months immediately before the date of inspection.
5. Payment for results would not be made to any school which the Inspector considered in an unsatisfactory condition in regard to its general discipline and organisation, or its work in subjects other than those for which Capitation Grants were payable.
6. Infant schools, or Infant Departments of Primary schools, were to receive a Capitation Grant at the rate of 5/- for each child under Standard I who had attended the school regularly for not less than three months prior to the examination, provided that the number of such children were not fewer than 20, and that the Inspector was satisfied that Kindergarten or similar instruction was regularly given, and that object lessons, singing and calisthenic exercises formed part of the daily work.

In 1891 the grant was increased to 6/- for each subject pass in English, Writing and Arithmetic, with a maximum grant obtainable by any one child of 18/-, and 6/- for infants.

The annual Government expenditure on Capitation Grants increased from about £1,050 in 1880 to about £5,200 in 1898 (23). In Government schools the proportion between the Capitation Grant and the full salary was about one to four. In aided schools the ratio was two to one (23a).

The omission of sections 15 and 17 in Law 20 of

---

23. Pearse, op.cit., p. 21( - calculated from a graph.  
23a. Pearse, op.cit., page 143.

1878 was unfortunate, for its exclusion made it possible to assess the remuneration of Indian teachers on a different basis from that of the European teachers. Thus we have the enactment of a new principle in 1877 for European education which was discarded in 1878 for Indian education.

The Inspector of Indian schools, Mr. Colepeper, had at various times (24) recommended to the Indian Immigrants School Board <sup>the adoption of</sup> to ~~adopt~~ the system of "payment-by-results", but the Board took no notice of the recommendation. Instead, an annual bonus of about £50 was voted to be distributed amongst the Indian teachers at the discretion of the Inspector (25).

It is generally considered that the "payment-by-results" system was an unmitigated evil, and it may even be argued today that Indian education was fortunate in having escaped the ill effects of such a system. When the system was introduced on the recommendation of Robert Russell, with the modifications <sup>of</sup> on the English system already mentioned (26), it was done so in the reasonable hope of bringing various benefits to the Colonial system of education. That these benefits were realised to a large extent is the considered opinion of Pearse (27). He states that most of the arguments used against the "payment-by-results" system in England were transported to the Natal system of "Capitation Grants" because of a superficial similarity in the two systems. He sums up his lengthy argument thus (28):-

"While admitting the force of most of the arguments brought forward by Dr. Malherbe, and while admitting that the system could never be applied today, it appears

- 
- 24. Annual Report on Indian Schools:
  - 25. Minutes of the I.I.S.B.
  - 26. Page 17. ("There was, however, a fundamental difference"
  - 27. Pearse, op.cit. pages 143 to 149.
  - 28. Ibid. pages 149 to 150.

to the writer that the essential thing to be remembered is that at a time when there was little professional pride amongst teachers, when an educational system was in its infancy, and when there were few if any inducements towards regular attendance on the part of the children or regular inspection on the part of the Administration, it provided just that stimulus, just that incentive, just that external pressure that was so needed to direct a developing educational system on its right course. When one remembers that prior to the system there was no adequate inspection, no uniformity of standards, a haphazard curriculum, and wretchedly poor teaching, one begins to realise just what the system accomplished.....  
.....  
Today, of course, .....we would never tolerate such a system. But let us not, therefore, judge the system of yesterday by the conditions of today".

All the defects in the system of education for Europeans, mentioned above, were equally applicable <sup>to</sup> for Indians. The only reason for withholding the expected benefits of the system of Capitation Grants appears to have been a desire not to involve the Colony in any additional expenditure on Indian education; and also, perhaps, a disinclination unduly to stimulate the progress of the Indian labouring class, whose presence in Natal was more acceptable to the Colonists as a source of cheap labour rather than as economically independent citizens (29).

Yet another omission in the law. For the European the course of instruction in a primary school was laid down by section 18 of Law 15 of 1877. In the case of the Indian, the Board was given full power to work this out. It seems that a curriculum different from that of the European school was being envisaged for the Indian school (30). Bulwer's views, referred to earlier, are rather general and vague. The curriculum would depend on what it is desired to teach the children, and this in turn would be determined by the economic and political

---

29. Kannemeyer, H.D. op. cit: Headings of Part 1 and Part 2 of thesis, and the argument.

30. This is an interesting point in view of the opposition today from Indians against any form of differentiation in the curriculum between European and Indian.

future of the child. At least, this was the view then held on the formulation of a curriculum. Apart from the question of economic and political opportunities to which it was proposed to limit the Indian, it is highly probable that Bulwer had in mind the question of the place of the Indian vernacular languages in a scheme of instruction for Indian children.

With regard to the training of future teachers, it seems the Board was left to follow as far as was thought practicable and desirable the practice of the Council of Education.

The Indian Education Law gives the impression of having been enacted with some haste (31); the lack of definition and positive statement on what were general principles equally applicable to European and Indian education, left considerable latitude <sup>to</sup> for the Indian Immigrants School Board and parties on the Legislative Council interested in Indian labour, either to make rapid advance in the provision of educational facilities, or to accommodate themselves comfortably to a rate of progress and quality of education which would not come into conflict with the cheap labour policy of the politically dominant group.

It is now necessary to examine the special circumstances which probably suggested the necessity for separate legislative and administrative action.

In the first place, there was the multi-lingual and multi-religious structure of Indian society in Natal. The main languages spoken by the Indian immigrants were

---

31. From the 1877 circular despatch of Carnarvon, and other correspondence accompanying it, from the Govt. of India, it would appear that pressure was being brought to bear upon the Colonies importing Indian labour to provide education for the children of Indian immigrants.

Tamil, Hindi, Telugu and Hindustani; and, with the coming of the trading class of immigrants in the 1880's, Gujerati was added to the multiplicity of tongues spoken by what was then a small group of people. Instruction through the medium of the mother tongue appeared to present insuperable difficulties. The bulk of the children, estimated at some 2,000 in 1878 (32), were resident largely on the coastal estates, or in the various barracks in Durban and Pietermaritzburg provided for their Indian employees by the respective municipalities and railway authorities. They, therefore, had very little contact with the English language before they came to school. Seventy years ago mother tongue instruction for Natal Indians was hardly an accepted educational principle. But the Privy Council considered (33) it desirable that the language should be taught. Lieutenant-Governor Bulwer in a despatch to Sir. M.E. Hicks Beach, in reply to the observations made by the Lords of the Committee of the Privy Council on Education, stated inter alia (33a);

"Towards the close of their Lordships' remarks it is assumed from the number of the German and Indian populations, that grants will not be based solely upon instruction in the English tongue".

The solution was not quite so simple as it was in the case of the German Community which spoke one language, because a small concentration of Indians anywhere in Natal would have meant at least two or more linguistic sub-divisions. The effort of the Rev. Ralph Stott in distributing school books in the vernacular (34) the teaching of vernacular in his own schools at Durban

---

32. G.H. Vol 281; Desp. No. 9 - 17 Jan 1879: Bulwer to Sec. of State for Colonies. para. 7.

33. G.H. Vol 27; Desp No. 485 - 31 Dec 1877 - together with Desp 81 - 15 Aug 1878.

33a. Attached to C.S.O. 4500/1879: Vol 721. Para. 9

34. Report, Protector Indian Immigrants, 1876. Page 4.

and in the Sea Cow Lake school on Kennedy's estate (35), the intention of the Rev. Sabon to employ a Tamil teacher (36), the petition of the Pietermaritzburg Indians for a grant-in-aid of a Tamil teacher (37) leave little doubt that the Indians themselves were anxious to receive instruction in their vernacular tongue.

While the Indians were desirous of preserving their linguistic and cultural traditions, they were not unmindful, even as they are today, of the material advantages to be derived from a knowledge of English (38).

Each linguistic group was keen on preserving its own linguistic traditions and would have strongly resented the imposition of an Indian language other than its own vernacular. Continued immigration from India, and the exclusion of Indians from Western contacts greatly strengthened these sentiments. Private vernacular schools were to be found everywhere. Quite a number of Indian immigrants were literate in their own vernaculars, and these were frequently called upon to conduct the vernacular schools. The condition of vernacular education was in fact not unlike that prevailing in Europe of the sixteenth century, when little groups of children used to collect in the workshops of the local cobbler or goldsmith during business hours, or in private homes, in order to be taught the 3 R's; except that in vernacular education great emphasis was placed on the fourth R - religion.

- 
35. 1872 Coolie Commission - D.P. 1872 : Evidence by  
Chinnah Villay - page 22.  
36. C.S.O. 2478/1863 - Nov 2: Sabon to Lt-Gov.  
37. C.S.O. 1431/1875 - May 5: Memorialists to acting  
Governor Wolseley.  
38. D.P. 5/1882 : Report on Indian Schools 1881.  
also G.N. 91/1882

The question of vernacular instruction was further complicated by the existence of three religious subdivisions, namely, Hinduism, Islam and Christianity. Instruction in the vernacular languages was the gateway to the religious literature of the Indian people. It is believed even to this day that the survival of the racial, cultural and religious traditions of the Indians are dependent on the ability to read, write and speak in the vernacular. This feeling is not so strong in the converts to Christianity; Indian converts to Christianity have tended to cut adrift from Indian traditions, and in most cases their ways of speech, dress, diet and cultural interests have followed closely Western modes of living. Because of the "de-Indianising" effect of conversion to Christianity there was considerable opposition from the Hindus to the proselytizing activities of the Christian missionaries. In addition to Colepeper's observations already given, there is another recorded instance of this religious animosity which, in some degree, retarded the development of ~~Western~~ <sup>on Western European lines.</sup> education. Mr. C. Behrens, General Manager of the Natal Land and Colonization Company which employed a large number of Indians, stated in his evidence before the 1872 Coolie Commission (39), that about three or four years ago previously he had sent out to Riet Valley a Christian Indian teacher, who could read and write, to establish a school there amongst the Company's employees; the Indians would not send their children to the school, nor would they have anything to do with the teacher.

Another circumstance which probably made it difficult for Bulwer to lay down a positive course of action was that a great many Indians were in employment

on the estates. It was a factor that gave considerable difficulty in the founding and execution of an enlightened and progressive educational policy. It should be remembered that the child in highly industrialised England had only recently been emancipated from long and heavy labour in factories, and that in that country the Education Acts of 1870 and 1876 had only just been passed. It was unlikely that education for the children of the "Coolie" labourers would be regarded as an urgent necessity.

In Natal there was a great demand for young boys and girls on the tea, coffee and sugar estates in order to do all the light tasks, such as weeding, picking, sorting and washing. It would have been unprofitable to the planter to employ grown-ups for such jobs. Parents on the other hand were not unwilling to see their children work for wages because it meant a small addition to the family earnings. A printed notice by the Emigration Agent for Natal to labourers intending to emigrate to Natal stated (40), *inter alia*, that great varieties of work, either for strong men or for women and children, were available; that women were paid half wages and the children in proportion.

The practice in Natal before 1866 was to assign all children, with their parents or guardians, to an employer. In terms of the prevailing law all male children ten years old and above were "assigned for service" (41). Women, and children under ten years, were not liable for service, but when a boy reached the age of ten he was immediately assigned for service and the employer was

---

40. Attached to C.S.O. 736/1875; Notice dated 21 March 1874.

41. Law 18 of 1864; Section 1.

See also G.H. Vol 22 - Despatch No. 14/1874.

required to pay for the importation of this boy as if an adult were imported (42). In other words, a boy of ten years or over became a financial liability to the employer; very few boys were, indeed, ever unassigned for service because there was a great demand for their labour. It is obvious that in these circumstances a planter was not likely to concern himself with the education of the Indian boy, apart from the fear of the probable loss of the boy's service as a labourer due to the enlightenment resulting from literacy.

In March, 1866 appeared a Government notice (43) setting out the scale of wages and rations to be allowed to male Indian labourers. An interesting feature of this notice was that it had a wage scale for children from 8 - 18 years of age. Only at the age of 18 was a boy entitled to the adult rate of 10/- per month. Though boys of ten years and over were considered "statute adults" (44) for purposes of calculating passage money, and were hence liable for indentured service on their arrival in the Colony, they did not receive the same wages as adults. This particular Government notice apparently fixed and regulated the existing practice of employing children even under ten years of age.

Colonial-born children were free from any legal

- 
42. C.S.O. 392/1865)-Feb 27: C.I.A. to C.S.N.  
1862/1865 - Resident Magistrate's Return of "coolies" in P.M.Burg indicated 22 children under indenture and 18 in service after expiration of term of indenture.  
1035/1866 - May 7: C.I.A. to C.S.N.
43. G.N. 34/1866.
44. C.S.O. 81/1871 - Jan 10: C.I.A. to C.S.N.  
This was defined by the Emigration Act of the Govt. of India.

obligation to serve any employer; but the circumstances on the estates were such that usually children from the age of eight onwards, Colonial-born or India-born, were found to be in employment. The bulk of the boys of school-going age i.e. 6 - 16 years, were then in employment or liable to be assigned for service to an employer. Educational provision for them was in direct conflict with the economic policy of the day.

It is interesting to note that the attitude of the British Guiana Government was more liberal towards Indian children. Its concern, at this time, for the elementary education of these children has already been mentioned (45). The progressiveness of legislation for Indians in British Guiana is seen in the age classification and special protection given to children. In Natal there were three grades of immigrants (46);

- (a) 10 years and over - "Statute adult"
- (b) 1 year to 10 years - "boy" or "girl"
- (c) Under 1 year - "infant".

In British Guiana:

- (a) 15 years and over - "adult"
- (b) 10 years to 15 years "minor"
- (c) Under 10 years - "infant".

In both countries children over ten years were employable, but in British Guiana there were certain reservations made by law. Firstly, no minor or infant immigrant could be bound by any previous contract of service, whether alleged to have been entered into by himself, or on his behalf. Secondly, no infant immigrant could be indentured or be compelled to perform any service whatever upon any plantation (47). Thirdly, every minor or infant

---

45. See Chapter II.

46. See reference (44).

47. British Guiana Ordinance 7/1873 - Part V: Section 50.

immigrant residing on a plantation, and every immigrant indentured as other than an able-bodied immigrant <sup>was</sup> entitled to the same rights and privileges and immunities as able-bodied immigrants under indenture are entitled under the British Guiana Ordinance (48). Fourthly, it will be remembered that it was the responsibility of the employer to provide educational facilities for minors indentured to him. The Natal emigrants, however, could contract on behalf of their male children before leaving India (49). The absence of such safeguards in the Indian legislations of Natal are significant facts for Indian education.

Bulwer refrained from a clear formulation of the salient points in the system of Indian education because of the Indian labour policy which had come into being. It appeared to be necessary to separate Indian education from the provisions of Laws 15 and 16 of 1877. It was, however, open to the Indian Immigrants School Board, if it found it necessary, to direct Indian children to the European schools set up by Laws 15 and 16 of 1877. While this one clause (50) saved the Indian education law from being openly segregationist, yet it is clear that if the Indian Immigrants School Board were inclined to develop educational facilities for Indians by utilising existing European schools, then it would really be proclaiming its own redundancy. To justify their own existence the members of the Board had perforce to think along lines of developing schools for the special instruction of Indian children. In brief, the Indian Immigrants School Board became an

---

48. Op.cit: Section 51.

49. G.H. Vol 205: Indian Emigration Bill, 1887 Chap. VII - Section 34.

50. See page 66 - Clause 3b (i).

instrument of segregation, perhaps unconsciously (50a).

Another problem confronting Bulwer, common to European and Indian education, might have been the scattered distribution of the Indian people. Often there was not sufficient concentration of Indians in any one locality with sufficient number of children eligible for schooling. In 1865, for instance, the Coolie Immigration Agent reported (51) that there were 4,576 Indians divided, in groups ranging from 1 to 488, amongst 300 employers. The following figures taken from the Resident Magistrate's Annual Report for 1865 (52) give us an idea of the topographical distribution of the bulk of the Indian population:

|  |       |
|--|-------|
| County of Victoria                     | 2,476 |
| County and Borough of Durban           | 888   |
| County and Borough of Pietermaritzburg | 159   |

In the relatively undeveloped Durban of 1872 the distances to schools for Indians were too <sup>great</sup> big to be covered by small children. The Superintendent of Education in his special report on Indian education (53) referred to this difficulty in Durban, and stated that it was often easier to bring together larger groups of children on any one estate than in Durban itself.

- 
- 50a. The Education Commission of 1874 had recommended compulsory education for both European and Indian children, and had further recommended that there should be no racial differentiation or segregation in matters educational. According to Kannemeyer, op.cit., page 34, this step would have flooded the existing European schools and excited violent opposition on the part of the Colonists to such a system of education. The provision of education at European schools could, therefore, have been extended to only a few Indians. He concludes that the inevitable result was that there had to be some definite system of education for Indians.
51. C.S.O. 547/1865 - March 1st., C.I.A. to C.S.N. See also 1872 Coolie Commission Report page 44.
52. C.S.O. 1362/1865.
53. C.S.O. 1735/1872 - Sept 18: Supt. to C.S.N.

When considered against the background of the vast area of the coastal belt of Natal where the Indian immigrants were largely employed or settled, the <sup>un</sup>-developed state of roads, and means of communication, and of transport, the task of carrying education to an unevenly distributed community was not easy. The distribution and density of population in 1876 was not unlike that in 1865 (54).

Then again <sup>there</sup> was the question of migration. After the expiry of their indenture contract, the Indians frequently migrated to some area where they could find more remunerative employment or could acquire plots of land for cultivation; some set up their own shops in different localities.

But migration and a scattered population were not problems peculiar to Indian education. There were several European assisted schools in areas quite close to Indian settlements. Indians were not debarred by law from attendance at these schools but they were unable to take advantage of the instruction available near at hand because of the high fees charged in these schools and because of the growing class and race prejudice.

In 1871 when there were only two schools at Durban for the special instruction of Indian children, the following were some of the schools which it might have been expected would have served the educational needs

---

|     |                            |             |
|-----|----------------------------|-------------|
| 54. | Blue Book (Natal) : 1876   |             |
|     | Pietermaritzburg (Borough) | 250         |
|     | " (County)                 | 111         |
|     | Durban (Borough)           | 1450        |
|     | " (County)                 | 1881        |
|     | Alexander County           | 1149        |
|     | Alfred "                   | 1           |
|     | Upper Umkomanzi            | 7           |
|     | Newcastle                  | 4           |
|     |                            | <u>9751</u> |

of the local Indian population (55):-

Durban County and Borough:

Wesleyan Infant, St. Joseph's, St Cyprian's, East End, Mansion House, Doig's Evening, Addington Boys', Addington Girls', Umbilo, Isipingo, Clairmont, Umzinto, Umkomanzi.

Pietermaritzburg County and Borough:

Wesleyan Infant, St. Andrew's, St. Saviour's, Chapel Street, Kelly and Scoone's Evening.

Victoria County:

Inanda, Verulam, Verulam Infant, Cornubia, Umhlali, Mt. Moreland, Little Umhlanga, New Guelderland.

There is no mention of the attendance of Indian pupils at these schools. Some of the less expensive aided schools charged as much as 4/- to 6/- a month per pupil in fees alone (56). High fees were charged in the aided schools to supplement the meagre grants-in-aid of the teacher's salary. The Government school at Durban charged 2/6 per month per pupil (57). This was later reduced to 6d. per month to the "Poorer Classes"; it is not known whether Indians came under this category. An Indian storekeeper, giving evidence before the 1872 Coolie Commission, stated that he paid 18/- per month in fees for

- 
55. Supt. of Education, Report: 1871.  
See also C.S.O. 144/1865, and 1657/1867 for similar lists of schools in 1865 and 1867 respectively. 1874 Education Commission Report mentions (p 14) that in 1872 there were 80 schools, of which only four were Indian schools with 84 pupils. In Durban there were 12 schools for Europeans; in Maritzburg 9 schools; with a total European roll of 1137 pupils.
56. C.S.O. 1320/1872: Inhabitants from Umgeni petitioning for grant-in-aid, mention that 14 pupils pay £4.5.0 in fees per month. Another petition from Lower Umgeni, asking for a grant-in-aid to the teacher, Miss Voysey, stated that fees were 4/- per month per pupil. See also Report Education Commission 1874: L.C. No. 9 Appendix F. Primary education fees averaged 4/- to 5/- per month per pupil.
57. Pearse, R.O., op.cit., page 15.

his boys attending the Government school in Durban (58) Considering the <sup>low</sup> average earnings of an Indian labourer or market gardener, it would have been impossible to keep his children in schools at which such fees were charged. Exemptions to indigent children were granted in the Durban Government school, but not a single Indian name appears on the list of recommendations for exemptions from 1860 - 1877 (59). Typical grounds for exemption from fees were, to use the exact words of the Superintendent of Education,

"A very large family who find it difficult even to live"; "Child forsaken by his parents who are abandoned people"; "children of a journeymen baker, very poor, six in family"; "mother deserted by her husband"; "widow, maintains family by taking in washing"; "unemployed"; "father a poor blind man and has large family".

The economic barrier was thus in itself sufficiently effective to discourage any parent from sending his children to a European school. While the special conditions on the estates might have stifled any desire for education amongst the indentured labourers, evidence has already been quoted that the ex-indentured Indian was very anxious to give his children some education (60). The economic difficulty of the Indian might have appeared to Bulwer as a sufficiently cogent reason for establishing a separate system of Indian schools with a scale of fees more adapted to the means of the Indian. While there was

---

58. op.cit., Ramsamy - page 31.

59. C.S.O. from Supt. of Education to C.S.N. e.g. 2206/1863, 21/1864, 679/1865, 53/1866, 1305/1867, 691/1868.

60. 1872 Commission Report - Chapter I.  
1875 Petition by Maritzburg inhabitants.  
1878 Memorandum by Colepeper.

nothing in the law to debar an Indian child from attending a European aided school, on the other hand there was nothing in the law to prevent the European from erecting an economic barrier between Indian and European. There is no doubt that this is exactly what had happened.

With regard to the other point, there is also some evidence that class and race antagonism ~~had already arisen~~ in Natal, <sup>was becoming</sup> sufficiently strong to affect the course of Indian education. Evidence was given before the 1872 Coolie Commission by an Indian (61) that the European teachers would not take Indian children into their schools because they thought the children were "common" (62). Colepeper, in the memorandum already referred to above, observed that the contact of Eastern with Western manners, not always of the best type on either side, had in many cases been attended with evil; that the mutual ignorance of the habits, manner of thinking, and language had been the cause of much prejudice and some ill-feeling.

In the educational sphere the prejudice of the European Colonists against people of another race or colour manifested itself visibly in 1875, when children of St. Helena parents were expelled from the Government Primary school in Durban (63), because European parents had objected to their children being taught side by side with these coloured children; they brought pressure to bear on the Government by withdrawing their children, particularly the girls, from schools where St. Helena children were in attendance. There was a considerable amount of correspondence relating to this affair.

---

61. op.cit: Rangasamy, page 27.

62. Presumably he means "of an inferior status".

63. C.S.O. 1463/1875 - May 7: Henry Cowey to Corporation of D'Urban.

2896/1875 - Oct 11: Supt Edn to C.S.N.  
C.S.O. 3515/1875 - Supt. Edn. to C.S.N.

Opinions of headmasters and headmistresses had been solicited by the Governor (64). The correspondence reveals that there was a general prejudice against people of colour, especially from Europeans of the artisan class (65).

The Superintendent of Education, Warwick Brooks, deplored the existence of such a prejudice; and, Napier Broome, the Colonial Secretary, stated (66) that it would be wrong in principle for Government to recognise prejudices of this sort merely to keep the school full. Napier Broome's stern disapproval of the segregationist tendency may be seen from the following extract from one of his minutes to the Lieutenant-Governor (67):-

"As for the building of a separate school for the St. Helena children, that, I submit would be out of the question. It would cast a slur on the children, and would be a departure from the whole system of Government education most unjustifiable in itself, and creating a most dangerous precedent".

By June of the same year he appeared to have modified his views and thought that it would be necessary ultimately, if not at once, to build a separate school for these children (68).

Before deciding on the issue the Superintendent

- 
64. Mr. Crowe, headmaster of the Durban Government school wrote that there was less objection to the Indian compared to the African and St. Helena. The fact is that there was some objection to the presence of the Indian.  
Rev. Sabon reported that the pupils of his school (St. Joseph's) objected to coloured children.  
Rev. Stott reported that there were 7 St. Helena children in his Durban schools; there was no objection from the Indians.
65. C.S.O. 1899/1875 - June 21: Memorial by W.H. Crowley and others.
66. C.S.O. 1159/1875; Minute No. 2 to Lt.-Governor.
67. Ibid : Minute dated 28 April 1875
68. Ibid : Minute dated 9 June 1875.

of Education had written to the Superintendent of Education in the Cape, Mr. Langham Dale, requesting information on the Cape system of schools, with special reference to the question of admission of coloured students and students of mixed races. Langham Dale replied thus (69):

"It is unreservedly maintained by the Government here that schools aided by grants from the Public Treasury are open to all children without distinction of creed, class or colour. In the case of some Public Schools, such as the Grey Institute, a provision to this effect is inserted in the Act of Incorporation: of course, this general provision is subject to the limitation that the children seeking admission must be well-behaved, decently clad, and competent to join the classes, and must conform to the usual regulations about school fees.' Except in a few solitary instances, I am not aware of any practical difficulty arising from this rule";

He then goes on to outline the Colonial system of education comprising three orders of schools i.e.

- (1) the undenominational Public Schools in chief towns and villages;
- (2) District Mission Schools in towns and villages catering mainly for the poorer classes of all races;
- (3) Native (aboriginees) Schools.

He stated that though the orders of schools were practically supported and attended by different classes of the community, there is no recognised bar between the orders. He concluded thus:

"....I should be sorry to find the Natal Government adopting a less liberal view of the Public School system than that which, with all its defects, works pretty successfully in the Colony".

The Acting Lieutenant-Governor Wolseley decided the issue on the grounds that all schools maintained and supported from the Public Treasury should be open to all classes of Her Majesty's subjects, and a Government Notice dated 31st. August, 1875, carried a notice to this effect.

---

69. C.S.O. 1899/1875 - 23 July; (Received 9 Aug 1875)  
Langham Dale to Warwick Brooks.

The enrolment returned to normal after this (65a).

This demonstration against the St. Helena children marked the beginning of a general movement to separate White and non-White children in the schools. No legislative action in this direction was taken until the following century. But the St. Helena affair throws some light on the segregation proposals involved in Law 20 of 1878; it was a cleverly devised measure in that while it did not violate the general principle laid down by Lieutenant-Governor Wolseley, it provided for special schools - Government and Government-aided - into which Indian children could be shepherded. Even Robert Russell was piqued by the attitude of Lieutenant-Governor Wolseley in sponsoring the rights of the Coloured people, and it called forth an expression of opinion which might be considered to have largely influenced official policy with regard to the education of non-Whites, since it flowed from the pen of an important educationist (70):-

"One other question remains - the expediency of admitting the children of Coloured settlers to our Government-aided schools. That the question is one of considerable difficulty is seen from the action of the Government, first, in admitting these children, then, in expelling them, and lastly in re-admitting them. The question is not whether they shall be educated, but whether they shall be allowed to sit side by side in the same schools with our own children. Neither is it one merely of abstract right. The claims of these Coloured people as Colonists and Burgesses cannot be disputed. Their social position, however, is not high, and the characters of many of them will hardly bear scrutiny. Their ways of thought and their habits and customs are often widely different from our own. These considerations, and not the fact of mere difference in colour, are the causes of the wide-spread feeling against them. On the other hand, their seeking the advantages of these schools evidences a desire on the part of the parents to have their children trained in conformity with enlightened English ideas. This desire ought to be

---

65a. Report, Supt of Edn. 1876 (D.P. 20/1876). He did not think that this rule, however sound in theory would work well in practice.

70. "Report on Government-aided Education" by Robert Russell. (D.P. 17/1875 - 27 Sept. 1875).

encouraged rather than checked. At the same time it must be clearly understood that White people have "rights" which they too cannot afford to part with; and that not the least cherished of them is that the sense of honour, decency and manliness inculcated in our children, shall be fenced from injury by every possible security. Let us hope that with the adoption of the needful safeguards all ill-feeling on this subject will gradually disappear, and that in time to come we shall see White and Coloured children vieing with each other in the attainment of the mental and moral qualities necessary for the discharging successfully the domestic, civil, political and religious duties of their common home".

This was written in 1875; he seems to have changed his views in 1883 (71). Reporting on Coloured children in European schools he stated that there were about 60 of them, mainly in the two Government Primary schools in Durban; that their "evil influence" among the other children was practically nil; that when at school they had to conform strictly to European habits and customs, and that they were under supervision when at play. He concludes thus:

"I have invariably found them as clean and well-clad, and as intelligent and industrious as their White companions, and no valid specific complaint has ever been made against any of them".

The circumstances to which the Indian Immigrants School Board owes its origin, and to which it was expected to adapt its educational system, were then the multi-lingual and multi-religious structure of Indian society, the practice of employing child labour, the scanty and scattered nature of the population, the economic poverty of the people, the strong prejudice of the White Colonists against peoples of different race and colour, and the determination to maintain European political dominance. As to how Indian education progressed under the direction of the Indian Immigrants School Board in these circumstances is the theme of the next chapter.

## CHAPTER IV.

### THE BACKGROUND TO EDUCATIONAL DEVELOPMENT.

1879 - 1894

The progress of Indian education during this period was influenced by several factors both intrinsic and extrinsic: the intrinsic factors were those arising from the internal structure and administration of the Immigrant School Board; the extrinsic factors arose largely from the socio-economic relationships between European and Indian. Both sets of factors were, however, mutually inter-active and, hence, gave a definite direction to the development of educational facilities for Indian children.

The circumstance which largely determined, and still determines today, the development of Indian education was the general attitude of the European towards the social, political and economic advancement of the Indian people. European opinion was not unanimous in every respect. There were three distinct lines of thought represented by:-

- (a) the coastal planters, inland farmers and others dependent on Indian labour for their economic security and domestic comfort;
- (b) the other colonists composed largely of commercial interests, artisans, and professional men not so dependent on Indian labour; and
- (c) the Christian missionaries whose self-appointed task was to bring the Gospel to the Indian settlers.

~~Then there was~~ The Lieutenant-Governor who had to listen to all the conflicting voices of the colonists, take instructions from Whitehall, and make decisions

which would not cause serious disruptions in Empire relationship by offending Indian sentiment. This last factor was relatively<sup>^</sup> important for, in the ultimate analysis, the criterion of judgment was invariably the welfare and progress of the Anglo-Saxon people.

The opposition of the non-planting interests to Indian immigration and settlement dates as far back as 1857 (1). The opposition at that time was feeble and unrealistic in view of the serious effects of the shortage of labour supply on the economic future of the young Colony. From 1874 onwards Indian immigration received a fillip as a result of a State subsidy towards the scheme. There was no really serious objection to immigration so long as everybody was enjoying the benefits of an economic prosperity, due in no small measure to the industry and skill of Indian labour. While from 1860-1866 a total of 6,269 statute adult males, females and children had entered the Colony, during the period 1874-1885 a further 34,582 Indians were imported (2).

- 
1. Thompson, L.M., op cit p. 21.
  2. Ibid: p. 145.

Footnote to Reference 2:

From 1872-1894 the total number of Indians registered in the office of the Protector were as follows:-

|      |       |         |          |
|------|-------|---------|----------|
| 1872 | 5393  | 1884    | 29713    |
| 1873 | 7000  | 1885    | 30159    |
| 1874 | 8500  | 1886    | 29828    |
| 1875 | 9914  | 1887    | 28944    |
| 1876 | 10626 | 1888    | 28362    |
| 1877 | 12668 | 1889    | 30355    |
| 1878 | 17862 | 1890    | 33494    |
| 1879 | 19008 | 1891    | 33093    |
| 1880 | 20536 | 1891-92 | 38365 a) |
| 1881 | 22990 | 1892-93 | 40510    |
| 1882 | 24459 | 1893-94 | 42967    |
| 1883 | 26911 |         |          |

- a) The Natal Census for 1891 showed that there were 41,142 Indians and 46,788 Europeans. According to the 1889 Report of the Protector of the Indian the birth rate of the Indian had risen from 25.97 in 1876 to 26.50 in 1889; the death rate for the corresponding years were 14.39 and 17.03.

The significance of these figures lies in the fact that not only was the Indian settlement increasing rapidly, and beginning to overtake the European population (3), but also was becoming a "free" Indian population which, according to existing laws, had a claim to citizenship rights and privileges equal to that of the European. In 1872 the "free" Indian population was 5,393 and in 1891 it had grown to 26,312 (4).

From about 1885 the European attitude towards Indian immigration began to change, because of the independent economic activities of the "free" Indians which tended to infringe upon what were considered to be the preserves of the European. Reference has already been made (5) to the distribution and activities of the "free" Indian population; the Coolie Commission of 1872 had also given attention to this aspect of Indian life; the Protector of Indian Immigrants devoted a special paragraph in his Annual reports regarding the economic and social advancement of the Indian immigrants who had settled in the Colony.

---

4. Growth of the Free Indian Population

|         | <u>Ex-indentured</u> | <u>Indentured</u> |
|---------|----------------------|-------------------|
| 1885    | 20,317               | 9,482             |
| 1886    | 21,928               | 7,661             |
| 1887    | 21,904               | 7,040             |
| 1888    | 22,659               | 5,703             |
| 1889    | 23,753               | 6,602             |
| 1890    | 23,793               | 9,701             |
| 1891-92 | 24,039               | 14,326 a)         |
| 1892-93 | 24,459               | 16,051            |
| 1893-94 | 26,312               | 16,655            |

- a) The 1891 Natal Census revealed that there were 30,393 Indians not under indenture, and 10,749 under indenture. The figures in the above table were taken from the Protector's Annual Reports; the Protector's office at that time did not keep count of the Indians who entered Natal by paying their own passage money. This would account for the difference.

5. Chapter I.

In his report for 1886 (6), for instance, he observed that men who had come to the Colony as labourers were owners of property of a total rateable value of £18,983 viz. £14,020 in Durban and £4,963 in Maritzburg. It was, he continued, a credit to Indians generally for this could not have been obtained without industry, intelligence and enterprise. The bulk of the commercial activity of the Indians was carried on by "passenger" (b) Indians of the trading class who trickled into the Colony during the 1880's; the new-comers, who were generally described as "Arabs", not only ousted the ex-indentured Indian trader but began seriously to compete with the European merchants for the Native and European trade. The following table will indicate the economic progress the Indian was making in Durban alone (7).

TABLE 4

| <u>Year</u> | <u>Durban Population</u> <sup>^</sup> |                        | <u>Retail Licences</u> |                 | <u>Rateable value of Property</u> |          | <u>No. of Rate-payers</u> |
|-------------|---------------------------------------|------------------------|------------------------|-----------------|-----------------------------------|----------|---------------------------|
|             | <u>Total. Indians.</u>                | <u>Indians. Arabs.</u> | <u>Total.</u>          | <u>Indians.</u> | <u>£</u>                          | <u>£</u> |                           |
| 1870        | 5581                                  | 668                    | 2                      | Nil             | 335175                            | Nil      | Nil                       |
| 1875        | 7548                                  | 698                    | 10                     | 1               | 428569                            | 3000     | "                         |
| 1880        | 13862                                 | 3309                   | 30                     | 7               | 760876                            | 15000    | "                         |
| 1885        | -                                     | -                      | 26                     | 40              | -                                 | -        | -                         |
| 1889        | 20746                                 | 4853                   | 124                    |                 | 1617780                           | 31590    | 250                       |

<sup>^</sup> Excluding Natives.

Judged from the rateable value of the property owned, the Indians as a group had made great progress since 1870, but in 1889 their property holdings were only a small fraction of the total property holdings. While the value

- 
6. Protector Indian Immigrants, Report 1886 p. 15.  
See also Report for 1890-91
- b) Those who entered the Colony by paying their own passage money. The "ex-indentured" Indians, the "passenger" Indians, and the Colonial-born Indians who had not indentured, are known as "free" Indians.
7. Table made up from information contained in  
(a) 1885-Indian Immigration Commission Report; Chap. 40  
(b) Henderson, W.P.M., "Durban: 50 years of Municipal History": 1854-1904 pp. 139, 377.

of the property owned by Indians in 1889 was only £6.5.0 per head of the Indian population, the corresponding figure for non-Indians was £99.8.0. Yet even this was considered a menace to European economic security. As early as 1885 the Pietermaritzburg Chamber of Commerce presented a petition (8) to the Legislative Council praying for restrictive measures against Indian immigrants. Durban, however, seems to have started ten years earlier in this agitation against the Indian. It was reported (9) that Indians were located in what was considered to be a central position in the town - i.e. <sup>the</sup> west end of West Street the northern portion of Field Street, and on the Western Vlei. The Mayor of that year stated (10) that legislation would have to be resorted to to prevent the Indians from settling in the midst of the Europeans, on the grounds that "their habits and customs being, as is well-known, so completely at variance with, and repugnant to, those of Europeans". There was more than mere social prejudice in this desire to segregate the Indians from the Europeans. In 1889, for instance, Superintendent Alexander, Chief Constable for the Borough of Durban, strongly recommended (11) that no licences should be given to Indians for any building in either of the three main streets. Again in 1895, Councillor Jameson moved (12) that "in the interests of public health it was desirable to form a Coolie location"; the question was referred to the Sanitary Committee for report, but the matter was shelved. The real motive becomes clear in 1903, when the Mayor of Durban, J. Ellis Brown, advocated (13) the setting apart by the Municipality

---

8. Petitions: 12/1885 - Presented July 20.

9. Henderson, W.P.M., op cit p. 307.

10. Henderson, W.P.M., op cit p. 307.

11. Ibid p. 139.

Henderson regretted that this step was not acted upon by subsequent Councils.

12. Ibid p. 308

13. Ibid p. 308

of Asiatic Bazaars or Locations within which alone were licences to be granted to Asiatics. Henderson himself, writing in 1904, stated that this suggestion was a most desirable end "from a public health point of view", and regretted that nothing could be done until suitable legislation was enacted (14).

The agitation of 1885 led to the appointment in 1885 of a Commission, presided over by the Hon. Justice Wragge (15), to enquire into the allegations of unfair competition by Indians and the threat to European security. After a thorough investigation over a period of two years, the Commission reported in 1887 thus (16):

"In fairness to the free Indian, we must observe that the competition is legitimate in its nature, and it certainly has been welcomed by the general community. There can be no doubt that Natal is admirably suited, whether as a temporary or a permanent home to Indian immigrants. We are impressed with the necessity, at a time when the colony is labouring under a depression of the most serious nature, of so moving that its agricultural development shall not be restrained. We are anxious not to imperil the interests of those persons who have been induced, by an abundant and continuous supply of Indian labour, to invest their capital in large industries of undoubted benefit to the whole of the Colony".

Sir J.L. Hulett in the course of his evidence to the Commissioners said (16):

"The free Indians, at present in the Colony, are an immense benefit, being largely engaged in agricultural pursuits. I do not think the competition of the free Indians has interfered in the slightest degree with the development of the country by European Settlers".

It appears from the Commission's Report that the main objection to the presence of the "free" Indian, particularly the Indian trader, came from the European

---

14. Ibid p. 308.

15. Indian Immigration Commission 1885-1887: G.N.

16. Joshi, P.S., op cit p. 49.

merchant class. The opposition to the Indian was thus largely on economic grounds; the basis of the agitation was pure and simple commercial jealousy. The commercial interests alleged that the Indian undercut prices. The Commission found that the competition between European and Indian trader actually benefited the country because it lowered the prices of essential commodities to the consumer. The African preferred to trade with the Indian because the Indian treated him better than the European. Besides, the Indian opened up shops in less populous centres <sup>where</sup> ~~in which~~ the European was then not inclined to do so. That the genesis of European opposition to the Indian arose in the commercial activities of the latter was made abundantly clear again in the debate on the Indian Immigration Bill of 1891 in the Legislative Council (17). Mr. Binns, for instance, stated that the "thinking portion of the population" did not object to the working "coolie", but to the "Arab" merchant who competed with the European (18).

But prejudice is not rational and personal interests frequently override national interests, truth and justice. The report of the Wragge Commission exonerated the Indians from allegations of being a menace to European civilisation. This report did not satisfy the anti-Indian element, and so the agitation was continued persistently. The 1891 debate in the Legislative Council, mentioned above, was long and protracted, and it indicated that the pendulum had now definitely swung against the Indian.

This Bill was introduced by the Government and

- 
17. Debates, Legislative Council - 1891 - Vols. 15, 16.  
Bill No. 8/1891.  
18. Ibid: Vol. 16 p. 67.

was designed to consolidate the existing laws and amendments pertaining to Indian immigration. The Government and the employers of Indian labour came in for severe criticism, but the Government managed to pass the Bill through the Council after a stormy and difficult passage. The opposition, led by Mr. Escombe, wanted to introduce three new principles into the Consolidated Bill, namely,

- (a) the withdrawal of the annual subsidy of £10,000 to the Indian Immigration Trust Board, empowered by Law 20 of 1874;
- (b) the introduction of a clause in the law so that Indian immigrants throughout their ten years' stay in Natal would be under indenture, and
- (c) that they should return to India, with their families, after this period.

In the course of the debate it was pointed out that the present immigration laws, coupled with financial assistance from the public treasury, set no limit to the Indians who might be introduced into the Colony. It was felt that the demand for cheap labour should not be allowed to disturb the social structure of the country. Very clear expressions of opinion were made, which indicated that the Indian was welcome so long as he remained a labourer, and preferably ~~as~~ an indentured labourer. Planters and non-planters seem to have been in agreement on this principle. Mr. Stainbank, a large employer of Indian labour, for instance, stated most vehemently (19):

"A number of Europeans object to Indians remaining here on other terms than those on which they were introduced. They were introduced here not as Colonists, nor in any other capacity than as labourers, and to that they should be held".

Mr. Hulett, another sugar-planter and mill-owner, who in 1885 had given evidence to the Wragge Commission in favour of "free" Indians, now seems to have changed his views too, for he said (20):

"I do not want to see Indians imported into this country for any other purpose than a regular labour supply, and if those Indians can be imported with the understanding that they can be taken back again, or other inducements offered for them to leave the country after they have finished their work as suppliers of labour, so much the better for the country".

These were the opinions of two influential coastal employers of Indian labour. But Indians were also being employed in increasing numbers in the northern districts of Natal, and after their term of indenture they were settling down in these districts. The feeling against them was equally bad here, as may be noted from the remarks of Mr. Sutton, a member from the up-country districts (21).

"People in the upper districts of the Colony do not want Indians, but they are obliged to have them and they want to minimise the evil as much as they can. They wish to have them as servants, they wish to have their labour, they wish to treat them well, but they do wish to have them returned after a certain period of time, so that this country should not become simply the home of the Asiatic with the European crowded out".

Similar views appear to have been expressed to the Wragge Commission of 1885-1887 and it is interesting to note what response they had evoked in one of the Commissioners (22):-

"What is it but taking the best out of servants (the good as well as the bad) and then refusing them the enjoyments of their reward? Forcing them back (if we could, but we cannot) when their best days have been spent for our benefit. Where to? Why, back to face the prospect of starvation from which they sought to escape when they were young - Shylock-like

---

20. Ibid: Vol 16 - p. 64.

21. Ibid: p. 426.

22. Saunders, J.R., Minority Report: p. 100.

"taking the pound of flesh, and Shylock-like we may rely on it, meeting Shylock's reward".

The opposition sought to postpone the Bill until an Agent had been sent to India to ascertain whether the Government of India would consent to the condition of a ten years' indenture contract, and compulsory repatriation at the end of the term. But their attempts failed and the Bill passed through the Legislative Council to become Act 25 of 1891. One important concession to the anti-Indian elements was the repeal of that section of Law 2 of 1870, which granted a parcel of land in lieu of a free return passage. In any case, this section had been up to now more honoured in the breach than in the observance.

On the grant of Responsible Government in 1893 Natal was <sup>largely</sup> freed from the restraining influence of the British Government. On the other hand it increased the responsibility of the Government of India towards the Indian immigrants settled in Natal, and cleared the path for direct negotiation between the Natal Government and the Indian Government.

One of the first acts of the new parliament was to withdraw in 1894 the £10,000 annual subsidy to the Indian Immigration Trust Board (23), for it was the ease with which public money was available that made possible importation of Indian labour on such a large scale. In 1894<sup>†</sup> a delegation of the Natal Government was sent to India to secure certain alterations in the conditions of indenture (24). The main object of the proposals put before the Government of India was to secure an arrangement by which the Indian immigrants

---

23. Act 37 of 1894.

24. Report of the Delegation to India: D.P. 8/1894;  
or G.N. No. 144/1894;  
G.N. No. 419/1894;  
D.P. 30/1895.

in Natal may be required to return to India after the completion of the term of indenture, and would be unable to remain in the Colony otherwise than under indenture. The proposal was made that failure to return would constitute a criminal offence. The Government of India verbally assured the delegation that there would be no objection to the alterations provided a free return passage was always offered, and provided, further, that failure to return would not constitute a criminal offence. The delegates then suggested a residential tax on failure to return. The opinion of the Government of India on this point seemed to be "that this concerned Natal alone, and that the Colony under the present Constitution would be able to deal with it".<sup>(24)</sup> A law was then subsequently drafted imposing a residential tax of £3 ~~per annum~~.

The Natal Government then enacted Act 17 of 1895 by which every ex-indentured Indian male ~~above the age of sixteen~~ and ~~every~~ <sup>and</sup> female ~~above the age of thirteen~~ <sup>was required</sup> to take out an "Annual licence" costing £3. <sup>(25)</sup>

The reasons advanced by the Delegation in requesting the acquiescence of the Government of India to these alterations are interesting. The Delegation stated that there was a strong feeling amongst the European merchants and shop-keepers against the Asiatic trader; that trade competition had led to opposition to the presence of all Indians without discriminating between worker and trader. The worker, meaning thereby the "Coolie" labourer, did not come into competition with the European because the latter could not (26) do the work done by the

25. Joshi, P.S., op cit p. 55. Indian Enquiry Commission, Report, 1914.  
26. Perhaps it would have been more correct to say "would not".

labourers. Another reason advanced was that the Native population was rapidly increasing and there was a scarcity of land to settle them. The Delegation put forward the following feeble excuse for resorting to these anti-Indian measures:

"If there was no Native population there would exist no reasonable ground for opposition to the presence of the Coolie" (27).

Lord Elgin, while stating (28) that he had little sympathy with the view that would prevent any subject of the Crown from settling in any Colony under the British flag, was, however, prepared to accept the proposals "in consideration of the feeling at present manifested in the Colony of Natal towards Indian settlers".

Another Bill was introduced in 1894 with a view to disenfranchising the Indians, but since it was not passed till 1896 it will form the discussion in the next chapter.

It will thus be seen that the politico-economic background to Indian education during 1879-1894 was one of increasing friction between European and Indian. A very necessary condition for the growth of a sound educational system is a settled state of life, that is, permanency of settlement. The provision of adequate educational facilities itself ensures ~~that~~ permanency and contributes to <sup>an</sup> ~~that~~ orderly and settled state of social well-being. Now the antagonism of the White Colonists tended to upset the very foundations of the educational system which was being developed for Indians; this, together with the uncertainty of their position, and the feeling of insecurity engendered by recent agitation, enquiry and legislation could not but seriously

---

27. G.N. 144/1894 - p. 3.

28. D.P. 30/1895 - Viceroy's Dispatch to Government of Natal - 17th September, 1894.

affect the attitude of the Indian to the education of his children. When the sole aim and purpose of European activity in this and subsequent periods was to reduce the status of the Indian to one akin to helotry, it is not very difficult to see how small was the inducement to the average Indian to educate his children. Being economically depressed the Indian had to concentrate all his attention to the task of ekeing out a bare livelihood; for the mass of the Indian labourers keeping body and soul together was a greater necessity than providing school instruction for their children. To the trading class the urgency of establishing a claim to domicile and security by investments in real estate, and of expanding their business activities before restrictions were placed upon them took precedence of other things. The education of their children could wait till times were better.

During this period we have <sup>an</sup> interesting <sup>impingement</sup> interplay of various forces on the development of Indian education. In the first place, there was that element of the European community which challenged the settlement of "free" Indians and opposed the political and economic advancement of the Indian people. From its point of view the provision of generous assistance to the education of Indian children was a suicidal policy. Education for Indians was incompatible with the stand it had taken with regard to the question of Indian immigration. According to the reasoning of this element, the withholding or restriction of educational facilities would, perhaps, induce the Indians to leave, and if they remained it should be such an education ~~that~~ <sup>as</sup> ~~they~~ would not be ~~regarded as~~ on an equality with Europeans. Staunch protagonists of this policy were not absent from the Legislative Council which controlled the purse strings of Indian education. At least one instance of the power that this group could wield in the Legislative

Council may be quoted (29). In December 1886, during the debate on the Supply Bill in the Legislative Council, it was proposed to reduce the already meagre Indian education vote of £1,500 by £300, that is by 20%. The debate itself indicated the anti-Indian attitude of certain members.

In the second place, there were the planters, farmers and others dependent upon cheap indentured labour. This element was not directly affected by "free" Indian competition in business. It was opposed to the education of Indian children on the ground that it unfitted them for the type of work and conditions of employment offered on the estates. Educated Indians opposed the indenture system, and were a disturbing factor. From the point of view of these Europeans, education for Indian children interfered with a potential source of cheap labour. Most industries, particularly the sugar and wattle industry, prospered by the use of cheap Indian labour. The industrialists strove to keep the door to Indian immigration open as long as possible, and were not concerned with the ultimate results of such an immigration policy. Both groups, however, appear to have agreed on the principle of keeping the Indian as long as possible in a state of semi-servility and economic dependence on the European. Though approaching the question from different standpoints both were agreed on restricting the educational facilities available for the Indian.

Between these two groups were the Christian missionaries. Dedicated to the task of uplifting the Indian, and of bringing the Gospel to him, they had to

---

29. Aiyar, P.S. "Indians in South Africa" - p. 65.  
(proof copy of book to be published).

use all their patience, ingenuity and resourcefulness to provide educational facilities for Indian children. The establishment of schools and the provision of elementary instruction was a necessary preliminary to the teaching of Christian doctrines to the Indians. The attitude of the European Christians, however, was not one that would have inspired much confidence in the mind of the Indian regarding Christian social justice. To the Indian, Christianity was identified with western civilisation; western civilisation to the Indian and the other non-European races in South Africa is closely identified with exploitation. There was, moreover, the hostility of the Indians towards the proselytizing efforts of the Christian missionaries. In these circumstances the task of the missionaries was not an easy one.

Finally, there were the Indian interests which feared that conversion to Christianity would result in a loss to their own Indian culture. It was not in favour of instruction being given in mission schools, particularly for Indian girls. This was an important force, not very vocal, perhaps, but, nevertheless, real. The system of vernacular schools, of varying degrees of efficiency, dotted all over the Colony was an expression of this feeling, and a reply to the missionaries. They were unable to compete with the western schools because of insufficient financial support.

In studying, therefore, the growth of Government and Government-aided schools; the quality of, and expenditure on, instruction; and the effect of the education provided on the social progress of the Indian, account must be taken of the complex of factors which form the background of the story of the Indian community in Natal.

CHAPTER V.

THE FINANCE OF INDIAN EDUCATION.

1879 - 1894

A study of educational progress involves an examination of the different elements comprising an educational system, namely the administration, financial provisions, pupils, schools, school equipment, teachers and the curriculum. The educational system itself is a product of various social forces which find their ultimate expression in a national or State policy.

Educational systems have generally been made to serve the ends of national, racial or class interests. But the development of the system is dependent upon the financial resources of the State. In a complex multi-racial, multi-religious, and class-structured society where separate and parallel systems of education have been established, as was the case in Natal, the development of each system is dependent upon the amount that the State is prepared to spend on the education of a certain racial group, or class, or religious sect. This in its turn is dependent upon the degree to which it is desired to advance the educational interests of such a race, class or sect. This again is determined by various social, political and economic considerations, which are matters of State policy.

The financing of education in Natal was governed by such racial and class considerations.

European education was financed on a scale considered to be sufficient to maintain European civilisation and retain European control over the Colony of Natal. The education of the subject races - the African and the Indian - was, therefore, kept at a lower level in order not to endanger the interests of the ruling races. The attitude of the White Colonists towards the Indian immigrants has been discussed in the first portion of this chapter. The <sup>restrictions</sup> ~~stricture~~ on Indian education <sup>were</sup> was placed at the very source - on the funds voted for Indian education. Financial limitations, therefore, determined the extent and nature of the educational progress during this period, and hence the question of the finance of Indian education is examined first.

<sup>Reference</sup> Referring to the previous chapter in which the provisions of Law 20 of 1878 were discussed, ~~it~~ will <sup>show</sup> ~~be noted~~ that the Indian Immigrant School Board was empowered by law to administer the funds voted by the Legislative Council for the purpose of Indian education (1). Various tables setting out the Board's expenditure on Indian education are presented here for study and discussion (2). But before proceeding to discuss the tables it is necessary to make a few remarks in order to clarify certain facts connected with these financial statistics. <sup>In order that</sup> So that the text of the thesis may not be overburdened with explanatory material a footnote has been devoted to this discussion.

- 
1. Chapter III p. 66.
  2. Tables 4a, 4b, 5, 6 and 7.

Footnote: STATISTICS OF FINANCE.

The statistics compiled in these tables have been obtained from the various annual reports of the Indian Immigrant School Board published in the Natal Blue Books: 1883-1893. The report for 1893 is to be found in the volume of Natal Departmental Reports (1893-94). Data relating to the years 1879, 1880, 1881 and 1882 are to be found in the annual reports of the Superintending Inspector of Schools, the Protector of Indian Immigrants, the Auditor, and the Government Gazette for 1882 which

Keeping in mind the various points dealt with in the footnote examine now the tables of finance.

contains a report on Indian Schools for 1881. The figures in Table 4a and 4b are given as found in these Annual reports, but in Table 4(b) the expenditure on Board Schools for 1883 has been computed. The figures contained in Tables 5, 6 and 7 have been computed after examining the revenue and expenditure accounts of the Board as published in the Annual Reports.

The figures in Tables 4(a) and 4(b) call for the following explanation:-

1. The financial year from 1890 began on 1st July and ended on 30th June.
2. Though monies were voted for the financial year, the Board's Revenue and Expenditure accounts were always adjusted to reflect expenditure for the calendar year.
3. A special sum of £900 was voted to tide over the period January to June 1890; £83.18.5 was allowed to lapse.
4. Much of the information in Table 4(a) is summarised in a table in the Annual Report for 1893 (See Departmental Reports 1893-94). A slight discrepancy will be found in the figures given for the gross expenditure in 1883. This particular table in the Annual Report omits £22.10.0 spent on the travelling expenses of members of the Board. The corrected figure is given in Table 4(a).
5. With reference to the cost of Board Schools as given in Table 4(b), from 1887 the figures given in the Annual Report include "Share of Departmental Expenses" and they were estimated as follows:-

|      |   |   |
|------|---|---|
| 1887 | : | £90.10.10                                 |
| 1888 | : | 90.10.10                                  |
| 1889 | : | 60.10.0, and £60 for the remaining years. |

6. For the year 1887 an estimated rental of £108 was included in the expenditure on Board Schools (Table 4(b)); but this item was not included in subsequent years.
7. The figures for Board Schools (Table 4(b)) include capital expenditure for the years 1883, 1884 and 1889.
8. The cost per pupil was given only from 1883, and it will be observed that it was calculated on Gross Expenditure (i.e. without deducting Board School fees) and on Total Attendance.

In order to make an analysis of State expenditure regarding administrative costs and expenditure on Aided and Board Schools it was found necessary to compute these figures again from the revenue and expenditure accounts of the Board. The newly computed figures are

From Table 4(a) it will be observed that the annual vote for Indian education did not show a progressive increase

---

given in Tables 5, 6 and 7. These tables give the actual expenditure to Government after deducting the income from the Board Schools, since the fees were paid into the Treasury.

The total expenditure figures for Board Schools are not comparable in Table 4(b) because varying items had been included in different years. In Table 5 administrative expenses are separated from the expenditure on Aided and Board Schools. The proportionate allocation of administrative expenses to Aided and Board Schools are necessarily arbitrary.

In Table 4(b) certain amounts are given as "grants-in-aid". An examination of the Revenue and Expenditure accounts will show at once that these were not the only sums of money spent on Aided Schools. It would be erroneous to consider these amounts in this light. In various years expenditure had been incurred on various items like salaries of pupil-teachers, furniture, books, stationery, prizes, petty expenses and bonuses to teachers. Such amounts have not been included under the item "Grants-in-aid". It may have been because the expenditure on these items were shared between Board and Aided Schools. The amounts actually spent on Board Schools with regard to these items are available, so it is possible to arrive at a figure which represents more closely the actual total expenditure on each category of school, excluding administrative expenses.

It will also be noticed that the nett expenditure is given for Board Schools. Since Aided School fees were not paid into the Treasury all expenditure on Aided Schools would be nett expenditure. This manner of presenting the cost of the respective categories of schools, not only facilitates the computation of per capita costs, but gives a more accurate amount.

It should, however, be pointed out that a truer reflection of the per capita cost to the State is obtained by using average attendance as a basis of calculation. The per capita cost as given in the Annual Reports were calculated on Gross Expenditure and Total Attendance, both of which are not the correct bases for arriving at the cost of educating per child. A fuller discussion is given to total attendance in a subsequent section, but suffice it to say, at this stage, that total attendance represents really the number of names on the registers of all schools, irrespective of the number of times this name might appear on the registers.

In Table VII per capita cost has been worked on average attendance and nett expenditure, excluding even capital expenditure, where such information was available separately. It was not available separately for the year 1889, when a certain amount of capital expenditure was incurred, and, therefore, the per capita cost for this year on "Board Schools" and "All Schools" is higher than it should have been. The per capita costs for Board and Aided Schools in Table VII are, however, not as accurate as they might have been because of the omission of administrative costs in the nett expenditure of each category of school. These must, therefore, be considered as near approximations. But in calculating the per capita

from year to year; it in fact remained static for two or more years in succession. Over a period of fifteen years the vote had been increased from £1000 to only £1825. The halting manner of the increase in the amount made available for Indian education indicates at once the chief difficulty of promoting Indian education, and the real attitude of the Legislative Council towards the education of Indian children. One thing is certain: if reasonable increases in expenditure are not incurred from year to year, demanding increased financial provisions, then the growth of the educational system is unhealthy or abnormal. Ultimately, of course, a limit ~~would~~ <sup>may</sup> be reached in a fully developed system when the annual expenditure would not vary very much from year to year. It could not, however, be maintained that the system of Indian education was anywhere near this goal. If on the other hand, it is pointed out that the amount voted for any one year was actually more than enough for that particular year, as the tables do, indeed, show, the static nature of the expenditure would also be an indication that very unusual circumstances were connected with Indian education at this stage of its growth. When both factors operate together it would seem that there was stagnation through restrictive influences.

---

cost for all schools the expenditure on administration and the capital expenditure on the two Board Schools in Durban and Umgeni, have been included.

Per capita costs for Aided Schools, prior to 1883, have not been calculated because reliable figures for average attendance are not available.

Finally, the following items have been charged to Administration: Inspector's salary and travelling allowance, travelling expenses of members of Board and Secretary, remuneration to Secretary, advertising, printing, telegrams, cost of passage of an Inspector from Madras, and entry fee to the Colonial Exhibition. Strictly speaking annual bonuses to teachers and prizes to pupils should have been charged to Administration since they were really rewards for good conduct and efficiency.

SUMMARY OF EXPENDITURE ON  
INDIAN EDUCATION

TABLE 4(a)

| Year        | Vote | Gross<br>Expenditure | Board Sch.<br>Fees | Total<br>Attendance | Cost per<br>Pupil |
|-------------|------|----------------------|--------------------|---------------------|-------------------|
|             | £.   | £. s. d.             | £. s. d.           |                     | £. s. d.          |
| 1879        | 1000 | 80. 0. 0             |                    |                     |                   |
| 1880        | 1000 | 118. 6. 8            | No                 |                     | Not               |
| 1881        | 1000 | 352. 4. 8            | Board              |                     | Given             |
| 1882        | 1000 | 735.19.10            | Schools            |                     |                   |
| 1883        | 1550 | 1111. 0. 5           | 1. 7. 6            | 1011                | 1. 1. 7           |
| 1884        | 2000 | 1476. 3. 3           | 16. 5. 6           | 1371                | 1. 1. 4           |
| 1885        | 1500 | 1461. 4. 3           | 26.18.10           | 1480                | 19. 5             |
| 1886        | 1500 | 1499.19. 9           | 19. 1. 9           | 1702                | 17. 8             |
| 1887        | 1285 | 1251. 6. 4           | 14. 5. 0           | 1591                | 15. 7             |
| 1888        | 1500 | 1355.16. 7           | 12. 4. 3           | 1891                | 14. 4             |
| 1889        | 1700 | 1588. 4. 5           | 12.13. 0           | 2007                | 15. 9             |
| 1890-<br>91 | 1700 | 1616.17. 3           | 14.12. 0           | 2141                | 15. 1             |
| 1891-<br>92 | 1700 | 1549. 3.11           | 17. 5. 0           | 2270                | 13. 7             |
| 1892-<br>93 | 1825 | 1734.13. 0           | 31. 3. 6           | 2706                | 12. 9½            |
| 1893-<br>94 | 1825 | 1816. 0. 1           | 30. 6. 0           | 2589                | 14. 0½            |

**Note:** Though from 1890 the financial year was changed, the expenditure was calculated for the Calendar year.

TABLE 4(b).

| Year | Gross Expenditure<br>Board Schools |     |    | Grants-in-aid |     |   |
|------|------------------------------------|-----|----|---------------|-----|---|
|      | £.                                 | s.  | d  | £.            | s.  | d |
| 1883 | (280.                              | 2.  | 1) | 484.          | 8.  | 4 |
| 1884 | 470.                               | 15. | 6  | 626.          | 5.  | 0 |
| 1885 | 227.                               | 15. | 0  | 696.          | 13. | 0 |
| 1886 | 325.                               | 19. | 4  | 787.          | 1.  | 8 |
| 1887 | 429.                               | 2.  | 6  | 554.          | 3.  | 4 |
| 1888 | 373.                               | 14. | 8  | 614.          | 5.  | 2 |
| 1889 | 418.                               | 8.  | 1  | 695.          | 10. | 0 |
| 1890 | 383.                               | 3.  | 5  | 891.          | 8.  | 4 |
| 1891 | 357.                               | 13. | 3  | 893.          | 0.  | 0 |
| 1892 | 358.                               | 12. | 8  | 961.          | 15. | 0 |
| 1893 | 376.                               | 8.  | 6  | 1025.         | 6.  | 8 |

TABLE V.

ANALYSIS OF STATE EXPENDITURE  
ON INDIAN EDUCATION.

| Year | Adminis-  | Nett Expenditure |         | Aided School | Total Nett  |
|------|-----------|------------------|---------|--------------|-------------|
|      | tration   | Board            | School  |              | Expenditure |
|      | £. s. d   | £. s. d          | £. s. d | £. s. d      | £. s. d     |
| 1879 | -         | -                | -       | 80. 0. 0     | 80. 0. 0    |
| 1880 | -         | -                | -       | 118. 6. 8    | 118. 6. 8   |
| 1881 | 175.18. 0 | -                | -       | 176. 6. 8    | 352. 4. 8   |
| 1882 | -         | Information      |         | -            | 735.19.10   |
| 1883 | 346.10.10 | 278.             | 14. 7   | 484. 8. 4    | 1109.12.11  |
| 1884 | 365.10. 0 | 468.             | 2. 9    | 626. 5. 0    | 1459.17. 9  |
| 1885 | 417.10. 0 | 261.             | 5. 7    | 755. 9.10    | 1434. 5. 5  |
| 1886 | 412. 9.10 | 201.             | 19. 1   | 867. 9. 1    | 1480.18. 0  |
| 1887 | 368.14. 6 | 216.             | 6. 8    | 652. 0. 2    | 1237. 1. 4  |
| 1888 | 381. 0. 7 | 270.             | 19. 7   | 691.12. 3    | 1343.12. 5  |
| 1889 | 387.18. 2 | 345.             | 4. 3    | 842. 9. 0    | 1575.11. 5  |
| 1890 | 398. 5. 6 | 308.             | 11. 5   | 895. 8. 4    | 1602. 5. 3  |
| 1891 | 358.10. 8 | 280.             | 8. 3    | 893. 0. 0    | 1531.18.11  |
| 1892 | 398. 6. 4 | 267.             | 9. 2    | 1037.14. 0   | 1703. 9. 6  |
| 1893 | 401. 7. 3 | 286.             | 2. 6    | 1098.14. 6   | 1785.14. 1  |

Board Schools: 1883 Includes Capital Expenditure £230.14.6  
 1884 Ditto plus salaries of pupil teachers,  
 Books, prizes for Aided Schools  
 £235.18. 6.

T A B L E VI.

PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION  
of  
EXPENDITURE.

| Year | Adminis-<br>tration<br>% | Board<br>% | Aided<br>% | Total<br>% |
|------|--------------------------|------------|------------|------------|
| 1883 | 31.2                     | 25.1       | 43.6       | 100.0      |
| 1886 | 27.8                     | 13.6       | 58.6       | 100.0      |
| 1887 | 29.8                     | 17.5       | 52.7       | 100.0      |
| 1889 | 24.6                     | 21.9       | 53.5       | 100.0      |
| 1892 | 23.4                     | 15.7       | 60.9       | 100.0      |
| 1893 | 22.4                     | 16.1       | 61.5       | 100.0      |

T A B L E VII.

COST PER INDIAN CHILD  
(Based on Average Attendance)

| Year              | Board   | Aided   | All Schools |
|-------------------|---------|---------|-------------|
|                   | £. s. d | £. s. d | £. s. d     |
| 1883              | 1. 9. 1 | 1.17. 0 | 2.19. 7     |
| 1884              | 3. 9. 4 | 1.10.10 | 2.11. 9     |
| 1885              | 2.16. 2 | 1.11. 3 | 2. 9.10     |
| 1886              | 2. 3. 5 | 1.10. 5 | 2. 4. 7     |
| 1887              | 2. 6. 6 | 1. 1. 8 | 1.15. 7     |
| 1888              | 2.14. 2 | 1. 2. 2 | 1.17. 1     |
| 1889 <sup>^</sup> | 3.17. 7 | 1. 4. 1 | 2. 0. 0     |
| 1890              | 2.13. 2 | 1. 2. 9 | 1.15. 6     |
| 1891              | 2. 5. 7 | 1. 0. 3 | 1.10. 5     |
| 1892              | 1.14. 1 | 1. 1. 0 | 1. 9. 9     |
| 1893              | 1.19. 0 | 1. 1. 1 | 1.10. 6     |

<sup>^</sup> 1889: Includes Capital Expenditure not specified.

Note: (a) Board and Aided School costs are exclusive of Administrative Expenses.

(b) "All Schools" costs includes Administrative Expenses.

Comparison of the columns containing the amount voted and the gross expenditure (Table 4a) shows that nearly every year large amounts had been unused and allowed to lapse. The amounts allowed to lapse between 1879 and 1881 were particularly large, considering the smallness of the vote itself. One obvious reason for this was that the Board had not yet been able to make systematic efforts to increase educational facilities, and this undoubtedly was due to the fact that it was not able to procure the services of an Inspector of Schools until the end of 1881. It was absolutely essential to have an Inspector to supervise the schools and see that the managers of Aided schools were complying with the conditions of the grants-in-aid. The Board could not possibly be giving grants-in-aid to schools without some system of inspection and control. This is a sine qua non of the State and State-aided system of schools. Until the appointment of its own officer the Board depended on Robert Russell, the Superintending Inspector of schools and the chief executive officer of the Council of Education, to do this work (3). Owing to his onerous duties ~~there was not much time that he could devote to Indian schools~~, and hence the grants-in-aid were limited to a few schools. But it will be seen, that even after 1883 right up to 1891 various amounts exceeding £100 were allowed to lapse. The expenditure on Indian education was, thus, well within the amount voted for it.

Consider now the gross expenditure (since after all the Board could not make use of the fee-income from

---

3. Minutes I.I.S.B: 26th March, 1879 - Resoln. 9.  
Report, Protector Indian Immigrants: 1880  
Report, Supt. of Edn: 1879, 1880.

Board Schools). After fifteen years of educational activity the Board had just exceeded an expenditure of £1800 for the year 1893. It had anticipated spending £2000 in 1884 and this amount was voted at its own request (4), but it had not been able to make use of that money at that time, nor were its activities developed to such an extent that it required this amount even in 1893.

Take the expenditure on Aided schools, in which the bulk of the Indian children were being instructed. The cost to the State was some 55 to 60 per cent of the total expenditure, but the actual amount spent is not at all impressive. From 1879 to 1891 the Aided Indian schools cost the Colony less than £1000 per annum; only in 1893 was this mark exceeded by £98.

Of the total nett expenditure on Indian education about one-fifth was for administration. The proportion is, perhaps, a little too high, but *could not be avoided in view of* ~~it is to be expected with~~ the relatively small enrolment and average attendance <sup>at</sup> of Indian schools (5). As will be seen from Table 6, with the growth of the system and the enlarged expenditure on Aided schools the proportion of the expenditure on administration was slowly decreasing. But for the greater part of the period only about three-quarters of the total expenditure was spent on the schools. Reference to Table VII will show that there was a steady decrease in the cost of educating an Indian child. This is largely due to the increased average attendance, the low expenditure on Indian teachers' salaries, and

---

4. Minutes I.I.S.B: 20th March, 1883 - para. 7.  
5. Table 14: Chapter VII.

restriction of Board schools (Government schools) to only three (6). In 1884 the cost per head in Board schools was £3.9.4 but it had dropped to £1.19.0 in 1893. Similarly the cost per head in Aided schools decreased from £1.17.0 in 1883 to £1.1.1 in 1893.

It is to be expected, therefore, that the cost per head for all schools should show a similar decrease. It seems that the cost was heavier in the early years, apparently due to high administrative costs and low average attendance. While in 1883 the per caput cost for all schools was £2.19.7, it had dropped to £1.10.0 in 1893. This represents a reduction of nearly fifty per cent. It had <sup>has</sup> already been pointed out in the footnote that the Board's figure of 14/0 $\frac{1}{4}$  per caput cost in 1893 is not correct, particularly since the Board had early adopted the principle of paying grants-in-aid on average attendance (7).

At this point it would be interesting to compare Government expenditure on European and African education in Natal. In 1893 the Council of Education spent £37,388 on fifteen State and forty-five State-aided European schools with an average attendance of 6270 pupils (8). The cost per head was thus nearly £6. This was a great advance on 1879 when the expenditure was £10,689 for an average attendance of 2202. There was a huge gulf between the facilities provided for European children and Indian children. While the average attendance in European schools was 4.7 times as great as that in Indian schools in 1893, the cost

---

6. Table 12: ditto. From 1889 there were only two Board schools.

7. To be discussed later under grants-in-aid.

8. Pearse, R.O., op cit pp. 194-196.

of European education, however, was thirty-seven times as much.

African education appears to have made very little progress. While Government expenditure in 1878 was £1,892 for an average attendance of 1488 (9), yet in 1893 the expenditure had only increased to £3,396 for an average attendance of 2802 (10). The per caput cost in 1893 was £1.4.3.

The immediate effect of the new policy inaugurated by Lieutenant-Governor Bulwer ~~has~~ now becomes clear. Having separated the education of Indian children from the general educational system of the Colony, it ~~now became an~~ <sup>was</sup> easy matter to relegate to the background the needs of Indian education. The extrinsic forces <sup>mentioned</sup> ~~spoken of~~ at the beginning of this chapter, impinged <sup>upon</sup> ~~themselves on~~ Indian education by reducing the financial provisions to the lowest possible standard. The funds available to the Board naturally determined the lines of development, the system of grants-in-aid, the remuneration to teachers, and, in short, the status of Indian education.

A question ~~that arises, and~~ which it is difficult to answer, is to what extent there was ~~collusion or~~ an understanding between the Indian Immigrant School Board and the Legislative Council not to provide for Indian education facilities equal to <sup>those provided for</sup> ~~that of the~~ European <sup>education.</sup> The originally declared intention, when enacting Law 20 of 1878, was merely to provide separate facilities in order to adapt the course of instruction more to the cultural needs of the Indian people. There was no suggestion or hint of providing something inferior,

---

9. Report Native Schools 1878; N.B.B: 1878.  
10. Ibid: 1892-93 " 1893.

or of restricting the educational facilities. But this is exactly what had happened. That the Board fell in easily, and without protest, with this way of thinking is evident for two important reasons. In the first place, it was the Board's function to submit to the Lieutenant-Governor estimates for the following year. Every year, except for the depression year of 1887, the Legislative Council voted the amount exactly requested by the Board (11). There is no record of the Board making a protest to the Lieutenant-Governor or the Legislative Council that the funds were totally inadequate to ensure satisfactory progress and development. The Board, indeed, reported that it was satisfied with the progress being made in Indian education (12). Yet there were several instances of the Board's refusing to make a grant-in-aid, or increase the emoluments of teachers, or establish new schools, or import teachers from India, on the grounds that the funds at its disposal were inadequate (13).

Secondly, it is difficult to understand how it could have planned its budget so badly as to allow such large amounts of money, so greatly needed, to lapse unused. If the members of the Board had the interests of Indian education at heart then they would have attempted to use every available penny to improve the condition of the schools and the salaries of the teachers and pupil-teachers. In fact, the characteristic underspending of the Board could not but give the

---

11. Minutes I.I.S.B:

|                              |         |                   |
|------------------------------|---------|-------------------|
| 1880 - £1000 - 26 March 1879 | Resoln. | 8                 |
| 1882 - £1000 - 15 Oct. 1881  | "       | 8                 |
| 1883 - £1500 - 16 Jan. 1882  | "       | 10                |
| 1884 - £2000 - 20 March 1883 | "       | 7                 |
| 1887 - £1500 - 10 April 1886 | "       | 5; 11th Mar. 1887 |
| 1889 - £1700 - 9 March 1888  | "       | 6 (Res. 3)        |
| 1890 - 900 - 22 Feb. 1889    | "       | 6                 |
| 1890-91 £1700 - 21 Jan. 1890 | "       | 5                 |
| 1891-92 £1700 - 12 Dec. 1890 | "       | 4                 |
| 1892-93 £1825 - 12 Feb. 1892 | "       | 13                |

12. Report, Indian Schools: 1890, 1891.

13. Dealt with in Chapters VI, VII and VIII.

impression that more than enough money was being provided for the education of the children of Indian immigrants. In conjunction with the annual report it would have stifled almost all criticism. Nothing more could have been expected of a body dominated by the official element and representative of the European Colonists, particularly employers of Indian labour (14). The missionary element had long since ceased to be represented on the Board, and the so-called "liberals" who frequently took their place appear to have been of the type that was satisfied that after all something was being done for these poor Indians. The resulting stagnation of Indian education was the inevitable consequence of a system of class education.

The reason why there was such a restricted expenditure on Indian education becomes clear in the light of the attitude of European Colonists towards Indian immigration and settlement. It was pointed out in the previous chapter that attempts had been made to introduce legislation, which would have had the effect of keeping the Indian immigrant under indenture as a labourer or menial throughout his contractual period of ten years residence in Natal, and of repatriating him compulsorily, with his wife and children, on the expiry of the term of contract. These two proposals emanated from Mr. Henry Binns (14a), a coastal planter, in 1888, and was re-iterated in 1891; he <sup>had</sup> subsequently held the position of chairman of the Indian Immigrant School Board on more than one occasion.

Now if the Indians were to be held down to the position of mere unskilled labourers and domestic

---

14. Chapter IX is devoted to an examination of the administration of the Board.

14a. Debates, Legisl. Council: 1891-Vol. 16-pp. 66,100.

servants in the economy of Natal, then, it did not appear, to the protagonists of this viewpoint, that there was any need for making extensive educational facilities available to the children of those Indians; some doubted, whether there was any point in educating them at all. From another point of view, if Indians were not going to be permanently domiciled in Natal, (that is, if they were to be repatriated after a residence of ten years), then it did not appear to be worthwhile spending public money on the education of those who would not ultimately be an integral part of the population.

Not only were high hopes entertained, but also vigorous efforts made to achieve these twin objectives. But neither of the objectives was attained, for Indians would not remain under the shackles of indenture as unskilled and untutored labourers, nor go back to India to conditions which were now foreign to them. Whether the anti-Indian elements liked it or not, the Indian population was becoming an integral part of the permanent population of Natal. The anti-Indian elements, however, did not despair of <sup>ultimately</sup> achieving their ends ~~some time or other~~; and, in fact, events today indicate that these hopes are still cherished by some Natal Europeans. So long as this attitude towards the Indian prevailed, Indian education could not but develop in a restricted manner.

To enter now into a more detailed discussion of the financial administration of the Board, it may be remembered that the Board was empowered to establish Government and Government-aided schools exclusively for Indians, or to make use of the schools established mainly for Europeans. The last course of action would not have involved the Board in any expense so it is not necessary to discuss it here. The Board established and maintained

three Government schools, generally known as Board schools, at Durban, Umgeni and Tongaat. Only two of these were being conducted from 1889. Capital expenditure was incurred on only two of the schools - Durban and Umgeni. The site for the Durban school was given by the Durban Corporation (15), and the site for the Umgeni school was purchased from a private individual (16). The Tongaat school was conducted in premises hired from an Indian (17) until its closure at the end of 1888.

Except for the teacher of the Tongaat Board school, these schools were staffed by locally-obtained Indian teachers and pupil-teachers. The salaries of the principal teachers were paid by the Board on a scale higher than that obtaining in Aided Indian schools. They were paid at the rate of £60 per annum (18). In 1892 the following scale of salaries was adopted for the Durban Board school (19):-

|                 |           |                          |
|-----------------|-----------|--------------------------|
| Head Teacher    | £84. 0. 0 | per annum with quarters. |
| First Assistant | 36. 0. 0  | " "                      |
| Second "        | 30. 0. 0  | " "                      |
| Pupil-teacher   | 6. 0. 0   | " "                      |
| " "             | 3. 0. 0   | " "                      |

The bulk of the expenditure in these Board schools was on rental, teachers' and pupil-teachers' salaries, maintenance and repairs, extensions to buildings, furniture, stationery, books, prizes and bonuses to teachers. Though these were Government schools there appears to have been much room for improvement in their condition. For instance, when His Excellency<sup>C</sup> Sir Arthur

- 
15. Minutes I.I.S.B: 20 Mar. 1883 - para. 3;  
Report Indian Schools: 1883.
  16. Ibid 13th Nov. 1883 - para. 4;  
Report Indian Schools: 1883
  17. Ibid 12th July 1884 - Resoln. 3.
  18. Ibid 21st June 1883 - para. 3;  
Revenue & Expenditure accounts.
  19. Ibid: 12th Feb. 1892 - para. 10.

Havelock visited the Durban Board school in 1886, the Inspector in his report (20) mentioned that "the heat and over-crowding of the rooms did not escape His Excellency's notice". In the previous year (21) the head teacher of the Durban Board school, Mr. Hoover, complained that his child died as the result of the insanitary nature of the premises, and that he had been compelled, on his own responsibility, to repair and make additions thereto. The Board, however, refused to recognise this expenditure and proceeded to deduct ten shillings a month from his salary. This school was situated in a very damp place and the yard needed draining (22). Only in 1888 was it agreed (23) to put a ceiling in the school-room and flooring on the verandah; the water pipe was not laid till 1892 (24). Once again in 1892 (25) Mr. Hoover was compelled to act on his own authority and erect quarters for the assistant teacher at a cost of £25; he was compensated for £15. The Inspector's complaint with regard to the Umgeni Board School was that it had insufficient accommodation (26). Considering the site of the school, the only playground could have been the river bed.

As the cost of the Board schools were proving a heavy drain on the limited financial resources of the Board, the Board did not establish any more schools beyond those mentioned above. The most economical way of extending educational facilities was by a system of Aided schools. Moreover, this was the general educational policy in the Colony in view of the prohibitive cost of establishing and maintaining Government schools. *So At*

- 
20. Report, Indian Schools: 1886.  
21. Minutes I.I.S.B: 11th July, 1885 - para. 13.  
22. Report, Indian Schools: 1893.  
23. Minutes I.I.S.B: 8th Feb. 1888 - para. 12.  
24. Ibid 9th Dec. 1892 - paras. 8,9.  
25. Ibid 9th Dec. 1892 - para. 3.  
26. Report, Indian Schools: 188 : The site was at the north end of Queen's Bridge.

its very first meeting in 1879 (27) the Board resolved to give Government aid to schools established or conducted by private persons for the special instruction of children of Indian parents, at rates "to be severally determined by the Board" on condition that satisfactory reports were made thereon by the Inspector of schools. In adopting the system of giving grants-in-aid to Indian schools, the Board was merely continuing the practice of the previous period when all Indian schools had been only Aided schools. A point that calls for attention, however, is that the Board had not yet decided upon a fixed scale of grants. It was not until 1881 that such a scale was adopted.

The Board had imported from India Mr. George Dunning to act as Inspector of Indian Schools. Subsequent to his arrival in September 1881 (28), the Board adopted a scale of grants-in-aid with the following conditions attached to it (29).

1. Aid would be given to schools at the following rates:

|                             |              |
|-----------------------------|--------------|
| Attendance of 20-30 pupils: | £2 per month |
| " 30-40 "                   | £2.10.0 "    |
| " 40-50 "                   | £3. 0.0 "    |
| " 50-60 "                   | £4. 0.0 "    |

2. A school-room, master's house, and school furniture must be provided.
3. A competent teacher must be appointed.
4. The school must be conducted to the satisfaction of the Inspector.
5. School fees, to be retained by the teacher, shall be at the rate of threepence a month for the children of indentured Indians, and sixpence a month for others.

- 
27. Minutes I.I.S.B: 26th Mar. 1879 - Resoln. 6  
28. Ibid : 15th Oct. 1881 - para. 3  
29. Ibid : 26th Nov. 1881 - para.10  
Report, Protector Indian Immigrants: 1881 p. 5  
Report, Indian Schools 1881 (D.P. 5/1882 or G.N. 91/1882).

But this was not the scale of grants-in-aid recommended by the Inspector. He himself had recommended higher rates for the same grades of schools, viz:- £3, £3.15.0, £4.10.0, and £5.5.0 (30). The Inspector subsequently drew the attention of the Board to the fact that, owing to the comparatively high wages offered by the Railway authorities and others to Indians conversant with English, the scale of grants-in-aid determined on by the Board did not offer sufficient inducement to applicants for the post of school master, and he proposed the adoption of his own scale. Ultimately a compromise appears to have been effected and the new scale was as follows (31):-

|                    |               |          |            |
|--------------------|---------------|----------|------------|
| Regular attendance | 20-30 pupils: | £3. 0. 0 | per month. |
| "                  | 30-40 " :     | £3.10. 0 | "          |
| "                  | 40 and over : | £4. 0. 0 | "          |

It should be noted that the word "attendance" was qualified this time.

The conditions that had to be complied with before a grant-in-aid could be made did not alter materially during these years. It will be observed that the school had to be established and functioning satisfactorily before a grant-in-aid was given. This was an immutable principle with the Board. For instance, applications for a grant-in-aid for a private adventure school (32) at Maritzburg, and another beyond Verulam (33) were not entertained because the applicants did not comply with this condition. The Board was following an established practice in this matter. It was also the rule of the Council of Education that no school, not already in existence, should receive aid unless it had a minimum

30. Ibid: Nov. 26th report.  
 31. Minutes I.I.S.B: 16th Jan., 1882 para. 7  
 32. Started and conducted by an individual teacher for personal gain. Minutes I.I.S.B: 16th Jan., 1886 Resoln. 7. Soupen, J.C.  
 33. Ibid: 14th Oct. 1887 - Resoln. 4.

attendance of twenty pupils (34). Though the Board appears to have adhered to the same minimum number of pupils for recognising a school, it seems to have modified its scale in 1886 for it was prepared to give a grant-in-aid of £20 per annum to a school about to be established in Pinetown, if the minimum attendance was fifteen (35).

The basis on which the grants-in-aid were calculated underwent some change in subsequent years. It was decided in 1886 (36) that grants-in-aid to existing schools were to be re-adjusted on the basis of the past year's average attendance, "taken with the promise of the opening quarter of 1886", and that it was to be subject to immediate reduction should there be any serious falling off in attendance. The recipients of the grants were informed of this decision in 1887 (37). Grants to certain schools suffered a sudden reduction in 1888, and this brought forth a protest from some of the managers (38). The managers appeared to be ignorant of the scale on which the Board was giving grants-in-aid at this time. The teachers were also uncertain as to what they would be earning from year to year. It would seem that the scale mentioned earlier was constantly in the process of revision, for in 1888 the Inspector (39) was constrained to remark upon the advisability of adopting a scale, and letting the managers and teachers know exactly the amount they might expect to receive, having such and such numbers in attendance (40). The only published scale was that of 1881, and this apparently

- 
34. Report, Supt. of Edn: 1878.  
35. Minutes I.I.S.B: 13th Feb., 1886 - para. 9.  
36. Ibid 14th May 1886 - para. 9 (cl. 23).  
37. Ibid 9th Dec. 1887 - paras. 9, 10.  
38. Ibid 11th May 1888 - para. 2.  
39. From 1883 Mr. Francis Colepeper was appointed Inspector of Indian Schools, George Dunning having been dismissed.  
40. Report, Indian Schools: 1888 - para. 9.

had gone out of date by now. Modifications of the scale of grants-in-aid do not seem to have been made public by the Board.

In any case the scales actually in operation do not seem to have given the teachers any satisfaction, for in 1888 the Inspector recommended (40) a grant-in-aid of twenty-five shillings (25/-) per head on the average attendance. He felt that this was not excessive and that it would have the effect of securing the services of the best men available as teachers, and that this would probably fill the schools. He suggested various safeguards in order to ensure that the correct figure for the average attendance was obtained. Looking back at the Tables containing per capita expenditure, it will be observed that the Board was actually spending £1.2.2 per child in the Aided School at that time. But it was the Board's false economy in employing second-rate teachers <sup>at</sup> for low salaries and having unattractive conditions in the schools that affected the average attendance and increased the real cost per child. It is probable that the Board was misguided by the per capita costs calculated by the Inspector, and thinking that the expenditure on education would be doubled immediately, had not found it fit to adopt the recommendation of the Inspector. The adoption of the recommendation would have put new life into the Aided schools, and, of course, with increasingly regular attendance the cost to the Government would certainly have gone up more rapidly. As an interesting comparison, it may be mentioned that the Council of Education grant-in-aid <sup>for European Schools</sup> was at the rate of £2 per head for "régular attendance" (41). The poorer scales of grants-in-aid adopted by the Board are once again evidence of the fact that when Indian

---

41. Pearse, R.O., op cit p. 94. Report Supt. Edcn., 1878.

education was separated from the general system of education in the Colony it was to its detriment.

As the salaries of teachers in Aided schools depended on the grants-in-aid, the poor grants-in-aid to Indian schools necessitated the payment of salaries to European teachers in Indian schools on a scale lower than that obtaining in European schools. In 1889 there were five European <sup>women</sup> ladies employed in Indian schools (42). The Inspector recommended the payment of a special grant to schools employing European teachers but the Board would not adopt the recommendation (43).

It is important to know what the grants-in-aid were intended to cover. The original intention appears to have been that it should cover the teachers' salaries. This will be seen from the considerations which led the Board to frame a modified scale in 1881. Owing to the need for maintaining Aided schools in a better condition of repair and equipped with suitable furniture and school apparatus, the Inspector suggested in 1885 (44) that maintenance grants would be the remedy. It is not clear whether the Board accepted this principle, but in 1886 the Inspector complained that the conversion of the grants-in-aid into "maintenance grants" would have borne good fruit in this direction had it not gone hand in hand with reductions, which left no margin to the Managers. He complained that the Aided schools were overcrowded and "lamentably deficient in comfort and attractiveness" (45). The first step taken by the Board was to make payments of grants-in-aid subject to a quarterly account being rendered by the recipient, shewing the manner in which

---

42. Report, Indian Schools: 1889.

43. Minutes I.I.S.B: 21st Jan. 1890 - paras. 9,10.

44. Report, Indian Schools: 1885.

45. Ibid : 1886

the funds received from the Government had been disbursed (46).

However, this point was made clear in 1888 (47) when the Board stated that all grants-in-aid were intended to cover all the Board's expenditure in respect of the schools receiving grants-in-aid. The principle was reiterated in 1889 when Dr. Booth, the manager of a Church of South Africa school in Durban, applied for a grant for drawing material (48). The Board refused to make the grant even though at a previous meeting it had expressed its appreciation of the Drawing Work done at this school.

The adoption of this principle introduced a modification in the system of grants-in-aid, and brought about confusion in the minds of managers and teachers, as mentioned already. That there was a vast difference between the original scales of 1881 and the scale actually being followed by the Board is evident from numerous instances. It <sup>was</sup> ~~is~~ good that the scales <sup>were</sup> ~~are~~ not fixed and rigid. But recipients should <sup>be</sup> know what amount they were going to receive, and on what basis the calculation was made, in order to be able to plan present and future work. In 1891 (49), for instance, not a single Aided school was in receipt of the total amount that the Board had allocated for each at the beginning of the year. To quote a few examples: Booth's Durban school received £99 out of £108; Durban Girls' £46.10.0 out of £54; Bakdry's Durban school £60.10.0 out of £66; Verulam £44.16.8 out of £50. The reductions mean that these schools did not come up to some standard, known only to the Board. An examination of the 1893 allocations (50)

---

46. Ibid: 1886.

47. Minutes I.I.S.B; 19th Oct., 1888 - Resoln. 10.

48. Ibid : 22nd Feb., 1889 - Resoln. 9.

49. Report, Indian Schools, 1891; Table of Grants, and Revenue & Expenditure Account.

50. Ibid : 1893.

does not reveal any specific scale. The following re-arrangement of the allocations by known average attendance will illustrate the point:-

1893

| <u>Average Attendance</u> | <u>Actual Grants set aside</u> |
|---------------------------|--------------------------------|
| Under 20                  | £24, £30                       |
| 21-30                     | £30, £36, £40, £48             |
| 31-40                     | £24, £30, £42                  |
| 41-50                     | £48, £50                       |
| 51-60                     | £50, £60                       |
| 61-70                     | £60                            |
| 71-80                     | £60                            |
| 81-90                     | £42, £66                       |
| 91-100                    | -                              |
| 101 and over              | £108                           |

It will be observed that for the 21-30 grade of average attendance the allocations ranged from £30 to £48; for the grade 31-40 from £24 to £42; for the grade 51-80 from £50 to £60. The biggest discrepancy is in the grade 81-90; the Railway school at Durban with an average attendance of 86 was allocated only £42, while the Sydenham school with an average attendance of only 47 was allocated £48.

The adoption of a general maintenance grant had one drawback. Since the scales of remuneration for Aided school teachers was not fixed by Government it was open to the Managers to pay the teachers on their own scales. In order to leave a margin for repairs, furniture, and equipment it is probable that the scales of salaries adopted by the Managers did not err on the side of generosity. This assumption seems to be justified because the Indian schools were per~~petually~~ennially in want of suitable teachers.

Prior to the adoption of the principle of maintenance grants, the Board appears to have been in the habit of making various special grants. On very rare occasions it had made small building grants. For

example, in 1889 the Inspector was authorised to spend £5 towards the erection of a school-room at the Springfield Flats, provided the local inhabitants contributed an equal amount either in money or labour, and engaged a qualified teacher for the school (51); this was increased to £10 in 1892, the previous grant apparently not having been used (52). Again in 1890 building grants of £10 and £5 were made to Booth's Avoca school and Stott's Umbilo school respectively (53). On the other hand several applications were refused in 1892 (54). When a similar application was made in 1894 (55) the Board replied that it was against its custom to vote money for building grants. The reply was true in the sense that it was a rarity to make building grants.

The matter of building grants was of some importance to Indian education. The principle of making building grants to Aided European schools under the Council of Education was established by Law 35 of 1884 (56). Many more Indian schools might have been established in this period if assistance had been given to erect school-rooms. Owing to the general poverty of the Indian masses it was difficult to get them to combine to erect their own school (57). The Board was not empowered by law to give this type of assistance. The lack of schools was thus another retarding factor in Indian education. The problem was, however, finance.

It was also not usual for the Board to make grants towards equipment and furniture. But in 1887 it authorised the Inspector to spend £10 on the purchase

- 
51. Minutes I.I.S.B: 15th Mar. 1889 - para. 11  
52. Ibid : 14th Oct. 1892 - paras. 8,9.  
53. Ibid : 10th Oct. 1890 - para. 7.  
16th Mar. 1891 - para. 6 - Umbilo  
Grant transferred to Verulam.  
54. Ibid : 10th June 1892 - paras. 12,13.  
14th Oct. 1892 - paras. 10,11,13,14.  
55. Ibid : 20th April 1894- paras. 4,5.  
56. Pearse, R.O: op cit pp. 110,183.  
57. Report, Indian Schools: 1883,1884: ref. to Mt.Moriah.

of school clocks, maps, school requisites and stationery for Aided schools (58). On two rare occasions furniture grants were made to the Umzinto, Equifa and Booth's Durban Schools (59).

The Board was, however, in the habit of making a grant of £3 to each new Aided school for the purpose of purchasing school books, and an annual grant of £1 to each existing school in order to replenish the stock (60). From 1890 the annual grant of £1 was included in the general grant-in-aid (61), but each new school still continued to receive £3.

An annual feature of Indian schools was the prize-giving day at the end of the year. Children looked forward to this event and they showed great joy in receiving "the unaccustomed book or toy" (62); sometimes they were given an option and they frequently chose schoolbooks and bibles. Prizes were awarded for regular attendance and general good conduct rather than for proficiency, and the Inspector felt that liberality in this respect would not be thrown away (62). From 1884 the Board set aside varying sums annually for prizes for both Board and Aided schools (63). In 1884 the sum of £13.12.9 was spent on prizes, and £36 in 1893. Though these amounts were spent on all schools they were really chargeable to administration, for by giving these prizes the Board was trying to fill up the schools which were not made sufficiently attractive for the children to attend voluntarily. An examination of the Inspector's periodical reports to the Board shows that the attendance

- 
58. Minutes I.I.S.B: 14th Oct. 1887 - para. 13.  
59. Ibid : 9th July 1886 - paras. 10, 11.  
11th May 1888 - para. 14.  
60. Report, Indian Schools: 1884, 1885. See especially Revenue & Expenditure Accounts.  
61. Report, Indian Schools: 1890  
62. Ibid : 1885.  
63. Reports, Indian Schools: 1884-1893. Revenue & Expenditure Accounts.

in the month of November was always the highest (64). The inference is that the children were striving for the annual prizes.

Another <sup>item of</sup> ~~annual~~ expenditure <sup>for</sup> to all schools, which <sup>should have been</sup> ~~also ought to be~~ chargeable to administration, was a bonus to teachers for satisfactory work during the year. Various sums ranging from £25 to £50 had been set aside from 1887 (63). When discussing the provisions of Law 20 of 1878, in the previous chapter, reference was made to the fact that the system of capitation grants for attendance and educational results (generally known as payment-by-results) had not been provided for Indian schools in the Law. Indian teachers were, therefore, deprived of this supplementary source of income. In order to stimulate the work of the teachers in Indian schools the Inspector urged upon the Board to adopt the system of "payment-by-results" (65) for both Board and Aided schools. He suggested that an alternative course might be a bonus to a teacher who had conducted his school for the whole year to the satisfaction of the Manager and the Inspector. But he very distinctly stated that he did not recommend this course. The Board, on the other hand, readily adopted the bonus system (66). The action of the Board might have been determined by the fact that it was not specially empowered by law to make capitation grants, or by the lack of funds. The Board stated no reason for rejecting the system of capitation grants.

The bonus system was not a very satisfactory substitute for capitation grants, but any addition to

---

64. I.I.S.B. Minutes.

65. Report, Indian Schools 1885: paras. 36, 37, 39.  
1886: para. 34.

66. Minutes I.I.S.B: 14th May 1886 para. 8 (Cls. 36, 37).

the salary seems to have been welcome to the poorly paid Indian teacher. Teachers were very disappointed in 1886 when the Board did not keep to its promise of a bonus at the end of the year (67). In 1887 owing to the reduction of the grants, as a result of the depression in the Colony, no bonus was promised to the teachers; many resigned, others became careless and had to be dismissed. But at the end of the year the Board sprung a surprise on the teachers and gave to thirteen of them a bonus of one month's pay (68). <sup>Thereafter</sup> Since then bonus payments became a regular feature. In 1888 a sum of £25 was distributed amongst twelve schools, and in 1889 a sum of £50 amongst sixteen schools; in 1890 out of a teaching force of fifty-five (including twenty-two assistants and pupil-teachers) seventeen received a bonus (69). The fact that some teachers or schools were left out caused much dissatisfaction amongst the teachers. As the distribution of the bonus was left to the discretion of the Inspector, it is probable that the personal whims and fancies of the Inspector, and his impressions of certain personalities, influenced his judgment.

Now the grants-in-aid given by the Board were usually to the day schools. It appears, however, that the Board had been encouraging evening classes conducted in the day schools in order to supplement its system of schools for Indians (70). Special grants-in-aid were given to these evening schools. In 1884 the Rev. Stott conducted two such schools at the Point, Durban and at Clare (Estate); he received a grant-in-aid of £15 for

- 
67. Report, Indian Schools: 1886.  
68. Ibid : 1887.  
69. Ibid : 1888, 1889, 1890.  
70. A list of these schools appear in Table

each school (71), but after this date no specific mention is made of any grant-in-aid to an evening school. But where they were conducted, the Board allowed the teachers to keep the fees.

Unlike the system of schools for Africans, there was no industrial school or industrial department attached to a school, for Indians. The Inspector drew the attention of the Board (72) to the desirability of affording some kind of industrial training to Indian youths, and recommended a special grant for the establishment of such schools. The Board would not adopt the recommendation (73).

Having considered the kind of assistance given by the Board to Indian schools, it is now proper to study the duties of the managers or the grantees of the Aided schools. Though practically all the Aided Indian schools were connected with one Christian denomination or the other, it is important to note that the Board did not give assistance to religious denominations as such, but to individuals (74). The recipients of the grants-in-aid also acted as managers of the schools. They were expected to provide a furnished school-room; to make provision for additional accommodation (75) and maintain the school building in a reasonable state of cleanliness and repair (76); to engage teachers and pay their salaries (77); to visit the school every

- 
71. Minutes I.I.S.B: 13th. Feb. 1884 - paras. 6,7.  
72. Report, Indian Schools: 1884,1885: "Future of Pupils".  
73. Minutes I.I.S.B: 14th May 1886 para. 8 (Cl. 78).  
74. Ibid : 13th Mar.1886 para. 5.  
75. Ibid : 9th Mar.1888 para. 5.  
76. Ibid : 10th Aug.1885 para.13.  
Refused application of Stott for  
£5 to repair Bridgeford School.  
77. Ibid : 12th Aug.1887 para. 7.

month and sign the quarterly return submitted by the teacher (78). The Inspector emphasised (79) the need for constant supervision; he even suggested that the managers should be required to pay weekly visits to their schools, but this would have increased the problem because it was difficult to get persons who would undertake the responsibility of acting as managers (80). It seems that the growth of Indian education was such a delicate process that some of the schools required a good deal of "nursing" (81). The Inspector, especially during the early years, <sup>stated</sup> that the managers hardly visited their schools, and <sup>believed</sup> ~~thought~~ that the frequency of his own visits might have lessened the manager's sense of responsibility (81).

An examination of the distribution of the grants-in-aid amongst the managers reveals the fact, that a fairly large proportion of the total amount paid for grants-in-aid was being allocated to one or two individuals. By pooling their resources - against which there does not appear to have been any special regulation, only the manner of disbursement being required - such managers could effect greater economy and readjust their financial requirements for each school under their care more satisfactorily; they could re-allot the total grant-in-aid received towards salaries and maintenance. Information is not available as to whether the managers actually did this or not at the time. The point is interesting because in subsequent periods managers of Aided Indian schools did this very thing, and as a result introduced many anomalies in the scales of salaries paid to teachers in Aided schools.

---

78. Ibid: 12th Aug. 1887 para. 5.

79. Report, Indian schools: 1885, 1886.

80. Ibid : 1888.

81. Ibid : 1885.

Consider the following Table setting out the distribution of the grants-in-aid in two particular years (82):-

T A B L E VIII.

Distribution of Grants-in-aid amongst Managers.

| Manager                     | No. of schools | Amount of Grant-in-aid |                    |
|-----------------------------|----------------|------------------------|--------------------|
|                             |                | 1885                   |                    |
|                             |                | £. S. D.               | £. S. D.           |
| <u>CHURCH OF S.A.</u>       |                |                        |                    |
| Rev. Booth                  | 9              | 244.13. 4              |                    |
| " Green                     | 1              | 40. 0. 0               |                    |
| " Barker                    | 2              | 80. 0. 0               | 364.13. 4          |
| <u>WESLEYAN</u>             |                |                        |                    |
| Rev. Stott                  | 6              | 224. 0. 0              | 224. 0. 0          |
| <u>ROMAN CATHOLIC</u>       |                |                        |                    |
| Rev. Barret                 | 1              | 50. 0. 0               | 50. 0. 0           |
| <u>DEPARTMENT (RAILWAY)</u> |                |                        |                    |
| Mr. D. Hunter               | 1              | 40. 0. 0               | 40. 0. 0           |
| <u>PRIVATE ADVENTURE</u>    | 2              | 18. 0. 0               | <u>18. 0. 0</u>    |
|                             |                |                        | <u>£696.13. 4</u>  |
| <u>1893</u>                 |                |                        |                    |
| <u>CHURCH OF S.A.</u>       |                |                        |                    |
| Rev. Booth                  | 14             | 600. 0. 0              |                    |
| " Penington                 | 2              | 78. 0. 0               |                    |
| " Brookes                   | 2              | 40. 00. 0              | 808. 0. 0          |
| " Barker                    | 1              |                        |                    |
| <u>WESLEYAN</u>             |                |                        |                    |
| Rev. Stott                  | 2              | 80. 0. 0               | 80. 0. 0           |
| <u>ROMAN CATHOLIC</u>       |                |                        |                    |
| Rev. Barret                 | 1              | 60. 0. 0               |                    |
| " Bandry                    | 2              | 102. 0. 0              | <u>162. 0. 0</u>   |
|                             |                |                        | <u>£1050. 0. 0</u> |

82. Report, Indian Schools 1885, 1893 $\frac{1}{2}$ . In 1893 the amounts represent allocations, so that the amounts actually paid out would vary slightly from these figures but not substantially.

It will be observed that the grants-in-aid were distributed largely amongst the representatives of three Christian denominations. In 1885 the Church of South Africa schools received 52.3 per cent of the total grants-in-aid, and the Wesleyan schools 32.2 per cent. But in 1893 the Church of South Africa schools were in receipt of 77 per cent of the total.

Considered from the point of view of individual grantees, in 1885 the Rev. Dr. Booth and the Rev. S.H. Stott shared between them 35 per cent and 32.2. per cent of the total respectively. In 1893, however, Dr. Booth himself was administering about 57 per cent of the total amount available for grants-in-aid. It would appear thus that the Church of South Africa, and in particular Dr. Booth, was enjoying a <sup>almost</sup> monopoly of Indian education. In 1893, for example, out of 1187 pupils on the register at the time of examination there were 919 pupils in the Church of South Africa Indian schools in Natal; and of this number 690 pupils were in schools under the management of Dr. Booth. With monopoly, of course, went responsibility and the success of the Church of South Africa schools is an indication of how well Dr. Booth and his colleagues discharged their duties.

The concentration of such large sums of money in the hands of one or two managers was unavoidable owing to the difficulty of obtaining suitable managers to take up the responsibility. The grants-in-aid, therefore, had to be placed in the hands of those individuals prepared to do the work, and at that time the Reverends Booth and Stott were making special efforts to establish schools for Indians in Durban and along the coast. These men were also superintendents of their respective Indian Missions, and as such made themselves responsible for all schools of the Mission in their area. The

significance of such an uneven distribution lies in the fact that the real responsibility for providing educational facilities for Indian children now fell on the shoulders of one or two individuals. The work and importance of the Board itself seems to have declined to that of a minor Governmental body allocating funds provided by the Government, on the advice of an Inspector. This is in fact the impression gained from a study of the Minutes of the meetings of the Indian Immigrant School Board. The real initiative and organisational efforts came from the individual managers. The Inspector was mainly there to see that the money of the State was being well spent.

One more aspect of the finance of Indian education remains to be studied - that concerning the school fees charged in Indian schools. All the organisational efforts would be nugatory if the school fees were not adapted to the economic level of the section of the community for whom the schools were intended.

The fees charged by the Board in the Government (Board) schools were paid into the Public Treasury according to the provisions of Law 20 of 1878 (83). The fee-income was not available to the Board, or the Council of Education, to defray any expenses. Provision was made by law to admit indigent children free of charge into the Board schools.

Before the establishment of Board schools in 1883 and 1884, it had been intended to admit to the Board schools children of indentured Indians free of charge, and the children of "free" Indians at the rate of one shilling a month (84). Ultimately when Board

---

83. Law 20/1878: Section 6.

84. Minutes I.I.S.B: 10th Oct. 1879 - Resolns. 3,5.

schools were established the fees for children of indentured parents were threepence a month, and for children of "free" Indian parents sixpence a month (85). This was not excessive, but when the Board decided that it should be paid in advance, as in European schools, the Inspector felt that this placed the Board schools at a disadvantage with the Aided schools where this rule was not rigidly observed (86). To foster the Board schools great care in details appear to have been necessary.

A concession was made in 1886 (87) when the Board sanctioned the admission of all members of the same family, in a "necessitous condition", at half the usual rates, but not less than threepence a month; all beginners were admitted free for six months, the time usually taken in bringing them up to the level of the First Reader.

From 1892 higher rates of fess were charged at the Durban Board school, by the request of the Indians themselves (88), and they were as follows:-

|          |       |        |           |
|----------|-------|--------|-----------|
| Alphabet | Free  |        |           |
| Primer   | 3d.   | a head | per month |
| Std. I   | 6d.   | "      | "         |
| " II     | 9d.   | "      | "         |
| " III    | 1.0d. | "      | "         |
| " IV     | 1.3d. | "      | "         |

The fees at the European Government Primary schools were higher, as will be seen from the following scale (89).

|                         |     |         |
|-------------------------|-----|---------|
| Infants, Lower Division | 1/- | a month |
| " Upper " & Std I       | 2/- | "       |
| Stds. II & III          | 3/- | "       |
| Stds. IV, V & VI        | 4/- | "       |

There were not very many free scholars at the

- 
85. Report, Indian Schools : 1885  
 86. Ibid : 1884  
 87. Minutes I.I.S.B. 14th May, 1886 - para. 8 (Cl. 59).  
 Report, Indian Schools : 1885; Suggestion by Inspector  
 88. Report, Indian Schools - 6 months ending June 1894  
 (G.N. 317/1894).  
 Minutes I.I.S.B: 12th Feb., 1892 - para. 9.  
 89. Report, Supt. of Edn: 1878 (D.R. 7/1879).

Durban Board Schools; in 1893 out of a total attendance of 227 the free scholars numbered 27. The Umgeni Board school, where the fees still ranged from 3d. to 6d. had 61 free scholars out of a total attendance of 113. Owing to the competition from the Aided schools the Board schools had to admit a fair number of free pupils. The fee-income of the Board schools increased from £16.5.6 in 1884 to £30.6.0 in 1893 (90).

With regard to Aided schools, it may be remembered (91) that in the conditions of grant-in-aids as set out in 1881, the fees at these schools were fixed at 3d. to 6d., and were to be retained by the teachers. It was not customary for Government to fix the school fees of Aided schools, but it should be noted that they were fixed in the case of the Aided Indian schools. The motive, in this case, no doubt was to keep the fees low and uniform so that those who were unable to pay should not be deprived of the advantages of education.

But the Aided schools appear to have ignored this condition for soon there were varying rates of fees being charged. In 1885 some schools were charging as much as 1/6d; the average rates for all Aided schools in this year was 1/5d. per head (92). By 1893 the fees had become even less uniform and more expensive. For example, the fees at Booth's Durban school ranged from 3d. to 5/- a month per head; the maximum fee at Pietermaritzburg No. 1 was 2/6d; the Catholic school at Durban (Baudry's) charged 3d. to 2/- (93). The high fees were forced upon these schools because they taught up to Standard IV and included in their course of

---

90. Table 4(a).

91. See Reference 29.

92. Report, Indian Schools: 1885

93. Ibid : 1893

instruction special subjects like drawing, music, needlework, and physical drill, all of which called for increased expenditure in the way of additional staff and working material. Besides, money had to be found for essential repairs and equipment. It is, therefore, doubtful whether all the teachers in all Aided schools really benefited by the fee-income. There were, of course, several small schools which did not charge more than 1/- a month.

The fee-income of the Aided schools were, however, severely limited by the prevailing practice of admitting large numbers of pupils who did not pay fees. At Umzinto and Equeefa no fees at all were paid by the pupils; the manager thought (94) that imposition of fees would have had the effect of emptying the benches. Sometimes children migrated from one school to another to avoid payment of school fees when the teacher became pressing (94). The Inspector, too, felt (95) that many of these schools admitted too many free pupils, and thus a valuable means of supplementing the grant was lost. All this may have been due to competition amongst the different religious denominations in order to bring the Indian child under the influence of Christianity. The following Table illustrates the extent to which free education was being given to Indian children in some of the bigger schools in 1890 (95);-

- 
94. Ibid : 1885  
95. Ibid : 1890

T A B L E IX.

| School                           | Roll | Free | Fees collected for year |     |    |
|----------------------------------|------|------|-------------------------|-----|----|
|                                  |      |      | £.                      | s.  | d. |
| Pietermaritzburg (Barret)        | 109  | 109  | -                       | -   | -  |
| Claremont (Baudry)               | 49   | 30   |                         | 5.  | 6  |
| Durban ( " )                     | 94   | 65   | 1.                      | 2.  | 7  |
| Umbilo (Stott )                  | 51   | 40   |                         | 5.  | 6  |
| Pietermaritzburg Girls' (Swabey) | 75   | 67   | 1.                      | 2.  | 0  |
| Pietermaritzburg No. 1 (Swabey)  | 88   | 47   | 2.                      | 14. | 0  |
| Pietermaritzburg No. 2 (Swabey)  | 67   | 26   |                         | 7.  | 3  |
| Umzinto (Booth)                  | 69   | 58   |                         | 7.  | 6  |
| Isipingo "                       | 82   | 70   | 1.                      | 4.  | 9  |
| Durban Girls' "                  | 111  | 35   | 1.                      | 11. | 0  |
| Durban "                         | 168  | 45   | 16.                     | 12. | 7  |
| Railway "                        | 108  | 50   | 3.                      | 16. | 9  |
| Umgeni Board                     | 99   | 61   | 3.                      | 9.  | 3  |
| Durban "                         | 135  | 71   | 11.                     | 2.  | 9  |

Examine also the following Table shewing the fees collected in Aided schools each year, and the total number of pupils in all the schools receiving free instruction (96):-

96. Reports, Indian Schools: 1885-1893.

T A B L E X.

| Year | Aided Schools<br>Fees collected | Total<br>Attendance | All Schools<br>Free Pupils |
|------|---------------------------------|---------------------|----------------------------|
|      | £. s. d.                        |                     |                            |
| 1885 | 115.13. 7                       | 1480                | 332                        |
| 1886 | 82.16. 6                        | 1702                | 616                        |
| 1887 | 62.19.10                        | 1591                | 679                        |
| 1888 | 60. 3. 9                        | 1891                | 817                        |
| 1889 | 66.12. 9                        | 2007                | 961                        |
| 1890 | 84.16. 0                        | 2141                | 846                        |
| 1891 | 93. 4. 2                        | 2270                | 999                        |
| 1892 | 99. 4. 3                        | 2706                | 1138                       |
| 1893 | 99. 6. 5                        | 2589                | 1041                       |

Though the tendency appears to have been to admit more and more free pupils, yet the Inspector's experience was that the higher the rate of fees, and the more vigorous the teachers in exacting them, the better is the class of the school; nor did the attendance appear to suffer (97). The more prosperous members of the Indian community seem to have preferred to send their children to schools where there were not so many "paupers" in attendance. This, perhaps, explains the request of the Indians themselves to raise the fees of the Durban Board school; higher fees kept out the poorer ones, and raised the social status of the school. It is interesting to note the beginnings of class consciousness amongst the Indians themselves.

Reviewing the subject of the finance of Indian education during 1879 to 1893, the following features stand out:-

---

97. Report, Indian Schools: 30th June, 1894.  
G.N. 317/1894.

1. the separation of Indian education from the general system of education in the Colony, and its administration under a separately constituted Governmental body, resulted in inadequate financial provisions being made for Indian education;
2. the development of educational facilities for Indian children was, therefore, restricted;
3. this state of affairs seems to have been in accord with the rising anti-Indian prejudices of the European settlers;
4. the Indian Immigrant School Board raised no protest against the scanty financial provisions under which it was expected to carry on its work, but in fact it ~~is~~ well adapted itself to conditions that almost every year there were generous savings to the Treasury from the vote for Indian education;
5. the Indian Immigrant School Board financed Government and Government-aided Indian schools on a scale inferior to that of European schools under the Council of Education;
6. the Indian Immigrant School Board had adopted a system of grants-in-aid which was not made public in the usual manner by publishing in the Government Gazette, but it was constantly being revised and adjusted;
7. the grant-in-aid was a general maintenance grant intended to cover all the Board's expenditure in connection with these schools;
8. building, furniture, and capitation ("payment-by-results") and industrial training grants were not features of the system of grants-in-aid, and yet these were necessary to have put Indian education on a satisfactory basis;
9. to cover up various anomalies resulting from the low salaries of teachers in Indian Schools the Board offered annual bonuses in lieu of the capitation grants;
10. to stimulate children regularly to attend schools, which were singularly lacking in comfort and attractiveness, the Board used to offer annual prizes to children;
11. large proportions of the grants-in-aid were allocated to one or two managers and as a result the entire responsibility for providing educational facilities was really transferred to these individuals, and the Board itself became an agency for distributing the monies of the Government;
12. school fees at varying rates were charged at the Aided schools, but owing to the large number of pupils who did not pay fees, a supplementary source of income to the teacher was lost.

## CHAPTER VI.

### TEACHERS AND TEACHER-TRAINING.

1879 - 1894.

The corner stone of an educational system is the teacher. The success and progress of the system depends on whether there is an adequate supply of suitable persons qualified to teach. The standard of work done in the schools, the tone of the school, and the outlook of the pupils are all very largely influenced by the teacher's own educational attainments and character.

The great need of Indian education in this period was an adequate supply of suitably qualified teachers. Sufficient men suited to be teachers would not offer themselves for the profession. Again, a large number of them who might have been employed as teachers had to be eliminated, for if it was not their character which was at fault, it was their qualification; frequently it was both. So, lack of supply, poor educational qualifications, and unsuitability of character and temperament were the chief problems connected with the teachers for Indian schools.

Yet the need was so great that often good, bad and indifferent teachers were placed in charge of the schools in order to make a start with the

educational work. Not much progress could have been expected from such a motley crowd of men in the teaching profession. On the other hand, hesitation and delay would not have helped to solve the problem. To ensure a supply of teachers for the future it was necessary first to get the children into some kind of school, and to provide someone to teach them. The vicious circle had to be broken at some point, and the resulting defects in the system of instruction <sup>were</sup> inevitable. Under normal circumstances the entire system would have righted itself in the course of time, provided vigorous efforts had been made to attract more suitable candidates to the profession and train them sufficiently.

There is plenty of evidence that the lack of suitable teachers seriously held up the development of Indian education. New schools could not be established because there were not enough teachers. In 1879 (1) the Protector of Indian Immigrants reported that no progress had been made in Indian education, though £1000 had been voted for Indian education, owing to the difficulty experienced in obtaining teachers from India. Again in 1882 (2) he stated that only eleven schools had been established by that date but that more would have been established but for the scarcity of suitable teachers. It has already been stated in the previous chapter that large amounts of the vote were allowed to lapse in the early years of the Board's existence. Even in 1888, 1889, 1890 and 1894 (3) the same complaint was made by the Inspector of Indian

- 
1. Report, Protector Indian Immigrants: 1879 p. 3.
  2. Ibid : 1882 p. 5.
  3. Report, Indian Schools: 1888, 1889, 1890, 1894.

schools. The lack of special schools for Indian girls was particularly felt, but here again development was held up because of want of lady teachers (4).

The difficulty of obtaining a supply of suitable teachers was not peculiar to Indian education alone for European education seems to have been faced with the same problem at this time. In 1879 a Select Committee of the Legislative Council (5), and in 1891 an Education Commission (6) reported that there was need of teachers of suitable qualification and good character.

In order to overcome the difficulty of supply three lines of action were possible:-

- (a) importation of trained teachers from outside the Colony;
- (b) exploitation of local resources;
- (c) programme of training teachers to ensure a future supply.

Further, in order not to restrict the field of selection both Indians and non-Indians could have been employed to teach Indian children.

The first question that arises is as to who was responsible for ensuring an adequate supply of teachers for all schools - government or government-aided. There is no doubt as to the obligation of the Government to procure teachers for its own schools. But it was not the practice to undertake the responsibility of finding teachers for Aided schools. It may be remembered that a condition of the grant-in-aid to Indian schools was that the

- 
4. Report, Indian Schools: 1884 p. 49.  
Ibid : 1885 p. 63  
Ibid : 1887
  5. Pearce, R.O: pp. 151-152.
  6. Ibid : p. 164.

grantee should engage the teacher, and, further, no application for a grant-in-aid was entertained until the school had actually been started. The responsibility for providing Aided schools with teachers was thus really transferred to the managers or grantees. In the system of schools for Indians only three Government schools were ever established; the rest were Aided schools. In fact, from 1889 there were only two Government schools which continued to function to the end of the period (7). Since the Board adhered very strictly to its principle the difficulties of staffing the Aided schools was not a subject which caused it much concern. Teachers in Aided schools were technically the employees of the Managers. The Board, representing the Government, retained the right to inspect the work of the teachers in the schools aided by the Government.

In establishing a system of education in a young and growing Colony like Natal there was bound to be a dearth of suitable teachers. The system, therefore, had to be built up by importing teachers from the mother-country. The Council of Education carried on the practice of the early Superintendents of Education and continued to import teachers from England for the Government European schools (8). The Indian Immigrant School Board was also compelled to adopt similar measures. It looked towards India in order to obtain teachers who would be able to instruct Indian children in their vernacular languages and in English. It must, however, be made

---

7. See Table XII : Chapter VII.

8. Report, Suptdg. Inspector Schools: 1878.

clear that the Board's efforts in this direction were to staff its own schools, which it contemplated establishing as soon as the teachers arrived from India.

Thus, at its very first meeting in 1879 (9), it was decided to import six teachers at a salary of £50 a year each, with a house and garden; but the Board actually applied for only four teachers (10). There seems to have been some difficulty in getting these teachers (11), and in order to make a start with its own schools without any more delay, it empowered a Sub-Committee to engage four teachers in the Colony at a salary of not more than £60 a year each (12); they were to be servants of the Board (13). From the outset, therefore, the Board was forced to exploit the possibilities of the second course of action. The first attempts of the Board to obtain a supply of teachers from India had not borne any fruit.

In 1882 another attempt was made (14) to introduce, as an experimental measure (15), three teachers under an indenture contract. It offered £36 a year this time, "with a prospect of advancement regulated by the results of their work" (14). It is surprising, indeed, that when the Board was unable to induce suitable teachers to come from India for £50 per annum, with house and garden, it now offered only £36 per annum. But the Emigration Agent in Madras was unable to engage anybody at the low salaries offered by the Board, and at his request this was

- 
9. Minutes I.I.S.B: 26th March 1879 - Res. 4.
  10. Ibid : 10th Oct. 1879 - para. 3.
  11. Report, Protector Indian Immigrants: 1879 - p. 3.
  12. Minutes I.I.S.B: 10th Oct. 1879 - Res. 3.
  13. Ibid : ditto " 4.
  14. Ibid : 29th July 1882 - Res. 9.
  - Report, Protector Indian Immigrants: 1882 - p. 5.
  15. Ibid : ditto.

raised to £60 per annum (16). Only two offered themselves under these conditions, and neither was allowed to migrate because they were physically unfit for service in Natal (17). The Board ultimately succeeded in importing one teacher from Madras for the Tongaat Board school at a cost of £11.14.3 (18). There was also the question of women teachers. In order to induce Indian girls to attend schools it appears to have been necessary to establish separate girls' schools staffed by lady teachers. The Inspector observed in 1887 (19) that one could never ascertain whether the prejudice of the Indian immigrants against female education was insuperable until schools for girls only had been established. He went on to report that the Board contemplated establishing a special girls' school.

This idea was not new for in 1884 (20) he wrote that the Board would be asked to obtain from India a competent woman to start a school for girls at Pietermaritzburg. Neither had the Board succeeded in establishing such a school in this period, ~~and~~ nor had the lady teacher arrived. Again in 1885 (21) steps were taken to introduce lady teachers from the Zenana Missions in India to undertake the education of Indian girls at Durban and Pietermaritzburg, presumably in Board schools for girls. Even accommodation was found for them. But beyond this, nothing further is said about the venture. Thus, so far as the Board was concerned India was a barren source for the supply of teachers.

- 
16. Minutes I.I.S.B: 2nd Feb. 1883 - para. 6.  
17. Ibid : 1883 - p. 11.  
Report, Indian Schools: 1883.  
18. Report, Indian Schools: 1884: Rev. & Expenditure a/c.  
19. Report, Indian Schools: 1887  
20. Ibid : 1884  
21. Minutes I.I.S.B: 9th May 1885 - Res. 11.  
4th July 1885 - para. 8  
23rd. Sept 1885 - para. 6.

But the idea did not die, for, owing to the great need of teachers for the Aided schools, the Inspector recommended in 1888 and 1889 (22), that qualified men should be brought out from India through one or other of the Missions. He thought the Missions would be able to import them at a lower cost than could the Board. He suggested the payment of passage money and a guarantee of £40 a year. He stressed the fact that the future of Indian education depended upon the introduction of such men, as the stamp of Indian teachers available in the Colony did not tend to improve. The Board's decision was that it did not see its way at the time to undertake the pecuniary responsibility of obtaining teachers from India for Aided Indian schools (23).

The Rev. Dr. Booth, however, appears to have acted on the suggestion of the Inspector, for he reported in 1890 (24) that he had imported five teachers from India, and requested the Board to grant him the cost of their passage money which was about £7 each. Not only was Dr. Booth more successful than the Board in importing teachers, but he was also able, as the Inspector predicted, to do it more cheaply. But instead of feeling happy about the success of Dr. Booth, and extending the small help required of it, the Board refused to make the grant. It resolved (142) that not having been consulted regarding the importation of these teachers it did not feel justified in making the allowance asked for; that, moreover, it had laid down the principle that

---

22. Ibid : 1888, 1889.

23. Ibid : 1889.

Minutes I.I.S.B: 14th June 1889 - Res. 11, 12.

24. Ibid : 13th June 1890 - paras. 4, 5.

One of these appears to have been a lady who had been a teacher in a Normal School for women; she was attached to Booth's Girls' school in Durban. (Report, Indian Schools 1890).

as a rule grants-in-aid to Indian schools were to be paid in view of the attendance at, and condition of, the schools concerned. It was decided to inform Dr. Booth that should any marked improvement take place in the conditions of the schools to which these teachers were attached, it would be prepared to consider the question of increased grants to such schools.

The policy of the Board was thus enough to stifle any further attempts of the Managers to resort to importation as a means of solving the problem of shortage of teachers. On the other hand, had the Board made a grant as requested it would have inaugurated a new policy in the Government-aided system. The members of the Council of Education, who were represented on the Board, were no doubt thinking of the result of such a step on Government-aided European schools. It would have been difficult to refuse similar requests from Managers of European Aided schools, and the cost of bringing teachers out from England would certainly not have been as low as that from India. To the Managers of Aided schools, India was not a source from which the deficiencies of the supply of local teachers could be remedied, even though the Board expressed its satisfaction at the action of Dr. Booth and commended it as being a move in the right direction (25).

The only alternative, therefore, was to exploit local resources. In 1881 (26) the Protector of Indian Immigrants was asked to ascertain the probable number of Indians in the Colony who were willing to become teachers. Such a report was actually made by

---

25. Report, Indian Schools: 1890

26. Minutes I.I.S.B: 9th Feb. 1881 - para. 8.

George Dunning, the Inspector from India, after a brief survey of the educational needs of Indians (27). He stated that he knew of only two or three men who were qualified for such posts. Owing to the smallness of the number of Colonial Indian youths who were prepared to take up teaching, the Inspector who succeeded Dunning, recommended in 1883 that European teachers should be employed in all the larger Indian schools (28). In 1886 there was one European teacher, educated in Berlin, who was employed at the Clairmont school (29). By the end of 1888 several European ladies were in employment at Indian schools (30),<sup>and</sup> in 1890 there were nine of them (31). A brief and unsatisfactory experiment was carried out with time-expired European soldiers at Umzinto and Equeefa. They were from India and had acted as regimental schoolmasters; they were also said to have had a knowledge of one or other of the Indian languages (32). It is significant that generally no male European teachers were attracted to teaching in Indian schools. The reason is not far to seek: there was a big demand for their services in European schools and with better prospects than that offered by the Indian Immigrant School Board.

In 1886 the Inspector proposed the employment of educated African teachers in Indian schools (33) but the Board was not prepared to entertain the idea.

There were, however, in the Colony a few educated Indians who, for some reason or other, were

- 
27. Report, Indian Schools: 1881 - 15th Oct. (D.P.5/1882).  
28. Ibid : 1883  
29. Ibid : 1886 - Annexure B.  
30. Ibid : 1888  
31. Ibid : 1890  
32. Ibid : 1884 p. 49.  
33. Minutes I.I.S.B: 10th Dec. 1886 - para. 4.

induced to take up teaching. One or two of those from Mauritius possessed the Fourth Class Teachers' Certificate given in Mauritius (34). The teachers of the Durban and Tongaat Board Schools were from Madras, and the teacher of the Umgeni Board school was from Cawnpore, India. Five from Mauritius, and three others from India, were employed in the Aided schools in 1887.

Gradually, however, Indian youths educated and trained in the Colony were beginning to take their place in these schools. To quote a few examples: Colonially educated Indian youths were employed at Avoca in 1888, at the Point in 1888 and 1892, at Umzinto in 1890, at Tongaat in 1893, and at the Durban Board school in 1892. It appears from the reports (35) that the Board was now beginning to depend on its system of pupil-teacher training at the Board and Aided schools to supply the future needs of Indian education. A number of the Colonially trained teachers appear to have been mere "lads". The teacher at the Point school in 1889 was a lad trained at the Umgeni Board school and had one year's experience at the Durban Government Model school; the teacher at Umbilo school was trained at the Durban Board school, while the teachers at Cornubia and Sydenham were lads trained at the Bridgeford and Durban (Booth's) Aided schools (36).

Apart from the retardation caused by a lack of supply, schools often suffered because of the misconduct or intemperance of teachers. For instance, the Equifa and Umzinto schools were reported to have actually benefited by the dismissal of the time-expired

---

34. Report, Indian Schools: 1886 - Annexure B.  
35. Ibid : 1888, 1889, 1890.  
36. Ibid : 1889.

soldiers, as their conduct was not such as to command the respect of those among whom their work lay (37). The enrolment at Avoca suffered because of the cruelty of the teacher to one of the pupils; the matter was taken to Court and the teacher was "severely punished" (37). In 1890 a rival school was set up in Umzinto by an ex-pupil-teacher dismissed for misconduct (38). The Newcastle school was open only a part of the year in 1890 owing to the teacher having become involved in "pecuniary difficulties" (38). The Tongaat school had a bad year in 1893 owing to the misconduct of the teachers; on more than one occasion they were not found to be at work when the Inspector visited the school (39). Rock's private adventure school in Pietermaritzburg was closed; the teacher, Rock, was intemperate in his habits and neglected his duty (40). It will be remembered that in 1888 the Inspector had already complained that the type of Indian teacher available in Natal did not tend to improve, and he was constrained to report even at the end of the period of the Board's administration, that the great difficulty was of getting "not competent, but reliable teachers" (41).

But again when reliable men were found, it frequently turned out that they did not have sufficient education to become teachers. How grave the situation was may be gathered from the report of the Inspector in 1885 (42) when he wrote:

- 
- |     |                         |                           |
|-----|-------------------------|---------------------------|
| 37. | Report, Indian Schools: | 1884                      |
| 38. | Ibid                    | : 1890                    |
| 39. | Ibid                    | : 1893                    |
| 40. | Ibid                    | : 1889                    |
| 41. | Report, Indian Schools: | June 1894: G.N. 317/1894. |
| 42. | Ibid                    | : 1885.                   |

"no amount of effort on the part of untrained men can make up for the ignorance of the methods of imparting instruction, or qualifying a smatterer for a teacher: progress in this respect is slow".

Most of the early teachers had come from Mauritius; some were trained as teachers, but most of them had just attended school at Mauritius. The Mauritius-trained teachers available in Natal had the lowest teaching certificate given in Mauritius. The Inspector reported in 1884 (43) that their education was slight and superficial, and that all their defects were produced in the pupils. An interesting list containing the qualifications of teachers employed in Indian schools was published in the Annual Report for 1886 (44). An examination of that list reveals the following facts:-

|                | <u>1886</u> |  |
|----------------|-------------|--|
| Where educated | No.         | Remarks  |
| India          | 6           | None with professional certificates.                   |
| Mauritius      | 5           | Two with Mauritius Fourth-Class Teaching Certificates. |
| Berlin         | 1           | No professional certificate.                           |
| Natal          | 4           | ditto  |
| Unspecified    | 11          | Unspecified.   |

27

It will be observed that nearly half the teachers could not even be specified as having had a regular schooling. Only two teachers from Mauritius possessed a teacher's certificate and as a group they

---

43. Ibid : 1884  
 44. Ibid : 1886 - Annexure B.

did not impress the Inspector as capable of teaching even up to Standard IV (45). One teacher from India had attended a college, another a high school, and another had passed the matriculation of the University of Madras. Of the Natal teachers one was a student at the Church of South Africa night school in Durban, another was educated at the Umgeni Board school, and two at the Wesleyan day mission schools at Durban and Springfield.

The position was so bad that the Board actually agreed to carry on with an incompetent person at the important Point school until a suitable substitute could be found (46). The need for trained men became more urgent each year as the schools added on new standards; most of the teachers might have been suitable for the beginners and sub-standard class, but the great weakness of the teaching staff became evident in Standards III and IV. The Inspector suggested the employment of young men with "Merit Certificates" on their leaving the Government European schools (47). He proposed that the grants to them should be from £75 to £100 per annum. He was apparently thinking of European youths.

It has been pointed out that the chronic weakness of Indian education was the lack of a supply of competent and good teachers. This was the despair of the Inspector, who felt that more could have been attempted if it had not been for this deficiency. It is necessary to examine to what extent the Board itself was responsible for the situation. The whole problem

---

45. Indian Schools did not go beyond Standard IV.

46. Minutes I.I.S.B: 8th Aug. 1885.

47. Report, Indian Schools : 1886 - para. 33.

was essentially one of finance. The rates of pay offered in the Indian schools were not a sufficient inducement for Indian youths to take to teaching as a means of livelihood. The Inspector saw the cause of the deficiency at once and frequently drew the attention of the Board to the question of adequate remuneration of Indian teachers.

For instance in 1884 (48) he stated that a more liberal scale of grants-in-aid would be advantageous; that while grants-in-aid ranging from £15 to £50 might appear large beside those made to European schools, it should be remembered that school fees in Indian schools were "ludicrously small" and difficult of collection; that a trifling addition would make all the difference between securing a good or an indifferent teacher. He emphasised the point that the Indian schoolmaster was in an exceptionally prominent position and should be enabled to fill it with due dignity.

Again in 1885 (49), he wrote that the rate of wages offered by the Board was a "mere pittance", and that men will not work, certainly not their best, where there was no prospect of improving their condition. The minimum grant-in-aid offered by the Board was £20 per annum. The Inspector did not mince his words in 1886 (50) when he stated that no man who respected himself would have accepted the post of a teacher for less than £2 a month; and, if one did, it would be a "pis aller" for he would leave as soon

---

48. Report Indian Schools : 1884.

49. Report Indian Schools : 1885 - p. 66.

50. Ibid : 1886 - para. 34.

as possible. He drew attention to the economic aspect of the problem yet again in 1888 and 1894 (51). The majority of the locally educated Indian youths sought more remunerative employment. Besides the "proverbial basket at a corner of the street" there was hardly a single teacher to whom the gold-fields of the Transvaal did not offer a good opening (52). But the Board did nothing to increase the grants-in-aid, nor was it prepared to adopt his suggestion of the Capitation grants in order to supplement the salaries of teachers in Indian schools (53). It adopted, however, the bonus system against the recommendation of the Inspector, and it further agreed to the addition of ten shillings (10/-) a month to the salary of every teacher of an Aided school who obtained the Government Teacher's Certificate (54). The Inspector thought that those employed in town might be called upon to obtain their certificates, and according to him two or three had expressed their willingness to do this (55). How many actually proceeded to qualify for this certificate is not known; it is recorded (56) that one Indian youth left the Durban Board school to compete for a Teacher's Certificate at the Durban Government Model school in 1886.

Consider now the steps taken by the Board to ensure a supply of teachers for the future. Mr. Hoover, the teacher of the Durban Board school, suggested in 1883 (57) that a teacher-training college

---

51. Ibid : 1888,1894.

52. Ibid : 1888.

53. See section on "Finance of Indian Education".

54. Minutes I.I.S.B: 14th May 1886 - para. 8 (Cl. 40).

55. Report, Indian schools: 1885.

56. Minutes I.I.S.B: 13th Feb. 1886 - para 6.

57. Report, Indian Schools : 1883 - p. 36.

as possible. He drew attention to the economic aspect of the problem yet again in 1888 and 1894 (51). The majority of the locally educated Indian youths sought more remunerative employment. Besides the "proverbial basket at a corner of the street" there was hardly a single teacher to whom the gold-fields of the Transvaal did not offer a good opening (52). But the Board did nothing to increase the grants-in-aid, nor was it prepared to adopt his suggestion of the Capitation grants in order to supplement the salaries of teachers in Indian schools (53). It adopted, however, the bonus system against the recommendation of the Inspector, and it further agreed to the addition of ten shillings (10/-) a month to the salary of every teacher of an Aided school who obtained the Government Teacher's Certificate (54). The Inspector thought that those employed in town might be called upon to obtain their certificates, and according to him two or three had expressed their willingness to do this (55). How many actually proceeded to qualify for this certificate is not known; it is recorded (56) that one Indian youth left the Durban Board school to compete for a Teacher's Certificate at the Durban Government Model school in 1886.

Consider now the steps taken by the Board to ensure a supply of teachers for the future. Mr. Hoover, the teacher of the Durban Board school, suggested in 1883 (57) that a teacher-training college

---

51. Ibid : 1888,1894.

52. Ibid : 1888.

53. See section on "Finance of Indian Education".

54. Minutes I.I.S.B: 14th May 1886 - para. 8 (Cl. 40).

55. Report, Indian schools: 1885.

56. Minutes I.I.S.B; 13th Feb. 1886 - para 6.

57. Report, Indian Schools : 1883 - p. 36.

should be established for Indians, but both the Inspector (58) and the Board (59) thought that the scheme was premature. The Inspector thought that the purpose would be sufficiently served for the present by the system of pupil-teachers then in vogue in Natal. Though recommended in 1858 by the Central Board of Education, such a training college for European teachers was not established until 1908 (60). Under the pupil-teacher system for European schools the candidate for teaching was attached to a recognised school for four years as a pupil-teacher and one year as an ex-pupil-teacher; instruction was given, generally by the headmaster, for four hours per week (60). After this he or she was appointed to the permanent staff of the same school or some other school. There is no information as to whether the Indian Immigrant School Board followed the same system in every respect, or a modified system for the training of Indian teachers.

The Inspector's alternative to Mr. Hoover's suggestion was that scholarships to the Government Model schools might also be held out as an inducement to boys who wished to continue their studies with a view to becoming teachers (57). He added in 1884 (61) that the money value of the scholarships should be sufficient to ensure the winners' respectable appearance among their school fellows. He hoped in this way to provide an efficient body of teachers for the future.

---

58. Ibid : ditto.

59. Ibid : 1884

Minutes I.I.S.B: 13th Feb. 1884 - para. 9. From the 1883 report it seems that Hoover was thinking of a training section attached to the Board school.

60. Pearse, R.O: op cit p. 116.

61. Report, Indian Schools : 1884.

It should be noted that at this time Indians could send their children to any of the Government schools established mainly for European children. He repeated the suggestion in 1885 (62), but the Board felt that the course recommended by the Inspector of training Indian teachers at the Government Model Primary schools was "not advisable of adoption" (63). Yet at the same meeting the Board had resolved earlier to pay teachers extra for obtaining a Government Teachers' Certificate. It is not certain whether the objection of the Board was on financial grounds or from a desire to avoid social conflict arising out of the mixture of races. It may well have been due to both reasons.

The policy of the Board then was to train pupil-teachers in the Indian schools. Thus in 1883 (64) the Board authorised the Inspector to engage at a salary of five shillings each a month not more than ten pupil-teachers in all for any Board or Aided school which had a minimum regular attendance of thirty. In 1885 (65) the limit regarding minimum attendance was lowered to twenty-five, and the Inspector was asked to make a quarterly report on the general progress and competency of the pupil-teachers. The educational background of the Indian pupil-teachers was very low indeed. For instance, in 1885 (66) there were thirteen pupil-teachers but all of them had not even passed Standard III in the 3 R's. This low entrance qualification was the consequence of Indian schools not teaching beyond Standard IV. That is why the Inspector

- 
62. Report, Indian Schools : 1884  
63. Minutes I.I.S.B: 14th May 1886 para. 8 (Cl. 80).  
64. Ibid : 21st June 1883 - Res. 5  
65. Ibid : 8th Aug. 1885 - paras. 9,10.  
66. Report, Indian Schools : 1885.

recommended (67) the Board to assist those who had passed Standard III and Standard IV to attend the Government Model Primary schools.

The Inspector was not impressed by the products of the pupil-teacher system in Indian schools, for in 1887 (68) he thought that a special training institution for teachers was a desirable object; it would have been useful for training interpreters for the Courts also. He appeared to have come round to Mr. Hoover's views. The Board, however, was satisfied that the difficulty of obtaining suitable teachers was being overcome by the pupil-teacher system (69). In 1888 one pupil-teacher was being employed in each of the following schools: Sydenham, Avoca, Umbilo (Booth), Pietermaritzburg No. 2., Bridgeford, Verulam, Durban (Baudry), Durban Girls' (Booth); two at Tongaat, Pietermaritzburg No. 1, and Durban (Booth); and a third one at the Durban Board (70). The teaching force was growing slowly. In 1887 there were twenty-five teachers, one assistant teacher, and ten pupil-teachers, but in June 1894 there were sixty-six teachers of all grades, and of whom ten were European women, and two Indian women (71).

But as in the case of teachers the low salaries offered to pupil-teachers discouraged many a boy from joining the ranks of the teachers. In 1885 the Inspector himself remarked (72) that five shillings a month was not a sufficient inducement for a boy to remain and qualify for the post of a teacher. They

---

67. Ibid : 1885.

68. Ibid : 1887

69. Ibid : 1889, 1890

70. Minutes I.I.S.B: 11th May 1888 - para. 8  
19th Oct 1888 - para. 16

The annual report for 1888 states there were 21 pupil-teachers.

71. Report, Indian Schools: 1887, 1894.

72. Report, Indian Schools: 1885.

received greater remuneration by going out to work. He recommended an increase to ten shillings (10/-), fifteen shillings (15/-) and one pound (£1) a month "according to the value of his service to retain him", plus the title of an assistant, and share of capitation allowance or bonus; and he, further, urged that an agreement should be made with them for a term. Even the Council of Education found that it was unable to attract European pupil-teachers for salaries increasing from thirty shillings (30/-) to three pounds (£3) a month, including free instruction (73). The Board regarded (74) the scale of remuneration of pupil-teachers as an elastic one, and was prepared to further the views of the Inspector in cases where he considered the rate of pay to be insufficient. As a result of this resolution of the Board, pupil-teachers at the Durban Board School and Booth's Durban School began receiving ten shillings (10/-) a month (75); in 1888 the two pupil<sup>3</sup>teachers at the Tongaat school had their salaries increased to seven-and-sixpence (7/6d) a month (76) and another at the Durban Board school to one pound (£1) (77). In 1891 an assistant teacher at the Durban Board school was receiving only £1.10.0 a month (78); in 1892 the salary of the first assistant teacher was raised to £3.0.0 a month, of the second assistant to £2.10.0 a month, but two pupil-teachers were still receiving five shillings (5/-) and ten shillings (10/-) a month respectively on the old scale (79).

These few examples will suffice to indicate once again that the most important contributory cause

- 
73. Report, Suptdg. Inspector Schools: 1878.  
74. Minutes I.I.S.B: 14th May 1886-para. 8 (Cl. 44-46).  
75. Ibid : 9th July 1886-para. 12  
76. Ibid : 11th May 1888-para. 8  
77. Ibid : 8th Feb 1888-para. 12.  
78. Ibid : 13th Feb 1891-paras. 8,9.

of the shortage of Indian teachers was the low remuneration offered to teachers and pupil-teachers. The Government and the Indian Immigrant School Board were both responsible for the situation - the Government in not voting adequate funds for Indian education, and the Indian Immigrant School Board for not making vigorous efforts to point out to the Government the impossibility of doing justice to the work with which it was entrusted. It would almost appear that Government and Board both combined to restrict the development of Indian education.

---

79. Ibid : 12th Feb. 1892 - para. 10.

## CHAPTER VII

### THE GROWTH OF SCHOOLS

1879 - 1894

---

The first steps taken by the Indian Immigrant School Board were to ascertain the educational needs of the localities in which Indians were settled, and to appoint an Inspector of Schools who would assist in the determination of these needs and supervise the schools that might be established. Action with regard to the first point was taken as early as 1878 when the law creating the Indian Immigrant School Board was still in the process of formulation. A Circular, signed by the Acting Protector of Indian Immigrants, Major S. Graves, had been sent to the employers of Indian labour soliciting the following information (1):-

1. Whether there was any school for the instruction of Indian children on the Estate, or in the neighbourhood;
2. the name of the teacher;
3. the course of instruction given;
4. the number on the roll, the average daily attendance at such school;
5. the localities in which it would be desirable to establish schools;
6. the probable number of children within convenient reach;
7. the assistance which employers would be willing to give the Government in the creation and maintenance of these schools.

---

1. C.S.O. - Vol 1911: 2808/1878 - Protector to C.S.N. Minute dated 31st July, 1878. Copy of circular is attached.

Only twenty-four replies were received in response to this circular. Immediately after the appointment of the first Board in 1879, another circular was sent to the employers by the Secretary of the Board, and this time the response was even worse for only six replies were received (2).

In view of the incompleteness and unsatisfactory nature of the replies received, it now appeared to be highly important for the Board to secure the advice and assistance of an Inspector. The Board, therefore, acting on the suggestions of Sir Bartle Frere (3), took steps to obtain from Madras an Indian or European School Inspector (3). In the meantime Robert Russell, the Secretary of the Board and the Superintending Inspector of Schools, was requested to act as Inspector of Indian Schools (4). At last in September 1881, Mr. George Dunning, who had been selected for this post by the Director of Public Instruction of Madras, arrived in Natal (5). Mr. Dunning was formerly headmaster of the High School at Chitaldrug in the Madras Presidency (6), and he was selected for his knowledge of English and Tamil (7).

Immediately after his arrival the Inspector was directed, in accordance with a resolution passed earlier in the year (8), to make a tour of inspection of the coast with the object of acquiring full information regarding the educational needs of the Indian community, and of ascertaining how best these

- 
2. Minutes I.I.S.B: 26th March 1879 - para. 1.
  3. Ibid : ditto - Resoln. 3 - the note by Sir Bartle Frere is missing.
  4. Ibid : ditto - Resoln. 9.
  5. Ibid : 15th Oct 1881 para. 3.
  6. Report, Indian Schools: 1881 (D.P. 5/1882).
  7. Minutes I.I.S.B: 10th Oct. 1879 - Resoln. 3.
  8. Ibid : 9th Feb. 1881 - Resoln. 7  
Report, Indian Schools, 1881.

needs might be supplied both generally and particularly, and to report thereon as soon as possible for the information and guidance of the Board. It may be remembered that the Board had been unable to use all the money voted for Indian education because of a lack of precise information on just these kind of matters.

The Inspector submitted a report on the 15th October, 1881 (9), but, as it was considered unsatisfactory, he was requested to prepare another report giving detailed information based on personal observation. The second report was submitted on the 26th November, 1881 (10). The action taken by the Board on this report consisted of directing the Inspector to establish schools between Durban and Verulam, in accordance with the conditions of grants-in-aid already discussed (10).

Inspector Dunning, however, was not long in the employ of the Board for he was dismissed in 1882 (11), "in view of the marked uncongenial nature of the Inspector's work as evidenced mainly by the meagre results accruing therefrom". In November, 1882, this office was filled temporarily for six months by Mr. Francis Colepeper, Acting Assistant Protector of Indian Immigrants (12); the appointment was made permanent in February, 1883 (13). He was also asked to furnish a detailed report as to the most suitable country localities for schools, and to collect

- 
9. Minutes I.I.S.B: 15th Oct. 1881 - Resoln. 6.
  10. Ibid : 26th Nov. 1881 - Resoln. 10.  
Report, Indian Schools: 1881.
  11. Minutes I.I.S.B: 29th July 1882 - Resoln. 10.
  12. Ibid : 8th Nov. 1882
  13. Ibid : 22nd Feb. 1883 - Resoln. 4.

statistics regarding the number of Indian children of school age in the Colony (14).

Now when George Dunning made his first report on the educational needs of the Indian immigrants, he stated that there were seven schools in and about Durban for the special instruction of Indian children. One of these was a Wesleyan school at Bridgeford, a few miles out of Durban along the north coast of Natal; four others - Point, Umbilo, Sydenham and Railway - had been started by the Rev. Stott in September of that year. He also visited several estates in the neighbourhood of Avoca, Phoenix, Mt. Edgecombe, and Verulam. He recommended that schools for indentured Indians should be established at Effingham, Mr. Harrison's, Umhlanga Valley, Cornubia and Mr. Milner's; and at Blackburn and Isipingo for "free" Indians. His second report gave more precise information on the subject. The following places were described as suitable localities for the establishment of Indian schools:-

1. Between Prospect Hall and Virginia Estate (15); these two estates were about a mile from one another, and the probable attendance was thirty children.

2. Between Effingham and Mr. Harrison's (16); a "free" Indian population had settled here in large numbers and the probable attendance was thirty-five.

3. Central to the Umtata, Torvale and Rydalvale estates (17); a school here would have been a mile distant from each of the others and the probable

---

14. Ibid ; ditto - Resoln. 5.

15. This would be in the Durban North of today.

16. Near Avoca.

17. Near Mt. Edgecombe.

attendance was thirty-five.

4. Between the Umhlanga Valley Company's Estates and Milkwood Kraal (18); both estates were within a mile of one another and the probable attendance was forty-five.

5. Between the Usine Central Mills and the Saccarhine Mills (19); a school for these two places was expected to have a larger attendance than any of the others as there were nearly 700 Indians employed at both places. The probable attendance was fifty-five.

6. Blackburn (20); it would cater for children at Messrs. Smith and Batten's Mills, Hill Head, Mr. Sauer's Estate, and the "free" Indian settlement in the vicinity. The probable attendance was thirty-five.

7. Between Waterloo and Muckleneuk (21); it was expected that besides children from these Estates, others from the Umhloti Central Mills and Penare would attend. (The probable attendance is not given).

8. Milner's Estate (22) with a probable attendance of twenty.

9. Umgeni (23); in addition to the several small estates here, Indians were also employed nearby at Micherson's workshop, the Railway, and the brick-kilns. The probable attendance was twenty-five.

10. Mount Moriah on the carriage road between Avoca and Mt. Edgecombe. This was a large

---

18. Near Phoenix; this place still retains its name as Milkwood Kraal.

19. The present Mt. Edgecombe.

20. This name is still retained.

21. Near Verulam.

22. On the Springfield Flats.

23. Queen's Bridge, Lower Umgeni.

"free" Indian settlement and a school here would have attracted a large attendance. Dunning thought that when it became generally known that Government wished to encourage education amongst Indians, and would aid private schools, the Indians would start one here of themselves.

It will be noticed that Dunning's recommendations were restricted to localities

- (a) outside the borough of Durban
- (b) on sugar estates or near sugar mills, and
- (c) on the north coast beyond the Umgeni River up to the Umhloti River.

An arc described to indicate the concentration of the Indian population along the coast would have extended from the Tongaat River down to the Illovo River. A large number of Indians were employed in the Tongaat district at this time as it was an important sugar producing area. Along the south coast at Merebank, Reunion, Isipingo, and beyond Isipingo, a considerable number of Indians were then settled, being occupied on the sugar estates or in independent market-gardening activities. It has already been mentioned that a school for Indians had once existed as far down as Umzinto, where there was a "free" Indian settlement. At this time Pietermaritzburg also had an Indian population of fair size. Dunning, however, had <sup>nothing</sup> not anything to report on the educational needs of these localities. The Board, it is true, had directed him to report on the coastal area, but he had restricted himself to a comparatively small portion of the coastal area. This portion was, however, densely populated with indentured and

ex-indentured Indians. The subsequent development of schools will show that there was a great need for schools in all these areas not surveyed by Dunning. Even in Durban itself, on which Dunning had little to report, there were not enough schools ~~really~~ for all the children of school-going age.

Limited as it was, Dunning's report served to show how much the education of Indian children in the rural areas had been neglected. In 1879 there were only two day and two evening schools, and they were all situated in Durban. In 1881 Bridgeford was the only school outside Durban. The neglect of country education appears to have been a defect of the entire educational system in the Colony at this time, and a Select Committee of the Legislative Council had been appointed in 1879 to enquire into this matter (24). It is surprising though, how it could have reported that Native and Indian education in the country places was relatively on a higher state compared with European education. The Committee concluded its report with the statement that this state of affairs was fraught with much danger for the future (25). While it is true that there were a few African schools in the rural areas, the Committee was certainly incorrect in its assertion with regard to Indian rural education.

Colepeper's special report of 1883 to the Board on the educational needs of various localities is not available. In his Annual Report for 1885 he mentioned that the following chief centres of Indian population were still without schools: Mt. Edgecombe, Pinetown, Lower Illovo, Ifafa, between Verulam and Tongaat, and even Stanger and Estcourt. To what extent

---

24. Report of the Select Cte. into Edn. D.P. 6/1879.  
25. Pearse, R.O., op cit pp. 152,153.

these and other centres of Indian population came to be supplied with schools may be studied from Table XII.

It is now necessary to examine the system of schools which provided for the educational needs of Indian children during this period. A diagrammatic representation of the school system for both Indian and European pupils is given on page 177. It will be observed that there were two parallel systems of schools: one under the Indian Immigrant School Board, consisting only of primary schools teaching up to Standard IV (26) and established especially for the special instruction of Indian children; the other under the Council of Education, consisting of primary and secondary schools established mainly for the instruction of European children. The European primary schools taught classes up to Standard VII, and the secondary schools prepared candidates for the Cape Matriculation, Junior Oxford Local and the Intermediate in Arts of the University of the Cape of Good Hope Examinations.

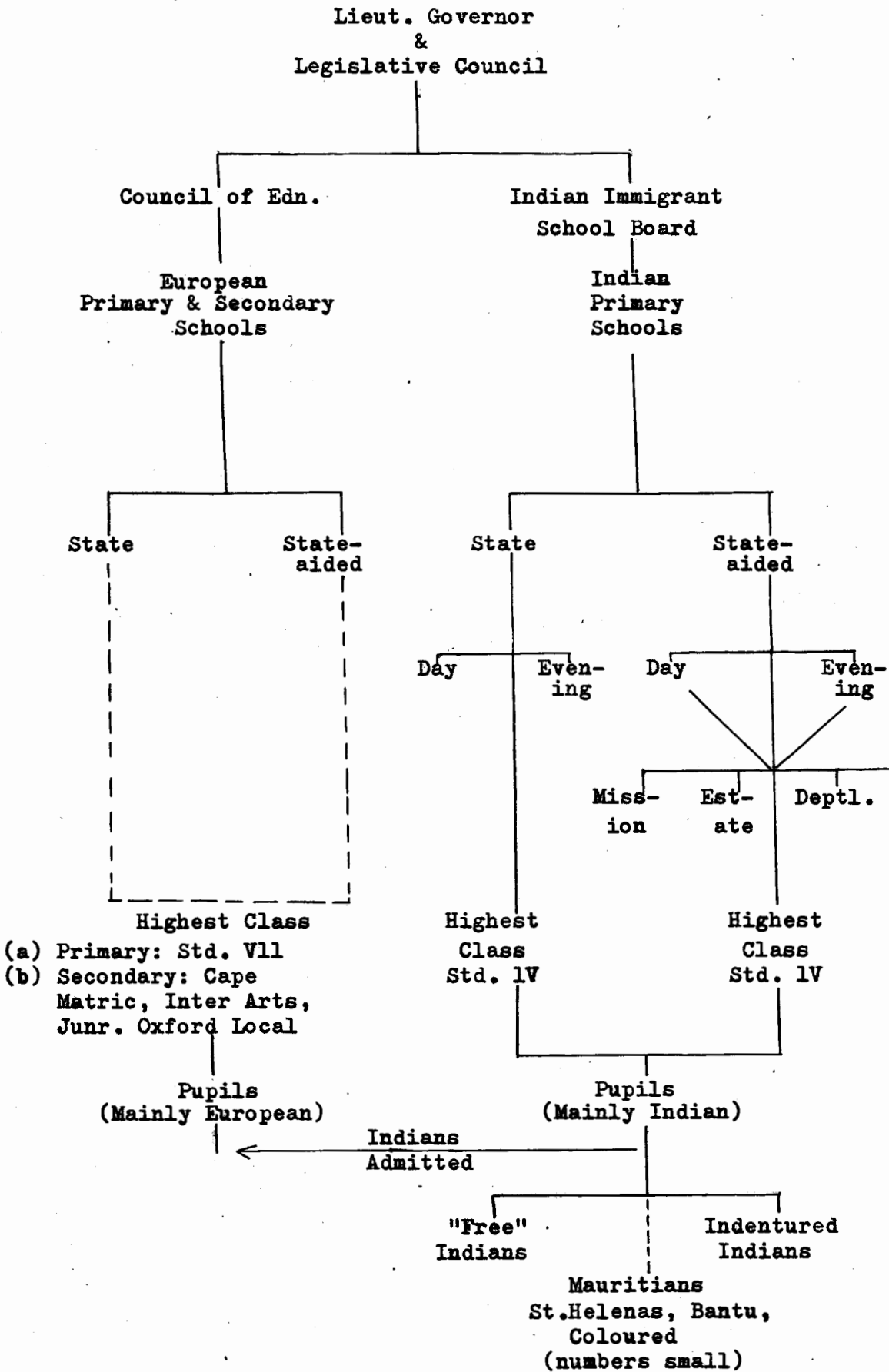
Now the schools of the Council of Education were, by law, open to the children of Indian parentage, but the number which was able to take advantage of these facilities was very small. For instance, in 1880 there were about sixty Indian pupils in the various European schools in the Colony (27); in 1883 there were twenty-three at the Durban and Pietermaritzburg Government Model Schools, but in 1884 and 1886 only ten attended

---

26. Report, Indian Schools: 1886 : Schedule of Standards - Annexure A.  
27. Report, Protector Indian Immigrants : 1880.

DIAGRAM 1.

SYSTEM OF SCHOOLS FOR INDIANS IN NATAL.  
(1879 -- 1894)



P.A. = Private Adventure  
Deptl. = Governmental Department  
(e.g. Railway)

the Durban Model School (28). One boy in 1886 obtained a Certificate of Merit; and in 1889 of the twenty-two Indian boys at the Durban Model School, three were reported to be holding "creditable places" in the Senior Division, one in Standard VII, and two in Standard VI. But considering the size of the Indian population these numbers were negligible. The European community did not seem to favour the idea of non-Europeans attending the same schools as Europeans. The matter came up in the Legislative Council in 1888 (29) when it was asked whether it was the intention of the Government during the present session to alter the law with regard to admitting Coloured children into European Government Schools. The Colonial Secretary replied that the Government did not contemplate any alteration of the law in that respect. However, in 1894 (29a) the Council of Education ruled that in localities where other facilities existed for their education, Native and Indian children should be admitted <sup>to Government schools</sup> only after they had exhausted the resources of their own schools, subsidised on their behalf by the Government, and were capable of taking a place in an advanced class in the school in which they sought to be admitted. The Government approved of the resolution of the Council (29b).

So while in theory the system of European schools might be considered as providing educational

---

28. Reports, Indian Schools: 1883, 1884, 1886, 1889.

29. Votes & Proceedings: 1888 - 7th Aug. 1888 p. 120.

29a. Minutes, Council of Edn: 26th April 1894 - Res. 15(a).

29b. Minutes, Council of Edn: Report of Administrative Committee: 31st May, 1894.

7 also "Natal Mercury" - 20 April, 1894 - "Council of Education"

facilities for Indian children, yet in practice the system was not of much consequence to the development of Indian education. In a sense, however, the system may be looked upon as providing an opportunity for Indian pupils educated in the Indian schools to continue their studies beyond Standard IV. In this way the two systems interlocked, but it must be emphasised again that it was a poorly exploited connection.

The system of schools established by the Indian Immigrant School Board, then, provided educational facilities for the bulk of the Indian school-going population. There were Government (generally known as Board) and Government-aided schools for children of "free" Indians and indentured Indians. While these schools were really meant to be exclusively for Indians, yet a limited number of Mauritians, St. Helenas, Zanzibarees, and Africans were admitted (30). Occasionally Indian pupils also attended Native schools; in 1891, for instance, there were some at the St. Francis Xavier Native School (30a). It will also be noticed that evening schools appear to have been conducted side by side with the day schools. Finally, it may be seen that there were four types of aided schools: the private adventure school was usually conducted by an individual teacher for his own profit; there was only one school under the management of a Government Department i.e. the Railway and Harbours Department; estate schools were under the management of the proprietor of the estate on which Indians were

---

30. Report, Indian Schools: 1885,1886.

30a Report, Native Schools: 1891.

employed, or under the management of a missionary; the bulk of the schools were under the management of missionaries of different denominations and are hence called mission schools.

In order to follow the progress of Indian education under such a system it becomes necessary to refer to various Tables of educational statistics. As this was a period when the foundations of Indian education was being laid, it would be interesting to know when and where the different types of schools were established, by whom, and for how long they continued in existence. Information of this kind is summarised in Table XI. In Table XI(a) is given the topographical distribution of schools from 1885 to 1893. Statistics relating to the growth of schools and school enrolment are given in Tables XII, XIII, XIV, XV, XVI, XVII, XVIII and XIX (31).

- 
31. The information presented in Tables XI-XIX have been obtained from the following sources:-
- (a) Schools and Enrolments in 1879:  
Report, Protector Indian Immigrants:1879 p. 3.  
Report, Suptdg. Inspector Schools :1879 (D.P. 47/1880).
  - (b) Schools and Enrolments in 1880:  
Report, Protector Indian Immigrants:1880 p. 4.  
Report Suptdg. Inspector Schools: 1880 - (D.P. 13/1881).  
Report, Auditor (Natal): 1880 (D.P. 9/1881).  
Return Educational Statistics: (D.P. 76/1880).
  - (c) Schools and Enrolments in 1881:  
Report on Indian Schools for 1881 (D.P.5/1882).
  - (d) Schoolsand Enrolments in 1882:  
Report, Indian Schools 1882 (not available).  
Report, Protector Indian Immigrants 1882 p. 5.  
Report, Auditor (Natal): 1882.  
Reports, Departmental 1882: Railways and Harbours p. 43.  
Report, Indians Schools: 1885 - Table of Summary of progress gives 10 schools in 1882, there being nominally 11 but in reality only 10 (according to the Inspector's Report).
  - (e) 1883 - 1893: Reports on Indian Schools now appeared regularly, and may be found in the Natal Blue Books. But the Annual Report for 1894 is missing. There is a special report for the six months ending June, 1894. (G.N.317/1894).
- Footnote: Statistics of Enrolment:

TABLE

TABLE OF DISTRIBUTION AND REGISTER OF INDIAN SCHOOLS (NATAL).  
(1879-1893)

| NAME OF SCHOOL                        | '79 | '80 | '81 | '82 | '83 | '84 | '85 | '86 | '87 | '88 | '89 | '90 | '91 | '92 | '93 | Years. |
|---------------------------------------|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|--------|
| <u>Board (Government)</u>             |     |     |     |     |     |     |     |     |     |     |     |     |     |     |     |        |
| 1. Durban                             |     |     |     |     | x   | x   | x   | x   | x   | x   | x   | x   | x   | x   | x   | 11     |
| 2. Umgeni                             |     |     |     |     |     | x   | x   | x   | x   | x   | x   | x   | x   | x   | x   | 10     |
| 3. Tongaat                            |     |     |     |     | x   | x   | x   | x   | x   | x   | -   | -   | -   | -   | -   | 6      |
| <u>Church of South Africa (Aided)</u> |     |     |     |     |     |     |     |     |     |     |     |     |     |     |     |        |
| 4. Durban (St. Aidan's)               | x   | x   | x   | x   | x   | x   | x   | x   | x   | x   | x   | x   | x   | x   | x   | 15     |
| 5. P. M. Burg No. 1                   |     | x   | x   | x   | x   | x   | x   | x   | x   | x   | x   | x   | x   | x   | x   | 14     |
| 6. Umzinto                            |     |     |     | x   | x   | x   | x   | x   | x   | x   | x   | x   | x   | x   | x   | 12     |
| 7. Sydenham (St. Aidan's)             |     |     |     |     | x   | x   | x   | x   | x   | x   | x   | x   | x   | x   | x   | 11     |
| 8. Avoca                              |     |     |     |     | x   | x   | x   | x   | x   | x   | x   | x   | x   | x   | x   | 11     |
| 9. Equifa                             |     |     |     |     | x   | x   | x   | x   | xo  | -   | -   | -   | x   | x   | x   | 8      |
| 10. Prospect Hall                     |     |     |     |     | x   | x   | x   | x   | -   | -   | -   | -   | -   | -   | -   | 5      |
| 11. Umbilo                            |     |     |     |     |     | x   | x   | x   | x   | x   | x   | x   | x   | x   | x   | 10     |
| 12. Wentworth                         |     |     |     |     |     | x   | x   | x   | x   | x   | -   | -   | -   | -   | -   | 5      |
| 13. Isipingo                          |     |     |     |     |     |     | x   | x   | x   | x   | x   | x   | x   | x   | x   | 9      |
| 14. Blackburn                         |     |     |     |     |     |     | x   | x   | xo  | -   | -   | -   | -   | -   | -   | 3      |
| 15. Verulam                           |     |     |     |     |     |     | x   | x   | -   | -   | -   | -   | -   | -   | -   | 2      |
| 16. Pinetown                          |     |     |     |     |     |     | x   | x   | xo  | -   | -   | -   | -   | -   | -   | 2      |
| 17. Point                             |     |     |     |     |     |     |     | x   | x   | x   | x   | x   | x   | x   | x   | 7      |
| 18. P. M. Burg No. 2                  |     |     |     |     |     |     |     | x   | x   | x   | xo  | x   | x   | -   | -   | 5      |
| 19. Durban Girls' No. 1               |     |     |     |     |     |     |     |     |     | x   | x   | x   | x   | x   | x   | 6      |
| 20. Springfield                       |     |     |     |     |     |     |     |     |     | x   | x   | -   | -   | x   | x   | 4      |
| 21. P. M. Burg Girls'                 |     |     |     |     |     |     |     |     |     |     | x   | x   | x   | x   | x   | 5      |
| 22. Cornubia                          |     |     |     |     |     |     |     |     |     |     | x   | x   | x   | x   | x   | 5      |
| 23. Tongaat No. 1                     |     |     |     |     |     |     |     |     |     |     | x   | x   | x   | x   | x   | 5      |
| 24. P. M. Burg No. 3                  |     |     |     |     |     |     |     |     |     | x   | x   | -   | -   | -   | -   | 2      |
| 25. Newcastle                         |     |     |     |     |     |     |     |     |     |     |     | x   | x   | -   | -   | 2      |
| 26. Durban Girls' No. 2               |     |     |     |     |     |     |     |     |     |     |     |     |     | x   | x   | 2      |
| 27. Umbilo Girls'                     |     |     |     |     |     |     |     |     |     |     |     |     |     | x   | x   | 2      |
| 28. Umbogintwini                      |     |     |     |     |     |     |     |     |     |     |     |     |     |     | x   | 1      |
| 29. Ladysmith                         |     |     |     |     |     |     |     |     |     |     |     |     |     |     | x   | 1      |
| <u>Departmental (Aided)</u>           |     |     |     |     |     |     |     |     |     |     |     |     |     |     |     |        |
| 30. Railway (Durban)                  |     |     | (x) | x   | x   | x   | x   | x   | x   | x   | x   | x   | x   | x   | x   | 13     |
| <u>Wesleyan (Aided)</u>               |     |     |     |     |     |     |     |     |     |     |     |     |     |     |     |        |
| 31. Durban (Stott)                    | x   | x   | x   | x   | x   | x   | x   | x   | x   | x   | x   | x   | x   | xo  | -   | 14     |
| 32. Bridgeford                        |     | x   | x   | x   | x   | x   | x   | x   | x   | x   | x   | x   | x   | -   | -   | 12     |
| 33. Cornubia                          |     | x   | x   | -   | -   | -   | -   | -   | -   | -   | -   | -   | -   | -   | -   | 2      |
| 34. Umbilo                            |     |     | (x) | x   | x   | x   | x   | x   | x   | x   | x   | x   | x   | x   | -   | 12     |
| 35. Point                             |     |     | (x) | xo  | x   | x   | x   | x   | -   | -   | -   | -   | -   | -   | -   | 6      |
| 36. Sydenham                          |     |     | (x) | -   | -   | -   | -   | -   | -   | -   | -   | -   | -   | -   | -   | 1      |
| 37. Springfield                       |     |     |     | x   | x   | x   | x   | x   | x   | -   | -   | -   | -   | -   | -   | 6      |
| 38. Clare (Clare Estate)              |     |     |     |     |     | x   | x   | x   | x   | -   | -   | -   | -   | -   | -   | 3      |
| 39. Verulam                           |     |     |     |     |     |     |     |     |     | x   | x   | x   | x   | x   | x   | 6      |
| 40. Umhloti                           |     |     |     |     |     |     |     |     |     |     |     |     | x   | xo  | -   | 2      |
| 41. Tongaat No. 2                     |     |     |     |     |     |     |     |     |     |     |     |     |     | x   | x   | 2      |

Explanation of Symbols.

- x = in existence  
 - = closed  
 xo = closed during the year  
 x̄ = open, closed, re-opened during the year  
 (x) = in existence, but not under Govt. Inspection.

TABLE XI (cont'd)

| NAME OF SCHOOL                 | '79 | '80 | '81 | '82 | '83 | '84 | '85 | '86 | '87 | '88 | '89 | '90 | '91 | '92 | '93 | Years |
|--------------------------------|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-------|
| <u>Roman Catholic (Aided)</u>  |     |     |     |     |     |     |     |     |     |     |     |     |     |     |     |       |
| 42. P. M. Burg (Barrett)       |     |     |     |     | x   | x   | x   | x   | x   | x   | x   | x   | x   | x   | x   | 11    |
| 43. Clairmont (Baudry)         |     |     |     |     |     |     |     | x   | x   | x   | (x) | x   | x   | x   | x   | 8     |
| 44. Montpellier( " )           |     |     |     |     |     |     |     | x   |     |     |     |     |     |     |     | 1     |
| 45. Durban ( " )               |     |     |     |     |     |     |     |     | x   | x   | x   | x   | x   | x   | x   | 7     |
| <u>Private Adventure</u>       |     |     |     |     |     |     |     |     |     |     |     |     |     |     |     |       |
| 46. Umgeni                     |     |     |     | x   | x   | -   | -   | -   | -   | -   | -   | -   | -   | -   | -   | 2     |
| 47. Mt. Moriah                 |     |     |     | x   | x   | -   | -   | -   | -   | -   | -   | -   | -   | -   | -   | 2     |
| 48. Vinden (P.M.Burg)          |     |     |     |     |     | x   | x   | -   | -   | -   | -   | -   | -   | -   | -   | 2     |
| 49. Salisbury Island           |     |     |     |     |     |     | x   | x   | x   | -   | -   | -   | -   | -   | -   | 3     |
| 50. Roack (P.M.Burg)           |     |     |     |     |     |     |     |     |     | x   | x   | -   | -   | -   | -   | 2     |
| 51. Sea Cow Lake               |     |     |     |     |     |     |     |     |     |     | x   | x   | x   | -   | -   | 3     |
| <u>Evening Classes (Aided)</u> |     |     |     |     |     |     |     |     |     |     |     |     |     |     |     |       |
| 52. Durban (Stott)             | x   | x   | x   | x   | -   | -   | x   | x   | x   | x   | x   | x   | x   | x   | x   |       |
| 53. Durban (Ch.of S.A.)        | x   | x   | -   | -   | -   | -   | -   | -   | -   | -   | -   | -   | -   | -   | -   |       |
| 54. Point                      |     |     |     |     | x   | -   | -   | -   | -   | -   | -   | -   | -   | -   | -   |       |
| 55. P.M.Burg ( " )             |     | x   | x   | -   | -   | -   | -   | -   | -   | -   | -   | -   | -   | -   | -   |       |
| 56. Railway (Durban)           |     |     |     | x   | x   | x   | x   | x   | x   | x   | x   | x   | x   | x   | x   |       |
| 57. Sydenham                   |     |     |     |     |     |     |     |     |     |     |     |     |     |     |     |       |
| 58. Durban (BOARD)             |     |     |     |     | x   | -   | x   | x   | x   | x   | x   | x   | x   | x   | x   |       |
| 59. Umgeni ( " )               |     |     |     |     | x   | -   | x   | x   | x   | x   | x   | x   | x   | x   | x   |       |
| 60. Tongaat( " )               |     |     |     |     |     |     | x   | x   | x   | x   | x   | x   | x   | x   | x   |       |
| 61. Avoca                      |     |     |     |     |     |     | x   | x   | x   | x   | x   | x   | x   | x   | x   |       |
| 62. Verulam                    |     |     |     |     | x   | -   | x   | x   | x   | x   | x   | x   | x   | x   | x   |       |
| 63. Isipingo                   |     |     |     |     |     |     | x   | x   | x   | x   | x   | x   | x   | x   | x   |       |
| 64. Umzinto                    |     |     |     |     |     |     | x   | x   | x   | x   | x   | x   | x   | x   | x   |       |
| 65. P.M.Burg (Barrett)         |     |     |     |     |     |     | x   | x   | x   | x   | x   | x   | x   | x   | x   |       |

REMARK:

This Table was compiled from information furnished in the Annual Reports of the Superintending Inspector of Schools, the Inspector of Indian Schools, and the Auditor.

T A B L E XI (a)

TOPOGRAPHICAL DISTRIBUTION OF SCHOOLS

1885 - 1893

|                   | '85 | '87 | '89 | '91 | '92 | '93 |
|-------------------|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|
| DURBAN (TOWN)     | 4   | 5   | 6   | 6   | 7   | 7   |
| " (COUNTY)        | 9   | 11  | 7   | 6   | 7   | 7   |
| VICTORIA "        | 7   | 6   | 7   | 8   | 8   | 5   |
| ALEXANDER "       | 2   | 2   | 1   | 2   | 2   | 3   |
| P.M.BURG (CITY)   | 3   | 3   | 6   | 4   | 3   | 3   |
| NEWCASTLE (TOWN). |     |     |     |     | 1   | 1   |
| TOTAL             | 25  | 27  | 27  | 27  | 27  | 26  |

Note: Nearly half the schools were concentrated in Durban (town) and the Durban County, thus neglecting country education.

T A B L E XII

SCHOOLS

| Year | Board | Aided | Total | Evenings |
|------|-------|-------|-------|----------|
| 1879 | -     | 2     | 2     | 2        |
| 1880 | -     | 5     | 5     | 3        |
| 1881 | -     | 9     | 9     | 2        |
| 1882 | -     | 11    | 11    | 2        |
| 1883 | 2     | 16    | 18    |          |
| 1884 | 3     | 18    | 21    | 1        |
| 1885 | 3     | 22    | 25    | 10       |
| 1886 | 3     | 24    | 27    | 2        |
| 1887 | 3     | 24    | 27    |          |
| 1888 | 3     | 22    | 25    |          |
| 1889 | 2     | 25    | 27    |          |
| 1890 | 2     | 23    | 25    |          |
| 1891 | 2     | 25    | 27    |          |
| 1892 | 2     | 25    | 27    |          |
| 1893 | 2     | 24    | 26    |          |
| 1894 | 2     | 24    | 26    | (June)   |

T A B L E XIII

TOTAL ATTENDANCE ^

| <u>Year</u> | <u>Board</u> | <u>Aided</u> | <u>Total</u> |
|-------------|--------------|--------------|--------------|
| 1879        | -            | 136          | 136          |
| 1880        | -            | 196          | 196          |
| 1881        | -            | 228          | 228          |
| 1882        | -            | 323          | 323          |
| 1883        | 40           | 971          | 1011         |
| 1884        | 203          | 1168         | 1371         |
| 1885        | 205          | 1275         | 1480         |
| 1886        | 184          | 1518         | 1702         |
| 1887        | 191          | 1400         | 1591         |
| 1888        | 226          | 1665         | 1891         |
| 1889        | 179          | 1828         | 2007         |
| 1890        | 234          | 1907         | 2141         |
| 1891        | 293          | 1977         | 2270         |
| 1892        | 380          | 2326         | 2706         |
| 1893        | 340          | 2249         | 2589         |
| 1894        |              |              |              |

^ See Footnote Discussion Ref: 31.

T A B L E XIV.

COMPARATIVE STATISTICS<sup>^</sup>

| <u>Year</u> | <u>Estimated actual working. Number on Roll (R-L)</u> | <u>On Register Time of Examination</u> | <u>Total Attendance</u> |
|-------------|---|--|-------------------------|
| 1885        | 761   | 704                                    | 1480                    |
| 1886        | 836   | 797                                    | 1702                    |
| 1887        | 845   | 818                                    | 1591                    |
| 1888        | 936   | 1006                                   | 1891                    |
| 1889        | 1051  | 1012                                   | 2007                    |
| 1890        | 1214  | 1219                                   | 2141                    |
| 1891        | 1338  | 1378                                   | 2270                    |
| 1892        | 1503  | 1478                                   | 2706                    |
| 1893        | 1555  | 1593 (?)                               | 2589                    |

<sup>^</sup> See Footnote Discussion: Ref. 31.  
 ? Note discrepancy.

T A B L E XV.

ANNUAL AVERAGE ATTENDANCES.

|      | <u>BOARD</u> | <u>AIDED</u> | <u>TOTAL</u> |
|------|--------------|--------------|--------------|
| 1883 | (33)         | (262)        | (295)        |
| 1884 | (67)         | (406)        | (473)        |
| 1885 | 93           | 483          | 576          |
| 1886 | 93           | 571          | 664          |
| 1887 | 93           | 602          | 695          |
| 1888 | 100          | 624          | 724          |
| 1889 | 89           | 699          | 788          |
| 1890 | 116          | 786          | 902          |
| 1891 | 123          | 883          | 1006         |
| 1892 | 157          | 987          | 1144         |
| 1893 | 147          | 1042         | 1189         |
| 1894 | (June)       |              | 1191         |

T A B L E X V I

TOTAL ATTENDANCE

ALL SCHOOLS

| <u>Year</u> | <u>Boys</u> | <u>Girls</u> |
|-------------|-------------|--------------|
| 1879        | 121         | 15           |
| 1880        | 174         | 22           |
| 1881        | 206         | 22           |
| 1882        | ?           | ?            |
| 1883        | ?           | ?            |
| 1884        | ?           | ?            |
| 1885        | 1257        | 223          |
| 1886        | 1428        | 274          |
| 1887        | 1345        | 246          |
| 1888        | 1446        | 445          |
| 1889        | 1579        | 428          |
| 1890        | 1709        | 432          |
| 1892        | 1855        | 415          |
| 1892        | 1993        | 713          |
| 1893        | 1965        | 624          |

T A B L E XVII.

TOTAL ATTENDANCE

| Year | <u>BOARD</u> |       | <u>AIDED</u> |       | Total |
|------|--------------|-------|--------------|-------|-------|
|      | Boys         | Girls | Boys         | Girls |       |
| 1885 | 189          | 16    | 1068         | 207   | 1480  |
| 1886 | 165          | 19    | 1263         | 255   | 1702  |
| 1887 | 174          | 17    | 1171         | 229   | 1591  |
| 1888 | 200          | 26    | 1246         | 419   | 1891  |
| 1889 | 163          | 16    | 1416         | 412   | 2007  |
| 1890 | 222          | 12    | 1487         | 420   | 2141  |
| 1891 | 285          | 8     | 1570         | 407   | 2270  |
| 1892 | 355          | 25    | 1638         | 688   | 2706  |
| 1893 | 313          | 27    | 1652         | 597   | 2589  |

T A B L E XVIII

QUINQENNIAL STATISTICS TABLES.

| Year              | Schools |       |       | Pupils<br>Total Attendance |       |       |
|-------------------|---------|-------|-------|----------------------------|-------|-------|
|                   | State   | Aided | Total | State                      | Aided | Total |
| 1879              | -       | 4     | 4     | -                          | 136   | 136   |
| 1884              | 3       | 18    | 21    | 203                        | 1168  | 1371  |
| 1889              | 2       | 25    | 27    | 179                        | 1828  | 2007  |
| 1893 <sup>^</sup> | 2       | 24    | 26    | 340                        | 2249  | 2589  |
| 1894(June)        | 2       | 24    | 26    |                            |       | 1581  |

<sup>^</sup> 1894 Report not available.



|                       | <u>1884</u> | <u>'86</u> | <u>'88</u> | <u>'90</u> | <u>'92</u> | <u>'93</u> | Total<br>Attend-<br>ance<br>'93 |
|-----------------------|-------------|------------|------------|------------|------------|------------|---------------------------------|
| <u>DEPARTMENTAL</u>   |             |            |            |            |            |            |                                 |
| RAILWAY               | 38          | 32         | 33         | 34         | 88         | 86         | 163                             |
| <u>WESLEYAN</u>       |             |            |            |            |            |            |                                 |
| DURBAN (STOTT)        | 20          | 21         | 20         | 16         | 9          | 1          | -                               |
| BRIDGEFORD            | 25          | 17         | 19         | 12         | 10         | -          | -                               |
| UMBILO                | 18          | 18         | 21         | 16         | -          | -          | -                               |
| VERULAM               |             |            | 25         | 45         | 41         | 41         | 90                              |
| <u>ROMAN CATHOLIC</u> |             |            |            |            |            |            |                                 |
| P.M.BURG (BARRET)     | 31          | 33         | 36         | 44         | 69         | 79         | 173                             |
| CLAIRMONT (BAUDRY)    |             | 16         | 16         | 33         | 36         | 28         | 79                              |
| DURBAN ( " )          |             |            | 35         | 66         | 60         | 85         | 141                             |

These Tables show that between 1879 and 1893 the number of schools for Indian children had

---

Footnote: Statistics of Enrolment.

In view of the bewildering profusion of figures relating to the number of pupils attending or leaving Indian schools, or passing examinations, it is essential to achieve some clarity as to what the I.I.S.B. or the Inspector of Indian Schools intended to convey by certain columns of figures in their annual reports. Lack of appreciation of the true meaning of some of these figures could easily mislead, or even confuse one, as to the exact progress made in Indian education during this period.

In order to be able to arrive at a fair judgment of the progress made it would be necessary to have statistics relating to the potential number of Indian children of school-going age, the actual number who had come under instruction every year, the regularity of their attendance, and the number of years they spent in school before leaving. The effectiveness of a system of education is generally considered in the light of such information.

Statistics relating to the potential number of school-going age have been given a few times by the Inspector. They are largely guesswork, and the classification into "infants", "boys", "girls" are vague. It is difficult to state what degree of reliability may be placed upon these figures, where they are referred to in the text of the thesis. They are, however, given for what they are worth.

Similarly, figures for the average school life of an Indian pupil are also merely guesswork or rough estimations, according to the Inspector himself in the 1885 Annual Report.

Statistics for average attendance during the year have been kept from 1883. In some years previous to this the phrase "regular attendance" had been used once or twice in the reports, but these have not been taken into consideration in Table XV. In 1879-1880 the Superintending Inspector of Schools referred to certain figures for attendance in Indian schools as "average number in regular attendance" and "number of pupils in regular attendance" respectively. They are supposed to be based on inspection of schools and the registers. They have been placed in the "Total attendance" column of Table XIII for Aided schools in the absence of other figures. These figures may also be taken as representing average attendance for Aided schools in 1879 & 1880. The Inspector defined "average attendance" in his 1886 Annual Report thus:

"The average attendance of each school is found by adding together the whole of the registered attendances and dividing the total by the number of school days in the year. The sum of the separate attendances constitutes the average attendance for all the schools".

increased six-fold (Table XII); while only two day and two evening schools existed in 1879 yet at the

---

Average attendance is about the most reliable index of the extent to, and regularity with, which advantage is being taken of the educational facilities provided.

The question of importance is the number of different children who had been under instruction in the schools. It is a little difficult to ascertain this number. The Board itself, in its yearly summary of the progress made in the number of schools and pupils, published certain figures which are open to question. The Board illustrated this progress by figures given annually under certain columns described variously in different years as "whole number in attendance during the year" (1883), "Total attendance" (1884), "Total number on registers" or "number on roll" (subsequent years).

"Average attendance" was distinguished from "total attendance" by the Inspector in the following manner (Report for 1886):

"The attendance includes every scholar on roll at any time during the year".

This means that a pupil enrolled for a day would appear on the register, and in this way some hundreds of names may appear in one year on the register of a comparatively small school. If the pupil migrates from school to school, and is entered every time on the register as a new pupil, then it is obvious how the figures for "total attendance" or "number on register" or "number on roll" for the year would be ~~swelled~~ <sup>inflated</sup>, and thus give a false picture of the number of different pupils coming under instruction. In 1885 the Inspector had given some thought to keeping a check on the migratory habits of pupils by a system of "transfer cards" endorsed by the previous school teacher, but the scheme was dropped fearing it would interfere with the free-flow of pupils to schools.

Total attendance figures, on which the Board relied to show the progress in Indian education, then are an unreliable set of inflated figures, and unsatisfactory as evidence of the progress made. They are, also, given in the Tables for what they are worth.

In the search for a set of figures which would give the information required as accurately as possible, it becomes necessary to compare numerous columns of figures headed thus: Number on Register, Total Attendance, Number on Roll, Average Attendance, Number at last Inspection, Number on Register (or Roll) at time of Examination, Number Present at Examination, Number Presented for Examination, and Number left School.

Consider Table XXI: "Children leaving School". Now compare the two columns headed "Total (leaving school)" and "Roll" (number on roll during the year). The

end of 1893 there were twenty-four schools in all. By the time the Indian Immigrant School Board was

figures for pupils leaving school are equally as unreliable as the figures for pupils on roll, and for similar reasons: every time a pupil leaves a school it is recorded as a separate pupil leaving school - thus, if he had enrolled at three different schools during the year, he would have been marked twice as having left. So to some extent the inflation in either column of figures would tend to cancel one another, and, therefore, the difference between the two columns should give an approximate figure of the number actually enrolled - or to use the Inspector's phrase, "actual working number on the Register". This difference is given in the column marked "R-L" in Table XIV.

It will have to be considered now, how near the truth these figures (i.e. R-L) are. In 1885 the Inspector reported that average attendance for the year (i.e. 576) was 39% of the roll (i.e. 1480); but that "if the actual working number on Register" were taken, this percentage would be increased to nearly 80%. This would give the actual working number as 720. Compare this figure with the "R-L" column-figure for 1885, which is 761. Consider then the following sets of figures for 1885 and 1886 (actual working number being calculated as above - the other figures are obtained from the Reports):-

|                                   | 1885 | 1886 |
|-----------------------------------|------|------|
| 1 R-L (i.e. Roll - Left)          | 761  | 836) |
| 2 Actual working number           | 720  | 830) |
| 3 On Register time of Examination | 704  | 797) |
| 4 Present at Examination          | 607  | 607  |
| 5 Number last Inspection          | 515  | 696  |
| 6 Average Attendance              | 576  | 664  |
| 7 Total attendance                | 1480 | 1702 |

The actual working number on the roll could have been calculated for each year but the Inspector does not give the same information in subsequent years. It will, however, be noticed that the first three sets of figures have a closer relation to one another than any other three sets. In order not to underestimate the numbers coming under instruction, it is, therefore, proposed to take the figures in the "R-L" column as representing the number of different children who had been enrolled in the schools from year to year. These figures are, of course, approximate, but they would not be so grossly misleading as figures for "Total attendance". Furthermore, the "R-L" figures bear a reasonable relation to "average attendance", whereas the "Total attendance" figures are two or three times as much as "average attendance". The other columns also vary in a reasonable proportion from the "R-L" (or actual working number) figures and so the probability of this being a close approximation to the true figures is increased.

Such a comparison is made again in 1886, and the calculation gives similar results.  
Footnote Ends.

abolished in June 1894, there were twenty-six schools (32). If the figures for total attendance are considered, then there has been a nineteen-fold increase (Table XIII); the total attendance of boys and girls has also shown great advancement (Table XVI). But in view of the unreliability of total attendance statistics as a measure of progress, too much importance should not be attached to these increases. Taking the figures for average attendance as a better measure, it will be found that whereas in 1879 the average attendance was 136 (33), in June 1894 (34) this had increased to 1191; this represents a nine-fold expansion nearly. A point that strikes one forcibly is that the actual numbers involved are not very large, though the relative increases may appear very great taken by themselves. For instance, the actual working number on roll had only increased two-fold between 1885 and 1893; the absolute increase was from 761 to 1555. In other words, only about 800<sup>^</sup> new pupils had been brought into the schools over a period of nine years.

In 1883 it was estimated (35) that about 4000 Indian children were requiring education; even on the total attendance figure (i.e. 1011), there were some 3000 out of school. In 1884 (36) the Inspector estimated that there were about 4800 children of school-going age, and here again, taking the total attendance figure of 1371, there were some

- 
32. Report, Indian Schools: June 1894 (G.N. 317/1894).  
33. Report, Suptdg. Inspector Schools: 1879 (D.P.47/1880)  
34. Report, Indian Schools: June 1894  
35. Ibid : 1883  
36. Ibid : 1884

<sup>^</sup> Remember the footnote discussion.  
See also Table XIV.

3500 out of school. He estimated that there were as many boys out of school as there were in school; many of the boys had passed the age of attending school. Then in 1888 (37) he calculated there were between 3000 to 4000 Indian children of school-going age; in this year the total attendance was 1891, but the actual working number on roll was 936 (see Table XIV). So in 1888 less than 1000 out of the 3000-4000 children were in school, and by 1893 the actual working number in school had only increased to about 1500. Because of the grave neglect of Indian education in the early years the relative increases in the number of schools and pupils might appear satisfactory, but it seems that about two-thirds of the children of school-going age never attended schools.

Government activity in the extension of educational facilities was limited for most of the time to two schools. The average attendance had increased from 33 in 1883 to 147 in 1893. In fact nearly all the progress made in this period was made in the Aided schools. Aided schools had increased from four in 1879 to twenty-four in 1893; they accounted for 86.9% of the total attendance, and 87.6% of the average attendance in 1893. It may be noticed from Table XVII that the bulk of the girls were taught in Aided schools. The Aided schools were then an essential feature of the system of education for Indian children. Though there were many more Government schools for European children than for Indian in 1893, yet the bulk of the European children were enrolled in Aided or Private schools (38).

---

37. Ibid : 1888.

38. Report, Suptdg. Inspector Schools: 1893.

Referring again to Tables XI and XII, it will be observed that after the initial spurt very little progress appears to have been made in the establishment of more schools, for between 1885 and 1893 the number of Day schools fluctuated between twenty-five and twenty-seven. While the total number of schools remained fairly constant, yet about half the number of schools established during 1879-1893 were closed for some reason or other. The following Table will illustrate this fluctuation:-

T A B L E XX.

DAY SCHOOLS.

| <u>Year</u> | <u>Opened</u> | <u>Closed</u> |              |
|-------------|---------------|---------------|--------------|
| 1879        | (2)           | -             | in existence |
| 1880        | 3             | -             |              |
| 1881        | 4             | -             |              |
| 1882        | 4             | 3             |              |
| 1883        | 7             | -             |              |
| 1884        | 5             | 2             |              |
| 1885        | 4             | -             |              |
| 1886        | 2             | 2             |              |
| 1887        | 3             | 5             |              |
| 1888        | 5             | 1             |              |
| 1889        | 5             | 3             |              |
| 1890        | 2             | 3             |              |
| 1891        | 1             | -             |              |
| 1892        | 3             | 6             |              |
| 1893        | 2             | 1             |              |
|             | <u>52</u>     | <u>26</u>     |              |

The schools that showed most instability were the private adventure and estate schools (See Table XI). Generally localities were not long without schools during this period. It will be noticed from the same Table that frequently one mission succeeded in a locality where another had failed to fill its schools. Verulam, Sydenham, Cornubia, Point and Springfield are cases in point. Further, the average life of the schools which had been closed early was about two years. The following

extract from Table XI will indicate the extent to which Indian schools were gradually achieving stability and continuity of existence:-

T A B L E    X X I

STABILITY AND CONTINUITY OF SCHOOLS.

|    |                               |          |
|----|-------------------------------|----------|
| 1  | Durban (Stott) from 1868      | 25 years |
| 2  | Durban (Booth) " 1878         | 16 "     |
| 3  | Pietermaritzburg (dean Green) | 14 "     |
| 4  | Railway (Durban)              | 13 "     |
| 5  | Umzinto                       | 12 "     |
| 6  | Bridgeford                    | 12 "     |
| 7  | Umbilo (Stott)                | 12 "     |
| 8  | Durban (Board)                | 11 "     |
| 9  | Sydenham (Booth)              | 11 "     |
| 10 | Avoca ( " )                   | 11 "     |
| 11 | Pietermaritzburg (Barret)     | 11 "     |
| 12 | Umgeni (Board)                | 10 "     |
| 13 | Umbilo (Booth)                | 10 "     |
| 14 | Isipingo                      | 9 "      |
| 15 | Point (Booth)                 | 7 "      |
| 16 | Durban (Baudry)               | 7 "      |

All these developments are in marked contrast to the previous period when the average life of a school was about six months, and when localities went without schools for years when one had been closed. Rivalry amongst the missions, and the growth of a "free" Indian population anxious to provide education for its children, were partly responsible for the stability and continuity of schools. Stability and continuity are dependent upon regularity of attendance. The achievement of this degree of stability and continuity is an indication that the Indian community was becoming aware of the need for, or now had the opportunity and incentive for taking advantage of, formal and regular instruction for its children. Though girls formed only 25% of the total attendance in 1893, yet even in their case some improvement was being made compared

to 1879. In fact in 1893 the four Aided schools for Indian girls were being well supported, considering the small number of years they had been in existence. An examination of Table XIX will show how the average attendance in most schools had increased during the course of the years. The school with the best average attendance in 1893 was Dr. Booth's Durban school; the Durban Board school was a close second to it. The Railway school at Durban was making rapid progress under the new management of Dr. Booth. Yet at the same time two very old schools, which had rendered very great service to the cause of Indian education - Stott's Durban and Bridgeford schools declined in numbers and had to be closed before the end of the period.

There is, however, one striking feature about all these schools and it is the smallness of their attendance. After fifteen years of educational activity under the direction of the Indian Immigrant School Board there were only two schools in 1883 which just exceeded an average attendance of 100. If the effective enrolment of a school is taken to be that number represented by the average attendance, then there were only eight schools with an average attendance over 50 in 1893. The majority of the Indian schools were conducted by a single teacher, with the occasional assistance of a pupil-teacher.

Having thus made a brief survey of the progress of Indian education in regard to the number of schools, their distribution and the number of pupils in attendance, consider now a few salient features in connection with the development of the various types

of schools. Taking Board schools first, it will be observed from the relevant Tables that until 1888 there were three such schools established and maintained by the Government (that is the Board). In 1888 the Tongaat school was closed because the teacher had left and no other suitably qualified person could be found (39). From 1889 it re-opened as an Aided school under the management of Dr. Booth. This school was situated in the centre of a large "free" Indian population, and an important sugar cultivating and milling area.

In 1884 negotiations were started to erect a Board school at Pietermaritzburg, but owing to the refusal of the Corporation to grant a site for a school for Indians, the Board dropped the whole project (40). In 1888 the Inspector recommended the establishment of a second Board school in Durban, in the Point area where a large number of Indians had settled; the Board refused to sanction this on the grounds that it had a limited amount of funds at its disposal (41). In the same year another proposal to establish a Board school in Durban especially for Indian girls was discussed and ultimately also allowed to drop (42).

In spite of the comparatively larger amounts spent on the Board schools, there were a few Aided schools, like Dr. Booth's Durban school and Father Baudry's Durban school, which were superseded by the

- 
39. Report, Indian Schools : 1889  
Minutes I.I.S.B: 12th April 1889 - para. 12.
40. Ibid : 12th July 1884; 10th Dec. 1884  
Report, Indian Schools : 1884
41. Minutes I.I.S.B: 11th May 1888 - Res. 4.
42. Ibid : 9th March 1888; 11th May 1888; 19th Oct. 1888;  
22nd Feb. 1889.  
Report, Indian Schools : 1887.

Board schools in attendance and quality of examination successes. The Umgeni Board school was not more progressive and better attended than the Aided schools at Verulam, Railway Barracks (Durban), Point or the Durban Girls' No. 1. As the Board schools had not succeeded in drawing away pupils from the Aided schools (43a), it was even proposed to cease making grants to private adventure and denominational schools which were in the same locality as the Board schools. The Inspector even went to the extent of making the surprising suggestion that the Board schools should be handed over to the missions who he felt would make a greater success of the venture (43b).

The difficulty appears to have been to attract sufficient number of pupils to these schools. Everything had to be done by a species of canvassing, and he who was the most enterprising got the most number of pupils. The keener the competition the more there would have been in the schools. Hence the missionaries succeeded where the Board failed. The Inspector observed that in the absence of compulsion it would not be found sufficient to provide a school and expect it to fill itself (43). Parents apparently had to be persuaded and cajoled into sending their children to school. The Durban Board school, however, bravely struggled on and was not so far behind Dr. Booth's Durban school in 1893 in point of numbers, quality of instruction and usefulness to the Indian community.

---

43. Report, Indian Schools : 1884.

~~43a. Durban Board school. ?~~

~~43b. Denominational schools. ?~~

Of the 63 schools that had come into existence between 1879 and 1893, 48 were Aided day schools, and 11 Aided evening schools. Four types of Aided day schools had been mentioned, and of these, it is interesting to note that one Government Department at least took an interest in the educational needs of the children of its employees. Mr. D. Hunter, General Manager of the Railways and Harbours Department, was the grantee of the Railway school for a number of years, until the position was transferred to Dr. Booth in 1890. The Railway Department did not lose interest with this relinquishment, for in 1892 it erected a large and well-equipped schoolroom, and as a result the numbers had almost doubled (44).

Then there were the private adventure schools, whose average life was between two to three years. Not having the backing of a mission, the promoters usually got into financial difficulties and closed the school. At Pietermaritzburg, for instance, Vinden found that he had to pay half of his grant-in-aid as rent "through the indisposition of the landlords to let their houses as Coolie schools" (45). He was subsequently appointed to the Point school under the Rev. S.H. Stott (46). The Salisbury Island school was closed owing to the death of the teacher (47); the Sea Cow Lake school had to be closed down owing to the indifference of the parents and the flooded state of the Umgeni, which for months

- 
44. Report, Indian Schools: 1892.  
45. Ibid : 1884.  
46. Minutes I.I.S.B: 8th Aug. 1885.  
23rd Sept. 1885  
47. Report, Indian Schools: 1890.

at a time cut off the pupils coming from Clare and Springfield (48). The significance of the private adventure schools lies in the fact that Indians were taking <sup>the</sup> an initiative in the establishment and conduct of schools. These attempts also served to indicate the localities where schools were needed. For example, the private adventure school of J. Fahim was the forerunner of the Umgeni Board school. In general the private adventure schools were not a success for they lacked stability and continuity.

The estate schools had even less conspicuous success than the private adventure schools. The only estate schools, mentioned as such by the Inspector, were those at Prospect Hall and Clare (Estate) opened in 1883 and 1884 respectively. In later years schools were established by the missionaries on or near the estates with a fair amount of success for short periods, but estate schools under the management of the proprietor of the estates were a rarity.

The attendance at these schools was also very poor. The Inspector reported in 1884 (49) that it was so difficult to get sufficient attendance that the establishment of more of these schools would have been labour lost. Not a single boy could be induced to attend at Prospect Hall from the adjoining Virginia Estate. He considered the indifference of the indentured Indians almost insuperable; they took no interest at all in the education of their children. On the other hand he also found that the employers could not

---

48. Report, Indian Schools : 1890.

49. Report, Indian Schools : 1884.

spare any of their labour (50). Young children were used in large numbers for weeding during the planting season, or minding cattle, or about the house or the mill for various kinds of little jobs. It seemed that Indians had to pass through the "coolie" stage and become "free" Indians before they could take a more extended view and appreciate the advantages of education (51). The Equeefa school was cited (52) as one of the few schools originating in the desire of the Indians themselves for education. They were a little colony of free-holders who had received land some years ago in lieu of return passages to India.

Schools on the estates were a failure not only because of the apathy and indifference of the indentured Indians themselves, but also because of the vigorous opposition of the generality of employers <sup>to</sup> towards the education of the children of their Indian employees. Some were opposed because of the cost it would involve them in, others because it would interfere with their source of cheap labour. The views of the planters are expressed in the replies to the Circulars sent out by the Protector of Indian Immigrants in 1878, and the Indian Immigrant School Board in 1879, and in the report by George Dunning in 1881. As the indenture system moulded the attitudes of both the Indians and the European Colonists towards Indian education, the views expressed in these replies, and the report, are dealt with somewhat fully. They represent at once the chief obstacles to the progress of Indian education.

---

50. Ibid : 1885  
51. Ibid : 1884, 1885 and 1891 with ref. to Sea Cow Lake.  
52. Ibid : 1892.

There had been twenty-four replies to the Protector's Circular of 1878. In a Minute (53) accompanying a synopsis of the replies received, Major Graves, the Acting Protector, stated that a good many planters had refrained from answering "apparently preferring the Indians to remain uneducated". J. Bazley of Ifafa would not promise any help; Kennedy of Sea Cow Lake made no suggestion at all; L. Acutt of Cornubia suggested that employers should erect the schools and provide the teacher with lodgings and rations, but he himself made no offer; J.H. Turton of Cornubia felt that a school would be of great service provided it could be maintained free of expense to the planters after the granting of a site for the building; L. Durand of Hill Head and J.V. Conyngham of Ifafa were prepared to support any "feasible plan" and were willing to do anything "reasonable" towards the formation of a school. These replies are characterised by their indifference to Indian education, general evasiveness, and great concern that it should not cost the planter much.

On the other hand there were some enlightened employers who expressed their views in a clear and forthright manner. M. Campbell of Umzinto promised to do all in his power "to further the good object"; G. Clarence of Isipingo was willing to assist in the erection of a schoolroom; H. Binns considered that every large estate should have a day and evening school for children and adults respectively; he stated that his Company (the Umhlanga Valley Sugar Company) will erect a school and bear part of the

teacher's salary, and he thought it was a disgrace to everyone concerned that nothing had been done in the matter for so long. C.L. Sauer of Southburn, expressing himself a little more strongly, considered it a crying shame that the Government had made no effort to educate either the Native or Indian population; he hoped that the Circular of the Immigration Department was a sign that this apathy was departing and that the Coloured population would receive some of the benefits of a civilised Government. In striking contrast to these expressions of opinion, and the offer of J.E. Shire of Milkwood Kraal to erect a building, keep in repair, and contribute one pound per annum for each boy who had attended school for 170 days in the year, is the suggestion of Turton that a poll-tax be imposed on Indians to meet the cost of Indian education.

Some planters evaded the issue by placing the blame on the Indians. Anne Clarence of Clare and G. Clarence of Isipingo both felt that Estate schools would not succeed because of the opposition of the parents to the exercise of authority by the teachers; C.L. Durand also apprehended difficulty from the Indians on the grounds that Indian parents would oppose the loss of benefits accruing from the employment of their children during what would be school time. Anne Clarence did not see the need for an Estate school since, Indian children, if clean, could be taught in a European school. Some stated that it would be necessary to introduce compulsion before the Indian children could be brought into the schools.

Amongst these replies there were some which showed no objection to the education of Indians, and even made definite offers and useful suggestions. If there was any hostility to the education of Indians it was not expressed openly. On the other hand there were only six replies to the Board's Circular of 1879. The small number of replies and the frank expressions of opinion indicate clearly that the employers of Indian labour in general were hostile to the education of Indian children, and were not prepared to provide the necessary facilities (54). L. Acutt was vague as before; R. Clarence (Junior) of Clare, and A. Wilson of Chaka's Kraal were the only ones to make any definite offer. Mr. A.R. Labistour of Hill Head, supposed to be writing from experience in Mauritius, stated that the child who received "school" education was dangerous to society. Mr. C. Behrens of the Natal Land and Colonisation Company, which employed a very large number of Indians believed that educated Indians were "neither fit for labour nor anything else, much the same as our so-called Christian Kaffirs, who (sic) as a rule, are the greatest scum of the Colony, carefully avoided by all employers"; he suggested that Indian children when seven or eight years of age should be employed in such light duties as pulling up weeds, grubbing coffee, herding cattle, and the like. Mr. Bazley of Ifafa thought that the madness of sending out such a Circular when all were on the brink of ruin was past understanding.

---

54. Minutes I.I.S.B: 26th March 1879 - para. 1 (ii).

George Dunning, the Inspector, reported in 1881, that some of the planters were not disposed to give any help (55). But in his second report he stated that employers generally were inclined to render the Government a fair amount of aid in the development of the educational scheme (56). The proprietors of the following estates were reported to have been willing to erect a school building: Prospect Hall, Virginia, Effingham, Harrison, Umhlanga Valley Sugar Company, Milkwood Kraal, Waterloo and Muckleneuk; at Blackburn Messrs. Smith and Batten, and Mr. Sauer. Mr. Bishop of Umgeni was prepared to lease a piece of land for a school-house "at a trifling rental". The following deferred aid until the Government made a definite proposal: Natal Land and Colonisation Company, the Proprietor of the Usine Mills, and Saccahrine Mills. The Proprietor of Milner's Estate made no offer of any aid. Dunning's scheme was to establish schools central to two or more estates and sugar mills. The cost of erection of the building was intended to be shared by more than one employer. There were, however, still some who preferred not to commit themselves to any definite offer.

As the bulk of the children of indentured immigrants were settled in the Victoria County, Dunning naturally concentrated his activities in this area, confident that the planters would assist him as they had promised. The reaction to Dunning's activities actually was a protest from the planters. In July 1882 (57) the Board considered a resolution

- 
55. Report, Indian Schools: 1881: First Report Oct. 1881.  
56. Ibid : 26th Nov. 1881.  
57. Minutes I.I.S.B: 29th July, 1882, para. 8.

passed at a meeting of the Victoria Planters' Association held on the 5th instant, and forwarded to the Board by the Secretary of the Association, stating that in the opinion of the Association, the Inspector devoted too much of his time and attention to the children of indentured immigrants and did not sufficiently look after the educational needs of the children of "free" Indians. The Board informed the Association that it regretted that there was not more evidence of a wish on the part of employers of indentured Indian immigrants to second the efforts of the Board in its endeavours to provide means for the education of the children of the Indians in their employ. It is little wonder that Estate schools hardly flourished under such conditions.

Another interesting development in the system was the evening school. This was a common feature of European education, particularly in the period previous to this. Evening schools seem to have had a place in the education of the Indian too. The chief aim of the evening school had been to provide an opportunity of acquiring elementary education to those young men who had not had any schooling at all, or who wished to continue their education, having left school at an early age.

There was some need for such schools amongst the Indian community because of the extensive use of child labour by the planters, and by the "free" Indian parent who depended for his livelihood on market-gardening and hawking. The Inspector reported in 1884 (58) that the chief

hindrance to the progress of Indian education was the facility with which Indian children could earn a living. It appears that there was hardly a boy or girl of seven years of age whose earnings did not contribute some trifle to the parents' earnings, or for whom employment as domestic servants in European families might not have been obtained if desired. At the Point, for instance, the school worked under a severe handicap owing to the great demand for the labour of boys (59). Grown-up boys at the Cornubia Estate school were always needed on the estate (60).

Indian children, therefore, did not remain long in school. There is no precise information on this point, but the Inspector reported (61) that in 1885 some of the children had been in school for three years; and, again in 1886, that the bigger boys did not remain in school more than two years. A study of Table XXIV (children leaving school) would indicate that most children left after one year of schooling, while they were still in the "Beginners" class. There were also many boys who had passed the age of schooling without having been to a school.

In these circumstances the missionaries interested in Indian education attempted to develop the evening school as an adjunct to the day school in order to bring in these large numbers of potential illiterates under instruction. It may be remembered that the Rev. Ralph Stott had conducted his evening school in Durban for a long number of years. When the Indian Immigrant School Board took over the administration of Indian education it sought to extend the usefulness of the evening schools. In 1879 there had been two evening schools. Subsequently

---

59. Report, Indian Schools: 1884, 1886, 1888, 1891, 1892, 1893.  
60. Ibid : 1893.  
61. Ibid : 1885, 1886.

evening classes were held in the Board and the Aided schools. Evening school work was a regular feature in the Railway and Durban (Stott) schools. In 1885 a number of evening schools had sprung up suddenly like mushrooms (62). Ten of these were reported in this year; some of them were in country districts like Umzinto, Tongaat and Verulam. It will be observed from the Table below that the Umzinto school was essentially an evening school, and that the Railway school had an appreciable number on its register.

T A B L E    X X I I  
EVENING SCHOOLS  
1885

| <u>School</u>                    | <u>Evening Pupils</u> | <u>Day Pupils</u> |
|----------------------------------|-----------------------|-------------------|
| 1. Durban (Board)                | 10                    | 78                |
| 2. Umgeni ( " )                  | 14                    | 77                |
| 3. Tongaat( " )                  | 3                     | 50                |
| 4. Railway                       | 58                    | 97                |
| 5. Avoca                         | 5                     | 34                |
| 6. Verulam                       | 10                    | 44                |
| 7. Isipingo                      | 10                    | 41                |
| 8. Umzinto                       | 63                    | 1                 |
| 9. Durban (Stott)                | 2                     | 62                |
| 10. Pietermaritzburg<br>(Barret) | 7                     | 84                |

The career of these schools was very erratic. In 1884 nearly all the night schools had been given up, except for the Railway school which had 15-20 pupils on the register; this was the only well-attended night school (63). The

---

62. Ibid : 1885  
63. Ibid : 1884

sudden expansion of 1885 appears to have faded out as quickly as it had taken place, for in 1886 the only night schools of any importance were held in Durban by the teachers of the Railway and Sydenham schools (64) with an average attendance of 7 and 5 respectively. In 1887 and 1889 no night schools were conducted but classes of young men and boys met regularly "for mutual improvement" in some of the schools (65).

The evening schools were conducted by the teachers of the day schools on the same premises. There is no precise information as to how these schools were financed, and how much supervision they received from the Inspector. Reference had been made in Chapter V that the Rev. S.H. Stott had received in 1884 grants-in-aid of £15 each to evening schools at the Point and Clare. In this instance the day schools had been given a grant-in-aid of £25 each, making a total grant-in-aid of £40 each. It is not clear whether such inclusive grants-in-aid were made to other schools in which evening classes had been conducted. The teachers of evening classes usually kept the fees for their trouble, though this could not have been much.

However desirable a feature the evening school might have been the Board was unable to develop it effectively to supplement the system of day schools. It is noteworthy though, that the Board had made an attempt to develop a system of adult education for Indians by the support of evening schools. The scheme

---

64. Ibid : 1886  
65. Ibid : 1887,1889.

failed largely because of factors which were beyond the control of the Board. In the country places the men were found to be too weary after their day's work to go to school at night; in the towns the nine o'clock curfew bell for all non-Europeans effectively prevented them from doing so (66).

In view of the limited development of Board schools, and the limitations attached to the establishment of estate and private adventure schools, and the failure of the evening schools, it happened that the day mission schools enjoyed a greater measure of success. But this success was due largely to the perseverance and persistence of the individual missionaries in the face of numerous difficulties. Apart from the lack of finance and teachers, the effect of the indenture system on the attitude of Indians towards education, the lack of co-operation from the planters, the demands of industry, commerce and agriculture for cheap labour, there were other factors which made the work more difficult and retarded progress.

Occasionally these schools suffered because of rivalry from other denominational schools in the same locality (67), or intra-group prejudices of Indians (68). The Wesleyan school at Umbilo, thus suffered because the Tamil settlers in this locality were averse to their children being taught by a teacher from Calcutta. It is more than likely that the teacher was a Christian convert, and that the objection was to his religion. The Inspector

---

66. Ibid : 1884  
67. Ibid : 1890  
68. Ibid : 1884

observed in 1885 that the Madrasees had fewer prejudices to overcome than their Aryan fellows, and that they seemed to be more alive to the advantages derivable from education (69).

A problem common to European and Indian education at this time was the migration of large groups of people from one district to another. The Indian community, in particular, due to the continual emergence of large numbers from indenture, was constantly re-adjusting its position; whole communities would move from one locality to another, or shift the settlement two or three miles away to be near a newly-established sugar mill (70). There was also constant migration between Natal and India of ex-indentured Indians, with their whole families (71). Thus when newly-emancipated Indians replaced "old" Indians, school attendances usually suffered (72), ~~as~~ they were more indifferent to the subject of education, besides requiring the services of their children more than the "old" Indians in order to adjust themselves to the new economy. Sometimes schools moved with the population, frequently only one or two miles from their original location: cases in point are Bridgeford in 1886, Verulam, Blackburn, and Equeefa in 1887, Cornubia and Avoca in 1890. When a population moved out completely, as from Salisbury Island in 1887 and Pinetown in 1886, the schools were, of course, closed. In 1887 and 1888 a large number of children who had acquired the "school habit"

---

69. Ibid: 1885 - para. 69. Since this time great changes have taken place in the social attitudes of the Indians in South Africa, particularly of those born in this country.

70. Ibid : 1894 - G.N. 317/1894.

71. Ibid : 1887, 1888.

72. Ibid : 1894 - G.N. 317/1894.

returned to India with their parents; they were just the very men who had begun to appreciate the advantages of education for their children (73).

Natural causes such as rainfall (74) and floods (75), interfered with the attendance of children at school; even the Inspector was at times unable to get to a school. Owing to frequent floods the Indian settlers on the banks of the Umbilo migrated in 1891 and the school suffered in consequence. Frequently epidemics of measles, smallpox, and influenza affected both pupils and teachers (76). Added to these were the difficulties caused by distance. The Inspector complained (77) that the Indians would not, as a rule, suffer their children to go any distance from home by themselves, even where the railway was available; his offer to arrange for their transport at the reduced school rate would not change their attitude. They were, however, prepared to trust their children out of sight only if the teacher undertook to fetch them and see them home again.

In spite of all these obstacles and setbacks, Indian education continued to make small advances from year to year. The contribution of the Christian missionaries to the cause of Indian education in Natal cannot be overestimated. There were only three missions<sup>^</sup> which took an active interest in the promotion of Indian education, namely, the Wesleyan Indian Mission, the Church of South Africa

---

73. Ibid : 1887, 1888

74. Equeefa in 1886; Springfield in 1893.

75. Umbilo in 1891 and 1893.

76. Report, Indian Schools : 1894 (G.N. 317/1894).

77. Ibid : 1885.

<sup>^</sup> In 1878 seven Missions were working amongst the Africans and provided schools for them. (Native Schools Report: 1878).

Mission, and the Roman Catholic Mission. The Wesleyans took the initiative in the period 1860 - 1878, and established schools under the management of the Rev. Ralph Stott. The Church of South Africa Indian Mission was inaugurated in November 1877 (78) under the superintendency of the Rev. James Fairbrother. At the time of inauguration it was stated that the aim of the mission was to establish day and evening schools in every centre of the Indian population along the coast. Though the Rev. Father Sabon had given thought to the establishment of an Indian school as early as 1863, yet the Roman Catholic Mission did not actually start such a school until 1882.

The Church of South Africa Mission commenced its educational activities some years after the Wesleyan Mission, but it soon outstripped the latter both in the number of schools established and pupils brought under instruction. Reference to Table XI will show how widely the Church of South Africa schools were distributed. Towards the end of the period the Wesleyan schools seem to have been on the decline in the localities where the Anglicans and Roman Catholics had established their schools. From 1879-1893 the Church of South Africa had been in charge of twenty-six schools, extending along the coast from Tongaat to Umzinto, and inland as far as Newcastle. The Mission was active in the two towns as well as in the country areas. The period of swift expansion

- 
78. Report, Protector Indian Immigrants: 1877 p. 5.  
79. Report, Indian Schools: 1883.  
Minutes I.I.S.B: 13th Feb. 1884.

in Indian education coincided with the advent of the Rev. Dr. L.P. Booth around 1883 (79). While Dr. Booth concentrated his energies along the coast, his colleagues, the Rev. Dean Green and Canon Swabey, were active in Pietermaritzburg; for many years Archdeacon Barker managed the schools at Equeefa and Umzinto. The Board appears to have had much confidence in Dr. Booth's management for not only did it place the Salisbury Island school under him, but also the Tongaat Board school with all its furniture (80), and the Railway school. The Inspector reported that children were fond of the schools under the supervision of Dr. Booth (81).

The Church of South Africa does not appear to have been very successful in its efforts at Blackburn, Verulam and Pinetown. The Pietermaritzburg No. 3 school was found unnecessary in view of the success of the new Pietermaritzburg Girls' school; Newcastle was closed down in order to open a school at Laydsmith, where greater support was expected. In 1879 the Church of South Africa had only one day and one evening school to its credit, under the management of the Rev. G.E. Whittington. In 1893, however, it had nineteen schools. Dr. Booth showed great initiative in the promotion of the education of Indian girls; his was the only Mission which had established special schools for Indian girls. In 1893 there were four such schools, namely, Durban Girls' Nos. 1 and 2, Umbilo Girls', and Pietermaritzburg Girls'. Dr. Booth was successful in the establishment

---

79. Report, Indian Schools: 1883

Minutes I.I.S.B: 13th Feb. 1884.

80. Ibid : 12th April 1889 - Resoln. 12.

81. Report, Indian Schools, 1884: referring to Church School, Durban.

of schools mainly because of his vigorous efforts in procuring trained teachers from India.

The Wesleyan Mission on the other hand had eleven schools under its management during this period; in 1893, however, only two schools at Verulam and Tongaat (No. 2) remained under its management. Two very old and long-established schools - Durban (Stott) and Bridgeford - had to be closed in 1892 for lack of support. The Durban school was in need of an energetic and enterprising teacher to hold its own against its newer rivals; at the last inspection there were only seven pupils and the average attendance was nine (82). The Bridgeford school appears to have suffered from the migration of the Indians from the neighbourhood; there were only five present at the last inspection and the average attendance was ten (82).

In some localities the Church of South Africa seems to have succeeded in keeping a school open where the Wesleyans had failed. Dunning reported in 1881 that the Rev. Stott had started a school at Sydenham; but the school that ultimately succeeded here was under the management of Dr. Booth. To quote another example, the Wesleyans had been active in the Point area until 1886; this was a difficult locality in which to establish a school because there was a great demand for the labour of boys. On the closure of the Wesleyan school, Dr. Booth opened a school in 1887 in this locality, and it was in existence at the end of the period with an increasing attendance.

The Roman Catholic Indian Mission did not engage in extensive educational activity. It established during this period only four schools, of which the one at Montpellier (near Clairmont) was a failure from the start. The first Roman Catholic school was started in Pietermaritzburg in 1882 under the management of the Rev. Father Barret. Father Baudry followed this up by opening another in Prince Alfred Street, Durban, in 1887. Both of these schools stood amongst the first five Indian schools in 1893 with regard to attendance and quality of instruction. In 1886 Father Baudry had applied for a site from the Durban Corporation in order to erect a special school for Indian girls. When the Town Clerk enquired of the Board as to the need for such a school, the Board referred to the existence of its own schools and other Aided institutions, and informed him that there was no need for further educational facilities for the Indian population of Durban. Thus the Roman Catholic attempt to establish a girls' school was thwarted by the unwise action of the Board. This was very unfortunate because the Inspector had recommended the establishment of girls' schools in 1885 and 1887. He had made it clear that one could never ascertain whether the Indian's prejudice against female education was insuperable until schools for girls only had been tried (83).

Since the Aided Indian schools were nearly all under the management of Christian missionaries,

---

Indian children in these schools tended to come under the influence of Christian religious doctrines. The Hindu and Muslim reaction to this, in a positive manner, came in the subsequent periods in the history of Indian education. The reaction took the form of establishment of free vernacular schools and Aided schools under the management of Hindu and Muslim Societies or private individuals. It must, however, be recognised that it was the Christian missionary effort that laid the foundations of progress by establishing schools, importing teachers from India, and training future teachers in their schools. To them belongs the credit for the educational progress of Indians from 1860-1894.

## CHAPTER VIII.

### THE CURRICULUM IN INDIAN SCHOOLS.

1879 - 1894

In Chapter III it was pointed out that one of the reasons given for the creation of a separate administrative body to direct Indian education was that the educational needs of the children of Indian immigrants required special attention. This meant that the curriculum would be adapted to the linguistic, religious and economic needs of the Indian people. There does not appear to be any doubt that provision for instruction in the chief vernacular languages spoken in Natal was contemplated by the Indian Immigrant School Board. At the very first meeting of the Board (1) it was decided to act in accordance with the suggestions of Sir Bartle Frere and obtain from Madras a school inspector, Indian or European, qualified to teach, and to examine the teaching in Tamil, Hindustani<sup>^</sup>, and English. It was also decided at this meeting to procure from India the services of six teachers,

---

1. Minutes I.I.S.B; 26th March 1879- Resolns. 3,4,5.  
^ Probably Hindi, as immigrants from Calcutta spoke this dialect.

qualified to give instruction in Tamil, Hindustani (Hindi dialect) and English. It was further resolved to require the Inspector to bring with him a supply of suitable school books.

When the Inspector, George Dunning, eventually arrived and reported on the educational needs of the Indian community (2), he felt that it would be difficult to introduce the vernaculars into the course of instruction in Indian schools, owing to the diversity of the languages spoken by the Indians and the indiscriminate manner in which Indians speaking different languages were distributed over the estates. He stated that a number of Indians, being aware of the material advantages of English, desired to be taught English only. He, therefore, recommended that the course of instruction in these schools be confined to English, and to include reading, writing, arithmetic, and "translation" (3). The subsequent development of Indian education shows that this recommendation was adopted by the Board. The Tamil books which the Inspector had brought with him from Madras thus became useless to the Board. The Rev. S.H. Stott, however, seems to have found some use for them, for he made an application for a grant of these books, and the Board resolved that these should be distributed at the Inspector's discretion.(4)

The problem of the medium of instruction also appears to have engaged the attention of the Board, for in 1882 it was resolved (5) to introduce teachers from India to instruct Indian children "in

---

2. Report, Indian Schools 1881: 26th Nov. 1881  
(D.P. 5/1882).

3. It is not clear what he meant by this.

4. Minutes I.I.S.B: 16th Jan. 1882 - Resoln. 8.

5. Ibid : 29th July 1882 - Resoln. 9.

ordinary English subjects, by means of Hindi and Tamil, if necessary". The plans of the Board did not materialise for it was unable to procure the services of suitably qualified teachers. The medium of instruction employed in practice was English. Indian children were, thus, from the beginning taught through the medium of a foreign language. The difficulties of the teachers must have been considerable. The original intention of Lieutenant-Governor Bulwer to adapt the curriculum to the linguistic needs of the Indians had, therefore, come to nought and with the adoption of the curriculum and syllabus of instruction employed in European primary schools, the chief reason for the continuation of the Indian Immigrant School Board would seem to have disappeared.

Before the arrival of George Dunning, Indian schools had been placed under the supervision of Robert Russell, the Superintending Inspector of Schools for the Council of Education. Robert Russell examined the Indian scholars annually on a schedule of standards prepared by him for European scholars (6). A revised schedule was in operation from January, 1882 and this appears to have been used for Indian schools as well until 1885 (7). The schedule of standards was really the syllabus of instruction to be followed in Reading, Writing and Arithmetic from Standard I to Standard VII; the annual examination was based on this syllabus.

The instruction given in the Indian schools

---

6. Report, Supt. of Edn: 1879,1880.

7. Report, Indian Schools : 1885.

was of an elementary nature (8). The curriculum consisted of "elementary English", which was described by the Inspector of Indian schools (9) as being reading, writing and arithmetic; a little grammar, geography, and history was also taught in the larger schools. When the children were examined in 1885 on the Council of Education Schedule of Standards (Revised 1882) they were tested only from Standard I to Standard III (10). The results were not as good as expected; only 37% of the children were presented for examination. According to the Inspector the poor results were due to (10):-

- (a) the excessive irregularity of attendance, and the pupils entered on the schedules not being present on the days fixed for examination;
- (b) the teachers' over-caution in holding back pupils not considered capable of passing in the three subjects (reading, writing and arithmetic), but who might have passed, one or more of them.
- (c) too much straining after the higher standards in spite of his advice to pay most heed to Standard I.

It appeared to the Inspector that the Standard I syllabus adopted by the Council of Education was too difficult for the Indian children, even after a year in school, so he proposed to use at future examinations the simpler First Standard of Mauritius second-grade schools, in addition to the other Standards of the Council of Education (11). This would have brought a larger number of children directly under observation during their first years

---

|     |                        |   |       |
|-----|------------------------|---|-------|
| 8.  | Report, Indian Schools | : | 1883. |
| 9.  | Ibid                   | : | 1884. |
| 10. | Ibid                   | : | 1885. |
| 11. | Ibid                   | : | 1885. |

at school than would otherwise have been the case (12). The following schedule of Standards was used in Indian schools from 1886, and except for Standard Ia, it was identical to the schedule of Standards employed in European schools (13):-

SCHEDULE OF STANDARDS

for

INDIAN SCHOOLS

---

(Adopted 1886)

STANDARD Ia.

Read a few easy sentences from Standard 1 book, or other similar reader, distinctly and accurately pronounced.

Form on slate or paper from dictation words of one syllable spelt by the Inspector.

Form on slate from dictation figures up to 20; add and subtract figures up to 20 orally.

STANDARD 1

ENGLISH: Read from Standard 1 reading book. Memorise 20 lines of simple verse, and know their meaning.

WRITING: Write ten easy words from dictation. Show copy books (large hand).

ARITHMETIC: Notation and numeration up to a thousand. Simple addition and subtraction. Multiplication table up to six times twelve.

STANDARD II

ENGLISH: Read from Standard II reading book. Memorise forty lines of poetry and know their meaning. Point out nouns and verbs. Geographical terms simply explained. Point out continents and oceans.

WRITING: Write three lines dictated from the Standard reader. Show copy books (large and half text).

ARITHMETIC: Notation and numeration up to 100,000. The four simple rules. Multiplication Table. Pence table up to £1.

---

12. Ibid : 1895.

13. Ibid : 1886 Annexure A.

### STANDARD III

ENGLISH: Read from Standard III reading book or stories from English History. Recite with intelligence and expression sixty lines of poetry. Point out nouns, verbs, adjectives, adverbs and personal pronouns, and form simple sentences containing them. Chief countries, towns and physical features of the Continents.

WRITING: Write six lines dictated from Standard reader. Show copy books (capitals and figures, large and small hand).

ARITHMETIC: The former rules with long division. Addition, Subtraction and Multiplication of Money.

### STANDARD IV.

ENGLISH: Reading from Standard IV reading book or History of England. Recite eighty lines of poetry, and explain the words and allusions. Parse simple sentences, and illustrate the use of the parts of speech. Detailed physical and political geography.

WRITING: Write to dictation passage from reader. Show copy books (improved small hand).

ARITHMETIC: Division of money and reduction of money and weight and measures.

It will be observed that, except for the modification introduced by Standard Ia, there was no adaptation of the content of the curriculum to the cultural background of the Indians. The teaching of English literature and English history through the medium of the English language constituted the course of instruction adopted by the Indian Immigrant School Board. It will also be noted that the highest standard taught in an Indian school was Standard IV. The Government Model Primary schools at Durban and Pietermaritzburg were open to those who wished to proceed beyond this stage; a few Indian children received all their education in these schools.

As the years passed, enterprising and progressive Aided schools added a few practical subjects to what was a purely academic curriculum, having little relation to the needs of the Indian

people. In 1886 the only school to teach sewing and singing systematically was the Church of South Africa school at Durban; a drawing class had also been formed here and a Kensington Art Student was specially employed to teach this subject (14).

It was reported in 1888 that this school was teaching free-hand drawing and decorative designing with great success (15). The great popularity of needlework amongst the girls, and the enthusiasm shown by their parents regarding the finished products of their daughters, was an indication of how quickly Indians were to appreciate an education suited to their needs.

Needlework was taught at the following schools:

Baudry (Durban, Booth (Durban), Pietermaritzburg No. I., and Pietermaritzburg (Barret) (16). The teacher at Baudry's school remarked (17) that the children showed a particular aptitude for needlework, both plain and fancy; that special attention had been paid to the more serviceable and less showy branch of their industry - mending and darning; that the girls who had left school were rendering themselves useful in their homes and proving their skill in cutting-out, making, altering, and so on, and thereby adding to the delight and pride of their mothers. At Booth's Girls' school in Durban, sales of the clothing sewn were held three or four times a year. All the articles were generally sold and the parents were pleased to have them (18).

- 
14. Ibid : 1886  
15. Ibid : 1888  
16. Ibid : 1888  
17. Ibid : 1890  
18. Ibid : 1890,1891.

Barret's school at Pietermaritzburg, besides teaching singing and needlework, made a special feature of physical drill (19). Physical education was a much neglected subject in Indian schools in particular. It was some time before sports and games appeared as a feature of the extra-curricular activities of the school. The Inspector reported in 1891, that the boys at the Durban Board school were enthusiastic cricketers and footballers, and made good use of the gymnastic appliances supplied by the Board (20).

Religious instruction appears to have been regularly given in the Indian schools. It was understood, though, that all were free to receive or reject it (21). It seems that even in Board schools religious instruction was given (22). It must be assumed that religious instruction referred to instruction in Christian doctrine.

The chief weakness of the curriculum and the system of schools was the absence of any provision for a practical or industrial education for the boys. The Inspector was much concerned about the future of the pupils and repeatedly drew the attention of the Board to this aspect of the education of Indian children (23). Nor were the Indians themselves unappreciative of the shortcomings of a purely academic curriculum, for he reported (24) that much of the indifference, and even opposition, shown by Indian parents to the education of their

- 
19. Ibid : 1893  
20. Ibid : 1891  
21. Ibid : 1886  
22. Ibid : 1884 - Durban  
23. Ibid : 1883, 1884, 1885.  
24. Ibid : 1883 - p. 36.

children arose from a fear that they might be unfitted for making their living by labour, with the consequent danger of their becoming bad characters.

For three years in succession the Inspector urged upon the Board the desirability of supplementing the existing Indian school system with Industrial schools or industrial departments attached to certain schools in order that Indian pupils might be taught some trade or handicraft. He suggested for the consideration of the Board the expediency of offering apprenticeships to Indian boys who desired to learn a trade, as an alternative to the scholarships and bursaries offered at the European schools. He pointed out how valuable a class of men might be created by this system of apprenticeships to mechanical trades - "if for nothing else than the supervision of the mass of raw labourers". He felt that this would be a means of the Indians improving their condition in a small degree. Though he was aware that this point might be deemed outside the province of the Board, yet he thought it was impossible to stand still in this matter as in everything else (25).

It appears that in the case of Native education there was a consensus of opinion that Industrial education should go hand in hand with book-learning (26). The council of Education, which administered Native education, assisted in the establishment of industrial schools, and the

---

25. Ibid : 1884

26. Ibid : 1885

Inspector of Indian schools informed the Board that the Council contemplated making grants-in-aid only to those schools in which industrial training was given.

He argued that there was a risk of Indian boys leaving school at an early age with just enough learning to enable them to become disturbing elements in the State, but without the training which would fit them for citizenship. Another point that he brought forward was that it was as necessary to teach self-respect as the alphabet, and that nothing was more calculated to this end than the possession of knowledge that can be turned to a good account. Pupils on leaving schools were at once swallowed up "in the mass of semi-barbarism from which they had commenced to emerge"; only the mechanical parts of the knowledge they had acquired would be retained by them and, in his opinion, little but evil could be the result. All these arguments for industrial training were in effect a strong condemnation of the system of education provided for Indians; they drew attention to the utter futility of the purely academic curriculum. The indictment could not have been better expressed than by the Inspector himself, as follows (27):-

".....under present conditions we are only twisting a rope of sand, or, worse even, doing positive harm in half-educating a number of boys and letting them loose upon the community at an age when they were ripe for any mischief, with minds in a state of unrest by means of what they have been taught, and with no apparent object for self-improvement - their future being the same as that of their uneducated fellows".

Despite these arguments, and the example of the Council of Education in regard to Native education, the Board found itself (28) unable to adopt the suggestion of the Inspector, in favour of a special grant to industrial schools, and the selection of apprentices in connection with industrial training. The Inspector was actually raising the question of the aim in Indian education. The above facts do not seem to indicate that there was any aim at all, except that it was not the intention of the Board to make skilled workers out of Indians, who had been imported to do unskilled work.

It is probable that the difficulties of the Board in framing a suitable curriculum were due both to the multi-lingual composition of Indian society and the inferior position allotted to the Indian in the socio-economic structure of the Colony. But the fact remains that the instruction provided in the Indian schools was hardly of any consequence to the Indian people as a whole, and that the Board had not provided a varied system of schools or curricula suited to the needs of the people.

---

28. Minutes I.I.S.B: 14th May 1886: para. 8 (Cl. 78).

## CHAPTER IX

CRITICAL ESTIMATION  
of the  
ADMINISTRATION  
of the  
INDIAN IMMIGRANTS SCHOOL BOARD  
1879 - 1894

Having studied the background to this period, the financial provision made for Indian education, the question of teachers and teacher-training, the growth of schools and the school population, and the curriculum in Indian schools, it is now necessary to gather the various threads together and make a critical estimate of the educational progress of the Indian under the administration of the Indian Immigrant School Board.

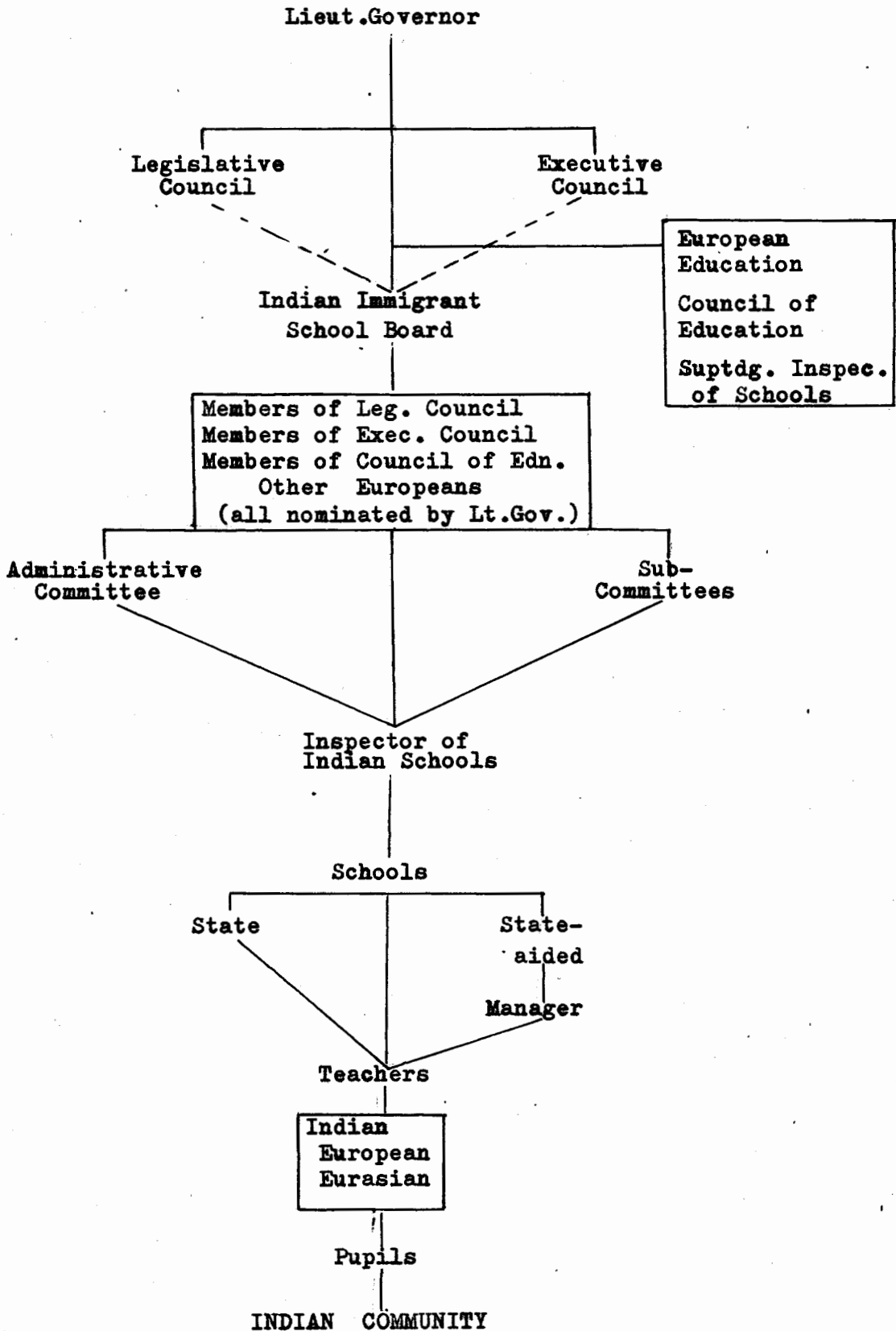
Consider first the diagrammatic representation of the system of educational administration on page 229. It will be observed that the ultimate administrative authority was the Lieutenant-Governor. In fact, the members of the Indian Immigrant School Board were nominated from time to time by the Lieutenant-Governor (1). All the rules, regulations, alterations, or repeals had to be submitted for the approval of the Lieutenant-Governor-in-Council (2).

---

1. Law 20 of 1878: Section 1.  
2. Ibid : Section 7.

DIAGRAM 11.

ADMINISTRATION OF INDIAN EDUCATION IN NATAL.  
(1879 -- 1894)



Suptdg. Inspec. = Superintending Inspector  
= Superintendent of Education

Not only were copies of the Minutes of the meetings of the Board sent to the Lieutenant-Governor, but also the estimates for the following year, in order to be placed in the Supply Bill. The Lieutenant-Governor was the channel through which the activities or the wishes of the Board were made known to the Legislative Council. In short, the Indian Immigrant School Board was subservient to the Lieutenant-Governor to an unusual degree. In the Legislative Council the Council of Education appears to have come under the same criticism too (3). The dominating influence of the Lieutenant-Governor on public administrative bodies was not liked by the Colonists; but this was a corollary of the system of representative government then obtaining in Natal.

It will be observed that members of the Council of Education were also represented on the Indian Immigrant School Board. It was suggested in Chapter III that this might have been due to the desire of Lieutenant-Governor Bulwer to secure some form of co-operation between the two educational bodies. There were two members of the Council of Education on the Indian Immigrant School Board. But, unfortunately, a characteristic of both bodies was the absence of any member with a special knowledge of educational administration. The Council of Education was severely criticised in the Legislative Council (3) and by the Education Commission of 1891 (4) for its poor judgment and fumbling in matters educational. The Council was accused of spending much

---

3. Debates, Legisl. Council: 1890 - Vol. 14 pp. 137-144.

4. Report, Education Commission: 1891 (D.P. 8/1891).  
Pearse, R.O., op cit. pp. 167-172.

time on trivial matters, of being inconsistent and unbusinesslike. The Indian Immigrant School Board dominated as it was by the methods and practice of the Council of Education could not help showing similar defects, though perhaps to a greater degree. Yet it did not come in for any special criticism by the Legislative Council or the Education Commission. Furthermore, subsequent events have shown that the Council of Education favoured a policy of restricting the admission of non-European pupils at European schools. It is probable that the members of the Council of Education used their influence to secure the compliance of the Indian Immigrant School Board with this policy. The reluctance of the Board to award scholarships to Indian pupils tenable at the Government Model schools, or the training of Indian teachers at these schools, may be cited as examples.

Because it was not provided by law, as in the case of the Council of Education, there was no standing administrative committee of the Indian Immigrant School Board. Only in one year - 1883 - was a standing administrative committee appointed (5) to receive reports from, and to consult with, the Inspector, on all matters under his care; to call meetings of the Board, and in other respects to facilitate the work of the Board as far as practicable. But this committee suffered from the defect that it consisted of four out of the five members of the Board. The Board could have hardly disagreed with the recommendations or actions of a committee composed

of itself. Since the Board had resolved in 1885 (6) to meet only once every two months there was a great need for such a standing committee. As it happened, the Chairman was often compelled to take action on all urgent matters and report to the next meeting for confirmation.

There were, however, various sub-committees appointed at different times for the purpose of carrying out some special investigation or work, such as the fixing of a scale of grants whenever it was found necessary to do so (7), the allocation of grants-in-aid to the various schools (8), the inspection of Board schools (9), to report on repairs or alterations to Board school buildings (10), or to draft annual reports based on the Inspector's reports (11).

Then again the Board was most unbusiness-like in its methods. It administered Indian education by a series of resolutions, as it would have been noticed already. It had been negligent with regard to the framing of rules and regulations governing the course of education to be given in Indian schools (except for adopting the Schedule of Standards in 1886), the text-books to be used, the government and discipline of schools, the conditions governing the appointment, salaries and discipline of teachers, or the conditions and scales of grants-in-aid. Nor had the Board adopted any set

- 
- |     |      |   |           |       |                |
|-----|------|---|-----------|-------|----------------|
| 6.  | Ibid | : | 7th Mar.  | 1885  |                |
| 7.  | Ibid | : | 9th July  | 1886  |                |
| 8.  | Ibid | : | 11th May  | 1888  |                |
| 9.  | Ibid | : | 11th Mar. | 1887; | 11th Oct. 1889 |
| 10. | Ibid | : | 6th Mar.  | 1891; | 9th Dec. 1892  |
| 11. | Ibid | : | 6th Mar.  | 1891  |                |

of rules for its own guidance in the regulation of business. The Council of Education was found to have been equally negligent in these matters, though, perhaps, to a lesser degree (11a).

Moreover, the meetings of the Board were held in private, at which not even the Inspector, who ought to have been its most qualified and trusted advisor, was allowed to attend. Any material for publicity in the press was written out by the Secretary of the Board. There appears to have been a severe censorship over any records or documents relating to the activities and deliberations of the Board. The Minutes of its meetings are incomplete records of the views of the members of the Board; it is not possible to judge how much thought was given to a problem, or even what was the worth of the reasoning of the members on educational matters. The Minutes are replete from one end of the book to the other with resolutions dealing with grants-in-aid to schools, or some such matter connected with the financial aspects of Indian education. Even an abstract of the reports of sub-committees were not included in the Minutes. Furthermore, the frankly expressed views and findings of the Inspector in his annual reports were discussed piecemeal and modified, altered, or omitted from the annual report ultimately forwarded to the Lieutenant-Governor. This procedure actually gave rise to much ill-feeling between the Inspector and the Board, but this matter will be discussed more fully further on.

---

11a. Report, Education Commission 1891.

A point that also strikes one forcibly is the brief duration of its meetings. The average duration over a period of years was about one hour per meeting. Some of the most important meetings did not last more than two hours. Consider, for example, the inaugural meeting of 26th March, 1879, which lasted only two hours. A very wide range of important matters were discussed, and decisions were taken on them in this brief space of time. The subjects dealt with at this meeting were: the various replies of the employers of Indian labour to the questionnaire of the Board; a note by the High Commissioner for Britain, Sir Bartle Frere on Law 20 of 1878, making various suggestions with respect to teachers and curricula; decision regarding the appointment of an Inspector and teachers from India; fixing their salaries and qualifications; ordering of school-books from India for Indian schools; the acceptance of the principle of assisting private schools and the setting out of the conditions of grants-in-aid; disposal of a few applications for grants-in-aid; the following year's estimates; appointment of a substitute pending the arrival of the Inspector from India; fixing the rate of travelling allowances of members of the Board; and the date of the next meeting. All these matters were discussed within two hours. It does not seem that deep thought could have been given to some of the weighty problems of curriculum, teachers, and ways and means of establishing schools in view of the apathy of employers of Indian labour.

Not only was the amount of time spent in its deliberations unreasonably short but this was exceeded by the infrequency of its meetings and the

numbers who attended these meetings. The first meeting, referred to above, was held on the 26th March 1879; the second meeting was held six months later on the 10th October 1879; throughout 1880 there was no meeting at all; the third meeting took place fifteen months after the second meeting on the 9th February 1881, and the fourth meeting after the lapse of another eight months on the 15th October, 1881. After this the Board began to meet about once a month, but in 1885 it resolved to meet once in every two months. The enthusiasm and alacrity with which the Board set about its work is evident from this. In fact, it was some  $2\frac{3}{4}$  years before it obtained the services of an Inspector from India and settled down to regular administration. The irregularity of its meetings could have been prevented had there been a statutory provision governing this point, as it was in the case of the Council of Education which had to meet once a month.

The attendance at the Board meetings, particularly towards the end of the period from 1891 onwards, often dwindled down to two members. The destiny of Indian education about this time was thus mostly in the hands of two persons. These are all indications of the degree of interest shown by the members of the Board in the work with which they had been entrusted (12). The conclusion forced upon one is that the Board had not met frequently enough, or deliberated long enough, or in numbers enough, to do justice to the manifold problems and difficulties

---

12. See Kannemeyer, H.D., op cit for a detailed analysis of duration of, and attendance at, the Board meetings.

connected with Indian education at this period. It is fair assumption to state that the members of the Board were biased by the prevailing anti-Indian attitude of the Europeans.

Under its system of administration, the Board had only occasional contacts with the teachers, pupils, and conditions of Board schools, when some member went to examine the work done in them or attended to repairs to the building (13). On the other hand there was no contact at all with the Aided schools except through the Inspector's Annual and Periodical reports. The Inspector was constrained to complain in 1885 that the little interest taken in these schools by anyone was detrimental to the cause of Indian education (14). He stated that it would hardly be credited that from one year's end to another they were entered by no one but the Inspector and Managers, when there was one; the "Visitor's Book" remained a "virgin page". He suggested that it would have a good effect if members of the Board would look in occasionally when they happened to be in the neighbourhood of a school.

The lack of interest is not surprising when it is remembered that the Board had so little to do with the Aided schools, its attention being directed mainly to the grants-in-aid. It was not bothered about the problem of sites, buildings, teachers, attendance, or the future of the pupils. All these were the responsibility of the few Managers

- 
13. Minutes I.I.S.B: 11th July 1885; 11th March 1887;  
10th June 1887; 10th Oct. 1890;  
14th April 1893.
14. Report, Indian Schools : 1885.

who took an interest in the educational welfare of the Indian child. In these circumstances it is difficult to escape the conclusion that the Indian Immigrant School Board was an impotent, subservient, redundant and moribund body. The Council of Education with an additional Inspector of schools could have handled Indian education equally as well.

Apart from the missionaries the real moving force behind the Indian Immigrant School Board was the Inspector of Indian schools, Mr. Francis Colepeper, even though he had not the professional qualifications or experience of teaching, prior to his appointment. Yet from the very beginning there were certain circumstances connected with this appointment which affected the hamonious co-operation between the Board and the Inspector. It was essential that a happy relationship should have existed between the two parties for ultimately the chief responsibility for the growth of the educational system and the quality of the instruction imparted rested with the chief executive officer of the Board - the Inspector.

Mr. Colepeper's grievances against the Board were three:-

- (a) the insufficiency of the travelling allowance;
- (b) the uncertainty of the conditions of appointment, status and pension rights; and,
- (c) the use that the Board made of his Annual Reports.

Correspondence between the Board and the Inspector was carried on for years with little satisfaction to the Inspector at the end of it all. It is fair assumption that the chronic discontent of the

Inspector would have lowered considerably his efficiency and enthusiasm of the Board.

Consider now each of his grievances separately. In 1883, while accepting the appointment, Mr. Colepeper had requested a travelling allowance of fifteen shillings (15/-) per day (15). He had been offered a salary of £300 per annum with a travelling allowance of £50 (16). At that time the Board informed him that an increased remuneration would be favourably considered when the work and travelling of his office had materially increased by the establishment of a general system of education for the Indian community (15). Before the end of the year (17) he renewed his application for a n increased travelling allowance; it was ~~un-~~~~doubtedly~~ refused. He sent another request before the end of the following year (18), but this time one of the members moved that the Board should dispense with his services and engage the Superintending Inspector of schools for the work. Ultimately (19) they decided merely to pass a resolution of censure against him in these terms:-

"that the Board is not satisfied with the manner in which he has performed his duties; that it has noticed a want of zeal and energy in conducting the work of his department, which, in the opinion of the Board, leads to a stagnation detrimental to the cause of Indian education in the Colony".

The Board, of course, did not realise that this resolution was more a condemnation of

---

|     |         |          |             |      |               |
|-----|---------|----------|-------------|------|---------------|
| 15. | Minutes | I.I.S.B. | 20th Mar.   | 1883 | - para. 5     |
| 16. |         | Ibid     | : 22nd Feb. | 1883 | - resoln. 4   |
| 17. |         | Ibid     | : 13th Nov. | 1883 | - para. 7     |
| 18. |         | Ibid     | : 10th Dec. | 1884 | - paras. 8,9. |
| 19. |         | Ibid     | : 7th Mar.  | 1885 | - para. 7.    |

its own inability to promote Indian education than a censure of the Inspector. In any case this way of dealing with a purely financial question was not only undignified and unbusinesslike but also petty-minded. The hypocrisy and petty-mindedness lies in the fact that knowing full well that the Inspector was not doing his work to its satisfaction, yet the Board substituted this motion of censure for the motion of dismissal. It was trying to withhold the increased allowance by discrediting the work of the man; this was not only unfair, but almost akin to a species of blackmail, for had Colepeper resigned, under this provocation, his chances of obtaining another government position would have been seriously jeopardised with this record against him. Naturally Colepeper protested against this censure and requested to be permitted to appear before the Board (20). He had no statement to make but was prepared to answer any questions. The Board, however, was not inclined to ask him any question, and so he was asked to withdraw. The question of the travelling allowance is not mentioned again.

But in his Annual Report for 1885 the Inspector appended an interesting Table showing the number of inspectorial visits to each school and the distance from the Railway Station, Durban (21). He claimed to have actually travelled about 4000 miles during the year. The motive obviously

---

20. Ibid : 9th May 1885 - para. 3

21. Report, Indian Schools: 1885 - p. 13.

was to show the Board the considerable amount of travelling he was called upon to do on an allowance of £50 per annum. A study of the Table, given below, indicates that there was some justification for an increased allowance as he had to cover a very wide area:-

T A B L E XXIII

| <u>No.</u> | <u>School</u>     | <u>Visits</u> | <u>Dis-<br/>tance</u> | <u>Remarks</u> |
|------------|-------------------|---------------|-----------------------|----------------|
| 1          | Durban (Board)    | 37            | 1                     |                |
| 2          | Umgeni ( " )      | 28            | 8                     |                |
| 3          | Tongaat( " )      | 11            | 54                    |                |
| 4          | Railway           | 25            | -                     |                |
| 5          | Durban (Booth)    | 21            | 1                     |                |
| 6          | Sydenham          | 14            | 10                    |                |
| 7          | Prospect Hall     | 10            | 12                    |                |
| 8          | Avoca             | 16            | 16                    |                |
| 9          | Blackburn         | 7             | 34                    | New school     |
| 10         | Verulam           | 8             | 38                    |                |
| 11         | Wentworth         | 10            | 14                    |                |
| 12         | Umbilo            | 17            | 8                     |                |
| 13         | Isipingo          | 10            | 24                    | New school     |
| 14         | Umzinto           | 12            | 106                   |                |
| 15         | Equeefa           | 6             | 120                   |                |
| 16         | P.M.Burg (Green)  | 9             | 146                   |                |
| 17         | Durban (Stott)    | 25            | 1                     |                |
| 18         | Point             | 18            | 4                     |                |
| 19         | Clare             | 11            | 14                    |                |
| 20         | Springfield       | 13            | 12                    |                |
| 21         | Bridgeford        | 13            | 34                    |                |
| 22         | Umbilo            | 20            | 8                     |                |
| 23         | P.M.Burg (Barret) | 9             | 146                   |                |
| 24         | Salisbury Island  | 9             | 6                     | New school     |
| 25         | P.M.Burg (Vinden) | 4             | 146                   |                |

His second grievance was that the Board did not recognise his claim to have his Annual Reports forwarded to the Lieutenant-Governor without any alteration, omission, or modification by the Board. The first sign that this was a source of friction appeared in 1886 (22), when the Secretary was instructed to suggest to the Inspector the expediency of withholding from publication certain clauses in his Annual Report, in which political questions were touched upon, the same being, in the opinion of the Board, irrelevant and out of place. A resolution was passed that except in so far as the Report treated of existing facts, it must be viewed as the Inspector's Report rather than that of the Board (22).

Once again at a special meeting convened in 1889 to discuss the Annual Report for 1888, the Board adopted the entire Report with the exception of a certain paragraph (23). Colepeper, of course, made his protest. This was repeated the following year. It seems the Board had repeatedly informed him that his Reports were its property and that it was the duty of the Board alone to forward Reports to the Lieutenant-Governor under Section 8 of Law 20 of 1878. The Board was correct in its assertions. In 1890 the matter of the Reports was raised in the Legislative Council, when Mr. Escombe moved for the production of the Annual Reports of the Inspector of Indian schools (24). At the request of the Board

- 
22. Minutes I.I.S.B: 13th Mar. 1886 - paras 7,9.  
Owing to the incompleteness of the record it is not possible to judge how valid and reasonable were the objections of the Board.
23. Ibid : 15th March, 1889.
24. Debates, Legislative Council: 1890.

the Chairman undertook to write a Minute explaining why the Board could not make public Mr. Colepeper's report (25). When the matter ultimately went to the Attorney-General in 1892, he was informed that the Government could not interfere between him and the Board regarding this complaint (26). In fact from 1891 (27) a sub-committee of two was empowered to re-draft the Annual Report of the Inspector and forward it direct to the Lieutenant-Governor to be laid on the table of the Legislative Council; the Chairman was also authorised to sign it without previous reference to the whole Board. The censorship was thus effective.

Colepeper's persistence in connection with the above matter becomes clear in the light of the facts connected with his next complaint. Now Colepeper had not received a letter of appointment from the Government, nor was the appointment gazetted. The question of his status was brought into relief when the Railway Authorities refused to grant him a free railway pass for travelling on duty, just on these very grounds (28). Colepeper was disturbed because this meant that he had no claim to pension rights as an officer in the employ of the Government. The Attorney-General held that he was an employee of the Board (29), and both parties were bound by the terms of the resolution appointing him.

- 
25. Minutes I.I.S.B: 13th June 1890 - paras. 10,11.  
Minute not available.
26. Ibid : 14th Oct. 1892; C.S.O. 3996/1892.
27. Ibid : 6th Mar. 1891 - Resoln. 2.
28. Ibid : 14th Dec. 1888
29. Ibid : 14th June 1889.

The Inspector then requested that the Lieutenant-Governor may be moved to confer the appointment on him, and to accord a like status in the Government service with the Inspector of European schools (29). On being asked for its views, the Board decided not to recommend any alteration in the existing arrangements (30), and so Colepeper was informed in 1891 that he had better reconsider his position and terminate, if he wished, the engagement, which was so unsatisfactory to him (31).

It was only when Colepepr was about to take steps to place his case before the Secretary of State for the Colonies (32), that the Board conceded the point that he should be given a proper letter of appointment; but even then it felt that the Chairman of the Board was the right person to sign it (33). At last in April 1892 (34) a letter of appointment, signed by the Colonial Secretary, was issued to him. It was still not satisfactory because the terms of the appointment were that he should not consider himself as being on the permanent civil establishment, or entitled to a pension (35).

All this was manifestly unfair to the Inspector, as he was, to all intents and purposes, doing work that was similar to the Superintending Inspector of schools, who, however, was appointed by the Lieutenant-Governor (36) to the Permanent Civil Establishment. Such a provision had not

- 
30. Ibid : 9th Aug. 1889  
31. Letter Book: I.I.S.B.- 9th June, 1891 - p. 43.  
32. Minutes I.I.S.B: 9th Oct. 1891  
33. Ibid : 12th Feb. 1892  
34. Ibid : 22nd April 1892  
35. Ibid : 10th June 1892  
36. Law 15 of 1877 - Section 6.

been made in Law 20 of 1878. No attempt had been made to rectify the position even after Colepeper had drawn the attention of the Government to his anomalous position. The fact that he ultimately did receive a letter of appointment from the Government is a tacit admission of its mistake. When Colepeper struggled to have his Annual Reports forwarded direct to the Lieutenant-Governor he was presumably trying to establish this point. The Board may have held on to the loophole in the law to prevent the Inspector's trenchant criticism of its administration from reaching the Lieutenant-Governor. Colepeper, however, did not retire till 1903, and he qualified for a pension only in 1910 (37).

A critical estimation of the administration of the Board will not be complete without an examination into the effectiveness of the system of education provided for the Indian children. To take first of all the question of elimination of pupils from the schools, look at Table XXIV.

---

37. Act 3 of 1910, ~~relating to pensions to Aided school teachers.~~

T A B L E XXIV.

CHILDREN LEAVING SCHOOL.

| Year | Beginners | R   | R.W. | R.W.A. | Total<br>Left | Roll | R-T  |
|------|-----------|-----|------|--------|---------------|------|------|
| 1885 | 369       | 121 | 122  | 107    | 719           | 1480 | 761  |
| 1886 | 546       | 150 | 92   | 78     | 866           | 1702 | 836  |
| 1887 | 510       | 86  | 74   | 76     | 746           | 1591 | 845  |
| 1888 | 653       | 143 | 76   | 83     | 955           | 1891 | 936  |
| 1889 | 735       | 115 | 56   | 50     | 956           | 2007 | 1051 |
| 1890 | 670       | 134 | 70   | 53     | 927           | 2141 | 1214 |
| 1891 | 670       | 144 | 68   | 50     | 932           | 2270 | 1338 |
| 1892 | 813       | 181 | 141  | 68     | 1203          | 2706 | 1503 |

KEY:

- Beginners : Alphabet and Primer
- R : Read First Royal Reader
- RW : Read Second Royal Reader and write on slate,
- RWA : Read Third Royal Reader, write to dictation and work the first four rules of Arithmetic.
- R-T : Difference between Roll and Total Leaving, giving the approximate number of pupils who had attended school during the year (See discussion under Statistics p. ).

Footnote to Table XXIV:

1. A number of those pupils marked as having left school may have joined the same school, or another school during the same year as a new pupil.
2. But re-registration would be reflected as an increase in "total attendance"; and so, there would be a certain amount of cancellation of the numbers leaving and numbers enrolling.
3. It is difficult to ascertain from these statistics given by the Board, how many separate individuals left school in a year.
4. These statistics should, therefore, be only looked upon as indicating the school leaving tendency at certain standards, or generally.

Footnote Ends:

The school leaving tendency appears to have been greatest amongst the beginners. Expressed quantitatively, about 50-70 per cent of those leaving were beginners, who had been at school for one year or less. The average school life of an Indian pupil was about one to two years. When this tendency is considered in relation to the total attendance, it would seem that about half the number on roll leave school during the year. The actual working roll or effective enrolment of all schools was, therefore, about half the total attendance. It is doubtful whether any good results could have been achieved with such a kaleidoscopic succession of pupils. In this tendency the pre-conditions for successful instruction and learning are absent.

The factors determining this tendency were largely out of control of the Board, particularly the demand for child labour and the prejudice of the Indian immigrants towards the education of their girls. The point, however, is that so long as there was this tremendous leakage, which was fairly constant over a long period and increasing with the growth of the population, the system was ineffective. In the short time which most of the pupils spent in a school nothing of a lasting nature could have been taught them. The position is that the system of Indian schools acted essentially like a sieve; large numbers merely passed through the schools to go back and join the ranks of the illiterate and ignorant. This might have been solved by compulsory attendance, or less satisfactorily by a tradition of education. The first solution was considerably in advance of the times; compulsion for European children was introduced only in 1910. The <sup>only</sup> solution is a process which takes time

and is dependent on various socio-economic factors. Because of this inferior socio-economic status, and lack of political power, the Indian had yet to build up this tradition slowly, in the face of severe European opposition to his advancement.

The next point is as to how well the children were taught in the schools, and what was their attainment. The annual examination provides a check on this. Consider, therefore, Table XXV on Examination Statistics.

T A B L E XXV (a)

EXAMINATIONS STATISTICS.

(a) Numbers Examined

| Year | Total Attendance | On Register of Exam. | Present for Exam. | Examined | Per cent of Register Examn'd (approx) | Per cent of Number Present Examn'd |
|------|------------------|----------------------|-------------------|----------|---------------------------------------|------------------------------------|
| 1885 | 1480             | 704                  | 607               | 261      | 37                                    | 43                                 |
| 1886 | 1702             | 797                  | 670               | 330      | 41                                    | 48                                 |
| 1887 | 1591             | 818                  | 671               | 321      | 39                                    | 48                                 |
| 1888 | 1891             | 1006                 | 857               | 333      | 33                                    | 39                                 |
| 1889 | 2007             | 1012                 | 842               | 339      | 33                                    | 40                                 |
| 1890 | 2141             | 1219                 | 1060              | 413      | 34                                    | 39                                 |
| 1891 | 2270             | 1378                 | 1140              | 490      | 34                                    | 43                                 |
| 1892 | 2706             | 1478                 | 1241              | 555      | 37                                    | 45                                 |
| 1893 | 2589             | 1593                 | 1363              | 653      | 41                                    | 48                                 |

T A B L E XXV (b)

(b) SUBJECT PASSES ^

| <u>Year</u> | <u>Std. Ia</u> | <u>Std. I</u> | <u>II</u> | <u>III</u> | <u>IV</u> | <u>Total</u> | <u>Possible</u> |
|-------------|----------------|---------------|-----------|------------|-----------|--------------|-----------------|
| 1885        |                | 119           | 64        | 44         | -         | 227          | 783             |
| 1886        | 205            | 241           | 214       | 128        | 63        | 851          | 990             |
| 1887        | 186            | 296           | 140       | 101        | 48        | 771          | 963             |
| 1888        | 224            | 213           | 173       | 123        | 29        | 762          | 999             |
| 1889        | 330            | 220           | 126       | 105        | 32        | 813          | 1017            |
| 1890        | 458            | 324           | 161       | 72         | 20        | 1035         | 1239            |
| 1891        | 541            | 382           | 207       | 117        | 37        | 1284         | 1470            |
| 1892        | 502            | 412           | 281       | 154        | 40        | 1389         | 1665            |
| 1893        | 675            | 503           | 307       | 178        | 64        | 1727         | 1959            |

^ Examined in Reading, Writing and Arithmetic according to the Schedule of Standards.

Footnote:

It is not clear how promotion from class to class is effected, when some pupils pass in only one or two subjects in a standard, instead of the maximum of three.

It will be observed from a study of Table 25 (a) that:

- (a) on an average only 36 per cent of the number on the register at the time of the examination came under examination;
- (b) on an average only 43 per cent of the number present at school at the time of the examination were tested;
- (c) the number present at school at the time of the examination was much less than the number on the register at the time of the examination;
- (d) assuming that the number on the register at the time of the examination was the effective enrolment for the year, then on an average 64 per cent of the children coming under instruction in any one year were never examined;
- (e) again, for some reason or other, - perhaps because of the overcaution of the teacher in restraining the doubtful candidates - even of those actually present in school at the time of the examination 57 per cent were not presented for examination;

(f) thus over half the children at school were retarded every year because they were considered not to have come up to examination standard;

Examining the second Table (25(b)), and comparing the possible number of subject passes with the actual number of passes, a very high degree of success seems to have been achieved. But this is not so impressive because, as it has been pointed out above, the pupils presented for examination were a highly selected group - selected because they stood the best chance of passing the test. It would, therefore, not be a correct deduction that very good instruction was being given in the Indian schools, except in so far as it relates to that special group.

Moreover, the bulk of the passes were in the subjects of Standard IA and Standard I. Now Standard IA had been specially adapted for Indian children, and it was lower than Standard I, which was the lowest division accepted by the Council of Education for European schools. More and more pupils managed to pass the subjects of these two standards; more than two-thirds of the total subject passes were obtained in Standards IA and I in 1893.

From the point of view of achieving literacy, the attainments of the pupils were low, indeed, judged by their examination performances. When considered against the background of the large proportion of pupils not presented for examination though they had been at school all the time, being educated at some expense to the State, the system was wasteful, inadequate and most ineffective in decreasing illiteracy. Not only did the State lose money by this retardation,

but the child lost a valuable year of its life. By allowing teachers to hold back such large numbers from examination was inefficient administration. After all, the annual examination was a recognised method of ensuring that the education of the young was being conducted efficiently and satisfactorily, with the greatest amount of benefit to the State for the money it was expending. The Inspector perhaps found that it eased his work considerably, and he, therefore, did not press the question very much further beyond drawing the attention of the Board to this in 1885.

It is ironical that the Board, which distributed its grants-in-aid with such parsimony, should have allowed such wastage to occur. On the one hand children left school too soon to have permanently benefited by the course of instruction; and, on the other hand, of those who remained to the end of the year not all were examined as to what progress they had made. This was indeed an excellent example of false economy.

In short, the administration of the Indian Immigrant School Board lacked imagination, insight, ability, independence and the will necessary to advance Indian education. The system of education which was developed under its administration was ineffective in that it was unable to bring into the schools enough children of school-going age, or keep them there long enough to instruct them to a reasonable degree of literacy. In view of the general desire of the European population to either repatriate the Indian or keep him permanently on a sub-economic level as an unskilled labourer, it is even doubtful

whether a Board composed of Europeans, representative of these viewpoints, would want to advance the educational status of the Indian beyond the absolute minimum.

Owing to the grave defects and weaknesses of administering an educational system by a body of laymen, appointed from time to time, and meeting only at certain intervals, the Education Commission of 1891 (38) recommended the establishment of a permanent Department of Education, under a Superintendent of Education. Both the Council of Education and the Indian Immigrant School Board were ultimately abolished by Act 5 of 1894 and the powers and functions of those bodies were vested in a Department of Education. This will, however, form the discussion of the subsequent chapters.

38. Malherbe, E.G., *op. cit.* pp 207-208.  
*Debates, Legis. Ass., (1894) - Prime Minister's Statement -*  
*7th May, 1894 - pp. 100-104m*

**SECTION III**

---

**INDIAN EDUCATION  
DURING RESPONSIBLE GOVERNMENT  
IN NATAL**

**1895 - 1910**

---

## CHAPTER X

### THE CLIMAX OF RACIAL HOSTILITY

1895 - 1910

It has already been shown (1) that towards the closing years of the previous period, i.e. 1879 - 1894, Indian education in Natal was compelled to develop against a background of growing hostility towards the Indian settlement. The fears and complexes that gave rise to this attitude on the part of the European have also been dealt with. Inter-racial friction reached its breaking point during the present period, i.e. 1895 - 1910.

The salient features of this period in Indian life were:-

- (a) the intense hostility of the White colonists towards the Indians, resulting in the imposition of grave disabilities upon the Indian people in order to-
  - (i) frustrate their efforts to improve their general condition, and
  - (ii) make their permanent settlement in Natal impossible, or, at least, to reduce them to a state of inferiority in all respects; and
- (b) the organised resistance of Indians against these measures producing actually the contrary result of a deeper attachment to this country, and a sterner determination to advance their political, economic and social status until equality with the ruling White race was achieved.

The European settlers deluded by the ease with which they had subdued and obtained the acquiescence of the African tribes in Natal to a status of permanent political, economic and social inferiority, had not reckoned with the peculiarly adaptable but resistant mental and spiritual qualities of the Indian settlers. The quiet

determination and fixity of purpose of the Indian to enjoy the fruits of his labour and to advance his position in life here, in this country, was exasperating to those Europeans who wished to see him out of Natal. When one considers the constant agitation and the series of anti-Indian laws passed, a psychological picture of the times would appear as if there was mass hysteria on the Indian question. At no time did the usually cold and reserved English expose themselves to such crude emotionalism as in their dealings with the Indian of Natal during these years. The seeds of racial bitterness and strife were scattered recklessly.

This is an interesting period for closer study because the main outlines of an Asiatic policy were formulated now. Even after the passage of nearly half a century, many Europeans, today, still desire to apply to the solution of the Indian question the same old principles and methods developed in the last decade of the nineteenth century.

Now in 1893 the constitutional status of Natal was enhanced to that of a self-governing colony, and she enjoyed this status till the formation of the Union of South Africa in 1910. The European electorate which controlled Parliament used its newly gained constitutional powers to erect legislative and administrative barriers against the social, political and economic progress of the Indian. It was the policy of Natal to get rid of her now redundant Indian population (2) or, should this not be a complete success, to keep them in a permanent state of political and economic subjection.

In order to achieve this end certain measures were taken in order to:-

---

2. Walker, Eric., "History of S. Africa", pp. 522 - 524.

- (1) prevent the growth of the Indian population by first restricting, and eventually stopping, the importation of labourers, and the unfettered immigration of "free" Indians into Natal; and
- (ii) bring pressure to bear on those already resident in Natal to return to India by making their condition of life in the Colony as difficult and unattractive as possible, by rigidly restricting commercial and occupational opportunities to throw them back on the cheap labour market, and by depriving them of the rights of citizenship.

There were some White colonists who pressed for the immediate cessation of all Indian immigration, but there were others who favoured expedients which, while keeping open this supply of labour, would prevent the permanent settlement of Indians in the Colony. The supporters of the latter view prevailed.

Thus in 1891 the clause relating to the grant of crown land in lieu of a free return passage to India was repealed (3). This was effected in order to remove any form of inducement for the ex-indentured labourer to settle in the Colony. In 1894 the Government subsidy towards the importation of labourers was withdrawn (3). It was hoped, thus, to limit the numbers of labourers coming into the country. Then again, in 1895 was passed an Act which drastically reduced the rights and liberties of future indentured immigrants (4). The passage of this Act constituted the first important attempt to prevent the settlement of Indians in Natal. The Act provided:-

- (a) that each new Indian immigrant who came under indenture should agree either to return to India on completion of the term of indenture, or to re-enter into an agreement to work for hire;
- (b) that such an immigrant should, on the expiry of the first or subsequent contract of indenture, be provided with a free passage to India; and

---

3. See Chapter IV - P. 104.

4. Act 17 of 1895. See also Chap. IV.  
Indian Inquiry Commission, Report (1914) - U.G. 16 - 1914  
p. 11.

Joshi, P. S., op.cit., p.71.

Aiyar, P. S., "Conflict of Races in S. Africa" - pp. 73-74

Walker, Eric, op.cit., p. 522 ff.

- (c) that, if such an immigrant failed or refused to return to India and decided to stay in the Colony as a free man, he should take out each year a licence on payment of Three Pounds (£3).

It will be observed that a penalty was imposed upon residence in the Colony, and it applied to both men and women. Non-payment rendered the ex-indentured labourer liable to imprisonment. This Act came into force in 1896, and actually began to take effect from 1901, when the first batch of new immigrants had completed their term of indenture (5).

The object aimed at by the Act does not appear to have been attained for only two years later, that is, in 1903, a second deputation was sent by the Government of Natal to India in order to secure the Indian Government's approval to the indentures in future terminating in India instead of in Natal (6). The negotiations failed, and in consequence the Natal Government in 1903 amended the Act of 1895 to increase the pressure on the Indians to leave the country (7). By this amendment the children of those immigrants coming under the provision of Act 17 of 1895, on attaining the age of sixteen in the case of boys and thirteen in the case of girls were, with certain exceptions, compelled either:-

- (i) to go to India; or
- (ii) to remain in Natal under indenture; or
- (iii) to take out year by year in terms of Act 17 of 1895 a £3 pass or licence to remain in the Colony.

This was, indeed, drastic legislation, for the minor children of an immigrant, who had covenanted to work under certain conditions, could hardly be bound by such an agreement (8). The Act, however, was acquiesced in by the Government of India, which having accepted the legislation

---

5. Indian Inquiry Commission, Report (1914) - p.24.  
6. Ibid. p.25.  
7. Ibid. p.26.  
8. Ibid. p.26.

of 1895 apparently considered that it could not logically object to the extension of the principle (8a).

In spite of the heavy tax on residence many Indians continued to stay in the Colony, but great difficulty was experienced in collecting the tax, for there was large scale evasion. For instance, in 1904, out of 16,509 persons liable for the tax only 9,432 had paid (9). So legislation had now to be enacted to stop evasion of payment. Therefore, in 1905 an act was passed prohibiting persons from employing an Indian who could not produce satisfactory evidence of having kept up the annual payment of his £3 - tax (10). This, of course, applied only to those who came under the provision of Act 17 of 1895, but it caused great confusion and inconvenience. This law had little effect and it was practically a dead letter (10). From 1910 the authorities ceased to collect the tax from women, and waived arrears should the labourer return to India, or suspended the arrears on his re-indenturing (10). This tax was ultimately abolished in 1914.

Whilst the tax caused much hardship and discontent amongst the Indians affected (11), yet it had no decided effect in inducing them to return to India. The legal position was that even if the Indian did not take out the licence he still had the right to remain in the country for he could not be deported for non-payment of the tax (12). The Indian population, thus, still continued

---

8a. Indian Inquiry Commission, Report (1914) - p.26.

9. Statement of Payment of £3 - tax. D.P. 186/1905  
See also Ind. Inq. Com., Report (1914) - p.27.

10. Ind. Inq. Com., Report (1914) p.26.

11. "African Chronicle" - issue of 29 Aug., 1908 - under  
"Petition to Governor"  
issue of 19 Sept., 1908 - under  
"Indian Women's Petition"  
issue of 24 July, 1909 - under  
"Indian Petition"

12. Ind. Inq. Com., Report (1914) - pp. 25, 29.

to increase as a result of the importation of labourers through private resources. This was, indeed, a strange contradiction in the situation, for while on the one hand Natal was doing all it could to get rid of the Indian, yet on the other hand it was becoming more and more dependent on Indian labour for its prosperity (13). Since the Government of India was totally opposed to compulsory repatriation after the utmost use had been made of the labourer, Natal could scarcely hope to escape her moral obligations to the labourer who had been instrumental in securing her own prosperity and economic security.

More and more Indians were brought into the Colony, for there was a big demand for reliable labour on the newly opened coal mines in Northern Natal (14), and on the tea plantations which had come to supplement sugar (15). The demands of the adjacent colonies for Native and Indian labour increased the shortage in Natal (14). In the year 1901 application had been made for about 5,000 men (16), but on the cessation of hostilities with the Boers in 1902 the application had increased to 18,000 (17). Much to the disappointment of the colonists only 500 arrived in 1902. In 1908 the colonists pressed for the stoppage of indentured immigration, but they were opposed by the Agricultural Union, whose members employed about seventy per cent of the total indentured labour (18). Local Indians and Indians in India

- 
13. Indian Immigration Commission, Report (1909) G.N.498/1909 Para. 4.  
Ind. Inq. Com., Report (1914) - p.30.
  14. Protector of Indian Immigrants, Report: 1902
  15. Walker, Eric, op.cit., p.546.
  16. Statement regarding indentured Indians. (D.P. 145/1901)
  17. Protector of Ind. Immigrants, Report : 1902
  18. "African Chronicle" - issue 18 July, 1908. Quoting resolution of the Agricultural Union.

also strongly urged the stoppage of importation in view of the unjust treatment meted out to the ex-indentured (19).

The Natal Government actually introduced a Bill (20) in 1908 to provide for the stoppage of importation of Indian labourers at the end of three years, but interested parties prevailed upon the House to have the entire matter of labour supply investigated by a Commission, and the Bill was not proceeded with (21).

This Commission reported in 1909 that it could not in the interests of the Colony recommend the discontinuation of the importation of Indian labour (22). The Commission pointed out that several industries owed their existence and present conditions to indentured Indian labour, and that if the importation of such labour were abolished under existing conditions the industries would decline, and in some cases be abandoned entirely. There were sugar, tea and wattle-growing, farming, coal-mining and certain other industries, in which a considerable amount of unskilled labour was required (23). It also showed how great a number of Europeans were dependent upon Indians for earning their own livelihood, either directly or indirectly. In its eagerness to retain this source of labour supply the Commission overcame all the objections to the indenture system (24), subsequently upheld by another Commission in 1914. Recognising the strength of opposition to Indian settlement, however, it

---

19. Aiyar, P.S., op.cit. pp. 124-125.

Ind. Immig. Com., Report (1909) - p.869. Quoting Indian Petition.

Petition by Natal Indian Congress (D.P. 1/1908) and Ntl. Indian Patriotic Union (D.P. 22/1908) - Vol. 670.

20. Bill No. 4 of 1908.

21. Ind. Immig. Com., Report (1909) - p.858 - G.N.498/1909.

22. Ibid. - p.866.

23. Ind. Immig. Com., Report (1909) - para.4.

24. Ibid. - p.859.

recommended that alterations should be made in the indenture laws to secure the compulsory repatriation of immigrants (25), and that the residential tax should be continued.

This was a most one-sided report, and great pressure was brought to bear upon the Government of India by Indian public opinion in India to put an immediate stop to indentured emigration to Natal. But urgent representations were made by the Natal Government not to suspend emigration until the South African Act was passed and the future policy towards Asiatics decided (26). Just as the Indians in Natal had apprehended, in the Act of Union all the anti-Indian and colour bar legislations of the four combining provinces were retained. Therefore, in 1910, the Government of India amended the Emigration Act to prohibit indentured emigration to Natal after July, 1911 (27). The object of preventing the growth of the Indian population by the settlement of ex-indentured labourers was then secured finally in 1911.

The other method of entry into the Colony was by paying one's own passage. Hitherto, there was no restriction of movement within the Empire. Large numbers of Indians came into the Colony under these conditions in the wake of the labourers. Amongst them were Gujarati Hindus and Mohammedans, and they were of an entirely different type, mostly coming from parts of India other than those in which the labourers were recruited. These individuals took a place in the economic life of the country, which gave rise

- 
25. Indian Immigration Commission, Report (1909) - p.861.  
26. Aiyar, P.S. op.cit., pp. 125-126.  
27. Joshi, P. S., op.cit., p.69.  
Union Year Book - No. 2 - (1910-1917) - p.190.

to considerable misgivings and commercial jealousy on the part of the European population (28).

Agitation against the entry of the "free" Indians reached its climax in 1897 when the Europeans held a big demonstration near the Point Docks to prevent the landing of about 600 Indians (29). In consequence of this demonstration of anti-Indianism, the first step towards checking the free entry of Indians was taken by passing Act 1 of 1897, which was subsequently amended in 1903 (30). Under these acts the restriction of Asiatic and also of other immigration was rendered possible by an education test imposed in the characters of a European language. There was no doubt of the legislation being directed primarily against the Indians (31). The Imperial Government gave assent to this Bill on the understanding that it would secure an equitable treatment, involving complete equality before the law, of those Indians who were already settled here. (31)

Notwithstanding these laws, however, there appears to have been a steady increase in the numbers securing admission. These immigrants subsequently introduced their wives and children under sixteen years of age (32). So when India put a stop to indentured emigration, the Union Government, in 1913, prohibited the immigration of all male adult Asiatics (33). Thus the agitation, commenced in 1891, to close the door to the entry of Indians into Natal was

---

28. Union Year Book - No. 2. - p. 191.

29. Joshi, P.S., op.cit. p.58.

Aiyar, P.S., op.cit. p.76

Debates, Legis. Ass. - 1897 - pp. 66-67.

30. Union Year Book - No. 2 - P.191.

Prime Minister's Minute to Gov: 14, Jan., 1897 (D.P.89/1897)

31. Aiyar, P.S., op.cit. pp.76-77.

32. Ind. Immig. Com., Report (1909) - para. 20.

33. Union Year Book - No. 2 - p.191. Act 22 of 1913.

brought to a successful issue in 1913. The fear of an Asiatic "invasion" was now allayed at last.

There appeared to be some ground for these fears. Consider the population statistics for the census years 1891, 1904 and 1911 (34) :-

| <u>Year</u> | <u>European</u> | <u>Asiatic</u>       |
|-------------|-----------------|----------------------|
| 1891        | 46,788          | 41,142               |
| 1904        | 97,109          | 100,918              |
| 1911        | 98,114          | 133,439 <sup>x</sup> |

<sup>x</sup>59,277 were Natal-born.

The rapid expansion was largely due to the threatened stoppage of all Indian immigration.

There now remains the question of how Natal proceeded to bring pressure on those Indians already settled in the Colony to return to India. In spite of facts to the contrary - in spite of the fact that over forty percent of the Indians now in Natal were born and bred in the Colony, and to whom India would be as strange an environment as it might be to most Europeans - the bulk of the White Colonists would not concede that the Indian community must now be considered as an integral part of the colonial population. Forgotten were the circumstances under which Indians came and settled. Their own responsibility in the matter, and the benefit which they derived, and continued to derive, from the presence of the Indians, were conveniently overlooked. The arrogance and "herrenvolk" mentality of the White race would tolerate the coloured races only so long as they remained meek and subservient, and continued to serve their masters as unlettered menials and spiritless drudges. Whatever their forefathers might have been, the new generation of colonial-born Indians were not prepared to be the foot-stool of the European; they would not

tolerate the stigma of inferiority being placed on their colour and race (35). They did not show any desire to go and settle in India, or elsewhere. In this the Indians as a group displayed the same common feelings as immigrant European settlers and their descendants.

However, the European colonists <sup>decided</sup> judged that they <sup>sk</sup> could either get rid of the Indian altogether or "keep him in his place". The first move in this direction was to reduce his political status, and deprive him of the rights and privileges of citizenship. As early as 1894, during the session of the first parliament under the new constitution, an amendment was made <sup>to</sup> Franchise Law, depriving the Indian of the parliamentary vote (36). At this time there <sup>were</sup> 9,309 Europeans against 251 Indians on the voters' roll (37). The Prime Minister, forwarding the Amended Bill to the Governor of Natal, stated (38) that there was a conviction universal amongst the European colonists that, unless Asiatics were debarred from voting, the Electorate would at no distant date be swamped by voters who were wholly unfitted by their inexperience and habits to exercise intelligently and independently franchise privileges. To this, the Governor added (39) the argument that it should be remembered that there were also 450,000 Natives debarred, of necessity, from the exercise of the franchise. The Indians naturally objected to being reduced to the status of the Natives, for it meant retrogression and not advancement.

- 
35. Aiyar, P.S., op.cit. p.121.  
36. Franchise Law Amendment Bill, 1894. (D.P. 90/1897).  
37. Aiyar, P.S., op.cit. p.68. But 300-400 according to Gov.'s Despatch No. 62 - 16 July 1894 (D.P. 90/1897)  
38. Prime Minister to Gov.: Minute - 10 July 1894 (D.P.90/1897) Debates, Legislative Ass. (1894) - Vol. 22 - pp. 576-581.  
39. Gov. Natal to Sec. State Colonies: 16 July 1894 - Despatch No. 62 - (D.P. 90/1897).  
See also Despatch No. 66.  
Debates, Leg. Ass. (1894) - Vol. 22 - p.688.

The Prime Minister attempted to convince the Indians (40) that the very fact that their people were to be disqualified from exercising the franchise was in itself an absolute guarantee that the Government would consider itself under special obligation to promote and protect their interests. He sought to assure them that these interests would be very much better protected and promoted by the fact that they were outside the franchise rather than within it. The Indians were, however, sceptical of these pious assurances, and that they were correct in their attitude is borne out not only by subsequent happenings but also by immediate closely hidden motives. The Indians had already petitioned the Secretary of State for Colonies against the passage of this Bill (41). In a private minute to the Governor (42) the Prime Minister made the following observation on one of the paragraphs contained in the petition.

"As it is the desire of the Colonists to see the soil of Natal occupied as far as possible by a resident European population, the permanent settlement in the Colony of Indian immigrants is not regarded as a result to be desired or promoted."

Here then is the real motive: to take advantage of the political impotence of Indians caused by disenfranchisement in order to oust them from the Colony.

The Indian representations in England succeeded in staying this measure for a while. The Imperial Government disallowed the Bill (43) on the grounds that it involved

- 
40. Debates, Leg. Ass. (1894) - Vol. 22 - p. 689.
  41. Petition of Indians to Sec. State Colonies (1894) (D.P. 90/1897).
  42. Minute to Govr.: 27 July 1894 - re: para. 29 of Petition (D.P. 90/1897).
  43. Sec. State Colonies to Gov. Natal: Despatch No. 27 - 12 Sept. 1895 - (D.P. 90/1897).

in a common disability all natives of India without exception, and provided no machinery by which an Indian could free himself from that disability, whatever his intelligence, his education, or his state in the country; and that to assent to the measure would have been to put an affront upon the people of India. On the other hand, the Imperial Government appreciated the desire of the Natal Government that the destinies of the Colony should continue to be shaped by the Anglo-Saxon race, and that the possibility of any preponderant influx of Asiatic voters should be averted.

Natal was quick to take the hint and submitted a new Bill in 1896 which did not specifically refer to Indians as such, and, which also provided for exemption from the operation of this Act in certain specific cases, and this Bill readily received Royal assent (44). Under the new Act (45) no person was qualified to have a parliamentary vote who (not being of European origin) was a Native or descendant of a Native of a country which had not hitherto possessed elective representative institutions founded on the parliamentary franchise, unless he had first obtained an order from the Governor-in-Council exempting him from the operation of this Act. The Indians who were already registered on the voters' roll at the time of passing the Act had their rights protected. In practice no such exemption has been given to this day, and, in effect, the Act of 1896 was in no way less discriminatory and offensive than the original Bill of 1894. Disfranchisement of Indians gave the Europeans the signal to proceed with various anti-Indian measures. In 1909 an attempt was

---

44. Act . No. 8 of 1896.

45. Para 2.

made to deprive the Indian of municipal franchise on the grounds that he had no parliamentary franchise, but the attempt failed (46).

The issue between the European and the Indian was not only racial but also economic. There had been a long-standing agitation against the alleged competition of the Indian in commerce, agriculture, and even on the free labour market. It was complained that once free, Indians generally refused to re-indenture (47), and that Natal-born Indians considered that type of work too menial and preferred to seek lighter work in the towns (48). It was alleged that these youths entered into competition with European youths and mechanics in various spheres of labour (49). Constant attention was drawn to the employment of Indians in Municipal and Government Department; on the Railways as porters, engine cleaners, crossing guards and pumping-station attendants; and as skilled and semi-skilled labour in trades, positions and offices which might be considered suitable for the employment of European labour (50). The Commission of 1909 actually recommended the replacement of Indian labour by European labour in these occupations in order to force the Indians on to field labour (50). However, generally speaking, owing to the acute shortage of labour Indians who hired their services received higher wages than in previous periods. Indentured labourers still received 10/- to 14/- per month.

- 
46. Municipal Corporation Law Amendment Bill - Natal  
Indian Congress Petition agst. it - D.P. 128/1909-Vol. 673
47. Indian Immigration Com., Report (1909) - paras. 16, 17, 18.
48. Ibid. para. 19
49. Ibid. para. 20.
50. Ibid. para. 14.
- Votes Proceedings: 1906 - 19 June - p.256.  
1906 - 4 Dec. - p.101.  
1906 - 10 Dec. - p.119.  
1907 - 17 Sept. - p.644.  
1908 - 3 Aug. - p.280.

The main attack was directed against the trading activities of Indians, and European rivals used their political influence to cripple the Indian trader. So in 1897 was passed an Act aimed at restricting the grant of trading licences to Indians (51). Though worded as if of general application, there was no doubt that it was directed against the Indian (52). Under the provision of the Act very wide discretionary powers were given to licensing officers who were appointed by the Town Councils or Town Boards. An appeal against the licensing officer's decision had to be taken to the Town Council or the Town Board. The licensing officer was always obliged to carry out the policy of the Council or the Board, and these bodies were invariably strong centres of anti-Indianism. There was no appeal to an impartial court of law. In these circumstances the discretionary power of the licensing officer soon began to be utilised to the disadvantage of the Indian. New licences were refused because the applicant happened to be an Indian, and applications for renewal and transfer often met with a similar fate (53). For instance, in Durban there were 700 Indian licence holders in 1903, but in 1911 there were fewer than 300 (54). The rigorous enforcement of this licensing act led the Indians to voice strong protests, but they were of no avail (55).

In 1906 a motion was tabled in the Legislative

- 
51. Act 18 of 1897.  
Joshi, P.S., op. cit., pp. 58, 68.  
Aiyar, P.S., op. cit., p. 78.
  52. Aiyar, P.S., op. cit., p. 80.
  53. Ind. Inq. Com., Report (1914) - p. 37.  
Aiyar, P.S., op. cit., p. 80.  
Economic Commission, Report (1914) - U.G. 12-'14 - Para.60.  
"African Chronicle" - issue 24 July 1909 - "Indian  
Petition" - Para. 13.
  54. "African Chronicle" - issue 13 May, 1911 - "Natal Indian  
Traders, Ltd."
  55. Aiyar, P.S., op. cit., p. 122.  
Petition to Leg. Ass. by R. N. Moodley and 360 others.  
D.P. 148/1910 (Vol. 673).

Assembly (56) requesting the government to introduce legislation having for its object the effective restriction and ultimate prohibition of all Asiatic trading in Natal. Then in 1908 two Bills (57) were actually passed which,

(a) prohibited, after 31st December, 1908 the issue of new licences to Indians; and

(b) stopped the renewal or transfer of licences to Asiatics after 31st December, 1918.

Once again the Indians were put on the defensive and they protested most vigorously (58). Fortunately for them the Imperial Government totally rejected these two Bills, and saved the situation for the Indians. It is revealing, however, to what extent the Natal Legislative was prepared to carry its prejudices.

Just about this time Natal was most anxious about her labour supply from India, and hoping that the Government of India would grant special facilities to accelerate the recruitment of indentured labour, the Natal Government in 1909 amended the Licensing Act of 1897, so as to allow appeals to the Supreme Court against decisions refusing applications for renewals. (59). This was a belated and niggardly concession, which did not move the Indian Government.

Apart from restricting trading, an attempt was also made to impose hardship on the Indian farmers and market gardeners. In 1908 an Act was passed declaring

---

56. Votes and Proceedings - 4 Dec., 1906 - p. 94.

57. Bills Nos. 5 and 6 of 1908.

58. Petition of Natal Indian Congress - D.P. 2 of 1908 - Vol. 670  
"African Chronicle" - issue 8 Aug., 1908 - "The Infamous Asiatic Bills"

- issue 22 Aug., 1908 - "All is Over."

59. Aiyar, P.S., op.cit., - p.126.

Ind. Inq. Comm., Report (1914) - p.37

lands occupied by Europeans only as being beneficially occupied, but occupation by Indians and Natives was to be regarded as unbeneficial and, therefore, liable to heavier taxation (60). Much of this land, however, belonged to European landlords, and owing to their opposition the Act was soon repealed.

These political and economic measures were entrenched and supported by a rigid system of social discrimination. Wherever possible Europeans tried to maintain a social distance from the Indians and other non-White persons. Indians complained that they were not allowed to carry firearms, that they were subject to curfew regulations by which they had to be indoors after 9 p.m. or they were charged under the vagrancy law; that they were hated and shunned by the Europeans, and needlessly vexed and harassed (61). The Commission of 1909 which was so anxious to continue importation of Indian labourers was also desirous of introducing a colour-bar in the economic sphere, for it recommended thus (62):-

"That it is not possible, and in the interests of the superior races of South Africa, never should be possible, to have the White and Black races labouring side by side upon the same class of work."

As early as 1903 steps were considered to introduce segregation of the races on the trains (63), and in 1910 Indians in Durban were compelled to occupy certain reserved seats on the trams (64). The desire to separate the races showed itself quite early in the field of

---

60. Aiyar, P.S., op. cit., - p. 123.

61. Petition to Sec. State Colonies (1894) - D.P.90/1897. "African Chronicle" - issue 24 July, 1909 - "Indian Petition".

62. Ind. Immig. Com., Report (1909) - Para. 46.

63. Votes and Proceedings - 13 May, 1903 - p. 64.

64. "African Chronicle" - issue 28 May, 1910 - "Train By-Law" issue 30 July, 1910 - "New Tram By-Law"

education, but it was not rigorously pursued until this period. This point will be discussed more fully in a subsequent chapter. In everyday speech Indians were all referred to by the contemptuous term "coolie", no matter what their standing or education. To sensitive young Indians such treatment was intolerable. Proud of their own ancient civilisation and spiritual heritage they have always strenuously opposed segregation, and the stigma of inferiority attached to it. The European attitude to Indians in South Africa has contributed more to the widening of the gulf between Britain and India than would perhaps be realised.

So much for the activities of the Europeans in making the tenure of the Indian in Natal as difficult and unstable as possible. It is interesting to know precisely how the Indian settlement was affected by these measures. Part of this study, of course, is the growth of Indian education. The other part is a study of the social and cultural activities within the community. This forms an interesting background to the study of educational development.

In contrast to the previous periods of mental and spiritual indolence, this was a period of quickening life, of youthful activity, and mental and spiritual expansion. To what extent adversity was a stimulating influence it is not possible to measure, but there does not appear to be any doubt that progressive repression turned the minds of young Indians more to education, politics, religion and physical development. This in turn found expression through corporate activities such as clubs, societies, unions and associations. All this, is of great significance to education.

Under the threat of disfranchisement the Indians, under the leadership of Mr. M. K. Gandhi who had just recently arrived from India, founded the Natal Indian Congress in 1894. This was a political organisation formed to represent the Indian Community, and it stimulated political activity amongst the Indians. It has since been an important training ground for Indian leaders in Natal. By 1908 other political bodies appear to have been formed, for mention is made of the "Natal Indian Patriotic Union" and "The Indian National Progressive Association" (65). Young educated Indians appear to have taken an active part in these bodies in order to promote the welfare of the community (66).

To supplement the work of these political organisations, a very interesting and significant development in the life of the community was the publication of weekly journals. These journals were managed, edited and printed by Indians themselves, and appeared in both English and the vernacular (either Tamil or Gujarati). The first recorded attempt was the "Colonial Indian News" which appeared between 1901 and 1903 (67). This was followed in 1905 by the "Indian Opinion", which is still in existence to-day. This latter paper for some time acted as the official organ of the "Natal Indian Congress", and was very closely associated with the views of Mr. Gandhi. In 1908 the "African Chronicle" was started as an independent venture, and was often critical of Mr. Gandhi and the "Natal Indian Congress". This paper went out of existence just a few years back owing to financial difficulties. It is needless to emphasise how

---

65. "African Chronicle" - issue 15 Aug., 1908.

66. "African Chronicle" - issue 15 Aug., 1908 - "Unity is Strength"

67. Copies of these journals are to be found in the Natal Archives.

important a development it was to the Indian community to have founded journals to express their views and help to co-ordinate their activities. Its educational implications cannot be missed either.

The cultural life of the people was also made richer by the formation of such societies as the "Hindu Young Men's Society" in Durban and Pietermaritzburg in 1905 (68). This was a sectarian and semi-religious organisation of Tamilians which has been more active in Pietermaritzburg than in Durban. Then there was the "Durban Indian Society" formed "for the promotion of the cultural well-being of the Indians." (69). The "St. Aidan's Literary and Debating Society" in Durban was more closely associated with the scholars and ex-scholars of the school by the same name (70). A similar but older body was the "Durban Higher Grade Indian School Old Boys' Association" founded in 1905 (71). A most interesting feature was the formation of the "Indian Women's Association" at Pietermaritzburg in 1908 (72). This Association was kept in the news but how active its membership was it is difficult to say. It is, however, worth noting that the impulse to share in a public corporate life had also passed to Indian women.

The religious life of Indians has always been an active one, and it was kept rejuvenated by visiting swamis and religious scholars from India. It appears (73) that prior to the advent of Prof. Pramanand about 1905, there

- 
- |     |   |
|-----|---|
| 68. | "African Chronicle" - issue 12 Dec. 1908 - "Third Anniversary of Durban H.Y.M.S." |
| 69. | Ibid. - issue 23 Oct. 1909 - "Durban Indian Society".                             |
| 70. | Ibid. - Issue 1 July, 1911 - "St. Aidan's Lit. & Deb. Society".                   |
| 71. | Ibid. - issue 22 Aug. 1908 - "Dbn. H.G. Old Boys' Assoc."                         |
| 72. | Ibid. - issue 25 July 1908 - "Indian Women's Assoc."                              |
| 73  | Ibid. - issue 12 Dec. 1908 - "Third Anniversary of H.Y.M.S."                      |

were no religious societies amongst the Hindus in South Africa. He was instrumental in establishing the "Hindu Young Men's Society" and many other associations for the moral and spiritual betterment of the Hindus. He was succeeded in 1908 by Swami Shankeranand (74) who did a considerable amount of lecturing, and also inspired the formation of religious societies such as "The Hindu Sanatan Dharma Sabha", and the "Umgeni Hindoo Progressive Society". Then there was the "Indian Total Abstinence Society" formed in 1909, doing work akin to our present day Temperance Society (74). Religious life amongst the masses was very largely a matter of festivals and ceremonials. The most important of these were the Hindu festivities of "Deepavali" and "Thai Pocosum", and the Muslim festival of "Eid-el-Fatir" following the month of Ramazaan. The intensification of religious activity amongst the Indians, particularly the Hindus, was a reaction to Christian proselytization.

Organised games and sports were popular amongst the Colonial-born Indian youth (75). Soccer was a favourite sport, and there were league and inter-town competitions. Boxing and wrestling matches in which the contestants were Indians were another popular sport. It seems that cricket, tennis and golf did not appeal as much as Soccer to the Indian youth of this time. However, the signs of an interest in healthy outdoor and indoor recreational activities is an indication of higher

- 
74. "African Chronicle" - issue 10 Oct., 1908 - "An address of Welcome to a Holy Guru."  
"African Chronicle" - issue 5 Dec., 1908 - "Swami Shankeranand".  
"African Chronicle" - issue 9 Jan., 1909 - "Umgeni Hindu Progr. Society".
75. "African Chronicle" - issue 4 July, 1908 - "League Championship"  
"African Chronicle" - issue 15 Aug., 1908 - "Boxing"  
Ibid. - issue 22 Aug., 1908 - "Football Associations"  
Ibid. - issue 1 July, 1911 - "Sporting News"  
Ibid. - issue 15 July, 1911 - "Grand Wrestling Contest and Gynastic Display."

communal organisation and social growth.

The matter that must now be considered is the significance of such an historical background to the development of Indian education. The first point which stands out is that the social setting was filled with an atmosphere of animosity and prejudice towards the settlement and general advancement of the Indian. These were times when Indian aspirations in Natal were looked upon with hostility by the European colonists. In short, it was not an environment conducive to the full development of educational facilities for Indians. The spirit of the times was opposed to the expenditure of public money on the education of these who were wanted in Natal only temporarily as a source of cheap unskilled labour.

Secondly, the deprivation of political rights for racial reasons deprived the Indian of the rights and privileges of citizenship. Apart from the fact that he was now unable to protect himself from various forms of restrictive measures, disfranchisement had far-reaching consequences for Indian education. Being placed outside the pale of citizenship meant that he was now an outcast, with no claims to the fruits of civilised government. In particular, it meant that he could not claim in the Colony of Natal equality of treatment with those who reserved for themselves the rights and privileges of citizenship. Facilities for the education of Indian children, therefore, could hardly have been generous and adequate, or even comparable to that provided for the children of the ruling White race. Further, the lack of social and political status could not but have had a serious retarding effect on the progress of the Indian community itself. As Mr. Gandhi and others had foreseen (76) it damped the desire for higher

---

76. Petition by Indians to Se. State Colonies (1894)  
Paras. 17, 22 - (D.P. 90/1897).

education; it removed the impetus for self-improvement, for as pariahs of society there was not that same sense of pride and ambition<sup>generally</sup> to be found in a full citizen.

Thirdly, economic discrimination in commerce, industry and the professions also militated against the growth of Indian education in that there were no opportunities of employment for educated Indians except as teachers. Prejudice against the Indian entering the skilled trades was so great that there was no provision at all for Indians for industrial and technical training, all of which required a basic course in primary education. Furthermore, a community struggling for political and economic existence, for security of tenure itself, could hardly have possessed the leisure, or the opportunity, or the means of acquiring suitable educational facilities for its children. In the struggle for existence education by schooling takes second place to education by life.

The final fact of great significance to education is that the Indian settlement in Natal was rapidly becoming a stable, permanent settlement composed more and more of individuals born in the Colony. By the end of this period about half the Indian population was colonial-born, rapidly assimilating Western habits of life, but still retaining spiritual ties with India. This colonial-born element knew not the shackles of indentured labour, was economically better off than the indentured labourers, aspired to better living conditions, and generally developed the social and cultural life of the Indians. They were acutely sensitive to racial discrimination and strongly resented the stigma of racial inferiority imposed by the ruling race. Conditions in this country made them intensely nationalistic and

attached to the cultural heritage of India.

It was this permanent element of the population which continued to make demands for equal rights and equal educational facilities with the Europeans. It was the colonial-born Indian who rendered nugatory the efforts of the European colonists to oust the Indian from Natal. The reality that the administrator of education had to face was that while every effort was being made to get rid of the Indian immigrant from Natal, yet there was rapidly growing up alongside a new generation of Indians born in the Colony, permanently domiciled, and entitled to the rights and privileges of an integral section of the population. Whether acknowledged or not, the Indians were de facto an integral part of the population. This is a fact which the Union Government formally accepted in the Cape Town Agreement of 1927, between itself and the Government of India (77). So any little progress that Indian education did make during this period (1895-1910) was due largely to a pressure of this circumstance.

---

77. "Sastri Speaks", ed. D. Bramdaw. p.p. 201 to 205.

## CHAPTER XI

### SEGREGATION AND THE HIGHER GRADE INDIAN SCHOOLS.

1895-1910

It may be remembered (1) that the Education Commission of 1891 had reported adversely on the administration of the Council of Education, and had recommended its abolition and the establishment of a Department of Education. On obtaining Responsible Government, Natal set out re-organising her various government departments. As a result of this re-organisation the Council of Education and the Indian Immigrant School Board were both abolished by Act 5 of 1894, and their powers were transferred to the Government under a Minister of Education, who was responsible to Parliament. From 30th June, 1894 the work of the Council and the Board was taken over by the Natal Education Department (2). The chief executive officer was the Superintendent, to whom was assigned the work of the administrative committee of the former Council. He was responsible to the Minister of Education, and his duties in relation to the superior authority were defined (3). Mr. Robert Russell was retained as Superintendent (3).

Before proceeding to a study of the development

- 
1. Chap. IX - p. 251.
  2. Malherbe, E.G., op. cit., p. 208.  
Report, Supt. of Ed. for 1895.
  3. Malherbe, E.G., op. cit. pp. 208-209.

of Indian education under the Education Department, review briefly the trends in Indian education during the regime of the Indian Immigrant School Board. The following points have been established so far :-

- (a) owing to the general opposition of Europeans to the economic and social advancement of the Indians beyond the level of untutored and unskilled labourers, a policy of restricting their educational development was followed by limiting the amount of government funds available for the provision of educational facilities for Indian children;
- (b) the special Indian Education Law enacted in 1878 (4) turned out in the course of time to be an instrument which facilitated the differential treatment of Indian education on an inferior basis, and effected the virtual exclusion of Indian children from the better equipped and better staffed schools attended by European children;
- (c) while on the one hand, the growth of Indian education was further retarded by the apathy and indifference of Indians living under conditions of indentured service to the education of their children, yet, on the other hand, there was a steadily growing demand for educational facilities from those Indians who had achieved a greater degree of economic emancipation, such as the merchants, ex-indentured agriculturists, artisans, Semi-skilled workers and the growing numbers of colonial-born youth, all of whom as a class were known as the "free" Indians;

- (d) a noticeable feature of Indian education was the paucity of girls coming under instruction in the schools, due to both economic considerations and social prejudices;
- (e) the system of education comprised three government primary schools, and a number of government-aided primary schools established mainly by missionary bodies; the government-aided school was an essential feature of the educational system for Indians;
- (f) the curriculum of Indian schools was modelled on the lines of European primary schools and the work was largely confined to the teaching of the 3 R's, for Indian schools were not fit to teach beyond Standard IV;
- (g) educational growth and standard of educational attainment were seriously retarded and handicapped by the lack of competent and reliable teachers;
- (h) the entire system was ineffective in reducing illiteracy either by bringing in more children into the schools or by keeping them there long enough to profit by instruction.

The general trend of Indian education under the administration of the Education Department was substantially the same as that under the Indian Immigrant School Board. But the educational policy of the government now came into sharp conflict with the growing national and class consciousness amongst the Indian people. Indian political organisations and private individuals took a keen interest in matters educational. The anti-Indian trend of legislation taught them to be suspicious of all laws and regulations, and so they were constantly on guard against any further dwindling of their meagre rights and privileges. The Indian community had now reached a stage in its development where it was equally jealous of its trading rights as of its

educational rights. This attitude of suspicion and vigilance on the part of the Indian community, while, perhaps, annoying to the educational authorities, if only because of the voluminous correspondence, petitions, deputations, interviews, press comments and even litigation, was a sign of healthy public interest in education, and contributed no little to the advancement of Indian education. Deprived of participation in a larger political life, Indians have since shown great zest and zeal for the politics of education. This is a noteworthy feature of Indian life in Natal, and accounts for the slow but forward movement of Indian education in the face of obstacles, restrictions and discouragement.

The most interesting and outstanding features in the history of Indian education during this period of the regime of the Education Department were as follows :-

(i) the final accomplishment of the move to exclude non-white children from the schools attended by children of European descent;

(ii) the further segregation of the non-white racial groups themselves in separate schools established for each of the three races, namely African (Native), Coloured (Mixed) and Indian;

(iii) inferior service and educational restrictions - the usual accompaniments of segregatory measures;

(iv) the rise of an economically and socially more advanced class amongst Indians, which strenuously opposed segregation in any form and claimed equality of treatment with the ruling white race;

(v) demand for post-primary education and,

(vi) constant friction between the Indian community and the bureaucratic Education Department.

The main educational activity and interest at this period was centred in two special schools established for Indians, namely the Higher Grade Indian Schools at Durban and Pietermaritzburg respectively. The circumstances surrounding the establishment of these schools brought into relief the many complexities and conflicts present in the educational system of Natal. The best manner in which to approach the study of this period would be, therefore, to discuss these Higher Grade Schools, for in the history of their origin and progress are represented all the essential features of this period of Indian education.

In February, 1899 a government school known as the Higher Grade Indian School was opened at Durban (5), and in 1902 a similar school was opened at Pietermaritzburg (6). In establishing these schools, especially for Indians and in giving them the particular title of "Higher Grade", the government attempted to meet the following situation (7);

- (a) the demand for the separation of non-white children from white children in the schools;
- (b) the objection of a certain class of Indians to sending their children to the inferior schools established by the Indian Immigrant School Board and the demand for a better class of educational facilities;
- (c) the Indian demand for higher education beyond that provided in the existing primary Indian schools; and

---

5. Monthly Report, Supt. Edn. : Jan-Feb. - G.N. 88/1899.  
Report, Supt. Edn. for 1899 - D.P. 53/1900.

6. Report, Supt. Edn. for 1902 - D.P. 62/1903.

7. Debates, Legis. Ass. - 1899 - 5 June - p. 153.) Attorney-  
21 June - p. 315.)

General speaking on the Supply Bill debate.  
"African Chronicle" - issue 28 Nov., 1908 - "Education Problem".

(d) the claim of the Indians to a legal right to send their children to schools attended by European children, where educational facilities more to their satisfaction were obtainable.

In order to follow the process of educational segregation more carefully, it would be helpful at this stage to review the question of colour in the schools of Natal. As early as 1872 there appears to have been some reluctance on the part of European teachers to admit *Indian* children into schools attended by European children (8). Prejudice against persons of a different race and colour took a stronger course of action in 1875, when children of St. Helena parents were expelled from the government primary school in Durban because of the objection of European parents to having their children, particularly girls, taught side by side with coloured children generally (9). At this time a certain amount of thought was given to the establishment of separate racial schools. There was, however, nothing in the law to prevent non-white children from seeking admission into these schools provided they were able to conform to the general rules of good conduct, suitable dress, cleanliness and ability to pay the necessary school fees. The St. Helena question was settled by Acting-Lieutenant Governor Wolseley on the basis that all schools maintained and supported from the Public Treasury should be open to all classes of Her Majesty's subjects (10).

---

8. See Chap. III - Ref. 61 - evidence before Coolie Commission, 1872.

9. Ibid. - Ref. 63 ff.

10. G.N. dated 31 Aug., 1875.

Mr. Robert Russell, who soon thereafter became Superintending Inspector of Schools under the Council of Education, observed at this time that this prejudice was based more on grounds of social standing than on race or colour, and he defended the right of the Europeans to take such action as would have protected their interests (11). However, small numbers of non-white children continued to attend these schools, particularly the government model primary schools at Durban, and European complaints and dissatisfaction continued to grow (12).

With the growth of anti-Indianism greater attention began to be paid to this question, and in 1868 there was even a demand for legislation prohibiting non-white children from schools attended by European children (13). Such an openly discriminatory law would not have received royal assent at this time. In any case the Government of the day decided not to take any action. In 1880 there were 60 Indian pupils in the various European schools of the Colony; in 1889 this number had somewhat dropped, for there were only 22 Indian boys in the Durban government school.

It may be remembered that a special law had been passed in 1878 making provision for the education of children of Indian immigrants, and that the Indian Immigrant School Board had been created to carry out this function. This law, however, did not preclude Indians from attending schools established under the general education laws of the

---

11. Chap. III - Ref. 70.

12. Ibid. - Ref. 71 - Supt. Annual Report for 1883.

13. Chap. VII - Ref. 29.

Colony passed in 1877. Indians of the professional and merchant class appear to have looked down upon these special Indian schools and continued to send their children to the government model primary schools. But the establishment of a parallel system of Indian schools, especially in localities where other schools already existed, tended virtually to segregate the bulk of Indian children and helped to crystallize the idea of special Indian schools for Indians, regardless of their class and social standing.

Thus in 1894 the next step towards the exclusion of Indians from "European" schools was taken. In this year the Council of Education decided to prohibit Indian and Native children from schools attended by European children until they had exhausted the resources of the schools specially created for them (14). This meant that Indian children could not be admitted to either a government or government-aided school until they had passed Standard IV in their own schools, for Indian schools at this time taught only up to Standard IV. About three months after the adoption of this new policy the Council itself went out of existence and was replaced by an Education Department. The creation of a department of education did not, however, bring about a change in policy. The position then is that when the Education Department took over all education in Natal, a form of partial segregation had been established, not by any legislation, for Act 5 of 1894 did not contain any racially

---

14. Chap. VII - Refs. 29a and 29b.

discriminatory clauses, but by a mere resolution which came to have the force of law. There was an agitation for more complete exclusion, which strengthened the hands of the Department to continue the policy of the late Council without the authority of law behind it. For instance, during the debate on the Education Bill of 1894 one speaker said (15) :-

"I trust that the day is near at hand in our little Colony when no longer will such a thing be possible as to see the Indian child, Kaffir Umfaan and the White cherub walking hand-in-hand down our streets to partake of instruction in the same school."

Departmental instructions couched in the same terms as the 1894 Resolution appear to have been sent out to all schools, for Indian children were being refused admission into government schools precisely on those grounds (15).

Little is known of the immediate reaction of the Indian community to the new policy, but matters came to a head in 1896 when Mr. H. Louis Paul, an Indian interpreter of sound education and good command of the English language, sought admission for his infant son into one of the government model primary schools in Durban. The lowest class in the Boys' Model Primary School was Standard Three. It appears to have been the practice at this time to admit into the Girls' Model Primary School infant boys who, on passing Standard Two,

- 
15. Debates, Legis. Ass. - 1894 - Edn. Bill - 10 May, 1894.  
Mr. Yonge, - p.155.
16. Letters - H. L. Paul :
- (a) Headmistress Durban Girls' Model Primary School to Mrs. Paul - 30 June, 1897 - being Annexure A of Petition to Minister Edn., Feb, 1898.
  - (b) Headmaster Durban Boys' Model Prim. School to Mr. Paul, 1st Feb., 1897.
- See also Memo. on Ind. Edn. by Mr. Paul and others to Dyson Committee of Inquiry (1928) - p.17. (Natal Prov. Council Minutes of Evidence.)
- Also debates, Legis. Ass. - 1899 - 21 June, p.316.  
Statement by Attorney-General.

were transferred to the Boys' School (17). Mr. Paul's son was refused admission in the Girls' School, although the elder daughter was a scholar in the school (17). It seems that at this time the policy of exclusion was applied only to Indian boys, for Indian girls continued to be admitted until 1905 (18).

Mr. Paul refused to send his son to one of the Indian schools and so commenced a long series of correspondence and interviews with the education authorities, in which he pressed the Government to grant immediate educational facilities for his child equal to the best in the Colony. There is considerable evidence to show that the objection of men like Mr. Paul to sending their children to the existing Indian schools was due to the class differences amongst Indians themselves and to their dissatisfaction with the condition of the Indian schools. It is sufficient to quote only from the memorandum of the Indians to the Education Commission of 1909 (19) to support the first point:-

"The well-to-do Indians including the merchant class, refuse to patronise these schools on account of these schools being patronised by children of indentured Indians."

With regard to the second point, the Indian view is well summarised in the following extract from a petition(20):-

"Your Petitioner ventures to point out that the Elementary Indian Schools are nothing but the old indentured schools under another name and another authority and that they are old, badly built, badly ventilated, badly situated buildings, affording entirely insufficient accommodation, incompletely equipped, with unqualified teaching staffs, and lacking in effective discipline, and that these defects are fatal to the welfare of Indian children of tender years whom it is sought to send to these institutions."

- 
17. Memo to Dyson Committee of Inquiry into Indian Edn. in Natal (1928) by Mr. Paul and others - p.17.
  18. "African Chronicle" - 7 Nov., 1908 - "Govt. and Higher Grade Indian Schools."
  19. "African Chronicle" - 6 Mar. 1909 - "Education Commission. Indian Community's Representation."
  20. Petition to Colonial Secty., Natal from Natal Indian Congress; 15 May, 1909 - Para. 7.

From the date of these two quotations, and other petitions before this date, it would appear that this class of Indians kept these two points constantly before the government. They referred to themselves as the "better" or "respectable" or "superior" class of Indians, and contended that the existing Indian schools were for the children of the "poor", the "indentured" and so on. In fact in 1908 the Inspector of Coastal Schools, Mr. C. T. Loran was constrained to observe at an Indian school function that in connection with Indian education there was a danger of distinction not of caste, but of class. He said that it had been represented to him that the grants for Indian education ought to have been spent on those who "dressed and lived like Europeans" (21).

The representations made by Mr. Paul impressed the Minister of Education of the inadequacy of the existing Indian schools, and the need not only for higher education but also for a school of a higher class for Indian children (22). Thus in September, 1898 he received a reply that the Government was prepared to give a grant-in-aid or, if need be, to establish a school in Durban in charge of a European teacher, equal in efficiency and otherwise to a primary school, to which Indian children requiring a Higher Education than was then obtainable might be admitted (23). In further correspondence Mr. Paul made it clear that a separate school would be acceptable to him only if the proposed school was conducted along the same lines as the

---

21. "African Chronicle" - 27 June, 1908 - "St. Aidan's College. Prize Distribution."

22. Supt. Edn. to Mr. H. L. Paul - 14 June, 1898 (Ed. 1555/1898)  
- 4 Nov., 1898 (Ed. 3034/1898).

23. Ibid. - 9 Sept., 1898  
(only copy of letter).

Boys' Model Primary School with regard to curriculum (which was to include drilling and singing), a staff of European teachers, accommodation, equipment, fees and even inspection(24). He objected to this school being placed under the supervision of Mr. Colepeper, the Inspector of Indian Schools, on the grounds that the latter was used to lower standards of educational attainment in the existing Indian schools (25).

The point that the Indians in this instance were trying to establish was that while they were prepared to compromise on the principle of segregation it was only on the understanding that it implied no inferiority or differential treatment (26). The Indians held that in accepting a separate school they had performed "an act of grace" in order, so far as was possible, "to bring about a modification of race and colour prejudice on the part of the White Colonists" (27). It has been necessary to emphasise this point because in later years the friction between the Department and the Indian community was due to an alleged breach of this very understanding. The Minister of Education in order to overcome the colour problem in the schools, and in view of the strong case of the Indians, readily agreed to the stipulations of the Indians, and made special financial provisions for the Higher Grade Indian School. (28).

So when the Higher Grade Indian School was opened in February, 1899 at Durban in hired premises (29), the Government accomplished the next step in the design of

- 
24. Mr. Paul to Min. Edn. - 27 Dec., 1898.  
25. Ibid. - 23 Jan., 1899.  
26. "African Chronicle" - 24 Oct., 1908 - "Public Meetings".  
- 7 Nov., 1908 - "Govt. and Higher Grade Indian School."  
- 28 Nov., 1908 - "Education Problem".  
Petition by U. M. Shelat to Supt. Edn. - 11 Jan., 1907.  
27. Petition by Natal Ind. Congress to Col. Secty. (Natal) -  
15 May, 1909 - Para. 5.  
"Indian Opinion" - 22 May, 1909 - "Indian Edn. in Natal"  
28. Debates, Legis. Ass. - 1899 - Supply Bill Debate -  
5th June & 21 June, pp. 153, 315.  
29. On Alice and Grey Streets corner - the present Wilson's  
Sweet Factory.

excluding Indian children from European schools. It should be remembered that the Higher Grade school was meant only for Indian boys and was opened as a Boys' School. Segregation was not complete as Indian girls and a few infant boys were still admitted to the Government Girls' Model Primary School, but it seems to have been the intention of the Government to provide special schools for Indian girls too (29a). The readiness of the Government to establish and maintain this special school was forced upon it by the necessities of its colour policy. Without special facilities for education beyond Standard Four the Department could not advance the policy enunciated in the 1894 Resolution of the Council of Education. Yet the school was not finally established without much opposition from Europeans who did not favour the educational advancement of Indians. For instance, in 1894 Mr. Bainbridge said this during the debate on the Education Bill (30):-

"If you educate the Native and the Coolie, and he competes with the children of the white people, and passes them, you cannot keep those higher offices closed against him. And what is the consequence? He is brought up beyond labour, he is in a sphere in which he has no occupation; he is an educated man..... You are breeding at the public expense a lot of public agitators who want their rights - we will have the case of Gordon in Jamaica over again.

I do not say, keep these men back if they like to educate themselves, but do not do it at the country's expense."

Similar views were expressed in 1899 when the Attorney-General asked for an increase in the vote for Indian education for the year 1899/1900 to meet the

- 
- 29a. Memo to Dyson Committee (1928) - op. cit. p.29.  
"African Chronicle" - 7 Nov., 1908 - "Govt. and H.G.  
Indian Schools."  
30. Debates, Legis. Ass. - 1894 - 7 May - Bainbridge -  
p.104 & 105.

additional cost of the Higher Grade Indian School. Some members stated quite openly that they were opposed to this general expansion in Indian education, and moved that the item be expunged (31).

It seems that the new school in Durban met with immediate success (32) for it was well supported by the Indians (33). In the beginning the lowest class was Standard II and the highest Standard IV (34), but in 1902 there were twenty boys in Standards VI and VII (35). The school started with forty-one pupils and by October, 1899 the roll had increased to ninety-three (34). In 1902 out of a roll of one-hundred-and-fifty-five there were one-hundred-and-forty-nine present at the annual inspection, and the inspector was pleased to report that the school continued to be very successful (35). Boys came from all parts of the Colony to attend this school (34). The tone of the school was considered to be "quite European" (34) and the work merited such high praise that the inspector thought that the school could "hold its own against many a more pretentious one."

The site of the school was not very satisfactory for it was on one side of a busy thoroughfare. There was no playground at all and sanitary arrangements were poor (36). However, good work was being done under these conditions. Gymnastic exercises had been introduced with effect (37)

- 
31. Debates, Legis. Ass. - 1899 - 5 June - Palmer, Yonge, Payn - p. 153.
  32. Ibid. - 1899 - 5 June - Attorney-Gen. Statement - p. 153.
  33. "African Chronicle" - 7 Nov., 1908 - "Govt. and H.G.I. Schools"
  34. Report, Supt. Edn. - 1899 - Inspector's Report on H.G.I. Schools (D.P. 53/1900).
  35. Ibid. - 1902 - Inspector's Report on H.G.I. Schools (D.P. 62/1903.)
  36. Report, Supt. Edn. - 1901 - Inspector's Report on H.G.I. Schools (G.N.110/1902).
  37. Report, Supt. Edn. - 1902 - Inspector's Report on H.G.I. Schools.

under a special instructor whose fees were defrayed by the Indian merchants (38). Indian interest in this school was shown not only in the representative gatherings at the annual prize distribution functions, but also in their contribution of prizes for various purposes (38). At these annual prize distribution ceremonies the scholars were usually trained to render various items of music, songs, recitation and sketches. The school also organised educational outings, amateur theatricals, cricket and football (38). In 1904 seven pupils passed the Annual Collective Examination (Standard VII)(38). In 1905 the ex-scholars of this school formed an old boys' association, and this is an indication of the sentiment that had grown around this institution (39).

In keeping with the status of the school, a higher scale of fees was charged than at the other Indian schools. It was the same as that charged in the European government schools of that grade, viz.(40):-

|                            |       |            |
|----------------------------|-------|------------|
| Standard II.....           | 3/-d. | per month. |
| Standards III & IV.....    | 4/-d. | " "        |
| Standards V, VI & VII..... | 5/-d. | " "        |
| Over Standard VII.....     | 6/-d. | " "        |

The staff of the school was entirely European, and the curriculum did not differ from that of the European schools (41). The higher grade Indian school opened at Maritzburg in 1902 (42) does not appear to have had the same success as the one at Durban. In 1907 the inspector for the midlands district complained that it appeared to be "suffering from a mild form of boycott"

- 
- 38. "Natal Advertiser" - 1 July, 1904 - "Durban Higher Grade Indian School".
  - 39. "African Chronicle" - 22 Aug., 1908 - "Durban H.G. Old Boys' Asscn. Third Annual Meeting Report."
  - 40. G.N. 301/1905.
  - 41. Monthly Reports, Supt. Edn. - Aug/Sept. G.N. 612/1906.
  - 42. G.N. 576/1902, 655/1902.

for it was not well fed by the other primary Indian schools (43).

The headmaster of the Durban school, Mr. F. B. E. Conolly, was formerly an assistant in the Boys' Model School, Durban (34), who up to the time he was transferred 10½ years later was very popular with the Indian community (44). He worked in very close co-operation with Mr. Paul, who might be said to have made the Higher Grade Indian School his own. From a perusal of the collection of Mr. Paul's correspondence with Mr. Conolly, there is no doubt that the success of the extra-curricular activities and the high prestige of this school was due in no small measure to the combined efforts of these two men. The man behind the scenes in the educational activities of the Indian people from 1898 to 1928 was Mr. H. Louis Paul. He was not able to work in the open, being a civil servant, but his impress has been left upon numerous petitions, letters, press reports and public speeches relating to matters educational. With his flair for law and facility of expression he was quite a thorn in the side of the Education Department.

Just when it seemed that the Indian community was settling down smoothly to the idea of a separate Higher Grade school established in compensation for the exclusion of their children from the European schools, the Education Department disturbed the situation in 1904 by placing a maximum age limit of 17 for the boys attending the Higher Grade Indian Schools (45). Indian parents looked upon this as a restrictive regulation, and as an illiberal tendency,

---

43. Report, Supt. Edn. 1906/07 - Inspector's Report.

44. "African Chronicle" - 26 June, 1909 - "H.G.I.S. - Farewell to Mr. Conolly"

45. "African Chronicle" - 6 Mar., 1909 - "Indian evidence to Educ. Commission 1909"

and sought to have the regulation relaxed (45a). It was pointed out that the enrolment of the Durban school in 1904 would have exceeded 144 had it not been for this age limitation (45b). The point of the Indian grievance was that it prevented an Indian lad from exhausting the resources of the Higher Grade School even though he could profit by further instruction beyond the age of 17 (46).

On the other hand the Education Department appears to have viewed the question of mature persons in low primary classes from an educationalist's standpoint. Mr. P. A. Barnett, the new Superintendent appointed in succession to Mr. Russell, was an eminent, expert official from the Board of Education, England, and he re-organised the Education Department during the short time that he was superintendent (47). He expressed very strong views in regard to this question in the following manner (48):-

"Regarding the Higher Grade Schools we think it most undesirable that arrangements should be so lax as to permit small boys to sit in a class and be subject to a common discipline with grown young men; and the latter should waste their time in a curriculum fitted only for small boys. The Department recognises the propriety of affording to Indians reasonable opportunities for "Higher Grade" teaching, but it will not countenance the waste of time and perversion of educational facilities by encouraging mature persons to work for examinations suitable for young people only."

Again in 1903, the Civil Service Commissioner (47) called attention to the fact that there was no minimum or maximum age limit in Indian schools.

- 
- 45a. "Natal Advertiser" - 1 July, 1904 - "Dbn. Higher Grade Indian School"  
45b. Circular Letter from Headmaster to Parents - 3 Feb., 1908.  
46. "African Chronicle" - Indian Petition to the Throne - Report of Mass Meeting - 12 Sept., 1908.  
47. Report, Civil Service Commissioner, 1903 (G.N. 308/1903)  
48. Report, Supt. Edn., 1902. (D.P. 62/1903) - "Indian Schools".

When the maximum age limit was introduced, those mostly affected were children of Mohammedan parents, for it was their practice to send their children first to a vernacular school (i.e. the Madressa) in order to be instructed in the vernacular languages and "religious matters" (49). As a result of this they would start schooling at a very late age and they could hardly have been expected to complete Standard VII before the age of seventeen. This is an instance of clash of interests resulting from a desire of the Indians to preserve their own linguistic and religious traditions, and the desire to acquire the instruments of political and economic progress in a Colony where English and English traditions were dominant. This is an ever recurring problem of Indian education in this country.

The differences between the Education Department and the Indians become more pronounced from 1905 onwards. The Durban Higher Grade School which had been housed in an unsuitable building up to now, was transferred in September, 1905 to a new and well-planned school near the race-course (50a). But the Department announced that this new school was also to be shared by Coloured children, other than Natives, who were then in attendance at the European schools (50b). In other words, it was intended to make this new school a school for "the better class Indians and the respectable Coloured people" (50b), so that, as Superintendent Mr. Mudie wrote, "they will be better able to maintain their self-respect, and will not be subject to the ostracism which they were forced to endure in schools in which the purely European element greatly predominated." (50b.) The

---

49. "African Chronicle" - 6 Mar., 1909 - Evidence Edn. Commission, 1909."

50a. Report, Supt. Edn. for 1902 - re site.

50b. Monthly Report, Supt. Edn. - Aug/Sept., 1905. (G.N.612/1905)

Coloureds and Indians were promised once again that in staffing and curriculum the school would not differ in the slightest degree from that of the European schools (50b).

It seems that though Indians and Africans (Natives) had been excluded from European schools, the problem of colour had not been completely solved, for Coloured (St. Helenas, Mauritians and others) children and Indian girls still attended these schools. In 1900 Mr. Russell wrote (51) that the admission of Coloureds - other than Indians and Natives - was a difficult question because there were so many classes, racial and social. In 1905 Mr. Mudie stated (52) that the White colonists resented the "intrusion" of coloured children into their schools, and in 1906 he came to the conclusion (53) that European and Coloured children had to be taught separately. The first method that occurred to Mr. Mudie was to mix the Indians and Coloureds together in the newly erected school. But he had not reckoned with the prejudices amongst the non-whites themselves. The announcement brought a storm of protest from both Indians and Coloureds. The Indian children had vacated Alice Street already and had taken their place in the new school; the Coloureds had been dismissed from the European schools indiscriminately, frequently members of the same family being separated (54c), but they refused to attend the Indian School.

- 
51. Report, Supt. Edn. for 1900 - (D.P. 83/1901).
  52. "Science in South Africa" - Section VIII - "Edn. in Natal" by C.J.Mudie, Supt. Edn., Natal - Edited Rev. W. Flint and J.D.F.Gilchrist (Maskew Millar - 1905 - S.Africa).
  53. Report, Supt. Edn. for 1905/06.
  54. "Natal Mercury" -
    - (a) 12 Oct., 1905 - "Colour in Schools"
    - (b) 12 Oct., 1905 - Editorial - "Coloured Edn. Question"
    - (c) 5 Jan., 1906 - "School for Coloured Children""Indian Opinion" - 21 Oct., 1905 - "The Edn. of Coloured People" - publishing full correspondence.

The Indians, on the one hand, strongly objected to the original Higher Grade Indian School being converted into a school for coloured children generally; they contended that the Higher Grade Indian School was meant to be used exclusively by Indians and that the proposed action by the Department was a breach of promise, and they pointed to the name given to the original school in support of their case; they thought that in the new school friction would arise between Indians and Coloureds; they further objected to the intention of the Department to mix boys and girls together in this school (54). The Coloured parents, on the other hand, declined to send their children to Indian schools "to be brought up alongside children of totally different traditions, customs and language." (54c).

The Education Department brought upon itself further criticism when, simultaneous with the opening of the new Higher Grade Indian School at Durban, it dismissed all Indian infant boys and girls in attendance at the European government school (55). This action was obviously taken to complete the segregation process. These infant boys and girls were at first accommodated at the Durban Higher Grade school, but within two weeks they were dismissed from here (56). The reasons advanced for this recent act of dismissal were (i) that the Colonial Treasurer would not sanction the provision of a teacher for the girls' section, and (ii) that as it was desired to maintain the sense of "higher grade" it was necessary to exclude pupils

---

55. "African Chronicle" - 7 Nov., 1908 - "Govt. & H.G.I. School"  
Apparently a few Indian infant boys continued to be admitted to the Girls' Model Training School even after the 1894 Resolution of the C. Ed.

56. Ibid.  
"Indian Opinion" - 21 Oct., 1905 - "The Edn. of Coloured People."

not fit for Standard II (56). The Indians do not appear to have complained about the dismissal of their infant boys and girls from the European schools, having already compromised on the principle of segregation with regard to the boys, and especially since they were led to believe that the education of these children was to be provided for at the Higher Grade Indian School along the same lines as at the European Girls' School. But the attempt to force these children to attend the ordinary Indian schools was strongly resisted (55, 56). The dismissed children were in the meantime receiving no schooling.

In this chaotic state of affairs the European daily press took up the matter and made a scathing attack on the Education Department. The "Natal Mercury" (57) wrote thus:-

"This is retrenchment gone mad, and the whole position is in the highest degree discreditable to the Government, and is calculated to bring discredit on the whole Colony. The question may be a difficult one, but it has been handled from first to last in a thoroughly tactless and grossly incompetent manner by whoever is responsible. We..... it is a shame that respectable coloured people who desire to see their children receive some education should be put to such straits and subjected to uncalled for indignities to obtain it. A wrong has been done, and the sooner it is rectified the better for the credit of the Government, and the name of the Colony."

So in January 1906, a new government school was opened for the Coloured children in the erstwhile premises of the Higher Grade Indian School in Alice Street (58). For the Indian children, the infants' and girls' section was re-established at the Higher Grade Indian School in February, 1906 under a special lady teacher, and both the girls' and boys' sections were under the management of the headmaster,

- 
57. "Natal Mercury" - 12 Oct., 1905 - "Coloured Edn. Question".  
58. "Natal Mercury" - 5 Jan., 1906 - "School for Coloured Children."

Mr. Conolly (59). After this the total enrolment of the school rose to 250 pupils in 1906, and of these 30 were girls (59a). Then suddenly in August 1906, the newly appointed Assistant Coastal Inspector, Mr. C. T. Loram, dismissed all the infants and mixed together all senior boys and girls (59a) and (60). On the Indians protesting, the notice to dismiss the infants was withdrawn but co-education continued in spite of Indian protests (59a). It was alleged that as a result of this many girls were prevented from joining the school and that many others had left, ultimately reducing the number to six "small" girls (59a, 60). The Indians also complained that Inspector, Mr. Loram had said that if the girls did not come to learn with the boys then they must suffer (60). The Department appears to have mixed the girls and boys together because a few girls of five or six standards of attainment were being taught by one teacher, and it was felt that no satisfactory result could be achieved under such circumstances (61). Furthermore, the Department maintained that girls and boys could be taught in the same class without any communication between the sexes (61). This matter of infant boys and girls illustrates not only the social prejudices of the Indians with regard to co-education, but also in their persistent refusal to send their children to the other Indian schools, the growing class prejudice (62).

- 
59. (a) "African Chronicle" - 7 Nov., 1908 - "Govt. & H.G. Ind. Sch."  
(b) "Natal Mercury" - 3 Feb., 1906 - "Indian Girls' School"  
(c) G.N. 98/1906.
60. Indian Petition to Supt. Edn. - 11 Jan., 1907  
(Paul's Collection).
61. Supt. Edn. to U.M. Shelat and Petitioners : 14 Jan., 1907  
(Ed. 237/1907).
62. U.M. Shelat to Supt. Edn - 25 Nov., 1907 (Paul's Collection).

The position at the Higher Grade School then was that classes were conducted for boys and girls from infant classes up to Standard VIII. This was a great departure from the original plan, which was to maintain this as a special school for Indian boys beginning from Standard II and going up to Standard VII.

It is also interesting to note that at this time Indians began to demand educational facilities beyond Standard VII at the Higher Grade School, in view of the fact that their children were not allowed in the Berea High School (60). They also wanted instruction to be given in the Vernacular languages for one hour a day and they were prepared to defray the cost of employing a teacher for this purpose (60). In both instances the Department felt that the time was not yet ripe (62).

Though the Department had given way to Indian protestations in re-admitting the infants in 1906, yet it was not satisfied with the position. Inspector Mr. Bryan, in 1906, had recommended the elimination of Sub-Standards and Standard I from the Higher Grade Schools (63). So in August 1907 the sub-standards and Standard I were abolished, and Standard II made the lowest class (64). The Department turned a deaf ear to Indian protests (64). This was followed by a reduction of £675 in the vote to the Higher Grade Indian Schools (64). The Department weeded out this section in order that the Higher Grade Schools might

---

63. Report, Supt. Edn. for 1905/06 : Inspector's Reports

64. "African Chronicle" - 7 Nov., 1908 - "Govt. and H.G.I. School".

be fed by the other Indian schools, and also with a view to making the difference between the two types of school one of curriculum rather than of "caste" (meaning class)(65). The Department also held that since the status and teaching in the Elementary Indian Schools (the erstwhile Board Schools under a new name) had improved much during the past few years, there was not the necessity for the duplication of these lower Standards (66). The Indians challenged this last assertion and referred to the Superintendent's own annual report to disprove it (67), and re-asserted their demand for a higher class of educational facilities for even the sub-standard children (68). They referred to the "continual changes in the administration and management" of the Higher Grade School and blamed the Department for the state of female education; they said that "very serious departure from settled principles and declared objects" had been and was being made in this school; they complained that it appeared to be the intention of the Government to gradually restrict the facilities of education so as to reduce the Higher Grade School "to the level of the poorer schools" (68). They now demanded to have their children admitted to European schools where suitable facilities existed. This petition too was not entertained (69).

While this state of disaffection existed amongst the class-conscious Indians, the Department

- 
65. Report, Supt. Edn. 1906/07 : Inspector Loram's Rpt.  
66. Report, Supt. Edn. 1907/08 : Inspector Loram's Rpt.  
Supt. Edn. to Petitioners : 17 Jan., 1908 - Ed. 237/1908  
67. Report, Supt. Edn. 1905/06 : Inspectors' Reports.  
68. Petition to Minister Edn. : 24 July, 1908.  
69. Supt. Edn. (H.R. Dukes) to Shelat : 20 Aug., 1908  
(Ed. 5583/1908).

disturbed the situation violently by issuing an order in October 1908 to dismiss all children in the Higher Grade Indian Schools above the age of fourteen (70). Hitherto the maximum age limit was seventeen. This age restriction was, indeed, a severe measure and seriously curtailed the educational opportunities of Indian children. Once again Indian protests were ignored by the Minister of Education (71). The Indians were then obliged to make an ex parte application to the Supreme Court for a rule restraining the Minister of Education from dismissing these Indian pupils on their reaching the age of fourteen years (72). The Court expressed disapproval of ex parte orders, saving when they could not possibly do harm. In the present case, it was thought, the granting of the order might seriously interfere with the discipline of the school, and so refused the application (72). The Department, however, withdrew the notice on the 30th October, 1908, and the boys affected were requested to return to school as usual on the 2nd November. (71, 73).

But in December, 1908 orders were re-issued not to admit any pupil over the age of fourteen years into any government Indian School as from the beginning of the next term (74). A regulation to this effect was issued by the Deputy-Governor-in-Council on the 18th December, 1908 (75). This was followed by a

- 
70. "African Chronicle" - 24 Oct., 1908 - "Indian Edn."  
- 31 Oct., 1908 - "Comments & Notes"  
- 7 Nov., 1908 - "Govt. & H.G.I.Sch"  
"Natal Mercury" - 16 Oct., 1908 - "Indian Edn."  
- 13 Oct., 1908 - "Indian Edn."
71. "African Chronicle" - 7 Nov., 1908 - "Govt. & H.G.I.Sch"
72. Ibid.  
"Indian Opinion" - 7 Nov., 1908 - "Restricting Edn."  
"Natal Mercury" - 30 Oct., 1908 - "Cutting Short Edn."
73. "African Chronicle" - Special Supplement - 31 Oct., 1908  
"Govt. & H.G.I.Schools".
74. Supt. Edn. to Dada Osman - 10 Dec., 1908 - (Ed. 7947/1908  
"African Chronicle" - 14 Nov., 1908 - "Indian Edn."
75. "African Chronicle" - 25 Dec., 1909 - "Indian Edn. -  
Important Test Case".

more comprehensive set of regulations in April, 1909, which contained, inter alia, the following clauses specially referring to Indian education (76):-

(a) Reg. 3 : No Native, Indian or Coloured children were to be admitted to schools other than those specially provided for them.

(b) Reg.36 : No free scholars may be admitted to an Indian school and no pupil over 14 years will be allowed to attend any government school for Indians.

(c) Reg.37 : No pupils under Standard II may be admitted to an Indian school under European teachers (Refers to Higher Grade Schools).

It will be observed that the climax of the segregatory movement has now been reached, for each of the four racial groups is now bound by regulation to keep to its own schools. Native children had been segregated from Indian children as early as 1904 by the expedient of refusing to recognise for purposes of a grant-in-aid any Native child in an Indian School (77a). The Natal Indian Congress in protesting (77b) against this clause pointed out that Indian parents had sent their children to the Higher Grade Indian Schools, not be reason of any legal disability, but as a voluntary act; and, its good faith had been presumed upon; and advantage taken of its moderation to impose, by indirect means, a legal disability, on account of race and colour, upon Indian children. It felt that such a disability should have been imposed if at all, only by

---

76. G.N. 201/1909 - Regulns. for the Conduct of Govt. Sch."

77a. G.N. 98/1904 - 8 Feb.

77b. "Indian Opinion" - 22 May, 1909 - "Ind. Edn. in Natal"  
Verbatim Report of N.I.C. Petition to Col. Secty.

the agency of an Act of Parliament, which would have been subject to the Imperial veto.

With regard to the imposition of a maximum school-leaving age, whereas it was fourteen years for Indian children and sixteen years for Coloured children (78), there was no age limit at all for European children. This regulation manifestly discriminated between the European, the Coloured and the Indian. The Government's reason for reducing the maximum age limit from 17 years to 14 years was given (79) as being necessitated by the action of Parliament in cutting down the Estimates for Indian education for the year, and thus necessitating a reduction of expenses connected with this branch of the educational system of the Colony. Once before too in 1907, a similar excuse of financial stringency was given for eliminating the sub-standards and Standard I from the Higher Grade School (80a).

Then again there was the special discrimination against Indian children in that necessitous cases were not permitted free admission to government Indian schools, but there was no such stipulation in regard to European and Coloured government schools. The Indian attitude to the elimination of the sub-standards and Standard I from the Higher Grade Schools has already been mentioned. In 1909 the title Higher Grade was abolished (80b).

In view of all these restrictions and

---

78. G.N. 201/1909 - Clause 35.

79. Reply to Indian Petition of 1909 - Asst. Under Sec. to N.I. Congress - C.S.O. 2847/1909 - 11 June, 1909.

80a. Supt. Edn. to Shelat - 14 Jan., 1907 (Ed. 237/1907).

80b. G.N. 56/1909 - January.

and discriminatory regulations the Indians felt keenly (77, 81) that since 1905 efforts had been made by the Department to render nugatory all attempts by the Indian community to further its "higher development and intellectual progress through the efficient training of its children," and that the Government had failed entirely to appreciate the growing needs of a community, many of whose children were born in the Colony and who knew no other home than this. These new regulations were considered to be detrimental to their welfare, and a source of constant friction and of communal humiliation. The Government reply to the petition (79) merely stated that the regulations were devised to meet special circumstances existing in the Colony, which it would have been impossible for any Government to alter, and hoped that the Indian community would appreciate those difficulties.

It would be appropriate at this stage to consider briefly how the Indian Community reacted to these restrictions, apart from petitions and litigation. In view of their dissatisfaction with the Mission Schools (82) and the curtailment of the education of children over 14 years, some Indians began to think of establishing their own National schools (83). One of the first schools established by the Indians directly as a result of the age restriction was the "Durban

- 
81. "African Chronicle" - 28 Nov., 1908 - "Edn. Problem"  
Also charges the Department with lack of sympathy towards Indian education, and refers to the "Anti-Indian" attitude of Inspector Loram.
82. "African Chronicle" - 7 Nov., 1908 - "Random Thoughts"
83. Ibid. -21 Nov., 1908 - Correspondent.  
Ibid. -20 Mar., 1909 - "National Schools"

Anjuman Islam School" opened in January, 1909, at Durban (84). In August, 1909, a private Indian school known as the "Ladysmith Indian College" was opened; there were 50 children, almost all receiving free education (85). In October, 1910, the Hindu Young Men's Society established a National school at South Coast Junction, where English and the vernacular were taught (85a). Another was being organised at Greenwood Park in 1911 (85b).

The best effort was made at Pietermaritzburg. The Indians in this town decided to open a "private High School" for children over 14 years and for those desiring to prepare for University Examinations (86). A special committee of Indians raised by public subscription money for the furniture and the maintenance of the school (86). This school was opened in August, 1909 in hired premises (87); with a roll of 13 students, of whom 6 were being prepared for the Cape Junior Certificate and the rest for the Cape Elementary Examination. The monthly fees charged were 5/- per boy, and a composite monthly fee of 10/- for children of one and the same family (87). It appears that scholars from Durban and Ladysmith also attended this school (87). It also appears (87) that a deputation of Indians waited upon the Superintendent of Education to put forward the Indian case for secondary education facilities, and urged him to help this private

- 
84. "African Chronicle" - 12 Feb., 1910 - "Dbn. Anjuman Islam School"  
85. Ibid. - 2 Apr., 1910 - "Ladysmith Ind. College."  
85a. Ibid. - 15 Oct., 1910 - "Junction Hindoos"  
85b. Ibid. - 15 July, 1911 - "Indian Edn."  
86. Ibid. - 7 Aug., 1909 - "A New Higher Gr. Sch. Pmbg."  
87. Ibid. - 23 Oct., 1909 - "Maritzbg. Private Ind. High Sch."

institution (87). This school was still in existence in May, 1910 (88), and was kept going by Indian funds.

Now once again the Indians took recourse to the Court (89) and challenged the regulation governing the age restriction. They lost the case (90). The judgment was not clear cut and decisive, and the Indian community was not satisfied. They therefore wished to take the matter up to the Privy Council (91). In delivering judgment Justice Dove Wilson said, inter alia (90):-

"We agree with the plaintiff's counsel that the regulation in question is not sanctioned by Sub-Section C of Section 9 of the Act of 1894, but we are not prepared, in the absence of evidence, to say that it may not be otherwise sanctioned as being a regulation as to a matter necessary for the better carrying out of the Education Acts, for which no provision is otherwise made, and having regard to the classification of schools, and in the interest of the Indians themselves."

.....

"On the whole matter, we do not know why the rule in question was found to be necessary, and we are unable on the information before us, to say that it is contrary to the scope and intention of the Act, or is class legislation, and therefore unconstitutional."

The Indians declared (91) that in the course of the case it was made clear that they could claim admittance to any government school, and threatened to seek admission into European schools since they were kept out of their own by age restriction. The Government, however, acted wisely in rescinding the regulation referring to age restriction (92), and the

- 
88. "African Chronicle" - 7 May, 1910 - "City Ind. Sch."  
89. Ibid. - 13 Nov., 1909 - "Interesting Appeal Case".  
90. Ibid. - 25 Dec., 1909 - "Ind. Edn. Judgment for the Government"  
91. Ibid. - 19 Feb., 1910 - "Appeal to Privy Council".  
92. G.N. 138/1910 - 2 Mar., 1910.

agitation appears to have died down after that. The last complaint of this period was the exclusion of Indians from the benefit of the Compulsory Education Act of 1910, which applied only to European children (93). Thus ended the period with complete segregation of the non-whites from European schools, and with the Indians resentful and suspicious of the Whites.

---

93. "African Chronicle" - 15 July, 1911 - "Indian Edn."

## C H A P T E R   X I I

### EDUCATIONAL FACILITIES FOR THE INDIAN MASSES

1895-1910.

While the focus of attention was during this period directed to the Higher Grade Indian Schools, it must, however, be pointed out that these schools in no way represented the whole of Indian education in Natal. They were very much in the public eye mainly because the educational interests of the Indian petty bourgeoisie were tied up with these schools, and because they had the means and the resources to make their representations heard. This statement does not, however, lessen the importance of the Higher Grade schools in the educational advancement of the Indian people. The education of the children of the Indian labourers and peasants, both indentured and "free", was conducted mainly in the government and government-aided schools established by the Indian Immigrant School Board. Considering the number of these schools and the proportion of the school-going children in attendance at these schools, they had deserved greater emphasis and attention from the Indian leaders than was actually given them. When criticism of the conditions prevailing in these schools was made by the

Indian petty bourgeoisie, it was more for the purpose of securing separate facilities for their own children than for the raising of the standards in these Indian schools (1).

By the Education Act of 1894 the schools established by the Indian Immigrant School Board were placed under the control and supervision of the Education Department. Though there was nothing in the Act of a racially discriminatory character, the Education Department continued the system of special race schools by forming these Indian schools into a separate branch of the educational system of the Colony (2). Ultimately there came to be four branches in the educational system of Natal, each pertaining to the main racial groups, namely, Native, European, Indian and Coloured. It would appear from the last chapter that the Education Department had also committed itself to a policy of establishing class schools within a racial group. At any rate this was true of the Higher Grade Indian schools, until belated attempts were made by Inspector Mr. Leram to erase this impression, even to the extent of changing the name of the Durban Higher Grade Indian School to the Carlisle Street Government Indian School in 1909 (3).

The creation of the Education Department did not bring about any immediate practical changes in the administration of Indian education. Just as Mr. Russell

- 
1. U. M. Shelat - N.I. Congress to Supt. Edn.: 21 Feb., 1907.
  2. Asst. Under Sec. of Col. Sec's. Office to Actg. Pres. N.I. Congress - 14 June, 1909 - C.S.O. 2847/1909 (Paul's Collection) - refers to Indian education as a branch of the educational system of the Colony.
  3. Report, Supt. Edn. 1908/09 - Inspector's Report and G.N. 56/1909.

was retained as Superintendent of Education (4), Mr. Francis Colepeper continued to act as Inspector of Indian Schools and submitted special annual reports to the Superintendent on all the Indian schools, except the Higher Grade Indian Schools. It was not until 1903 that the post of Inspector of Indian Schools was abolished (5), in accordance with a recommendation of the Civil Service Commissioner (6). So for almost another ten years Indian primary education was still in the charge of Mr. Colepeper, and it may be assumed that there was during this time no radical departure in policy or method from the preceding years. But when Mr. P. A. Barnett succeeded Mr. Russell in 1902, he re-organised the Education Department and one of his changes was the creation of inspectoral districts (7). From 1903 all Indian schools came under one or the other of four district inspectors of schools, under whose inspection came also European and Coloured schools. So from the point of view of inspection, Indian schools now received the same efficient attention as the European and Coloured schools. But this did not necessarily ensure that Indian schools were of equal efficiency with the other schools, for this was a matter which depended upon the adequacy of financial provision, qualification of teachers, salaries of teachers, adequacy of equipment, suitability of buildings and, above all, the availability of educational opportunities to those who needed them.

---

4. This title was employed from 1897.

5. Report, Supt. Edn. - 1903/1904.

6. Report, Civil Service Commissioner ; 1903 (D.P. 97/1903)

7. G.N. 797/1903 - November.

Examine first the question of the adequacy or otherwise of the financial provisions for Indian education, for this is the crux of the educational problem. In the study of the political and economic background to this period it has been shown that Natal's Indian policy was either to secure the return of all Indians to India, or alternatively to minimise their alleged menace to White supremacy and civilisation by reducing them to a state of political and economic servitude, and <sup>by</sup> social separation. Such a view of the Indian settlement was certainly not conducive to the adequate provision of educational facilities for Indian children. Opposition to the expansion of Indian education was argued from both points of view. For instance in 1894 and 1899 it was argued that education unfitted the Indian for cheap labour, and turned out political agitators, or competitors with the European youth for office work (8); and in 1901 it was also argued that it was a waste of money to educate Indian children since they were eventually to be repatriated to India (9).

Even educationists seem to have had their views coloured by the prevailing prejudices. Inspector Mr. Loram constantly stressed the seriousness of the educated Indian youth entering into competition with the European youth for office employment, and even recommended the introduction of basketry, pottery, market-gardening and so on into the Indian schools to divert the Indian youth into other fields of employment and lessen this competition (9). Such a view

- 
8. Debates, Legis. Ass: 1894 - Education Bill - 7th May -  
Bainsbridge - P. 104.  
: 1899 - Supply Bill - 5 June -  
Palmer, Payn - p. 153.  
: 1901 - Supply Bill - 3 June -  
Payn - p. 161.
9. Reports, Supt. Edn: 1908/09; 1909/10.  
"African Chronicle" - 27 June, 1908 - Loram's Speech -  
"St. Aidan's College."

presumed that the ordinary primary and secondary course of instruction was not desirable for Indians as it brought European interests into conflict with Indian interests. The educationalist here has turned politician. In 1903 the Civil Service Commissioner, reporting on the working of the various government departments, thought that the Education Department might be "wiser" to substitute the geography of India for the geography of South Africa in the curriculum of Indian schools, if it was desired that the Indian children should not look upon South Africa as their home (10). A recommendation of this nature is clear indication of the half-hearted manner in which the education of the Indian child was approached (11). It is sufficient to quote the Superintendent himself to show that a restrictive and miserly policy was followed in regard to Indian education (12) :-

"At present our neglect is doing a good deal to confine our Indian population to petty and predacious industries, to discourage it from acquiring arts and crafts, and to breed a class of peculiarly dangerous criminals. We can reap no real profit from the Indians unless we deliberately set ourselves to make the best of them. The little schooling that we grudgingly give to a few of them fits them, at best, for inferior clerical work; we....."

"The State contributes grants-in-aid just enough to provoke criticism."

The reluctance or inability of the Education Department to make available higher class educational facilities for the infant boys and girls of the Indian petty bourgeoisie, the reduction of the maximum age limit

- 
10. Report, Civil Service Commission - 1903; Edn. Dept. (D.P. 97/1903).
  11. See also Report, Supt. Edn: 1903/04- "Indian Edn."  
: 1908/09 - Inspector Loram's Report.
  12. Report, Supt. Edn: 1903/04.

for attendance at government schools from seventeen years to fourteen years, and the low salaries of Indian teachers, were all due to the limited amount of money granted annually to Indian education (13).

During this period the annual total expenditure on Indian education, however, showed a steady increase (see Table 1). It will be observed that the annual expenditure on Indian education rose from £1812 in 1895 to £5781 in 1909/1910. This represents an increase of just over three times. In the same period the annual expenditure on European education increased from £33,769 to £103,362, and Native education from £5,300 to £10,341 (14). At the same time the revenue from government Indian schools, which was paid into the Treasury, increased from £36 to £423. The bulk of the fee-revenue came from the two Higher Grade Indian Schools, where a higher scale of fees was charged. The fee-income from all the government European schools was £15,539 in 1909/1910. In comparison with the annual expenditure on European education in 1909/1910, that on Indian education was approximately one-twentieth or five per cent.

There is an important point that should be brought out in connection with the increased expenditure on Indian education, and that is that this increase was incurred largely on the two higher grade schools. But these schools were established to cater mainly for the Indian

- 
13. Supt. Edn. to Shelat - N.I. Congress President:  
14 Jan., 1907 (Ed. 237/1907). (Paul's Collection).  
Asst. Under Sec. of Col. Sec's Office to N.I.C. - 1909 -  
op. cit. (See Ref. 2).
  14. Reports, Supt. Edn: 1895; 1909/10.

T A B L E 1.

Annual Government Expenditure on, and  
 Fee Revenue from  
 Indian Schools.  
 (To the nearest £)

| <u>Year</u>          | <u>Gross Expenditure</u> | <u>Fee Revenue</u> |
|----------------------|--------------------------|--------------------|
| 1894/95              | £ 1812                   | £ 36               |
| 1895/96              | 1824                     | 39                 |
| 1896/97              | 1922                     | 43                 |
| 1897/98              | 1958                     | 65                 |
| 1898/99              | 2586                     | 118                |
| 1899/1900            | 2734                     | 261                |
| 1900/01              | 2719                     | 286                |
| 1901/02              | 3145                     | 371                |
| 1902/03              | 3529                     | 450                |
| 1903/04 <sup>x</sup> | 4491 <sup>xx</sup>       | 487                |
| 1904/05              | 5545 <sup>xx</sup>       | 499                |
| 1905/06              | 5538                     | 597                |
| 1906/07              | 5189                     | 635                |
| 1907/08              | 5481                     | 603                |
| 1908/09              | 5149 <sup>xx</sup>       | 513                |
| 1909/10              | 5781 <sup>xx</sup>       | 423                |

<sup>x</sup> From this date exclusive of cost of administration, buildings, furniture and rent.

<sup>xx</sup> Small discrepancies in the totals given in, or calculated from, different portions of the annual reports.

petty bourgeoisie. In other words, a large proportion of the increasing expenditure went towards the maintenance of the class schools within the Indian community, and relatively less for the schools of the poorer classes. The following figures will illustrate the point:-

TABLE 2.

Comparative Statement of Expenditure on Higher Grade and Elementary Schools.

| <u>Year</u>     | <u>Govt. H.G.I.S. Salaries</u> | <u>Govt. Elementary Salaries</u> | <u>Total Govt. Salaries</u> | <u>Total Exp. all Indian Schs.</u> |
|-----------------|--------------------------------|----------------------------------|-----------------------------|------------------------------------|
|                 | £                              | £                                | £                           | £                                  |
| 1900 . . . .    | 356                            | 315                              | 671                         | 2734                               |
| 1901 . . . .    | 611                            | 330                              | 941                         | 2719                               |
| 1902/03 . . . . | 1116                           | 615                              | 1731                        | 3529                               |
| 1905/06 . . . . | 1792                           | 738                              | 2530                        | 5538                               |
| 1907/08 . . . . | 1888                           | 906                              | 2794                        | 5481                               |

Note:- All figures are to the nearest £ and extracted from the Superintendent's Annual Reports.

From 1902 there were two higher grade schools and three elementary government schools. It will be observed that the former cost about twice as much as the elementary schools in salaries alone. On the other hand the elementary schools handled more than twice as many students as the higher grade schools. In 1900, for instance, there were 113 on roll at the Higher Grade School, Durban, and 386 in the two elementary schools; again in 1902/03 there were 203 at the two higher grade schools against 445 in the three

elementary schools (15). Considered from the point of view of total expenditure on all Indian schools, it will be observed that the proportion spent on the higher grade schools increased from about one-fourth in 1901 to about one-third in 1907/08. Thus a relatively greater amount was spent on the education of a minority of the Indian school-going population. In so far as the education of the masses was concerned, increasing expenditure signified very little improvement, for the amount available for their needs was hardly adequate.

Turn now to a comparison of the total annual expenditure on government and government-aided schools (See Table 3). It will be seen that the annual expenditure, exclusive of administration, furniture and rent on government Indian schools, had increased from £359 in 1896 to £2,418 on 1909/10. Within this period the number of government schools had increased from the two elementary schools (Durban and Lower Umgeni) to five (including two higher grade schools and an additional elementary school). It has already been stated that the bulk of this expenditure was incurred on the higher grade schools, and they cost very much more than the elementary schools because of the employment of a European staff on a very much higher scale of salary than that paid to the Indian teachers.

The grants-in-aid to Indian schools had almost trebled within this period, having increased from £1,184 in 1895 to £3,350 in 1909/10. This increase is particularly noticeable from 1903/04, and is accounted for by the fact

T A B L E 3.

**Expenditure on Government and Government-aided  
Indian Schools  
(Exclusive of administration, etc.)**

| <u>Year</u> | <u>Govt. School<br/>Expenditure.</u> | <u>Grants-in-aid.</u> |
|-------------|--------------------------------------|-----------------------|
|             | £                                    | £                     |
| 1894/95     | (278)                                | 1184                  |
| 1895/96     | 359                                  | 1196(v)               |
| 1896/97     | 316                                  | 1188(v)               |
| 1897/98     | 291                                  | 1453(v)               |
| 1898/99     | 639 <sup>x</sup>                     | 1597                  |
| 1899/1900   | 737                                  | 1413                  |
| 1900/01     | 1055                                 | 1561                  |
| 1901/02     | 1526                                 | 1346                  |
| 1902/03     | 1781                                 | 1408                  |
| 1903/04     | 2521                                 | 1993                  |
| 1904/05     | 2966                                 | 2597 <sup>xx</sup>    |
| 1905/06     | 2572                                 | 2966                  |
| 1906/07     | 2572                                 | 2618                  |
| 1907/08     | 2842                                 | 2639                  |
| 1908/09     | 2267                                 | 2883(z)               |
| 1909/10     | 2418                                 | 3350(z)               |

( ) Calculated from known data - not reported precisely.

(v) Actual expenditure not given, but this is the total obtained from sum of individual grants voted or allocated to each school. The difference could not be more than a few pounds.

<sup>x</sup> Calculated to include expenditure on Higher Grade Indian School, Durban.

<sup>xx</sup> Includes expenditure on teacher-training.

(z) Discrepancy in figures printed in the Annual Reports, e.g. 1908/09 - £2883 and £2877..  
1909/10 - £3329 and £3350.

that an improved basis of grants-in-aid was introduced in 1904 (16). The sudden jump in 1904/05 was due to a grant of £200 for teacher training. Comparing the two sets of figures in Table 3, it is interesting to observe that from 1902 the grants-in-aid were just a little more than the expenditure on the government schools, and at times they were even less. Yet there were, for instance, in 1909/10, thirty-one aided schools against five government, catering for an average enrolment of 2,201 against 514 (17). Since the monies voted for Indian education were always kept to the minimum possible, the heavier expenditure on the government schools, especially the higher grade schools, must have been incurred by saving on the aided school. An examination of the per capita expenditure on Indian children will clarify this point (See Table 4).

It will be seen (Table 4(a) and 4(b)) that the cost of educating an Indian child at a government school was twice to three times as much as at a government-aided school. The grant-in-aid from 1904 was fixed at £1.10.0d. per annum for each Indian child, based on the quarterly average attendance (18). Thus from 1904 to 1910 the per capita cost at the aided school was kept very close to this figure. But there was no such regulation for the government school, and hence the per capita cost here rose gradually until in 1910 it was more than three times the per capita cost at the aided school. Since the total amount available every year for Indian education was limited, the increasing

- 
16. G.N. 365/1904 - 7 June : Regulns. for payments of Grants to G/Aided Schools.
  17. Report, Supt. Edn. 1909/10.
  18. G.N. 365/1904 - June 7th : Clause 7.

**T A B L E 4.**

Comparative Statement of  
Per Capita Expenditure  
on Indian Children.

(a) Based on Average Attendance

| Year      | All Indian Schools |   |    | Government |    |     | Government Aided |    |     |
|-----------|--------------------|---|----|------------|----|-----|------------------|----|-----|
|           | £                  | s | d. | £          | s  | d.  | £                | s  | d.  |
| 1894/95   | 1                  | 1 | 6  | (1         | 14 | 6½) | 1                | 1  | 1½  |
| 1899/1900 | 1                  | 3 | 0½ | 1          | 11 | 6½  | 18               | 0  | ½   |
| 1904/05   | 2                  | 4 | 9½ | 4          | 5  | 8   | 1                | 10 | 10½ |
| 1909/10   | 2                  | 0 | 9½ | 4          | 14 | 11½ | 1                | 10 | 5½  |

( ) Calculated from known data.

(b) Based on Average Enrolment<sup>x</sup>

| Year    | All Indian Schools                   |    |    | Government |    |    | Government Aided |    |     |
|---------|--------------------------------------|----|----|------------|----|----|------------------|----|-----|
|         | £                                    | s  | d. | £          | s  | d. | £                | s  | d.  |
| 1900/01 |                                      | 13 | 2½ | 1          | 5  | 10 |                  | 10 | 7½  |
| 1901/02 | 1                                    | 11 | 1½ | 1          | 5  | 7½ | 1                | 3  | 9   |
| 1902/03 | Attendance statistics not available. |    |    |            |    |    |                  |    |     |
| 1903/04 | 1                                    | 12 | 5½ | 2          | 17 | 9½ |                  | 19 | 2   |
| 1904/05 | 1                                    | 12 | 2  | 3          | 5  | 7½ | 1                | 1  | 8   |
| 1905/06 | 1                                    | 9  | 1½ | 2          | 13 | 4½ | 1                | 2  | 4   |
| 1906/07 | 1                                    | 8  | 8½ | 2          | 14 | 4½ | 1                | 1  | 3½  |
| 1907/08 | 1                                    | 11 | 7½ | 3          | 6  | 1½ | 1                | 1  | 10½ |
| 1908/09 | 1                                    | 8  | 2½ | 2          | 17 | 8½ | 1                | 1  | 6   |
| 1909/10 | 1                                    | 11 | 6½ | 3          | 17 | 7½ | 1                | 3  | 4   |

<sup>x</sup>Average Enrolment statistics available only from 1900/01.

(c) Racial Comparison of Per Capita Cost  
(based on average enrolment)

(i)

ALL SCHOOLS

| Year.   | Indian. |    |    | European. |   |    | Coloured. |    |    | Native. |    |    |
|---------|---------|----|----|-----------|---|----|-----------|----|----|---------|----|----|
|         | £       | s  | d  | £         | s | d  | £         | s  | d  | £       | s  | d  |
| 1900/01 |         | 13 | 2½ | 3         | 5 | 1½ | -         | -  | -  |         | 11 | 5½ |
| 1901/02 | 1       | 11 | 1½ | 4         | 7 | 4  | 2         | 15 | 4½ |         | 13 | 2½ |
| 1909/10 | 1       | 11 | 6½ | 5         | 9 | 1  | 3         | 3  | 8  |         | 15 | 4½ |

(ii)

GOVERNMENT SCHOOLS (PRIMARY)

| Year    | Indian |    |    | European |   |     | Coloured |    |     | Native |   |   |
|---------|--------|----|----|----------|---|-----|----------|----|-----|--------|---|---|
|         | £      | s  | d  | £        | s | d   | £        | s  | d   | £      | s | d |
| 1900/01 | 1      | 5  | 10 | 4        | 9 | 6½  | -        | -  | -   | -      | - | - |
| 1901/02 | 1      | 15 | 7½ | 5        | 6 | 3½  | 5        | 2  | 6   | -      | - | - |
| 1909/10 | 3      | 17 | 7½ | 6        | 8 | 11½ | 6        | 11 | 11½ | -      | - | - |

(iii)

GOVERNMENT-AIDED SCHOOLS (excluding Farm Schools)

| Year    | Indian |    |    | European |    |    | Coloured |    |    | Native |    |    |
|---------|--------|----|----|----------|----|----|----------|----|----|--------|----|----|
|         | £      | s  | d  | £        | s  | d  | £        | s  | d  | £      | s  | d  |
| 1900/01 |        | 10 | 7½ | 1        | 6  | 1½ | -        | -  | -  |        | 11 | 5½ |
| 1901/02 | 1      | 3  | 9  | 2        | 1  | 6½ | 2        | 6  | 4  |        | 13 | 2½ |
| 1909/10 | 1      | 3  | 4  | 3        | 11 | 2½ | 1        | 19 | 9½ |        | 15 | 4½ |

ratio of expenditure on the government schools could only have been balanced by fixing a maximum Standard in the aided school and severely controlling the expansion of the aided school system. Hence, between 1903/04 and 1909/10 only eight new aided schools had been added to the system (Table 5).

Considered from the aspect of per capita expenditure, the period under review shows an increase in the expenditure on the education of the Indian child, especially in the government schools. The general higher level of the per capita expenditure on government Indian schools was due to the heavier cost of the Higher Grade Schools. Separate figures are unfortunately not available for the Higher Grade and Elementary schools. It would have been interesting to compare the per capita cost in the Government Elementary Schools with the Aided Schools, particularly in view of Indian criticism of conditions in the former. The higher figures for the government schools should, therefore, be viewed with caution and less optimism, as they are not a reliable index of the improvements effected in the education of the masses. The probabilities are that the per capita expenditure in the Elementary schools was only slightly higher than in the Aided schools (19). In so far as aided schools are concerned the per capita expenditure became static after 1904.

A study of the per capita expenditure on the different racial groups (Table 4(c)) reveals an interesting

---

19. A rough calculation based on the data given in Table 2 and the attendance statistics given in the paragraph following the Table, yields the following information:-

1902/03 - Higher Grade : £5.10. 0d. per capita.  
- Elementary : £1. 7. 7½d. " "

feature of the educational structure of the Colony. There is a very clear hierarchical arrangement dependent upon the race factor. At the head of the hierarchy is the European child, on whom the greatest amount of money was spent. Then followed the Coloured child, on whom the ratio of expenditure is a little over half that spent on the European child. Next in order was the Indian child who received about half the subsidy on the Coloured child. Finally, at the base of the pyramid was the Native child who had no government schools, but the per capita expenditure on the aided schools was about half that spent on the Indian aided school. This is an illustration of the inequalities which pervaded the social and educational structure of Natal. It also supported the contention of the Indians that segregation would have resulted not in equal and parallel service with the European, but in inferior services for the Indian. There is no clearer indication than these figures of the educational policy of Natal during the years preceding Union. The status of the Indian was fixed between the Native and the Coloured.

A discussion of the finance of Indian education would not be complete without a consideration of the system of grants-in-aid. In the immediate years after the change over from the Indian Immigration<sup>mt</sup> School Board to the Education Department there was no change in the basis of the grants-in-aid. The grants were made for maintenance in general, but they were insufficient for this purpose for they allowed of little beyond the payment of salaries of teachers, even though that itself was on

such a very low scale (20). By calling it a maintenance grant meant that the total grant need not necessarily all be spent on teachers' salaries (21). Up to about 1904 the grants-in-aid ranged from £24 to £111 (22). In some schools the entire grant-in-aid was used for teachers' salaries, while in a few the teachers' salaries were actually supplemented by the grantee (23). The Inspector of Indian Schools pointed out the insufficiency of these grants, their effect on the equipment of aided schools and teachers' salaries, and in 1896 suggested the adoption of a £ for £ principle of granting aid (24).

Certain changes were introduced after the appointment of Mr. Barnett as Superintendent of Education. In 1903 (25) he set out the regulations governing the conditions of a grant-in-aid. The publication of the conditions is an advance on the obscurity practised by the Board. This particular government notice, however, did not state the actual basis on which grants-in-aid would in future be calculated, but merely stated that grants-in-aid to Indian schools conducted along the lines set down therein by the Department would be systematised and placed on a new basis. In June 1904 the new basis was made known (26). According to this notice Indian schools were to receive a grant-in-aid at the rate of 30/- per annum on the quarterly average attendance of all children not less than 5 years old and not more than 16 years. This meant 30/- per annum for each unit of average attendance.

---

20. Report, Supt. Edn. - 1895, 1896 - Colepeper's Report.  
 21. Ibid. - 1900.  
 22. Various Annual Reports, Supt. Edn.  
 23. Report, Supt. Edn. - 1900 - Return of Teachers' Salaries and Allowances.  
 24. Ibid. - 1896.  
 25. G.N. 273/1903.  
 26. G.N. 365/1904 - Clause 7.

Regulations governing conditions of grants-in-aid to European and Coloured schools were also published in the same government notice, and the basis of the grants-in-aid was on a more generous scale than for Indians. The advantages enjoyed by European schools were as follows :-

- (a) Minimum basic grant of £60 per annum to the lowest school with an average attendance between 12 and 14;
- (b) The scale works out at about £2 a year per unit of average attendance;
- (c) Additional grants of £20 - £80 per annum for each assistant teacher;
- (d) Special higher scale of grants-in-aid for Durban, Pietermaritzburg and their suburbs;
- (e) Capitation grants of 9/- and 10/- per unit of average attendance (later increased to 10/- and 15/-) recommended on the higher or lower scale by the Inspector.
- (f) Additional capitation grant of 6d. for each of the following subjects : singing, drawing, needlework and drill;
- (g) Further capitation grant of 1/- for instruction in nature knowledge.

All these items obviously increased the amount available to the European aided schools. It is also interesting to note that provision for Coloured schools was made on the basis of three-quarters of the scale authorised for European primary schools (27).

---

27. G.N. 150/1904  
G.N. 365/1904 - Clause 6: G.N. 654/1906.

However, the new scale helped to make a certain amount of progress in the aided Indian schools.. The increase in the grants earned by certain selected schools between 1900 and 1910 will illustrate the point (28):-

**Grants-in-Aid to Individual Schools**  
**Comparative Statement**

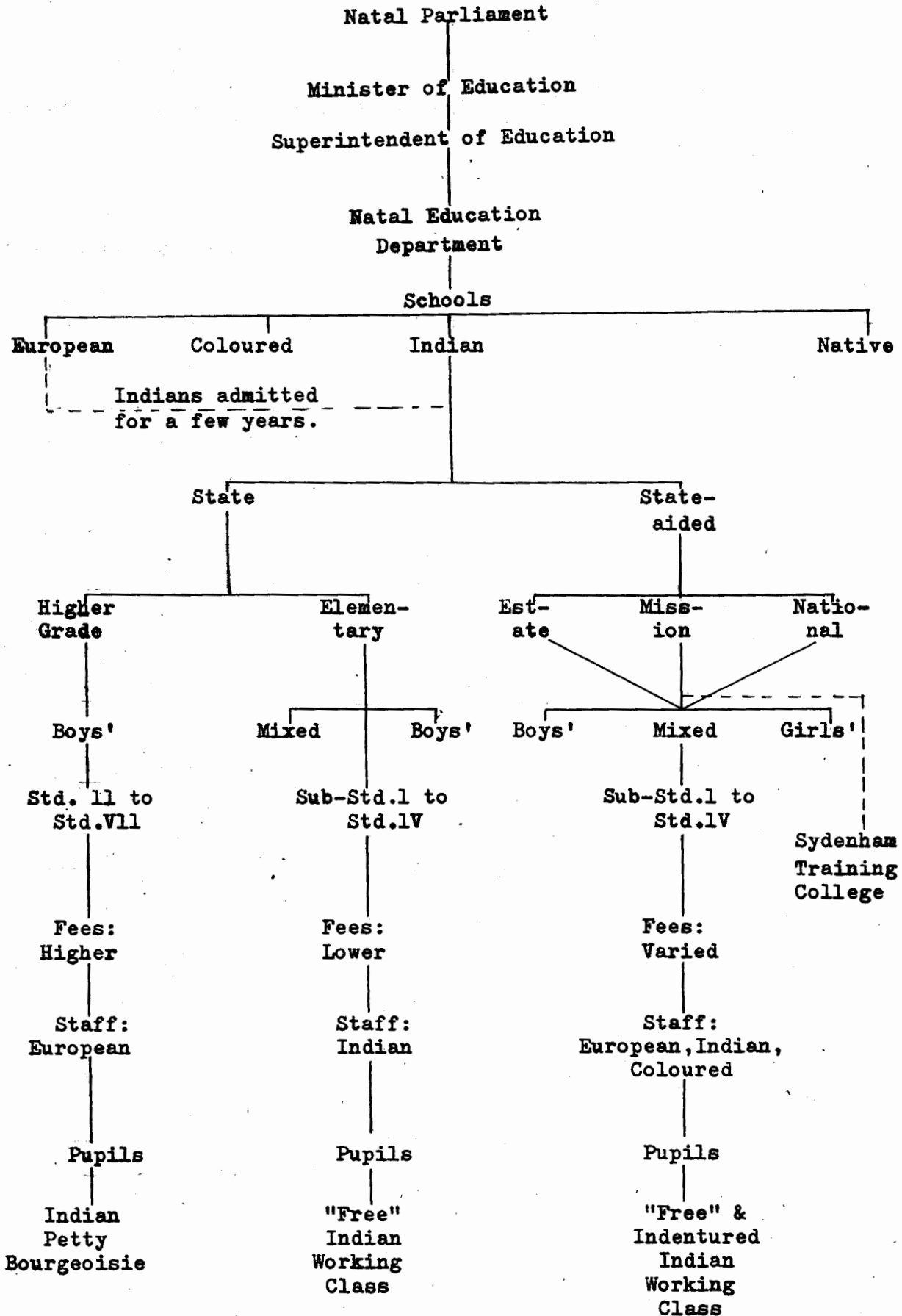
---

| <u>School.</u>        | <u>1900</u> | <u>1910</u> |    |    |
|-----------------------|-------------|-------------|----|----|
|                       | £           | £           | s  | d. |
| St. Aidan's Boys      | 111         | 191         | 5  | 0  |
| Springfield           | 45          | 141         | 15 | 0  |
| Sydenham              | 65          | 246         | 15 | 0  |
| Wesleyan (Pmbg.)      | 84          | 205         | 2  | 6  |
| St. Anthony's (Pmbg.) | 60          | 114         | 15 | 0  |
| Verulam (Stott)       | 70          | 154         | 17 | 6  |
| St. Anthony's (Dbn.)  | 66          | 325         | 2  | 6  |
| Umbilo                | 57          | 152         | 0  | 0  |

Consider now the system of schools established for Indian children. Diagram III is self-explanatory. In connection with the government schools it should be noted that during this period there was not a single separate girls' school. Any special girls' schools established during this period belonged to the different missionary bodies. National schools were those school-buildings erected entirely at the expense of the Indians themselves, and where English and the Vernacular languages were taught. But most of these National schools did not qualify for a grant-in-aid, and where a grant in aid was given to a school originally started by the Indians themselves, the grantees were Europeans, and invariably someone connected with a mission. Indian grantees and managers

DIAGRAM 111.

SYSTEM OF SCHOOLS FOR INDIANS IN NATAL.  
(1895 -- 1910)



do not appear to have been approved by the Department. There was a special regulation to this effect with regard to Native schools (29) and probably the same practice was followed in the case of Indian schools too. Instances of such national schools are the one at Bellair (30), a high school at Maritzburg (31), and a primary school at Umbogintwini (32). Other examples have been cited in the previous chapter; these were all independent of the government and of the missionaries. The Estate schools were as a rule short-lived, like the one at Kearsney (33), but the Cornubia estate school continued for some years (34). In 1909 there was one at Stanger on Addison's Estate, maintained entirely by the proprietor (34a).

It is now necessary to examine the number of schools established and the number of children brought under instruction during this period. The growth of Indian schools is set out in Table 5.

At the end of the period only three new Government and five Aided schools had been added to the system. The two government schools added in 1902 were the Maritzburg Higher Grade School, and the Durban Railway School, formerly under the management of the Church of South Africa. The Education Commission of 1909 referred to the inadequacy of government schools for the children of "free" Indians and urged the establishment of more government primary schools in other centres of Indian settlement (34a). The growth

---

29. G.N. 29/1904.

30. G.N. 141/1899.

31. Supt. Edn., Report : 1908/09.

32. "African Chronicle" - 25 Dec., 1909 - "School Vacation"

33. Report, Supt. Edn. : 1896, 1898.

34. Ibid. : 1895, 1896, 1897, 1899.

34a. "African Chronicle" - 3 March, 1909 - "Edn. Commission"

TABLE 5.

Growth of Indian Schools.

| <u>Year</u> | <u>Government</u> | <u>Government Aided</u> | <u>Total</u> |
|-------------|-------------------|-------------------------|--------------|
| 1895        | 2                 | 26                      | 28           |
| 1896        | 2                 | 26                      | 28           |
| 1897        | 2                 | 28                      | 30           |
| 1898        | 2                 | 30                      | 32           |
| 1899        | 3                 | 33                      | 36           |
| 1900        | 3                 | 29                      | 32           |
| 1901        | 3                 | 30                      | 33           |
| 1902        | 5                 | 18                      | 23           |
| 1903/04     | 5                 | 23                      | 28           |
| 1904/05     | 5                 | 26                      | 31           |
| 1905/06     | 5                 | 28                      | 33           |
| 1906/07     | 5                 | 28                      | 33           |
| 1907/08     | 5                 | 26                      | 31           |
| 1908/09     | 5                 | 30                      | 35           |
| 1909/10     | 5                 | 31                      | 36.          |

of the aided schools shows much fluctuation, especially during the Boer War Years of 1899-1902. It will be observed that in 1902 the number dropped as low as 18. Towards the latter part of 1899 European, Native and Indian schools north of Colenso were abandoned as a result of the Boer invasion of Northern Natal (35). The Indian school buildings at Newcastle and Dundee were used as Boer Hospitals, and the Ladysmith school was stored with British ammunitions of war (35). Two new schools, opened in the same year at Estcourt and Greytown, also had to be closed down as a result of the exigencies of war (35). Owing to the unsettled state in Northern Natal these schools were not re-opened for some time. But the Boer War alone does not account for the big drop in 1902, as a number of coastal schools had also closed down during these years. Many of these schools were closed down for lack of support. For example, the Durban Railway Girls' School in 1899 (35), Illove and Edendale (near Maritzburg) in 1900 (36), Maritzburg Wesleyan Girls' and Dundee in 1901 (37). This is still not a complete explanation. There is no definite information on this point, as it so happened that the special report on Indian schools for 1902 was not complete owing to the absence on leave of Mr. Colepeper (38).

The new schools that came into existence in this period were Tongaat No. 3 and Stanger in 1895, Kearsney in 1896, Umhlali and Phoenix in 1898, Bellair, Edendale, Greytown and Estcourt in 1899, Ottawa in 1900, Ladysmith in 1901, Bluff (Durban) and Cato Manor in 1904/5, Umbogin-

- 
35. Report, Supt. Ind. : 1899.  
36. Ibid. : 1900.  
37. Ibid. : 1901.  
38. Ibid. : 1902.

twini in 1908, Sutherlands, St. Francis Xavier (Newcastle) and Chelmsford Road (Durban) in 1909 (39). All of them, of course, did not survive to the end of the period. Occasionally rival schools sprang up in little villages like Umzinto and Verulam (39a), or even in the towns (39b), which seriously jeopardised the existence of the older schools.

European schools (including government, government-aided fixed, and farm schools) had increased from 287 in 1895 to 342 in 1910.

A noteworthy feature of the growth of Indian schools during this period was the extension of educational facilities to centres of Indian population in Northern Natal, beyond Maritzburg and beyond Tongaat on the North Coast to Stanger. There were also more schools for those living on the perimeter of Durban, viz. Bellair, Malvern, Bluff, Mayville, <sup>and</sup> Newlands, ~~and Phoenix~~ (40). In 1909/1910, out of the 36 schools, 25 catered for the coastal areas, and 6 for Maritzburg (41). About 71,131 Indians living in the coastal district of Durban, Inanda, Lower Tugela and Umlazi (42) were served only by 25 small schools in 1910.

The relative statistics of attendance in respect of the children brought under instruction during this period are given in Table 6.

The gross enrolment for all Indian schools in 1895 was 2,919, and in 1910 this had increased to 4,741 (43).

---

39. Report, Supt. Edn. For respective years.

39a. Report, Supt. Edn. : 1898

39b. Report, Supt. Edn. : 1895 - Pmbg. Catholic School affected by children following teacher to a new school.

40. G.N. 766/1905 - Distribution of Schools.

See also Reports from 1895 - 1901/10 for topographical distribution for each year.

41. Report, Supt. Edn. : 1909/10.

42. Census. 1904 (Natal-.

43. Report, Supt. Edn ; 1895, 1909/10.

T A B L E 6.

The Growth of School Population.

A. AVERAGE ENROLMENT.

(i) Government Schools

| <u>Year</u> | <u>Boys</u> | <u>Girls</u> | <u>Total</u> |
|-------------|-------------|--------------|--------------|
| 1900        | 477         | 22           | 499          |
| 1902        | 644         | 4            | 648          |
| 1905/06     | 711         | 29           | 740          |
| 1909/10     | 504         | 10           | 514          |

(ii) Government-aided Schools

|         |      |     |      |
|---------|------|-----|------|
| 1900    | 2461 | 434 | 2895 |
| 1902    | 945  | 188 | 1133 |
| 1905/06 | 2330 | 326 | 2656 |
| 1909/10 | 2446 | 427 | 2873 |

(iii) All Schools

|         |      |     |      |
|---------|------|-----|------|
| 1900    | 2938 | 456 | 3394 |
| 1902    | 1589 | 192 | 1781 |
| 1905/06 | 3041 | 355 | 3396 |
| 1909/10 | 2950 | 437 | 3387 |

B. AVERAGE ATTENDANCE.

| <u>Year</u> | <u>Government</u> | <u>Government Aided</u> | <u>Total</u> | <u>Percent. of Av. Enrolmt</u> |
|-------------|-------------------|-------------------------|--------------|--------------------------------|
| 1895        | 161               | 1101                    | 1362         | -                              |
| 1900        | 301               | 1564                    | 1865         | 54%                            |
| 1905/06     | 570               | 1858                    | 2428         | 71%                            |
| 1909/10     | 420               | 2201                    | 2621         | 77%                            |

Average enrolment statistics were recorded only from 1900, and these are more reliable as <sup>an</sup> index of progress than gross enrolment. In the ten years 1900 to 1909/10, it is worth noting that the average enrolment for aided and all schools appears to have stood still. Actually there were less pupils in 1909/10 than in 1900. The government schools reached the high water mark of 740 in 1905/06, but steadily declined to 514 towards the last year of the period. The aided schools appear to have suffered considerably in 1902, and this is in keeping with the reduced number of schools in 1902. Whether this loss was due to an omission of statistical data or to some other really serious cause it is not possible to say. A study of average enrolment statistics for each year from 1900 shows an average increase for aided schools of about 200 per annum since the big drop in 1902. The high water mark was reached in 1901 when the Average Enrolment was 2937. Hence progress in numbers cannot be reported for this period. Some retarding factor appears to have been operating against Indian education. On the other hand the statistics of average attendance indicate that greater and improving regularity of attendance appear to have been secured in these years. This provides a measure of compensation for the lack of progress in the other direction.

It will be observed that the girls numbered about one-sixth of the boys. This is a characteristic feature of Indian education. Furthermore only a very small fraction made use of the government schools. The larger enrolment at the aided schools was due to the existence of special girls' schools, but even these were not well supported. A girls' school opened at Maritzburg in 1895 had to be closed in 1899 owing to the lack of support; another school opened in 1897 met with a similar fate in 1901 (44). The Umbilo Girls' School opened in 1895 suffered through the early

removal of girls for one reason or another - marriage being the principal reason (45), and had to be closed in 1897. At the Railway Barrack Girls' No. 2. (Durban) it was found necessary to collect and bring the children to school every day (45); it had to be closed in 1899. The Inspector reported that indifference and even hostility of parents to the education of girls was as great as ever(46). He frequently complained that the percentage of girls in the schools did not increase (47). The only school that appears to have met with any measure of success was the St. Aidan's Girls' School at Durban, which could have boasted of a roll of 98 in 1899 going up to Standard IV (48). The attendance of girls at the Higher Grade School (Durban) was not great, but enforcement of co-education was the last straw and it led to a boycott of this school by the girls' parents in 1911 (49).

The effectiveness of the system must be judged by the number of children of schoolgoing age brought under instruction. In 1895 the Inspector of Indian Schools estimated that between 4,000 and 5,000 Indian children were out of school. In 1901 he estimated this figure to be in the region of 6,000, many of whom were so widely scattered about the Colony that it was impossible to secure their attendance at school (50). The principle of establishing farm schools for Indian children does not appear to have been considered. In any case the

---

45. Reports, Supt. of Edn. : 1895.  
 46. Ibid. : 1898, 1899, 1900.  
 47. Ibid. : 1897, 1899.  
 48. Ibid. : 1898, 1899, 1900.  
 49. "African Chronicle" - 12 Aug., 1911 - "Indian Girls Boycott the Government School".  
 50. Report, Supt. Edn. : 1901.  
 Also 1895, 1896, 1897, 1900.

restricted financial provisions for Indian education plus the opposition of planters and farmers to the education of their source of potential cheap labour would have precluded any such ideas being entertained. The Inspector himself pointed out in 1901 that the children of indentured coolies were seldom available (51).

According to the census statistics for 1904 there were 100,918 Asiatics (mostly Indians) in Natal. Assuming that one-sixth of these would have formed children of school-going age, then there would have been about 16,800 children. The census returns, under the heading "Children receiving Instruction", showed 13,365 children <sup>of school-going age</sup> of whom 2,883 were returned as receiving instruction either at home or some school (52).. Some 10,482 names were returned as unspecified (53), of whom 4,983 were boys and 5,499 girls. According to these figures 18.5% of the potential school population was at some school (private or government or government-aided), 3.07% received instruction at home, and 78.43% was unspecified (which really meant not under instruction)(54). The average enrolment in Indian schools for 1903/04 was 2,782, and for 1904/05 it was 3,149. A fair approximation to the census figures for children out of school may also be arrived at by deducting the average enrolment of 3,149 from the estimated school population of 16,800. It may, therefore, be given as a conservative statement that less than one-fifth

51. Report, Supt. Edn. : 1901.

52. 1904 Census : para. 196 - Part V - Table I.

See also "African Chronicle" - 6 Mar., 1909 - "Education Commission. Indian Representation."

Estimated approx. 18,000 in 1908, of whom 3,088 in school.

53. 1904 Census : para. 204.

54. The relative figures for Europeans and Coloured children were:-

|                   |                 |                |
|-------------------|-----------------|----------------|
| Children returned | 19,274 European | 1,295 Coloured |
| In Schools        | 71.17% "        | 54.67% "       |
| At Homes          | 20.20%          | 12.43%         |
| Unspecified       | 8.63%           | 32.90%         |

Paras. 204, 205. (1904 Census).

of Indian children of school-going age were in the schools maintained or supported by the State.

This census is also interesting because it attempted to survey the educational status of the population on the basis of whether they could read and write. While complete reliance cannot be placed on the value of such a statistical survey, the returns, however, give a useful and rough indication of the literateness of the Indians. The returns showed (56) that in relation to the total population (57) there were 85.13% Indians and Asiatics against 15.19% Europeans and 47.44% Coloureds, who could neither read nor write. About 13% (13,112) of Indians were returned as being able to read and write (58). It is worth noting that only 984 females against 12,128 males could read and write in any language. Out of the 13,112 literate Indians 7,901 consisted of those who could read and write in a foreign language - presumably in an Indian language. The bulk of the illiterates were resident in the two towns and in the coastal sugar belt, as was to be expected from the distribution of the population.

All these facts merely serve to show up the inadequacy and ineffectiveness of the measures taken up to now to make the Indian population even moderately literate. It also shows the grave educational problem that confronted the Education Department and the Indians themselves.

As in the previous periods of Indian education

- 
56. Census 1904 ; Para 214. Also Table II - Part V.  
57. This would also include children under school age.  
58. Census 1904 ; Para. 213.

the differences in the attitudes of "free" and "indentured" Indians towards the education of their children (59), the demand for child labour on the fields, the wharves and at home (60), the occasional shifting of communities (61), and the apathy and indifference of large employers (62), influenced the development of Indian education. The imposition of minimum and maximum ages at five and sixteen respectively for receipt of a grant-in-aid, seriously affected the attendance in some schools, especially in view of the late starting age and consequent late leaving<sup>age</sup> of Indian children. The limitation of the maximum age to 16 in government-aided schools was a restrictive measure, surpassed only by the age limit of 14 in the government schools.

The provision of educational facilities for Indian children still fell largely on the shoulders of Christian missionaries (63). There appears to have been some criticism by Europeans regarding the educational work done by missionary bodies amongst the non-whites (64). It was alleged that missionaries taught black folk that they were or ought to be the political and social equals of the Whites (64). The Superintendent denied these allegations and denounced the criticism. Opposition to Christian missionaries also came from the Indians, but for a different reason. Swami Shankeranand, who had been in Natal for some months engaged in a Hindu revival campaign, stated before the Education Commission of 1909 that Indian parents were averse to

- 
59. Report, Supt. Edn. : 1895, 1899, 1901, 1909.  
60. Ibid. : 1895, 1898, 1899.  
61. Ibid. : 1895, 1898, 1899, 1900, 1905.  
62. Ibid. : 1904/05, 1906/07, 1908/09.  
Report, Education Commission, 1909 (Natal) expressed itself very strongly on this point. Recommends government compulsion on the large employers to provide educational facilities for Indian children.  
63. Report, Supt. Edn. : 1908/09, 1909/10.  
64. Ibid. : 1903/04.



Consider now, briefly, what the conditions of the schools - government and government-aided - were like with regard to buildings, equipment and playgrounds. A reference to this has already been made in the previous chapter.

The two government elementary schools at Umgeni and Durban (Victoria Street) had no playground at all (70). The Durban children used the Street as a playground; the cricket and football clubs of this school used a ground lent by an Indian sports club (70). Fortunately for the boys of the Umgeni School, the river was close at hand and, as the Inspector put it, to some extent supplied the want (70). The general report on all Indian schools shows the increasing part sports were coming to play in Indian education, but such activities were drastically curtailed by the lack of suitable playgrounds. Cornubia and Isipingo were two fortunate schools, but they made no use of their playground (71). The Inspector felt that much of the irregularity in attendance was due to the lack of playgrounds at most Indian schools (72).

A constant complaint was the inadequate equipment and poor conditions of buildings. In 1895 the Springfield school was described as a "miserable shed", for which no teacher was obtainable at <sup>the</sup> low salary offered, and where the pupils had "never got beyond Standard II" (73). Even in 1898 it was still an unlined iron shed which was almost intolerable in the summer months (74). In 1899 the Inspector described Isipingo in these words (75):-

- 
70. Report, Supt. Edn. : 1896, 1897, 1898.  
71. Ibid. : 1896.  
72. Report, Supt. Edn. : 1896.  
73. Ibid. : 1895.  
74. Ibid. : 1898.  
75. Ibid. : 1899.

"Isipingo has done as well as expected. Attendance is stationary. The boys have made some progress, but many are of a class not very eager to learn. School is held in a sort of derelict building, in which the roof gapes wide, and tin takes the place of glass in the windows. The furniture and equipment are inadequate."

In 1904 Inspector Delaney reporting on this school said that the two rooms were so small that many lessons had to be conducted under a large fig-tree outside (76). In 1905 this school was destroyed by flood (77). At the Tongaat (No. 2) School there was no sanitary accommodation (78); overcrowding was common (79). Reporting specifically on school-buildings in 1906, the Superintendent stated that Indian school buildings tended to improve, but that the Department was not yet satisfied with many of them, and that steps were being taken to remedy glaring defects (80). In many cases schools were housed in churches, and the Department found this arrangement unsatisfactory (80). While the Indian school-buildings were generally poor, yet the town schools were better housed than the country schools. Even the two government schools suffered from overcrowding, unhealthy and damp sites and bad lighting (82). The most complete Indian school on the Coast was reported to be St. Anthony's, Durban: it had a large building, excellent furniture, and a European staff (81).

The prevalence of such unsatisfactory conditions can only be traced back to <sup>the</sup> miserly grants-in-aid paid to Indian schools. Not only did the policy of restriction

- 
76. Report, Supt. Edn. : 1903/04.  
77. Ibid. : 1904/05.  
78. Monthly Report: G.N. 857/1903 - Coastal Inspector.  
79. Report, Supt. Edn. : 1905/06 - Midlands and Coastal Insptre  
80. Ibid.  
81. Ibid. : 1907/08 - Inspector Loram.  
82. Ibid. : 1901/ G.N. 150/1904.

of Indian education result in preventing the expansion of schools, but it also made the conditions of schooling as unattractive as possible for Indian children. The bulk of the Indians for whom these schools catered were far too poor to make any substantial contributions to improve the conditions of these schools to any great degree. Occasionally (83) rich Indians contributed their share, but generally they were apathetic to the needs of the poorer classes (84); they, however, supported their own national and vernacular schools fairly generously. It is highly probable that they did not contribute more towards these aided schools because it would have only strengthened Christian influence. It should be remembered also that at this time Indians were not given the opportunity of holding the position of a grantee or manager. This practice further strengthened the influence of the Christian missionary to the dislike of the Hindu and the Muslim. It is also probable that Indians liked to retain control over the land and building towards which they had contributed substantial amounts. They were averse to handing the property over to a missionary body and having no say in it thereafter. Such conflicts did arise in the years succeeding this period, and Indian co-operation was only gained when the Department ultimately changed its policy in this regard.

There is just one other aspect of Indian education in this period which requires consideration, and it is the question of teacher and teacher-training. The development of Indian education was seriously handicapped by the

---

83. Report, Supt. Edn. : 1897.

84. Ibid. : 1904, 1905/06, 1905/06 - Coastal Inspector.

lack of reliable and competent teachers. For example, Springfield, Equifa, Tongaat (85), Clairmont (86), Dundee and the Wesleyan Maritzburg Girls' School (87) had to be closed because of the difficulty of obtaining the services of suitable teachers. At Equifa, for instance, the sons of free-holders were eager for instruction (85), but when the European lady-teacher left the neighbourhood, it was almost impossible to replace her; the school was kept open for a short time by employing a person whom the Inspector himself described as a "mere stop-gap".

In 1903 it was found necessary to dismiss the Indian teacher at Greytown and an incompetent Native "lad" was employed in his place until another teacher could be found (88). In 1905 the Inspector reporting on the Tongaat No. 1 School (89) stated that the juniors in charge of a small boy formed "a caricature of a school". He insisted that assistants should not be appointed unless they were competent to do work which was deserving of public support (89).

In 1909 Swami Shankeranand suggested to the Education Commission that teachers with M.A. degrees could be imported from India for a salary of £6 to £7 a month plus board and lodging (89a). The "African Chronicle" urged the local Indian teachers to protest against importation at such lowly salaries, if the suggestion was accepted by the Commission. However, the suggestion was not accepted. India as a source of supply of teachers for Natal Indian

---

85. Report, Supt. Edn. : 1895.

86. Ibid. : 1896.

87. Ibid. : 1901.

88. Monthly Report: G.N. 273/1903.

89. Monthly Report, Supt : G.N. 685/1905. Sept-Oct.

89a. "African Chronicle" - 5 June, 1909 - "Swami Shankeranand"

schools had not been fruitful even in the past.

Unreliability and incompetency appeared to be the twin faults of teachers in Indian Schools. In 1895, referring to the Tongaat (No. 1) school, the Inspector stated (90) that very few teachers could be safely left to their own devices for two or three months at a time. This school had to be closed. In 1903 (91) the progress of the Springfield school, that miserable, unlined shed - was further hindered by incompetent assistants; similarly the work at Stanger was neglected and unsatisfactory (91). The teacher at Phoenix was dismissed for misconduct and neglect in 1904 (92). The Inspectors complained of the incapacity, insufficiency, bad organisation and poor discipline of Indian teachers (93). Either the discipline was very lax as at Verulam (94), or, as at Malvern (94), it was so severe that the children seemed cowed. The teacher-pupil relationship must have been most unsatisfactory indeed, for it to have drawn the following comment from Inspector Delaney. Having inspected the Catholic St. Anthony's School in Durban, the Inspector reporting on the teaching of very young children in Indian schools, wrote thus (95):-

"The patience and quiet manner shown in the management of these children is in striking contrast to the ferocity of command and rebuke displayed in some Indian schools on inspection days."

In the same report, referring to the St. Aidan's School, Durban, he stated that the junior teachers should cultivate a more sympathetic manner in dealing with the

- 
90. Supt. Edn., Report ; ~~XXXXXX/1895~~ 1895.  
91. Monthly Report : G.N. 797/1903 - Coastal Inspector  
92. Monthly Report : G.N. 150/1904.  
93. Report, Supt. Edn. : 1905/06 - Midlands Inspector.  
94. Monthly Report : G.N. 158/1906.  
95. Ibid. : G.N. 681/1904.

children. It is difficult to say to what extent these teachers were to blame for killing all the joy of learning in the young, already unattractive by reason of overcrowding, poor equipment, lack of playgrounds, and dismal looking schoolhouses. They themselves were but the products of vicious pedagogical methods, which they in turn now practised upon their charges. In 1907 the Inspector reported (96) that in the midlands district there <sup>were</sup> ~~was~~ one government and five aided schools catering for 500 children, but there was only one trained teacher.

The Inspectors appear to have had a most despairing task in attempting to set right the mistakes and neglect of half a century. What the educational experience of an Indian child might have been under such tutors could only be surmised from the reports of the Inspectors. The teaching in Indian schools was an abstract, formal and lifeless affair. This, no doubt, <sup>was</sup> ~~is~~ a general criticism of all schools in the Colony at this time. Mr. Barnett's re-organisation of the Department began with a revision of the syllabus (97). In 1902 a new scheme of work for Primary Schools was introduced. It was designed to reduce formal and abstract discipline, to make the school studies more effective and more applicable to the life which the children were to lead, to cultivate and broaden their general ability, and to increase devices for stimulating their powers of observation and description, particularly by means of exercises in speech.

---

96. Report, Supt. Edn. : 1906/07 - Midlands Inspector. .  
97. Report, Supt. Edn. : 1903/04.

The Inspector visiting Indian schools used this statement of aims as a criterion of standards of teaching. A few of their observations will be cited to show what they found in Indian Schools. At Stanger (98) the teaching of alphabets to infants was a monotonous affair; there was need for variety of approach, such as the use of stones, beads, sticks and so on to form shapes of letters. The method followed consisted only of writing on the board, the slate and in the sand. As for reading, the Inspector described it as, "a compound of imitation and memory without much understanding". At St. Anthony's, Durban, it was found that long lists of geographical names of rivers, mountains and so on were being memorised as part of the geography lesson (99). He commented that geography had to be taught intelligently to be of any service.

Reporting on the Sydenham school, Durban, the Inspector stated (100) that the usual failing of many Indian pupils was the incapacity to get behind the word to reality; that this was due to a failure to illustrate from actual life. A very good illustration of this kind of verbal education offered itself in the Umbogintwini School (100). The Inspector found a boy writing out a list of "meanings" of which one line read,

"Drop, a globule of moisture",

when on that day the window panes were covered with the object in question. Naturally he condemned this as an instance of the worst kind of English teaching. To refer to another common defect in all Indian schools: the children were not active, the teachers demanded passivity (101). Now

---

98. Monthly Report, G.N. 771/1904.

99. Monthly Report, G.N. 855/1904.

100. Ibid. G.N. 766/1905. See also 844/1905 on Verulam.

101. Ibid. G.N. 158/1906.

very much like the protests of Pestalozzi does all this sound !

Turn for a moment to a description of the conditions in the Umgeni government school (102):

"A cramped site, a dark and crowded school-room, and a juvenile staff, are perhaps some excuse for the decided all round inferiority of this school. As few boys as possible seem to have been promoted to the standards; the vast remnant are called infants. Arithmetic during my visit, was conducted on farcical lines, and cheating was rife and unchecked. The solitary fourth standard boy was busy reducing leagues, miles and furlongs to inches, with no object except to proceed to the next sum, about pennyweights. The teacher's retard the learning of English by using the vernacular in talking to the younger children. The log book has not been kept; the headmaster has no entries in it. Entries in praise of the school, or opinions generally, should not be put in the log-book by casual visitors."

If an educational structure has come to this pass, it could have been only through the neglect of the key-man in the organisation - the teacher. That there were not enough teachers, or <sup>that there were</sup> unreliable teachers, <sup>and</sup> poor teachers was a result of

(a) the low remuneration offered, which discouraged the best man from taking to teaching;

(b) the low standards of education in the majority of Indian schools and the restricted opportunities for schooling beyond Standard IV; and

(c) the lack of teacher-training facilities.

Consider the salaries of Indian teachers. The Inspector himself had pointed out in 1896 that one of the principal reasons for the poor supply of suitable Indian teachers was the low remuneration offered them (103).

---

102. Monthly Report ; G.N. 150/1904.  
103. Report, Supt. Edn. : 1896.

T A B L E 7.

Return of Indian Teachers' Salaries and Allowances, 1900.

| School.                    | Govt. Grant<br>£ | Salaries & Allowances of Headmasters |                   |            | Number of Assts. | Salaries of Assts.<br>£ | Fees Collected |    |                 |
|----------------------------|------------------|--------------------------------------|-------------------|------------|------------------|-------------------------|----------------|----|-----------------|
|                            |                  | From Grant<br>£                      | From Mission<br>£ | Total<br>£ |                  |                         | £              | s  | d.              |
| Durban (Govt.).....        | 172              | 100                                  | -                 | 100        | 3                | 72                      | 23             | 13 | 6 <sup>x</sup>  |
| Railway Dbn. (aided)....   | 80               | 48                                   | 48                | 96         | 5                | 60½                     | 13             | 7  | 9 <sup>xx</sup> |
| Umgeni (Govt.)....         | 111              | 72                                   | -                 | 72         | 2                | 39                      | 30             | 11 | 0               |
| St. Aidan's Boys.....      | 111              | 111                                  | 24                | 135        | 4                | 42                      | 12             | 13 | 4               |
| St. Aidan's Girls.....     | 69               | 30                                   | -                 | 30         | 3                | 18                      | 2              | 4  | 11              |
| Sydenham....               | 65               | 57                                   | -                 | 57         | 2                | 18                      | 15             | 13 | 3               |
| Springfield.               | 45               | 42                                   | -                 | 42         | 1                | 3                       | 7              | 9  | 3               |
| Avoca.....                 | 36               | 30                                   | -                 | 30         | -                | -                       | 2              | 10 | 0               |
| Stanger.....               | 42               | 36                                   | -                 | 36         | -                | -                       | 9              | 5  | 9               |
| Isipingo....               | 36               | 36                                   | 3                 | 39         | -                | -                       | 2              | 15 | 1               |
| St. Paul's (Pmb) Boys..... | 70               | 54                                   | -                 | 54         | 2                | 13½                     | 2              | 6  | 6               |
| Verulam.....               | 70               | 70                                   | -                 | 70         | 1                | 12                      | 18             | 3  | 3               |
| Tongaat I...               | 45               | 40.2                                 | -                 | 40.2       | 1                | 1½                      | 6              | 19 | 3               |
| Wesln. Boys (Pmb.).....    | 84               | 84                                   | -                 | 84         | 2                | 60                      | 18             | 0  | 0               |
| Phoenix.....               | 30               | 30                                   | 30                | 60         | 1                | 12                      | 5              | 16 | 6               |

Salaries are per annum.

<sup>x</sup>Govt. school fees paid into Treasury.

<sup>xx</sup>Contributions by Railway Department.

Table 7 illustrates, in the case of a few selected schools, what the teachers earned in 1900 (104). Some of the headmasters were given free quarters; the Railway Department gave quarters and rations; the Point school headmaster was given quarters and tram-fare. In seven aided schools European headmasters were employed in this year, and according to the return their earnings were no different from that of Indian teachers. The fees at aided schools were generally retained by the teachers; whether the head-teacher shared it with his assistants is not known. When head-teachers were paid £2.10. 0d. to £3.10. 0d. a month, and assistants (or pupil teachers as they probably were) from 2/6d. to £1. 0. 0d. a month, this was degrading the teaching profession below the level of unskilled labour and domestic service. It is surprising that any one offered himself at all for teaching. Those who did, probably did so for the prestige the position of a teacher carried in the Indian community, and because of a predilection for white-collar jobs. What skill and education and character they brought with them have already been noted.

In 1903 new scales of salaries for government schools were recommended and adopted (105). They were as follows:-

|                           |         |   |           |
|---------------------------|---------|---|-----------|
| Headmasters (Indian)..... | £100x10 | - | £150 p.a. |
| Assistant.....            | £50x6   | - | £80 p.a.  |
| Pupil Teacher.....        | £12x6   | - | £30 p.a.  |

An ex-pupil teacher received £40 per annum (106). Certification of teachers in government Indian schools was made compulsory by 1909, and <sup>a</sup>slightly modified scale for

- 104. Report, Supt. Edn. ; 1900 - Extracted from "Return of Teachers' Salaries and Allowances, 1900"
- 105. Report, Civil Service Commissioner, 1903. G.N.308/1903. Estimates for 1904/05.
- 106. Estimates for 1906/07 - D.P. 214/1906.

assistants was introduced (107), viz:-

|                              |         |         |             |
|------------------------------|---------|---------|-------------|
| Headmasters (Indian).....    | £100x10 | -       | £150 p.a.   |
| Senior Assistants (Indian).  | £62x6   | -       | £80 p.a.    |
| Junior Assistants            | "       | £50x6   | - £62 p.a.  |
| Ex-Pupil-teachers            | "       | .....   | £40 p.a.    |
| Pupil-teachers               | .....   | £12x6   | - £30 p.a.  |
| Headmasters (European in     |         |         |             |
| Indian Primary schools)....  | £175x15 | -       | £350 p.a.   |
| First Class Assistant(E).... | £175x15 | -       | £250 p.a.   |
| Second "                     | "       | £125x10 | - £170 p.a. |
| Third "                      | "       | £80x10  | - £120 p.a. |
| Ex-pupil teacher (E).....    | .....   | .....   | £70 p.a.    |

It is not possible to say whether any improvements were effected in the salaries of aided school teachers as no salary returns, except the one published in 1900, are available. It is probable slight improvements had been made in view of the larger grants-in-aid that were being earned towards the end of the period.

With regard to the second point, referring to the limited educational background of Indian teachers, it is interesting to note that from 1904 (108) in Indian schools, where the teacher was fully qualified, in the opinion of the Inspector, to carry children beyond the Fourth Standard syllabus, he was at liberty to do so, providing strictly that the instruction of the lower standards was not in any way prejudiced. Whether this was due to improving standards of teaching, or necessitated by the need to keep Indians away from European schools, in localities where Indian schools did not teach beyond Standard IV, or both, it is not clear. However, it was an important development in the aided schools, where the bulk of the children of the poorer classes attended. There were, of course, the higher grade schools

---

107. G.N. 244/1909; 542/1909.  
108. G.N. 98/1904.

where some of the teachers of the future were being instructed.

Some of the teachers of this period were trained under the pupil-teacher system. In 1903, for example, there were 16 Indian pupil-teachers in training (109). But the bulk of the teachers had no training at all, or were very inadequately trained. The coastal inspector of schools was forced to make up for the lack of training of Indian teachers by his periodic suggestions on method in his monthly reports (110). From 1907 the monthly reports of the Superintendent were not gazetted, but were published and circulated privately to all schools. These reports now contained freer criticism of the work of the schools (111). This step was taken to obviate the interference of non-professional critics.

The remedy, of course, lay in the training and certification of teachers. Inspector Delaney was given the task of supervising the training and certification of Indian teachers (112). For the year 1904/05 (112) an amount of £200 had been voted for the training of Indian teachers. The Sydenham Training College was founded in 1904, as a separate section of the Sydenham Indian School (114). It is noteworthy that the first body to establish a Training College for Teachers in Natal was the St. Aidan's Indian Mission (115). The principal of the College was a graduate from India, one Mr. Koilpillai, B.A., and he was assisted by two new teachers also imported from India (116). In September, 1904, there were nineteen boys in the College

- 
109. Votes, 1904 - 19 April : p. 24-25 (-L.A. 5/1904).  
110. G.N. 766/1905.  
111. Report, Supt. Edn. : 1906/07.  
112. G.N. 705/1903.  
113. Supt. Edn., Report : 1904/05.  
114. G.N. 681/1904.  
115. Report, Supt. Edn. : 1903/04 - Church of S.A. Mission.  
116. Ibid. : 1905/06.

classes (117). It was hoped that from Christmas 1905 a regular supply of certificated teachers would be secured from here (118). During the year 1904/05 the gross enrolment was 34, and the average enrolment 21. All of them were boys and they were undergoing a full-time training course. The fees ranged from 2/6d. to 3/- per month. But the institution for some reason or other did not continue to prosper, for during the year 1907/08 (119) the average enrolment was only 13, the fee income £27. 7. 6d., and was in receipt of a grant of £34. 2. 6d. From the second half of 1908 it did not re-open (120). Just at this time the Government, simultaneous with its reduction of £675 on the Vote for the Higher Grade Indian schools, withdrew the grant of £150 for Indian teacher training (121). On the Diocesan Synod protesting against the withdrawal of the grant for teacher training, the Minister was reported to have promised to restore the item on the following year's estimates (122). The College never re-opened, and whether it was the action of the Government which killed it or not, is not clear. The Inspectors reports go to show that this training school was doing good work and was responsible for turning out certificated teachers (123).

Besides the Sydenham Training College, there was another institution set up for training Indian teachers. It was known as the Durban Training Class, providing part-time training facilities for teachers already in employment, and

---

117. G.N. 681/1904.

118. Report, Supt. Edn. : 1904/05.

119. Ibid. : 1907/08.

120. Ibid. : 1908/09.

121. "African Chronicle" - 7 Nov., 1908 - "Govt. & Higher Grade Indian Schools"

"Natal Mercury" - 11 Sept., 1908.

"Natal Mercury" - 30 Oct., 1908.

122. "African Chronicle" - 14 Nov., 1908 - "Indian Education"

123. Report, Supt. Edn. : 1907/08 - Inspector Loram.

was maintained by a grant-in-aid (124). In 1905/06 there were seventeen teachers in training. This was placed under a European teacher, Mr. Bulley. It appears that the grantees of Indian schools co-operated with the Department by compelling their teachers to attend these classes, and Inspector Mr. Loram was optimistic that soon most of the schools in Durban would possess certificated teachers (124). In 1907/08 the average enrolment was 13, the fee-income £31. 5. 6d., and grant-in-aid £38. 5. 0. (125). It seems that by June, 1908 both these training institutions had successfully turned out twenty-two certificated Indian teachers (125). This Training Class was still in existence at 1909/10 (126).

According to a classified list of teachers employed in Government Indian schools, there was not a single certificated Indian teacher in 1904 (127). Steps appear to have been taken in 1905 for the establishment of Indian Teachers' Certificates, for in December 1905 the first Indian Teachers' Certificate examination was held (128). This examination was for the Junior Grade of the Indian Teachers' Certificate, and of the seventeen candidates who entered, eight passed the examination (128). It was ruled in 1909 that all Indian assistants in government Indian schools had to hold at least the Junior Teachers' Certificate (129).

There were two grades of Certificates issued: Senior and Junior (128). The subjects for the Junior Certificate examination were :- English, Arithmetic, Dictation and Writing. The papers set were based on the requirements of the Standard VI syllabus used in all government primary

- 
124. Report, Supt. Edn. : 1905/06.  
125. Ibid. : 1907/08.  
126. Ibid. : 1909/10.  
127. Ibid. : 1904/05.  
128. G.N. 158/1906.  
129. G.N. 244/1909.

schools. There was also a written paper on school methods, and a practical test on Blackboard Drawing and Writing. Practical teaching was tested by ~~an~~ Inspectors in the course of their duties. The Junior Certificate examination was held, at first, once a year in December. For the Senior Certificate the subjects were those set for the European Pupil Teachers' Entrance Examination, plus a written paper on school management, based on practical knowledge and the study of a text-book. It was a condition that twelve months had to expire after passing the Junior Grade Certificate before a candidate could appear for the Senior Grade Certificate. This examination was usually held in May of each year.

Between 1905 and 1910 about forty-two candidates successfully passed in the Junior Grade, and nine in the Senior Grade (130). Indian teachers evinced a keen desire to improve their qualifications. Nearly all those who obtained these certificates were in full-time employment. Owing to the general poverty of the Indian people, they could not afford the expense and the loss of earnings incurred in a course of full-time training. This is even to-day the biggest problem connected with the training of Indian teachers. But, as the Inspector had pointed out in 1909 (131), the desire to do better had come amongst the Indians, and, he urged, that attainment should be made possible. Inspector Mr. Loram, writing on the same topic stated (131):-

"Whatever views may be held as to the desirability of educating these people, it is impossible not to admire the efforts of the Indian teachers towards self-improvement both in general and professional knowledge."

Apart from the movement for higher education

- 
130. G.H. 158/1906, 89/1907, 458/1907, 526/1907, 26/1908, 143/1908, 210/1908, 408/1908, 700/1908, 22/1909, 384/1909, 149/1910, 79/1909.
131. Report, Supt. Edn. : 1908/09. - Midlands Inspector : Mr. H. Bryan.

resulting in the establishment of the Higher Grade Indian Schools, the training and certification of the Indian teachers was the most significant development of this period. However inadequate a part-time training might have been, it was still the only immediate and effective solution in the circumstances to raise the standard of Indian education. If it had not been for this, it would not be possible to end the study of this period on the same optimistic note as the Superintendent himself (132):-

"A steady improvement had taken place in the work of these schools and the best of them are very efficient institutions. The training schools have done a great deal of excellent work and the teachers have attended the classes at no small financial sacrifice to themselves. All but two of the head-teachers in the Coast district are certificated and quite a number of assistants have also qualified."

---

132. Report, Supt. Edn. : 1909/10.