THE EDUCATION OF THE INDIAN IN NATAL

(1860 -- 1947)

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(In Two Volumes)

VOLUME TWO

(1911 - 1947)

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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 LEGISLATIVE COUNCIL or 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.

S E C T I O N IV

INDIAN EDUCATION UNDER THE UNION GOVERNMENT

(1911 - 1947)

C H A P T E R XIII

GENERAL BACKGROUND TO INDIAN EDUCATION

(1911 - 1947)

The educational development of a people is influenced by various factors - political, economic and social. The growth of Indian education in Natal must be studied in this context. In May, 1910, the four self-governing colonies of Natal, the Transvaal, Orange Free State and the Cape amalgamated under one central government to form the Union of South Africa. This event marks the birth of a new era in South African history. The financial and administrative changes resulting from this constitutional development also mark the beginning of a new period in the history of education. Many significant developments in the political, economic and social life of the Indians continued to shape the course and trend of Indian education during these thirty-seven years. Some of the factors in this background were conducive to growth and progress, whilst others were restrictive or retardatory. Yet some other factors posed new and interesting problems to the educationist, which still await solution.

The first point that might be taken up is the growth and size of the population, for against it must be studied the adequacy or otherwise of the school accommodation provided. Hitherto the size of the Indian population in Natal grew as a result of (a) indentured immigration, and (b) "free" immigration, and (c) natural means. In 1911 the Government of India prohibited the emigration of indentured labourers to Natal (1). Then in 1913 the Union Government passed legislation which was applied to prohibit all Asiatics from entering the country at all (2). So subsequent to 1913 all increase in the Indian population was mainly due to the natural excess of births over deaths. Attempts were made by the Union Government to reduce the Indian population by repatriation schemes and a fair number did leave the country (3), but this loss was more than made up by the high birth rate in the Indian community (4). The following table sets out the growth of the Indian population, and its relative size compared to the other racial groups in Natal (5) :-

TABLE 1.

NATAL POPULATION STRUCTURE

	Indian	European	Coloured	Native
1921.....	141,649	136,838	11,107	1,139,804
1936.....	183,661			
1946.....	228,119	232,923	22,623	1,699,068

1. Joshi, P.S., "Tyranny of Colour" - p.69.
"Indian Life and Labour in Natal" (ed.) Prof.H.R.Burrows: p.6 - Col.1. (Race Relations - special Indian Number Vol X - No.1 : 1943. S.A. Institute of Race Relation
2. Union Immigrants Regulation Act, No.22/1913.
Joshi, P.S., op.cit., p.76.
3. "Indian Life and Labour in Natal" - pp.2-3.
4. Ibid : p.32 - Col.2.
Figures for 1939 were:-

	Birth Rate per 1,000.	Death Rate per 1,000.
European.....	20.36	9.9
Indian.....	39.40	14.5

5. Ibid : p.4.
"Natal Mercury" - 13 Aug.,1946 : "Union's Population" - for preliminary figures of 1946 Census.

It is estimated that there will be at least 263,000 Indians in Natal by 1960 (6). The growth of the Indian population is an important factor as indicating the potential number of scholars. An efficient or progressive educational system would be expected to keep pace with population growth.

It is usual to calculate the potential school population on the basis of one-sixth of the population. Such a calculation would be far off the mark in so far as the Indian population of Natal is concerned. A study of the age structure of the different races in Natal reveals the following position as at 1936 (7):-

TABLE 2.

AGE STRUCTURE OF THE NATAL POPULATION (1936)

Age.	Indian %	European %	Coloured %	Native %
Under 15	47	27	42	43
15 - 45	40	47	44	45
Over 45	13	26	14	12

The non-European population contains more youthful persons than the European population, and the Indian population appears to be the most "youthful" of them all, as there were 47 per cent under the age of 15. This group would constitute the group from which the potential scholars would be drawn. It would indicate that there were more children of school-going age amongst Indians than amongst the

6. "Indian Life and Labour in Natal" - p.3 - Col.2.
7. Ibid : p.4 - Figure 2.

Europeans. From an examination of the changes in the age composition it would appear that the Indian population of Natal was becoming more "youthful". The figures were as follows (8):

	Under 15 Years %
1904	34
1921	44
1936	47

This means that the group from which potential scholars would be drawn has been growing. In 1936 it was calculated that 29 per cent of the Indian population in Natal was between the ages of 5 and 14 (9). The population figures, therefore, show that the potential school population in the Indian community is higher than in other communities. Therefore, the need for educational facilities would be greater. One authority stated that it looked as though Natal should plan to build more houses and schools for the youthful Indian population and more hospitals and homes for the ageing European section (10). As to what extent the Natal system of education set out to meet the challenge of this situation will be studied in a subsequent chapter. It is also suggested that the demand for educational facilities and opportunities would have been persistent and more insistent from a "youthful" population, full of energy and desirous of progressing.

Though the figures relating to the growth of the population might indicate that the Indian population had settled down to a period of steady development, yet for the greater part of this period the Indian community was not regarded by the European community as a desirable

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8. "Indian Life and Labour in Natal" - p.4 - Fig.2.
9. Report, Prov. Financ. Resources Cmttee (1944) U.G. 9 - '44 : para.339.
10. "Indian Life and Labour in Natal" - p.3 - Col.2.

element in the population of South Africa. Consequently various efforts have been made to persuade or compel the Indians to leave the country. The growth of the hostility between European and Indian might have been discerned in the period prior to Union (11). In the post-Union years this hostility was intensified in spite of the fact that immigration from India had almost ceased (12). As these efforts to unsettle the Indian community have had serious repercussions on the progress of Indian education, it would be helpful to know something about them in bare outline.

The main reasons for Indo-European hostility was economic, and this will be discussed more fully at a later stage. It was also thought by a considerable number of Europeans that the presence of a growing Indian population complicated the racial problems of South Africa. Some thought that the activities and political aspirations of Indians might "put ideas" into the mind of the Native races and disturb the existing relations between the European and the Native. Prior to Union agitation was directed towards stopping the influx of Indians into the country. Having achieved this, attention was next directed to reducing the domiciled population. The first attempt to repatriate the indentured immigrants commenced in 1895 with the imposition of a £3 residential tax on ex-indentured Indians (13). The measure did not succeed in its purpose, and was finally repealed in 1914 (14). The

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11. See Chapter X.
12. Under an agreement between General J.C.Smuts and Mr. M.K.Ghandi, leader of the Indian community, six educated immigrants were allowed every year into the Union to minister to the moral and spiritual needs of the Indian community. See Joshi,P.S. op.cit., p.81 ff.
13. See Chapter X.
14. Report, Ind. Inq. Comm. (1914) - U.G.16 - '14. Indian Relief Act, No. 22/1914.

Indian Relief Act (1914), however, made provision for voluntary repatriation of Indians, whether indentured or passenger immigrants, or their descendants, at Government expense. The small exodus was more than counter-balanced by the natural increase in population(15). In 1921 further attempts to stimulate repatriation were made, but they did not succeed in reducing the Indian population to any appreciable degree (16).

In 1925 a Bill was introduced in Parliament with a view to applying economic and social pressure to induce the Indians to leave the country (17). Dr. Malan, the Minister of the Interior, who introduced the Bill declared frankly in his prefatory remarks that the Bill was based on the general supposition that the Indian in South Africa was "an alien element" in the population; and, that no solution would have been acceptable to the country unless it resulted in "a very considerable reduction" of the Indian population (18). It was proposed to confine the Indians to certain areas for residential and commercial purposes. In conjunction with the existing licensing restriction the Indian's commercial activities would have been made so unprofitable as to force him to leave the country or seek employment under the European.

This measure was never passed, for negotiations between the Union Government and the Government of India, who still maintained their right to protect the interests of the indentured immigrants and their descendants, led to a Round Table Conference in 1926. The deliberations

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15. Report, Indian Penetration Commission (1939) - U.G. 39 - '41 : para.15.
16. Ibid : para.15.
    Report, Asiatics Inq. Commission (1921) - U.G.4 - '21.
17. Areas Reservation, Immigration and Registration (Further Provision) Bill.
18. Joshi, P.S., op.cit., p.114 ff.
    Andrews, C.F., "Documents on the Indian Question" p.13.

resulted in the oft quoted "Cape Town Agreement" of 1927 (19). Amongst other things, the Agreement made provision for a more attractive repatriation scheme on a voluntary basis. But at the same time the Government of India delegation appears to have got the Union representatives to accept the view that a considerable proportion of the Indian population would eventually remain in South Africa as an integral part of the general population (20). The Union Government, however, looked upon the Agreement primarily as an instrument of expulsion (21), and set about stimulating repatriation. The stream of emigration under this scheme also dried up. Between 1927 and 1932 it had succeeded in repatriating a total of 12,299 persons, including 4581 children under 16 years of age (22).

The failure of the scheme was recognised at a Second Round Table Conference held in 1932 at Cape Town, and the Union representatives urged the exploration of the possibilities of settling Indians elsewhere in the British Empire, outside India. The Union Government set up a Committee of Inquiry unilaterally in 1933. The Committee investigated the possibilities of British North Borneo, British New Guinea and British Guiana,

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19. "Sastri Speaks" - Bramdaw, D. & Naidoo, S.R. (edit) - p.201 ff.
    Joshi, P.S., op.cit., p.131 ff.
    Report, Indian Penetration Commsn.(1939) - U.G.39-'41 : Appendix A.
20. See "Uplift" clause of the Agreement.
21. "Natal Mercury" - 30 Apr.,1943 - "Nicholls Envisages Indian Solution". Mr. Heaton-Nicholls was a Union representative at the Conference.
    Memo. by Indo-European Joint Council to the Commission of Inquiry into Indian Affairs in Natal,1944 - para7
22. Report, Indian Colonization Enquiry Committee, 1933/34 U.G. 23-'34 : p.15.
    Report, Agent-General for Indian in S.Africa, 1932 - p.2 ff.

and made certain recommendations (23). This was known as the "colonisation scheme", and it met with strenuous opposition from the local Indian community (24). The scheme appears to have had a natural death. The assisted voluntary emigration scheme still remains on the Statute Book (25), and in 1940 accounted for 48 repatriations throughout the Union (26).

In recent years responsible European opinion seems to have reconciled itself, though somewhat reluctantly, that a solution to the Indian question cannot be found by way of unsettling the Indian settlement. The recognition and full acceptance of the permanent nature of the Indian settlement came tardily. It is best illustrated by reference to the speech of a man who was the strongest protagonist of Natal at both the Round Table Conferences for the repatriation or resettlement schemes. In 1943, as Administrator of Natal, Mr. Heaton-Nicholls, is reported to have said (27):-

> "The Indians are a de facto part of our population. All ideas of repatriation must now be abandoned. Planning for the future will have to provide for them as well as all other sections of the population."

Since then the Union Government has openly acknowledged before the United Nations Assembly at New York that the Indians domiciled in South Africa were Union nationals and that the matter of their treatment was a domestic issue (28). The Asiatic Land Tenure and Indian Representation Act of 1946 made certain provisions for their representation in Parliament on

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23. Report, Indian Colonization Inquiry Cmtee., 1933/34 - U.G. 23-'34 : para.70.
24. Ibid : paras. 14(i), 68(i) and 69.
25. Act 37/1927.
26. Report, High Commissioner for India in S.Africa (1940) p. 22.
27. "Natal Mercury" - 30 Apr., 1943 - "Nicholls Envisages Indian Solution".
28. "Natal Mercury" - 26 Oct. 1946 - "Smuts Says Indian Problem Purely Domestic".

the basis of their being a permanent and integral part of the South African population (29).

There are two ways in whihh the recognition of the permanency of the Indian settlement was of importance to educational development. The last sentence in Mr. Nicholl's statement brings out one point. So long as the Indians were considered an alien, undesirable element, whose stay in the country could only be regarded as temporary, pending the full effects of the repatriatory measures, there did not seem any necessity to plan for the educational future of Indian children. The urgency of the educational needs of a population which was expected to diminish rapidly in numbers, and, perhaps completely disappear from South Africa, could not have appeared pressing to those who controlled educational policy. It would have seemed futile to expend monies on Indian education under such circumstances. It will be shown in the next chapter how accurately the figures for the finance of Indian education bring out the bearing of permanency on State support of Indian education.** But for the major part of the period, the repatriatory dreams of the European community stunted the growth of Indian education.

In another way too, the question of permanency had to be settled if Indian education was to make much headway. It has been submitted that security of tenure and the social stability which follows upon it, are the foundations of a sound system of education. They are the necessary conditions for building a stable family life. The incentive to educate the young and pursue the arts

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29. Act No. 28/1946.

** Since writing this, a letter was received by the N.I.C. from the Natal Provincial Secretary (25 Nov.1947: Ref. 9/8898) which read, inter alia, as follows: "This progress must be viewed from the angle that in the past Indians have been considered as a foreign element in the population and their return to India not only anticipated but expected."

of peace is greatest when such conditions are present. The most rapid development in Indian education took place after the Cape Town Agreement of 1927. Whereas the European community desired to emphasise the repatriatory aspects of the Agreement, the Indian community, on the other hand, looked upon the "Upliftment" section of the Agreement as its "Magna Charta" (30). The "Uplift Clause", which has been invoked so often in subsequent years, (and) sets down the principles for Indian upliftment reads as follows :- (31)

> "The Union Government firmly believe in and adhere to the principle that it is the duty of every civilised Government to devise ways and means and to take all possible steps for the uplifting of every section of their permanent population to the full extent of their capacity and opportunities, and accept the view that, in the provision of educational and other facilities, the considerable number of Indians who will remain part of the permanent population should not be allowed to lag behind other sections of the people."

Whether the Union Government adhered to these principles or not is another matter. Its effect on the Indian population is important. It offered them security of tenure and hope of steady advancement. As repatriation was a voluntary matter and as the "Uplift Clause" appeared to make provision for a permanently settled Indian population, the Indian community was not unduly disturbed by the repatriation scheme. Instead, it settled down to the task of improving its standard of living. The Agreement had a dynamic effect upon the Indians. They displayed an increased amount of initiative and self-help in the field of education. It will be noted that the "Uplift" clause contained a specific reference to education. Greater progress might have been achieved had there been more co-operation from the European community.

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30. Report, Indian Penetration Cmsn.(1939) - U.G.39-'41 - para. 330.
31. "Sastri Speaks" - Bramdaw and Naidoo : p.203.

It would be appropriate at this stage to refer to another factor, unique in the historical development of the Indian settlement, which contributed much to the progress of Indian education. The Cape Town Agreement made provision for the Government of India to appoint an Agent in the Union "in order to secure continuous and effective co-operation between the two Governments" (32). It would appear that the Agent's task also included giving assistance in the working of the repatriative portion of the Agreement ~~as well~~ as well as the promotion of the welfare of the Indian community in accordance with the principles of the "Uplift" clause (33). The first Agent, the Rt. Hon. Mr. Srinivasa Sastri, reporting on his first year of work set out the policy which was also followed by his successors. He wrote (34):-

> "To Europeans it has been made plain that..... .....short of giving the Indian in South Africa full political rights, public opinion must be prepared for the extension to him of those rights and advantages - for example ~~(illegible)~~ educational and vocational training which will fit him to take his place as a citizen of the South African Union. With Indians the Agent has pleaded for unity in upholding and carrying out the Agreement, for the observance of a better standard of living, for the full utilisation of such means of education as are already, or may in the near future be made, available to them, and for some measure of self-help within the community itself."

Under the stimulus and guidance of such eminent Indian representatives as Mr. Sastri, Sir Kurma Reddi, Sir Kunwar Maharajh Singh, Sir Raza Ali, Sir Benegal Rama Rao, Sir Shafa'at Ahmad Khan and Mr. R. M. Deshmukh (35), Indian education made some notable advances in the post-Cape Town Agreement years. The increased interest of India

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32. "Sastri Speaks" p.205 - "Joint Communique" - para.8.
33. Report, Agent for India (1927) : paras.30-32 (Report included on p.238 of "Sastri Speaks".
34. Ibid : para.32.
35. The designation of the first three representatives was "Agent"; the next two Agent-General, and the last two High Commissioner (See Report, High Commissioner for India in S. Africa. 1944 - p.ii)

(as indicated by the creation of the Agency in South Africa) and the presence of these highly educated and cultured individuals, vested with diplomatic privileges, were particularly important factors in the background to the history of Indian education (36).

Closely related to the question of right of permanent residence was the question of the political and civic status of Indians in South Africa during the post-Union years. The political and civic status enjoyed by an individual, or a group of individuals, is an expression of the quality or degree of citizenship conferred upon him (or them) by the State. It defines their nationality and standing in the political structure of the country. In a State which attempts to govern along democratic principles it describes the rights and obligations of an individual to the State, and of the State to the individual; it confers upon the individual the ultimate right to determine the course of his life by endowing him with the franchise and the power to elect his own government.

To be included within the pale of citizenship on a basis of equality with all other citizens; or, to be differentiated against and given an inferior quality of citizenship, or to be totally excluded from the pale of citizenship, are matters of great import to education and educational development. The trend of modern government is towards a democratic state. The individual citizen has an important role to play in such a State, for upon the soundness of his judgment and level of his knowledge depends the welfare of the nation. Furtheremore, the right to participate in the government of the country, symbolised by the franchise, is a hard won weapon of democracy. Education for modern citizen-

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36. The various Annual Reports from 1927 indicate the activity of these representatives in matters educational.

ship gains purpose only in so far as it prepares an individual to exercise this right intelligently and constructively; and prepares him to play a full and effective part in the life of the nation. The opportunity of exercising the rights and privileges and obligations of citizenship are, then, important incentives to educational progress. The rights of citizenship ensure at the same time that social justice is meted out to all citizens in a fair and equal measure.

Now, when the Union of South Africa was establishe the Indian community of Natal was automatically incorporated into a larger State and its obligations were correspondingly increased. In theory, at least, Indians became nationals of the Union of South Africa. But the fact of Union made little difference to the inferior kind of citizenship thrust upon them under the colonial government of Natal. In 1896 they were deprived of political status by being deprived of the parliamentary franchise (37). Under the new constitution there were three levels of franchise, namely, parliamentary, provincial and municipal. The South Africa Act, 1909 expressly reserved membership of Parliament to persons of European descent (38). The franchise act depriving the Indians of parliamentary franchise was carried over by the Union Government (39). In 1934 there were only 34 Indians on the parliamentary voters' roll (40), and they were persons who had qualified for the vote prior

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37. See Chapter X.
38. Section 67.
39. Joshi, P.S., op.cit., p.70.
40. Report, Indian Colonization Inq. Committee, 1933/34 U.G. 23-'34 : para.48.

to the 1896 Act. In 1945 there were none. Furthermore, since the provincial franchise depended upon qualifying for the parliamentary franchise, Indians were automatically excluded from participating in the political activities of the province too.

However, Indians continued to exercise the municipal franchise in Natal. But in 1924 they were deprived of this right on the expedient that the qualification necessary for exercising municipal franchise was the possession of parliamentary franchise (41). Two other ordinances passed in 1925 and 1926 completed the process of excluding Indians from participation in local governmental affairs (42). Thus, up tilltoday, Indians do not enjoy any civil status.

In place of the protection afforded by the ballot box, the South Africa Act provided (43) that the control and administration of Native affairs and matters specifically or differentially affecting Asiatics were vested in the Governor-General-in-Council. But in view of the Union policy of racial segregation and differential legislation this clause was of little use in protecting the rights of Indians. In any case, it was no substitute at all for the loss of political and civil status.

As a result of the continued agitation of Indians for the restoration of the franchise, and the recent recognition of the permanent nature of the Indian settlement, the need for conferring political and civic status upon them was acknowledged. (44) A Commission appointed in 1944 to

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41. Natal Boroughs Ordinance, No.19/1924.
42. Natal Townships Franchise Ordinance, No.3/1925.
Natal Local Administration Health Ordinance, No.4/1926.
43. Section 147.
44. Interim Report, Commsn. of Inq. on Natal Indian Affairs (1945) - U.G. 22-'45 : Section under "Civic Status" paras. 52-67.

enquire into all matters affecting Indians in Natal (45), recommended a franchise "loaded" by educational and economic qualifications so as to limit the number of Indians who could qualify, and thus ensure European political supremacy; the placement of Indians and Europeans on the same voters' roll; and an amendment to the South Africa Act so as to permit direct representation of Indians in Parliament.

In 1946 the Asiatic Land Tenure and Indian Representation Act (No. 28/1946) was passed, which conferred an inferior kind of political status on the Indian. Furthermore, it set out to keep the different racial groups in separate compartments, and thus prevented the development of a concept of one, common citizenship. The Act made provision for representation of Indians in Parliament by three Europeans in the House of Assembly and two Europeans in the Senate; two representatives (Indian or European) might be elected to the Provincial Council of Natal. The qualifications for the franchise were: (1) age 21 years, (2) sex - male, (3) Union nationality, (4) Standard VI education or equivalent, but reduced to Standard IV in the first elections, (5) income of at least £84 per annum or ownership of immovable property valued at not less than £250, over and above any mortgage thereon. Those who qualified for the vote were registered on a roll separate from the European roll. The Act comes into force as from 1948 when the next elections will be held. This kind of political representation may be

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45. Interim Report, Commission of Inquiry on Natal Indian Affairs (1945) - U.G.22-'45 : Section under "Civic Status" - paras. 52-67.

shortly described as indirect communal representation on a "loaded" franchise. The Indian community has, hitherto, totally rejected this inferior grade of citizenship (46). Municipal representation has not followed as a matter of course. There is Indian opposition to communal representation, and European opposition to direct representation on the municipal or town councils (47).

Owing to the numerical inferiority of Indians it is not probable that they, as a group, could wield much political power. Franchise, however, would confer a political status upon them and assist them in completely identifying their interests with the country of their adoption. The concentration of all political power in the hands of Europeans, who have been hostile to Indian aspirations, has had serious consequences for the financing of Indian education. Political differences and economic competition were carried into the sphere of education, and funds for Indian education were severely curtailed. The Indian community lacked the weapon of franchise for making their disapproval felt. This supports the view that social progress in a modern state is a function of the ballot box. It would also have seemed to the authorities futile to educate those who would not be allowed to assume the responsibilities and exercise the opportunities of democratic citizenship. From the point of view of those who were opposed to the granting of political and civic rights to the Indians,

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46. Interim Report, Commsn. Inq. on Ntl. Ind. Affairs (1945) - p.14 ff.
Singh, George, "The Asiatic Act (1946)" - a booklet : p. 33 ff (Published by the Council of Human Rights, Durban. Discusses the implication of the Act.)
47. "Leader" - 6 Sept.,1947 : "India Submits S.A. Case to U.N."

the education of the Indian was dangerous to the maintenance of the status quo. Some Indians, above the average in character and intelligence, aspired to political equality with the European, and acquired an education by private study and so on. But the bulk of them lacked the powerful stimulus for education and self-improvement that political and civic status confers. The appalling level of illiteracy amongst the Indians (48) is due partly to the exclusion of the Indian from participation in the political and civic life of the country. The educational qualifications required under the new franchise provisions for Indians can be expected to stimulate the educational progress of this community. The last mentioned Commission of Inquiry appreciating the relationship between the franchise and educational progress, stated that, if Indian women could qualify for the vote it would make more of them available for educational, social welfare and health work (48). That is a matter for future development. For the period under study, however, Indians lacked the incentive of democratic citizenship and the protection of their interests by the franchise. These are factors that influenced the growth of Indian education.

The next important factor in the background is the economic status of the Indian community. It has been submitted in this study that the educational progress of the Indian community is closely related to its economic advancement. The original immigrants

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48. Interim Report, Commission of Inquiry on Natal Indian Affairs (1945) - U.G. 22-'45 : para.66.

came from an economically, and in many cases also socially, depressed group in India. They worked under conditions in Natal not far removed from the conditions in their own country. According to South African standards they still belonged to an economically and socially depressed group. The indentured immigrants who came into the country certainly did not come with a tradition of education. Economically and socially depressed groups do not have such traditions. The desire for social progress, and the opportunity for progress, is a function of income, of purchasing and spending power. Amongst the Indians of Natal this commenced with their emancipation from the indenture system of labour exploitation, and the setting up in independent economic activities or in selling their labour at a fair economic price. In the course of the years the indentured immigrants and their descendants improved upon their standard of living. The other class of Indian immigrant - the trader and artisan - also prospered in the new country. The economically more advanced groups amongst Indians acquired a higher social status, and set the pace for cultural and political progress. The demand for educational facilities came from this group for its members possessed more leisure and more money to pay for such cultural commodities as education, books, newspapers, music, drama and so on. These things had a value to them which the more depressed groups were as yet unable to appreciate. Educational attainments improved their economic opportunities still further and gave greater confidence in their struggle against increasing European hostility.

In the post-Union years the Indian community

continued to improve upon its economic status by reason of its frugality, foresight and industry. The rate of progress of the community, as a whole, has been slow for various impediments had been placed in its path by the European community. Though certain sections of the community, particularly the trading section composed mainly of Mohammedans and Gujerati Hindus, have acquired much wealth, the bulk of the community is still economically depressed by the Western standards of living adopted in South Africa. According to a recent survey (49) only 10 per cent of the Indians in Durban (which contains nearly half the Indian population of Natal) "enjoy any degree of comfort in their lives", about 20 per cent "manage to lead a tolerable existence", while no less than 70 per cent are "submerged in varying degrees of poverty". Four out of every ten of the Indian population are in need of some palliative social measure to help them obtain a mere subsistence standard of living. So in the background of Indian educational growth are factors of relative prosperity and relative poverty, and they account for both progress and retardation

In these circumstances the efforts of the politically dominant European group to restrict the economic activities and opportunities of Indians have had grave consequences on the educational progress of the Indian community. Apart from artificially lowering, or keeping low, their standards of living and thus prohibiting the expenditure of any money on education,

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49. "Natal Mercury" - 18 Sept.,1947 : "Poverty Stalks Durban. Startling figures in N.U.C. Survey" (Contributed by the Dept. of Economics, Natal University College).

it would have seemed futile to educate Indian children when there was little opportunity for training and employment in the more remunerative trades and professions. It will be shown in subsequent chapters that the availability of avenues of employment for more highly educated Indians did engage the attention of educators and Indian parents.

One of the factors in the background allied to the political and economic status of Indians was the increasing friction between Europeans and Indians. It has been accompanied by various pieces of legislation discriminating against the Indian (50). The most recent piece of racially discriminatory legislation (namely the Asiatic Land Tenure and Indian Representation Act, 1946) has intensified the feeling between European and Indian, and owing to the intervention of India has led to the entire question of the treatment of Indians in South Africa being the subject of debate and resolution in an international assembly, such as the United Nations Assembly at New York (51).

This is not the place to examine in detail the causes and circumstances of Indo-European animosity. It will suffice to state that the causes are fundamentally economic. There is no doubt an element of antagonism or prejudice due to differences in race, colour and cultural traditions. It is essentially the old struggle of humanity between the "have" and "have nots". The European had secured for himself and his family certain economic and political privileges in South Africa. The

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50. See List on pp. 312-313: Joshi, P.S., "Tyranny of Colour".
51. "Natal Daily News" - 9 Oct.,1946 - "S.A.Indian Issue. UNO may decide that it does not have Jurisdiction"
"Leader" - 14 Dec.,1946 - "UNO Debate Ends in Complete Victory for India"
"Cape Argus" - 17 Sept.,1947 - "Union's Firm Stand on Indian Issue. Refusal to Accept UNO Resolution"
"Cape Times" - 20 Sept.,1947 - "India Opens UNO Attack on S. A."

Indian had been imported into Natal mainly to work for the European. Both Indian and European had emigrated from their countries of origin in order to escape economic and social handicaps. The European settler started life anew in this country with certain advantages over the Indian settler, particularly the political supremacy of White over non-White. In the struggle for existence the European did not hesitate to use his advantageous position to "knock out" a rival whom he considered to be a "menace" to his own security. He believed that there was not enough of the world's goods to go round all the races of Natal, and having built up a standard of life, he thought it necessary to maintain it against all rivals. To his way of thinking the advancement of the Indian constituted a threat to his economic and political security - to what has often been loosely termed "White civilization".

In his relations with the Indians, the European also thought of the probable effect on the African mind of granting equal privileges to the Indians (52). There has always been a greater fear of the "Native menace". Indeed, Native policy has determined Asiatic policy (53). The enforcement of policy of racial segregation in all spheres of national life is also largely due to the same reason. It is based upon the maxim dating from the founding of the Transvaal Republic, and enshrined in its laws, that "there shall be no equality between White and Black in Church or State" (54). The most recent expression of

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52. See for instance Ninth Interim Report, Ntl. Post-War Works and Reconstruction Commsn.(1944) - Part 2 of para.9. (Ntl. Prov. Gazette, 18 Jan.,1945)
53. Wetherell, Violet, "The Indian Question in S.A." p.15.
54. "Racial Problems in S.Africa" (booklet): Report by a Deputation to S.A. of the Society of Friends" (1938) - p.7.

Asiatic policy was contained in a speech in Parliament by the Prime Minister, General J. C. Smuts. During the Second Reading Debate on the Asiatic Land Tenure and Indian Representation Bill in 1946 he said (55):-

> ".....fundamentally the structure we intend to establish here for the Indian community is very much the same and rests on the same principles as we laid down for our native population."

In the light of this background consider now the economic progress of the Indians. European attitude in Natal to Indian progress is adequately illustrated by the following quotation (56):-

> "The Indian of the labouring, peasant and employee class is serving a useful purpose, but the Indian of the more affluent classes is a menace to European civilisation in Natal, and large racial zones should be set aside in which such Indians can live, carry on their business and occupations and pursue all the daily activities and avocations of a normal human life".

It does not require much knowledge of ecomonics to perceive that the "zoning" of Indian commercial and other economic enterprise would have crippled their economic progress. It would have been equally absurd to suggest that Europeans should not employ, or trade amongst, non-Europeans.

The affluent class of Indians usually derived their wealth from commercial and financial activities. The usual difficulty of this class was in obtaining a licence to trade or manufacture. An Economic Commission in 1914 considered Natal's licensing policy towards the Indians as "drastic", "harsh" and "imprudent"; that Indians appear to have been debarred from sharing in the

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55. "Guardian" - 28 Mar.,1946 : quotation in the editorial.

56. Ninth Interim Report, Ntl. Post-War Works & Reconstruction Committee (1944). - Part 2 - para.10(e). (Natal Provincial Gazette, 18 Jan., 1945).

licensed trades merely on the ground of their nationality (57). Yet in 1921 the Principal Licensing Officer of Durban could say (58):-

> "We do what we can to restrict further Indian licences. A European licence is granted as a matter of course, whereas the Indian licence is refused as a matter of course, if it is a new one."

The Cape Town Agreement also provided for a review of the existing licensing laws and regulations (59). In 1942 the High Commissioner for India in the Union could still report that no relief had been granted (60). The prosperity of this class was of importance to the Indian community for they usually contributed to the building of schools and generally financed the political organisations in their agitation for democratic rights. This class also invested its money in real estate. Their purchases in what were considered to be predominantly European areas set up a cry of Indian "penetration". The Asiatic Land Tenure and Indian Representation Act of 1946 imposes severe restrictions on the Indian in this field of economic activity for the first time in Natal (61).

Trade competition had been increased mainly owing to the closing of certain avenues of employment to

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57. Report, Economic Commission (1914) - U.G.12-'14 ; para. 60.
58. Before the Asiatic Inquiry Commission 1921 (U.G.4-'21) Secondary Source : Memorandum of Government of India Delegation to the Select Committee of Parliament on the Areas Reservation, etc. Bill (1926) Supplementary Statement in para. 10. (Copy in High Commissioner's Office).
59. "Upliftment Section" - "Sastri Speaks" - p. 204.
60. Report, High Commissioner India in S. Africa (1942) - p. 11, para. 7.
    See also Natal Indian Congress Memo to Natal Indian Affairs Commission, 1944.
61. Report, Indian Penetration Commission (1939) - U.G. 39-'41.
    Interim Report, Natal Indian Affairs Commission (1944) U.G. 22-'45.

Indians, especially in the skilled trades and professions (62). There has always been a cry that Indians were crowding out Europeans in the skilled trades such as bricklaying, painting, carpentry, plumbing, electric wiring and so on. In 1914 the Economic Commission disposed of these allegations as being unfounded (63). Opportunities of employment in industry, governmental and municipal enterprises have been severely restricted by the adoption of the so-called "civilised labour policy" by the State in 1924 (64). The object of the policy was the encouragement of employment of Europeans in semi-skilled and unskilled occupations, which had hitherto been filled by Indians, Coloureds and Natives. Governmental pressure was brought to bear on employers to see that this policy was carried out.

The opposition of European trade unions prevented the training and employment of Indians in the skilled trades, and Indian workers were excluded from the membership of certain large trade unions (65). There have been no Indian members in the Amalgamated Engineering Union, Municipal Employees' Association, Hairdressers' Union, Building Workers' Union, and the Commercial Distributive Workers' Union (66). Nor were employers admitted to the Masters' Association in the printing and building trades. Indians, have, however, in recent years formed parallel organisations for

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62. "Indian Life & Labour in Natal" - Burrows: p.10 - Col.2 p.17 - Col.1.
63. Report, Economic Commission (1914) - U.G.12-'14 : para.60.
64. Fuller discussion Race Relations Quarterly, Nov.1935 - Vol.2 : No.5 - p.55 (Issued by S.A. Institute of Race Relations).
65. "Indian Life & Labour in Natal" - p.10 - Col.2, p.16 - Col.1.
66. Ibid : p.16 - Col.1.

collective bargaining. In short, there has been a very rigid "colour-bar" in industrial employment, which has also spread to the civil service and the professions. In the civil service only a few Indians have been employed as interpreter-clerks and policemen. The difficulty of securing articles and apprenticeship, or training, effectively barred Indians from qualifying for accountancy, architecture, surveying, pharmacy, law and engineering. European employers and professionals were subject to colour prejudice (67). The opportunity of increasing one's skill or of rising to higher ranks in an occupation, and thus earning greater remuneration are most powerful incentives for technical training and education. South African conditions prevented such incentives from playing their full part in raising the educational status of the Indian community.

Though the limitations on the economic advancement of Indians were numerous and severe, yet looking over the entire period, and comparing it with previous periods, it must be admitted that there has been a rise in their income and general standards of living. In 1936 (the latest census returns available) the occupational distribution of the Indians in Natal were as follows(68):-

TABLE 3.

OCCUPATIONAL DISTRIBUTION OF INDIAN POPULATION OVER 15 YEARS OF AGE IN NATAL (1936)

	%
Agriculture	18
Industry	12
Mining	1
Commerce	8
Public Service & Professional	4
Personal & Domestic Service	6
Transport	2
Other	1
Domestic & Dependent	48

67. "Indian Life & Labour in Natal" - p.15. Col.1.
68. For this and other material on the economic condition of Indians I am entirely indebted to Prof. H.R. Burrows, "Indian Life & Labour in Natal" - pp.5-14. (Published by the S.A. Institute of Race Relations, 1943).

TABLE 4.

OCCUPATIONAL DISTRIBUTION OF INDIANS EXPRESSED AS A PERCENTAGE OF THOSE GAINFULLY OCCUPIED IN NATAL (1936)

	%
Agriculture	34.5
Industry	23.1
Mining	1.9
Commerce	15.4
Public Service & Professional	7.7
Personal & Domestic Service	11.5
Transport	4.0
Other	1.9

The main changes in the employment of Indians were as follows (69): Since 1904 the proportion of Indians over fifteen years of age engaged in agriculture has fallen from nearly 50 per cent of the population of working age to only 18 per cent; in mining from 4 per cent to 1 per cent, whereas in industry there has been an increase from 6 per cent to 12 per cent, and in commerce from 6 per cent to 8 per cent. Between 1911 and 1936 the dependent and domestic faction of the working population has, however, risen from 14 per cent to 48 per cent. On the whole the change in employment has been away from heavy manual labour to more skilled industrial occupations, commercial activities and personal service. At least two forces have been responsible. First, there has been some development of opportunities in the better paid semi-skilled occupations. Secondly, the African has become a growing competitor in the field of unskilled manual labour. Moreover, it was found that the Indian's dexterity and patience could be used to better advantage in certain

69. "Indian Life & Labour in Natal" - p. 6 ff.

certain types of industrial employment than in unskilled manual labour. Between 1915 and 1937, excluding the food and drink industry, Indian industrial employment was doubled, and this was a remarkable achievement in view of several obstacles to such progress (70).

The large fraction of the working age population classified as dependent and domestic is significant for Indian education. This fraction was composed mainly of women, married and unmarried. Amongst Europeans and Coloureds approximately one earner in three was a female; amongst Native wage-earners about one in five was a female; but amongst Indians only one earner in twenty was a female (71). Indian tradition insists upon women being confined to domestic duties, to the care of the home and the children, whenever this is economically feasible. It will be noted that the dependent and domestic fraction has been increasing. This might be interpreted as the improved earning power of the man, which was followed by a closer adherence to social traditions. The economic dependence of the Indian woman has not encouraged efforts for her intellectual enlightenment. There appears to have been a belief that the instruction received in schools was more suited and more necessary to the bread winner of the family. Furthermore, owing to the earlier marriageability and higher marriage rate of Indian girls (72), Indian parents considered it necessary for them to learn as much as possible

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70. "Indian Life & Labour in Natal" - p.10 - Col.2.
71. "Natal Mercury" - 18 Sept.,1947 : "Poverty Stalks Durban, etc." (Dept. of Economics, Ntl. University College Survey).
72. "Indian Life & Labour in Natal" - p.18 - Col.1.

about mothercraft, cooking and other domestic duties - matters not generally taught in Indian schools.

Secondly, the movement from unskilled manual labour to semi-skilled occupation, largely as factory operatives and clerks, called for persons who were literate, and, thereby increased the demand for educational facilities. Improved incomes of the wage-earners also reduced the family necessity for the earnings of children at a younger age, such as during the earlier decades. This section of the population naturally desired to see its children better employed in schools.

Compared to the previous period there has been a steady rise in the income of wage earners. After the prohibition of indentured immigration, wages in the sugar industry had risen by 50 per cent during the following five years (73). Labourers on the sugar estates are still the lowest paid workers, earning on an average £2 per month plus house and rations (74). In the sugar milling industry, which constitutes an important outlet for Indian employment, a new wage determination in 1942 made substantial improvements in the wages of Indian workers (75). The lack of schools kept the mill-workers and field labourers on the sugar estates illiterate, and ignorance of employment opportunities elsewhere, together with absence of savings confined them to the same occupation (76). The recent increase in the mill wages for the men might

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73. "Indian Life & Labour in Natal" - p.6 - Col.1.
74. Ibid : p.7 - Col.2.
75. Ibid. : p.13 - Col.2.
76. Ibid : p.13 - Col.1.

make the family less dependent on supplementary incomes, and pave the way to more education and more opportunities for the children (77).

Trade union organisation has assisted Indians in their collective efforts to secure better wages and conditions of service (78). In 1939 the wage determination for shop assistants, of whom there were 2,000 Indian employees, was £21 per month (79). In the liquor and catering trade, in which there were 2,115 Indians employed in 1942, the qualified waiter was paid a minimum basic wage of £7.10. 0d. per month (80). Some furniture workers were in receipt of £7.15. 0d. per week, whilst qualified painters received £6.19. 0d. per week (80). Indian employees of the Durban Corporation, who used to be paid about 30/- to 40/- per month were receiving in 1945 between £5.11. 4d. and £7. 6. 0d. per month for unskilled work (81). Indians, however, did not enjoy the same opportunities for reaching highly paid positions mainly because of deficiencies in education and training, and colour prejudice (82).

The commercial and trading section appears to have made satisfactory progress. The total income of Natal in 1940 was estimated at £48,000,000 (83); of this the total Indian share was estimated at £4,591,950 - £6,000,000; and of this sum, it was estimated that the Indian commercial section contributed £2,412,000. The

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77. "Indian Life & Labour in Natal" - p.13. Col.2.
78. Ibid : p.13 - Col.2; p.15 - Col.2.
79. Ibid : p.13 - Col.2.
80. Ibid : p.15 - Col.1.
81. Memorandum submitted to the Wage Board appointed in 1945 re unskilled workers in Durban - by the Durban Indian Municipal Employees Society.
82. "Indian Life & Labour in Natal" - p.16 - Col.1; p.15 - Col.1.
83. Ibid : p.17 - Cols. 1 & 2.

The economic progress of this section might also be gauged by their property holdings. In 1889 the total rateable value of property in Durban was £1,617,780, and out of that Indian holdings were valued at £31,590 (84). In 1945, the rateable value of properties in the "old" Borough of Durban, covering some 8,000 acres was £37,000,000, and the Indian holdings of 339 acres were valued at £4,000,000 (85). Since 1927 significant progress appears to have been made, as would be seen from the following table (86):-

TABLE 5.

PROPERTY OWNERSHIP OF INDIANS IN DURBAN "OLD" BOROUGH

	Population		Valuation for Rating	
	Indian	European	Indian	European
1927	16,977	54,130	£1,441,210	£20,810,210
1940	24,351	70,710	£3,488,230	£35,202,350.

ADDED AREAS

	Indian	Indian
1934	51,900	£1,736,910
1940	63,368	£2,394,300.

Though there is a big gap between European and Indian incomes and wealth, the commercial section has certainly advanced its standing. Wealth and leisure generally stimulate the demand for educational facilities. The improved economic conditions of the Indian community made possible the erection of a large number of aided schools in the absence of State initiative.

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84. Chapter IV - Table 4.
85. Singh, George: "Asiatic Act, 1946" op.cit.,p.21 - Footnote 5.
86. Report, Indian Penetration Commsn.(1939) - U.G.39-'41: paras. 296, 314.

Other factors in the background which influenced Indian education were concerned with sociological changes in Indian society. From the foundations of early indentured and passenger immigrants, strong in Indian traditions and maintaining many links of friendship and relationship in India, a new Indian society was growing up in Natal. During these 37 years this process was carried forward a step or two. The changes in Indian society have been in the direction of developing new needs, new attitudes, new values and new ideals. Indian society is still in a transitional stage, adopting some new patterns of living, discarding others, or still retaining some traditional ones. The situation poses interesting problems to the educationist and nation builder.

Up to the time of Union four classes of persons went to make up Indian society. They were the indentured immigrants under contract to their employers; the ex-indentured who were engaged in independent economic activities or freely disposed of their services to the highest bidder; the passenger immigrant, mostly Mohammedans and Gujerati Hindus of the trading class; and, finally the descendants of these immigrants, born and bred in Natal.- the so-called colonial-born Indian. With the prohibition of emigration of indentured labourers to Natal in 1911 the indenture system soon came to an end. On the emancipation of Indian labour from the indenture system Indian society might be said to have made an advance socially and economically. It had emerged from the "coolie" stage. From that time there was one class division less in Indian society. It may be remembered how certain sections in the Indian community tended to look down upon the indentured labourers, and had no desire that their children should mingle with the children of the indentured class.

It has been observed in the previous decades that emancipation from indenture brought about in the Indian a change of mental outlook, it inspired a desire for progress and upliftment; for education and higher standards of living. With the complete disappearance of the indentured class as a class, it might be expected that progressive ideas would have become more general to the Indian community. Indentured mentality was a drag on the social progress of Indians.

The effects of the disappearance of the indentured class were accentuated by the prohibition in 1913 of all Indian immigration into the Union (87). Hitherto, the size of the Indian population had grown rapidly through immigration. There was, therefore, always a large immigrant stock freshly arrived from India, who acted as a leaven upon the local community, and helped to preserve ancient traditions, customs and superstitions. As a result of the stoppage of all immigration the immigrant class continued to dwindle in numbers and influence. They were being replaced by Indians born in this country. In 1939 it was estimated that about 85 to 90 per cent of the Indians in Natal were born locally, and some of them were in the third and fourth generation (88). The cultural affinity of the colonial born Indians with India gradually wore thinner and their patterns of life grew to be different from that of the older stock. Consequently Indian society developed greater homogeneity,

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87. Union Immigrants Regulation Act, No. 22/1913.
Joshi, P.S., op.cit., p.76.
Under the Smuts-Gandhi Agreement six educated Indian immigrants were to be allowed for the promotion of the social and spiritual welfare of the community. (Joshi, P.S., op.cit., p.81).

88. Report, Indian Penetration Commission (1939) - U.G.39-'41 : p.9 - para.25.

and their divisions were more on economic lines than religious or linguistic (90).

These people looked upon South Africa rather than India as their home. The older stock always hoped to return and die in India, but it was not so with the colonial-born Indian. He felt he was an integral part of the population and, therefore, entitled to all the rights and privileges of a South African citizen. It was observed in 1933 (91) that the limitations placed upon his economic and political progress did not arouse in the Indian a desire to seek better opportunities elsewhere, but rather induced him to remain and continue his efforts for the removal of the restrictions. It was an indication of the degree to which they had become "South Africanised". The Bantu and Coloured peoples, for instance, in spite of their disabilities still look upon South Africa as their home. The South African-born Indian thinks in the same manner. That is not to say that he does not have any sentiments for his ancestral home, India. The average white South African displays similar sentiments towards Europe; so do all immigrants for several generations.

Being South Africanised the Indian wished to become a full fledged citizen of South Africa, taking an active part in her national life. Here is a statement made by a South African Indian spokesman as recently as 1947, and it will illustrate the point (92):-

> ".....South Africa still persists in her traditional attitude of denying equality of opportunity and status to her Indian citizens.

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90. Interim Report, Ntl. Ind. Affairs Commsn.(1944) : U.G. 22-'45 : para.62.
91. Report, Indian Colonization Inq. Cmtee.(1933/34) : U.G. 23-'34 : para. 68(3).
92. "Cape Standard" - 9 Sept.,1947 : "UNO Delegates Arrive in New York". Statement to Press made in London by Mr. Sorabjee Rustomjee

> ".....Its basic way of life must suffer a speedy change. Indians claim no more than their birthright; the right to live as peaceful citizens, enjoying equality of opportunity and status no whit less than any other community."

South Africanisation influenced the attitude of Indians towards the necessity of acquiring a sound education, and increased their demands for educational facilities. From such an attitude also arose a demand for similarity and/or equality of educational opportunity with the more privileged European group.

Side by side with South Africanisation, the Westernisation of Indian society has been taking place. The dominant pattern of development in South Africa was set by the dominant European community. The two aspects of that pattern were Christianity and the pattern of living of Western Europe. The two aspects may well be shortly called "Western European" civilisation, as distinct from "Eastern" or "Indian" civilisation. The standards of living established by the European settlers were high. The technological advance made in South Africa was due almost entirely to their efforts. The economic resources of the country have been developed to the present levels under their guidance and planning. They were a virile and vigorous community who set out to establish in South Africa the cultural and material patterns of their people in Europe, and succeeded.

The Indian community settled in South Africa came under the influence of this vigorous civilisation. Though the Indians had a highly integrated pattern of life inherited from India, they gradually began to absorb Western ways of living and thinking. When in 1933 there was talk of re-settling them elsewhere outside

South Africa, the Indians protested vehemently and said that the process of adoption of Western standards of living had already advanced to such a considerable degree that it would be difficult for them to fit into the communal life of Indian colonists from India, in the proposed British colonies (93).

In 1939 a Commission inquiring into the reasons for Indian "penetration" of European residential areas in Durban, and Natal generally, found that one reason was the improved standards of living in urban areas, along Western lines (94); it appeared to the Commission that Westernisation was rapid, particularly after the Cape Town Agreement (95). The Commission also made the following amusing but interesting observation (96):-

> "Even among the poorer classes, the almost complete disappearance of the betel-nut habit is a symptom of a general process of westernization."

Some other evidence of increasing Westernisation was the break up of the traditional joint family system, the disinclination of traders to live on their business premises as before (96), the growing use of English as a common medium amongst themselves (97), and the desire for better civic amenities, to spend more on food and clothing, and to have better houses (97a).

As early as 1912, the Hon. Mr. Gokhale, an

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93. Report, Indian Colonization Inq. Cmtee.(1933/34) - U.G. 23-'34 : p.14 - para.68.
94. Report, Indian Penetration Commsn.(1939) - U.G.39-'41 : para.333.
95. Ibid : paras.336, 337.
96. Ibid : para.333.
97. Interim Report, Indian Affairs Commsn.(1944) - U.G. 22-'45 : para.62.
97a. Speech High Commissioner for India (Sir Shafa'at Ahmed Khan) - 31 July, 1943 : Address to the Natal Regional Conference of S.A.Institute of Race Relations. Printed in booklet form by Aboobaker Moosa (Durban) - p.8 ff.

Indian member of the Viceroy's Executive Council, who visited South Africa to study the Indian question, appears to have agreed that Indian development in South Africa must be along Western traditions and modes of thought (98). The same views were accepted by the representatives of the Government of India in the Cape Town Agreement of 1927, the relevant clauses of which read as follows (99):-

1. Both Governments reaffirm their recognition of the right of South Africa to use all just and legitimate means for the maintenance of Western standards of life.

2. The Union Government recognise that Indians domiciled in the Union, who are prepared to conform to Western standards of life, should be enabled to do so.

3. For those Indians in the Union who may desire to avail themselves of it, the Union Government will organise a scheme of assisted emigration to India or other countries where Western standards are not required.

In 1943 the High Commissioner for India in South Africa, Sir Shafa'at Ahmed Khan, observed that while the Indian community had kept up the spiritual traditions of its race, it wished to live in a European country in the European way (101). Like his predecessors, he also believed that the solution to the Indian "problem" lay in the assimilation of the Indian to Western standards of life, and western thought.

The Indian political organisations were in complete agreement with these principles of development(100) Indeed, they based their demands for equality of oppor-

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98. Interim Report, Natal Indian Affairs Commsn.(1944) - U.G. 22-'45 : para.58.
99. "Sastri Speaks" - Bramdaw & Naidoo : pp.204-205. Joshi, P.S., op.cit., p.131.
100. Interim Report, Natal Indian Affairs Commsn.(1944) - U.G.22-'45 : para.58.
101. Address to Natal Regional Conference, S.A. Institute Race Relations. (op. cit.).

tunity and status with the European on these very grounds. The desire to conform to Western standards influenced the growth of Indian education by stimulating a demand for increased educational facilities, by a change in the attitude towards the education of girls, in resistance to any curriculum which might be different from that used in European schools, and in improved qualifications of teachers.

Yet, to any observer, it will be apparent that the Indians have still retained many characteristics peculiar to Indian tradition. They are Western in some ways and Eastern in other ways. As a cultural and racial group they stand apart from the Coloureds, for instance, who have been completely assimilated to the Western way of life; or from the Bantu who are either completely Western in religion, language, music, dress, diet, and recreational habits, or completely uninfluenced in the rural areas.

At least one important factor contributing to the racial purity and cultural cohesiveness of the Indian people was of a legislative nature. Under the 1913 Immigration Act already referred to (102), Indians were not permitted to move freely from one province to the other. Those born and domiciled in Natal were not allowed to enter and acquire domiciliary rights in the Transvaal, the Orange Free State and the Cape Province (103). Consequently the Indian population was forced to live and grow in Natal. This prevented the small

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102. Act No. 22/1913.
103. These restrictions in the case of the Transvaal and the O.F.S. had existed prior to Union. It was new to the Cape.

Indian population from being dispersed over a wide area and, perhaps, accelerating the loss of their cultural and racial identity. In 1936, 83.6 per cent of the total number of Indians in the Union lived in Natal, and in 1946 this figure was 80.7 per cent (104). In the city of Durban alone 49.7 per cent of the Indian population was resident in 1946. Furthermore, 80 per cent of the Indian population of Natal was to be found on the coastal belt of Natal, with some 16 per cent scattered along the main routes to the Transvaal, and only 2 per cent in the coal areas (105). Common disabilities must have added to the cohesiveness of Indian society.

It is in the matter of religion and religious customs that Indian society is still so Eastern. While they had readily adapted themselves to the material aspects of Western civilisation, yet they have been very conservative in the allegiance to their inherited spiritual traditions. The figures for religious distribution of Asiatics in Natal for 1921 and 1936 were as follows (106):-

TABLE 6.

RELIGIOUS DISTRIBUTION OF ASIATICS IN NATAL (1921 and 1936)

Religion.	1921	1936
Buddhist	11,449	1,646[X]
Hindu.....	102,288	147,496
Mohammedan.....	16,861	24,845
Christian.....	4,422	7,519
Others & Unspecified...	6,629	2,155
	141,649	183,661

[X] Apparently the big decrease is due to the Buddhists, mostly "lower" caste Hindus, now properly describing themselves as Hindus.

104. Calculated from 1936 Population Census Returns (See Table 1 in this Chapter).
Also "Indian Life & Labour in Natal" - p.2, Col.2.
"Natal Mercury" - 13 Aug.,1946 - "Union's Population" (1946 Census).
105. "Indian Life & Labour in Natal" - p.5, Col.1.
106. Census Returns (1936) : Vol.6 : p.60.

It will be observed that Indians converted to Christianity formed only a small fraction of the total population. It will be noted further that the great majority of Indians belonged to the Hindu faith. Distributed all over Natal are Hindu Temples (106a) and Mohammedan Mosques. Festivals connected with their religion are still observed. The Mohammedans have adhered to their month of fasting, the "Ramdan", and the "Eid" (107); the Hindus to their festival of lights, "Deepavali", "Kavadi" processions, and various "Pujas" to the different deities (108); every Hindu home has a private shrine either in the yard or in a corner of some room where the sacred lamp is kept. Astrology still plays an important part in the selection of auspicious days and suitable names for new born children. The Muslim community supports a large number of priests brought out from India. The Hindus have their Brahmin priests who are indispensable on ceremonial occasions. Hindu spiritual interests have been continually stimulated by visiting swamis and Vedic missionaries from India (109). Hindu organisation

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106a. "Indian Opinion" - 12 Feb.,1932 - "Vishwaroop Temple & Dharmasala"
Ibid - 2 Apr.,1932 - "Depot Road Temple"
107. "Leader" - 19 Dec.,1942 - "Eid"
108. "Indian Opinion" - 2 Nov.,1934 - "Deepavali"
"Leader" - 30 Oct.,1943 - "Lights of Remembrance"
Ibid - 30 Aug.,1947 - "Lord Krishna's Birthday Celebrations" (Advert.)
"Indian Opinion" - 26 Mar.,1937 - "Shree Rama's Celebration at Tongaat"
Ibid - 18 Mar.,1932 - "Shiva Rathree Celebrations"
109. "Indian Opinion" - 26 Feb.,1932 - "Prof. Rallaram's Visit to Ladysmith" (Arya Samajist)
Ibid - 1 June,1934 - "Pundit Jaimini"
Ibid - 2 Feb.,1934 - "Swami Adhyanant" (Notes & News)
Ibid - 23 July,1937 - "Pandit Rishiram"
In 1939 Prof. S. Radakrishnan arrived and in May 1947 Swami Ghanand of the Ramakrishna Mission

against Christian and Mohammedan proselytization has been growing steadily. Hindu religious and social bodies have been united under the South African Hindu Maha Sabha, which has held conferences at different times, and published new pamphlets and magazines (110). A "Bhagvad Gita" Week was an innovation from Maritzburg (110a). The Mohammedans have formed a Muslim Council (111). Communal feeling is occasionally manifested, but not to the same degree or extent as in India. Politics in India inspire certain sections with communal feelings (111a). Commercial jealousy is more often the fundamental reason in South Africa.

In view of the strong religious sentiments of non-Christian parents the Natal Education Ordinance of 1942 (112) has excluded non-Christian schools, or schools attended primarily by non-Christian children, from the provision of the compulsory prayer and Bible reading in government schools. The same sentiments have also been responsible for the erection and management of many aided schools by Hindu and Mohammedan societies or individuals to counteract Christian influence in the schools. Religion has been a powerful force in the background of Indian education, particularly with regard to the education of girls.

Another interesting feature in the background

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110. "Indian Opinion" - 1 June,1934 - "S.A.Hindu Conference"
"Leader" - 6 Nov.,1943 - "Hindu Flag Goes up at Durban"
Ibid - 13 Sept.,1947 - "Annual Hindu Flag Hoisting, October 12"
Bimonthly Magazine of the S.A.Hindu Maha Sabha is called "The Hindu"

110a."Leader" - 30 Aug.,1947 - Advert. "Gita Week" (A Series of Lectures)

111. "Leader" - 1 May,1943 - "Natal Muslim Council Formed"

111a."Leader" - 9 Jan.,1943 - "S.African Indians' Two Voices" (Re Pakistan and Hindustan)

112. No. 23/1942 : Section 12(i).

of Indian education is the persistence of the linguistic traditions of India. It will be observed from the table below that the main home languages of Indians, as returned in the census forms for 1936 (113) were, in order of numerical preponderance, Tamil, Hindi, Telugu and Gujerati.

TABLE 7.

HOME LANGUAGES OF THE ASIATIC POPULATION
(NATAL & ZULULAND)
1936.

	%
Tamil.....	41.23
Hindi.....	30.75
Telugu.....	13.33
Gujerati.....	6.11
Urdu.....	6.24
Other Indian Languages.....	1.53
English.....	.56
Others and Unspecified.....	.25
	100.00

The standard of the vernaculars spoken in Natal, particularly Tamil and Telugu, are not as high as in India. The Gujerati Hindu and Mohammedans, who both speak Gujerati, have retained or cultivated a greater fluency than the other linguistic groups, perhaps, because of their closer links with India, but it is interesting to observe that fluency in English is also correspondingly less in these two groups. In actuality the language spoken in Indian homes to-day is liberally interspersed with English words, phrases and sentences. It is not uncommon to find brothers and sisters conversing freely in English from quite an early age, and these are not Christian Indians. The adoption of Christianity has frequently

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113. Census 1936 : Vol. IV - p.168.

led to the disuse of the Indian vernaculars at home and in public. The degree of anglicisation of Indian society in 1936 is revealed in the following table (114):-

TABLE 8.

OFFICIAL LANGUAGES SPOKEN BY ASIATICS
(NATAL)
1936.

	Children Under School Age %	Persons 7 Years and Over %
Both	.63	1.71
English	11.31	50.56
Afrikaans	2.51	.13
Neither	59.36	46.80
Unspecified	26.19	.80
	100.00	100.00

Figures from the same source reveal significant differences between the urban and rural population in their knowledge of English. Afrikaans is hardly spoken by Indians in Natal. The figures for English were :-

URBAN.

	English %	Neither (Afrikaans & English) %
Children Under School Age	15.29	52.40
7 Years and Over	60.83	36.03

RURAL.

Children under School Age	5.18	70.11
7 Years and Over	33.67	64.51

There is thus a close correlation between urbanisation and anglicisation. In 1936 six out of every ten Indians in

114. Census 1936 : Vol. IV - p.142.

Natal lived in an urban area (115), and 49.7 per cent of the Indian population is resident in Durban alone. The medium of instruction in Indian schools has always been English. The language spoken at home by the pre-school child has necessitated certain changes in the grading of classes in the Indian schools, and in consequence the median age for standards has been slightly higher than for European children.* The language factor has also influenced other aspects of Indian education. These points will be discussed later. The main problem before the educationist is the place to be given to the Indian languages in the school curriculum, and in view of their diversity the method of organisation. Theories on mother tongue instruction have not been applied in Indian schools mainly because their applicability appears to have offered many difficulties. It would be interesting to learn how the Indian community reacted to the situation.

Besides religion and language the Indian community has retained other patterns of Indian social life. Their customs relating to birth, marriage and death have not changed. Caste, religion and language are still important factors of consideration in marriage contracts. In ordinary social affairs caste has little place in South African Hindu society. Births and marriages are celebrated in truly Indian fashion with great splendour and ceremony. Under Western influences marriages are contracted at higher ages, but they are still generally lower than in the case of Europeans. Traditional

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115. "Indian Life & Labour in Natal" - p. 5, Col.2.

* Class for class the median age for Indian children is about two years higher than that for European children. (See Tables in Reports of Director of Education).

ceremonies relating to the dead are still performed on the river banks by the Hindus, but cremation is not so common. The Muslims have their own customs in this regard. Indian women still adhere to their traditional dress, the sari, and their jewellery is manufactured by Indian craftsmen according to the fashions in India. In diet the Indian has not thrown off his preference for rice or chappati and curry. From all indications it would appear that Indian curries have also invaded European households, hotels and restaurants. An important part of an Indian girl's education at home is the science and art of cooking the numerous varieties of Indian curries and sweetmeats for different occasions. In the light of this Domestic Science curricula in Indian schools would seem to require considerable modifications. It would, perhaps, even receive ready response from Indian parents, if the Indian "Paka Sastra" (literally science of preparing food) were given a prominent position in the curricula.

In the matter of the aesthetic arts Indians are still fond of their traditional songs in the vernacular languages and have continued to cultivate their system of music inherited from India. The modern radio and gramophone records have kept the Indian in close touch with his musical traditions, and owing to the intimate relationship between Indian music and Indian religions there has been little or no change in this respect. Since 1937 the South African Broadcasting Corporation studios at Durban have arranged for a special half-hour programme of Indian songs and music on Sunday mornings (116). In the same year an Indian

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116. "Indian Opinion" - 14 May, 1937 :. See under "Original Correspondence".

Society for the Advancement of Music and Art had been formed, and which organised an annual eisteddfod (117). The Andhra Maha Sabha, an organisation of Telugu-speaking peoples, followed up with a special annual Telugu eisteddfod (118). These efforts have done much to stimulate an interest in Indian literature, songs and music. The modern Indian films, produced in India and depicting Indian themes, music and dialogue in the Indian languages, have come to play an important part in the cultural life of Indians in South Africa (119). Cinemas to hold Indian audiences have been built in the chief towns of Natal. Before the motion picture became so popular with the Indians, the stage used to play no mean part in their cultural life. Mythological dramas were well attended, and even today mythological films from India dealing with characters like "Rama", "Krishna", "Harichandra", "Draupadi", "Valmiki", "Viswamitra" and the lives of Saints like "Thiruneelakandar" and "Bhagat Singh" are great attractions. Modern technique is able to pictorialise and dramatise to greater effect the ancient epics of India like the "Mahabarata" and the "Ramayana".

Such influences keep the Indian still an Easterner amidst a welter of American films, comics, books and periodicals. Indian education in the State and State-aided schools has been thoroughly Western and Anglicised amidst such cultural leanings. Indian music has had no place in the curricula. The curious thing is that though there has been a loss of fluency in the Indian languages, there has been a general tendency

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117. "Indian Opinion" - 22 Jan.,1937 : "Union's Indian Eisteddfod" (under S.A.News in Brief).
118. "Leader" - 6 Sept.,1947 : "Andhra Eisteddfod Results"
119. See advertisements in "Leader"

to learn about and absorb the cultural heritage of India through the medium of English. The demand for books in English by Indian authors meant for Westerners has increased (120). This is an interesting situation for the educationist: in expression educated Indians are more at home in the English language, but the content of their thoughts still veers to the Indian background. Their inner life is Eastern, but their outer life is Western increasingly.

Intellectual activity amongst Indians appears to have been on the increase during this period, and this has stimulated the demand for educational facilities. Owing to the disabilities of Indians intellectual activity has tended to be greatest in the field of politics and social reforms. There have been various political bodies amongst Indians reflecting divergence in points of view, and not too infrequently even personal differences between the leaders. The major national organisation has been the South African Indian Congress, formed about 1920(121). Various provincial organisations have existed in Natal, such as "The Natal Indian Congress" (122) (formed by Mahatma Gandhi in 1894, and which still claims to speak for the Indian people of Natal), "The Colonial-Born and Settlers Indian Association" (123) (which came into existence over a split on the colonisation question), "The Natal Indian Association" (124) (which amalgamated the

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120. See advertisements in local Indian weeklies.
121. "Indian Opinion" - 29 Apr.,1932 - Advert. re 12th Annual Conference.
122. Ibid : 24 Mar.,1933 - Advert. of meeting.
123. Ibid : 12 Jan.,1934 - Natal Provincial Conference.
124. "Leader" - 9 Jan.,1943 - "Unity Move Again Splutters"

Congress and the Association into one body), "The South African Indian Federation" (which did not function for long), and at present there are two organisations, "The Natal Indian Congress" (alleged to be a left-inclined body) and the "Natal Indian Organisation" (described as a body of "moderates") (125). Apart from political activity stimulating a desire for intellectual enlightenment amongst the masses, Indian political organisations have played a leading role in the agitation for better educational facilities. They have interviewed the Provincial authorities, the Directors of Education, the Union Ministers of Education and Finance, and presented evidence and informed memoranda to Commissions of inquiry (126). Their annual conferences have always had resolutions on educational matters. Today political agitation for educational facilities is conducted largely by the younger members of the Indian community, who coming more under the influence of socialistic ideas (127) are keenly appreciative of the need for greater educational progress.

Political activity was supported by increased journalistic activity. Six weekly newspapers in English or English-Vernacular have been in existence during this period. These were: "Indian Opinion", "African Chronicle", "Indian Views", "Leader", "Searchlight" (short-lived, but was one of the best), and "New Times" (mainly sporting and social news). There have been numerous

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125. "Cape Times" - 20 Sept.,1947 ; "Indians Cannot Live by Hatred"
126. Minutes of Evidence of Edn. Inq. Cmtees of 1928,1937 and Ntl. Ind. Affairs Comssn. of 1944.
Latest Memorandum by Ntl. In. Congress : "Passive Resister" - 7 Aug.,1947.
127. Interim Report, Ntl. Ind. Affairs Comsn.(1944) - U.G.22-'45 : para.60.

political pamphlets, booklets and leaflets. Two important books on the history of Indians were published by Indian authors resident in South Africa, namely "The Tyranny of Colour" by P. S. Joshi, and "The Conflict of Races" by P. S. Aiyar. Two religious journals in English published bi-monthly, and started recently, were "The Vedic Voice" and "The Hindu".

In this period social activity amongst Indians was reflected in the large number of societies and clubs formed to serve various purposes, political, religious, linguistic, cultural and social uplift, and sporting. To refer to but a few : Sastri College Old Boys' Club(128), Indian Study Group (129), "Arya Prithinidhi Sabha (130), South African Youth Movement (131), Arya Sungeeth Mundal (a music society)(132), Tamil Protective Association(133), Arya Yuruk Mandal (134), Hindu Young Men's Association (135) Veda Dharma Sabha (136), Durban Surf Life Saving Club (137), Natal Indian Youth League (138), Indian Social Service Committee (139), Surat Hindu Association (140), Muslim Institute (141), Nizamia Muslim Society (142), Indo-European Joint Council (143), First St. John's Ambulance Indian Brigade (144), Indian Women's Association (145),

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128. "Indian Opinion" - 22 Mar.,1933 - Under Notes & News"
129. Ibid : 15 Sept.,1933 - "Indian Study Group"
130. Ibid : 18 Mar.,1932 - "Arya Prithinidhi Sabha"
131. Ibid : 16 Apl.,1937 - "S.A.Youth Movement"
132. Ibid : 16 Apl.,1937 - "Arya Sungeeth Mundal"
133. Ibid : 30 Apl.,1937 - "Arya Sungeeth Mundal"
134. Ibid : 13 Apl.,1934 - "Duties of Indian Youth"
135. Ibid : 22 Jan.,1937 - "S.A.News in Brief"
136. "Leader" - 20 Feb.,1943 - "Activities of the V.D.Sabha"
137. "Indian Opinion" - 23 Mar.,1934 - "Things in General"
138. Ibid : 5 Feb.,1937 - "S.A. News in Brief"
139. Ibid : 26 Aug.,1932 - "S.A. News in Brief"
140. Ibid : 26 Aug.,1932 - "S.A. News in Brief"
141. Ibid : 27 Aug.,1937 - "Agent General at Muslim Institute"
142. Ibid : 8 Jan.,1937 - under "Things in General"
143. Ibid : 9 Sept.,1932 - under "Things in General"
144. Ibid : 15 Jan.,1932 - "St. John's Ambulance Brigade Exams"
145. Ibid : 28 July,1933 - "St. John's Ambulance Brigade Exams"

and the Kathiawar Hindu Seva Samaj, and the Friends of the Sick Association (146) (who have established a Tuberculosis Settlement near Durban). This would indicate that a new leaven was working amongst the Indians. Some of those bodies have been responsible for establishing schools in their areas, for collecting funds for schools and bursaries, or for campaigning for better educational facilities. Political propaganda and other news have generally pushed these bodies into the background of newspaper reporting. The existence of such activities reveals another aspect of Indian life in Natal.

Finally, in the background of Indian education is the South African "colour bar", the separation of the White races from the non-White races. It prohibits physical and social contact between the White and the non-White races. Indians have been debarred from going to the same theatres, libraries, concerts, hotels and restaurants as Europeans. There has been segregation on the trains, trams, ships, at public seats and counters, on the sea shores and so on. The "colour bar" prevents Indians and Europeans from sharing the same cultural and social amenities. In practice it has meant the provision of inferior services (147). In primary and secondary education it has meant the provision of separate schools for the different racial groups. This practice has also spread to technical and university education. Except for two universities

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146. "Leader" : 13 Sept.,1947 -"European Women Collect for F.O.S.A."
147. Mabel Palmer, "Natal's Indian Problem" - p.29. (South African Affairs Pamphlets - No. 9. Issued by the Society of Friends of Africa).

all the other institutions would not admit non-White students, and thus the colour bar seriously restricts the opportunity of Indians for acquiring higher education and technical training. It was under such circumstances and conditions that Indian education developed during the post-Union years. It will be the purpose of succeeding chapters to study what had been achieved in this period.

CHAPTER XIV

FINANCE OF INDIAN EDUCATION

1911 - 1946

The study of educational finance is but one aspect of the study of educational development, and it is treated separately for convenience and for the clarification of the forces influencing Indian education. It need hardly be stressed that the development of educational facilities is dependent upon the monies available for such purpose. Now the financial provision made for Indian education in Natal had been influenced by considerations not strictly educational but racial and politico-economic. Indo-European relations in Natal have already been outlined in the previous chapter. These relations were not friendly. The Indian desired to advance to a status of equal citizenship with the European, and the European was strongly opposed to granting the Indian that equality. To the Indian equal citizenship meant the right to vote and to be represented directly in Parliament, in the Provincial Council and the municipal councils; it meant equal opportunities for trade and employment, equal public and civic amenities, and equal educational facilities. Their ability to secure these elements of social well-being in full measure were frustrated by the lack of franchise and racial discrimination by a politically dominant group. The general opposition of the European to Indian advancement to equality was carried over to the field of education. The axe fell

heavily on the votes for Indian education.

Asiatic policy, as observed in the previous chapter, vacillated between the complete removal of the Indian community by repatriation to India and its integration into the life of South Africa. From the year 1939 it became clear that the repatriation policy - at least voluntary repatriation - had failed completely. It came to be accepted that integration was inevitable, and, perhaps, the only practicable solution at this stage. Indeed, such a view had been forced upon the Union Government in the Cape Town Agreement. But the simultaneous acceptance of the principles of integration and of repatriation under the Agreement were contradictions. The European community, in its state of mind, not unnaturally tended to over-emphasise the repatriative aspect of the Agreement, and thus delayed or prevented the full implementation of the positive, integrative aspects of the Upliftment Clause in the Agreement. The ultimate failure of any policy which sought to cast out the Indian population as if by surgical excision was never in doubt. But the South African State did attempt it, and consequently was averse to feeding and nursing any of the activities of the Indian community which might tend to encourage the Indians to stay in South Africa. Indian education, though it did not thrive for want of nourishment, yet continued to survive. It even continued to grow, though as a weak and emaciated specimen compared to the healthy and sturdy growth of European education. The reasons and processes were not very much dissimilar from those obtaining in the pre-Union years.

The study of Indian education during the

post-Union years falls into two periods, namely

(a) the pre-Cape Town Agreement period (1911 - 1927); and

(b) the post-Cape Town Agreement period (1928 - 1946).

In the latter period there appear to be two distinct phases of development, in so far as financial policy is concerned, so that it may be further sub-divided into the periods (i) 1928 - 1938 and (ii) 1939 - 1946. The second sub-period coincides more or less with the growing recognition of the failure of repatriation and the inevitability of integration on some basis, yet to be formulated. For a comparative study of the progress of Indians, the major dividing line at the time of the Cape Town Agreement has been generally accepted by the Indians themselves and governmental enquiry commissions (1). Between the years 1910-1928 there had been no thorough inquiry into the condition of Indian education. In the "Uplift" Clause of the Cape Town Agreement, the Union Government, admitting "the grave situation in repsect of Indian education in Natal", agreed to secure the appointment of a Provincial Commission of inquiry, and "to obtain the assistance of an educational expert from the Government of India for the purpose of such an inquiry."(2). The inquiry was held in 1928 and the Indian expert who exposed the grave deficiencies in Indian education

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1. Natal Provincial Education Commission (Broome) 1937. P.N. 60/1938.
   First Indian Penetration Commission (Broome) 1939. U.G.
   Natal Indian Affairs Commission (Broome) 1944. U.G.
2. "Sastri Speaks", Naidoo, S.R. and Bramdaw, D. (edit.) p. 203 - Cl. 2(a).

was Mr. Kailas P. Kichlu (3). All subsequent progress of Indian education has been judged from the conditions obtainigg at 1927, and the progress of education was considered to be the most important measure of the upliftment of the Indian community (4).

Before proceeding to a further examination of the financial aspects of Indian education, it would be helpful to understand the administration and financing of education generally in South Africa, since Union. As already stated, the Act of Union changed the status of each of the four self-governing colonies into a province of the Union of South Africa. The affairs of each province were administered by a Provincial Council, at the head of which was an Administrator appointed by the Union Government. The executive authority of the Council was vested in the Administrator and an Executive Committee appointed by the Provincial Council. Apart from administrative powers, each Provincial Council also exercised legislative powers on matters delegated to it under the Union Constitution. The Councils,were, however, always subject to the overriding power of Parliament (5). Amongst the delegated responsibilities was the provision of educational facilities for the children of the Province.

Now the South Africa Act delegated to the Provinces, for a period of five years after the establishment of Union, and thereafter subjectto the decree

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3. "Ind. Edn. Inq. Cmttee. Report (1928): P.N.174/1928 Para. 4.
4. Report, Ntl. Prov. Edn. Inq. Commission (Broome) : P.N. 60/1938. Part III - para. 403ff.
5. S. A. Act - Section 85.

of Parliament, the control of all education "other than higher" (6). During the thirty-six years of Union the categories of educational activities falling under the definition of "higher education" have been subject to many changes (7). Education "other than higher" has to-day come to mean primary and secondary education, and the training of primary school teachers; and, therefore, the prime responsibility of the Province. Actually the administration of education is the major function of each Province. (8). The work is entrusted to a Provincial Education Department under a Director of Education.

The central government assumed responsibility for the administration of a wide category of educational activities under the term "higher education". The Union Department of Education, set up by the central government, controls universities, technical colleges, vocational and industrial schools, continuation classes and adult education, special schools and reformatories. The Department of Agriculture handles agricultural education, and the Department of Interior the schools for mentally defective children (9).

In South Africa there is, therefore, an artificial division of educational control between the Union Government on the one hand and the provincial authorities on the other hand (10). The dual control is related historically to the circumstances surrounding the

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6. Official Year Book of Union, No. 2 - p. 258.
   Malherbe, E.G., op. cit., pp. 397 - 399.
7. Bulletin of Edn1. Statistics for the Union of S.A.(1940) (Union Edn. Dept.) p.7ff.
8. Ibid : p. 7, para. 1.
   Malherbe, E.G., op. cit. - p. 398.
9. Bulletin of Edn1. Statscs. for Un. of S.A. - p.6.
10. Ibid : p. 8, para. 3.

formation of a central authority and provincial authorities in South Africa. It should be noted, however, that not only the delegation of primary and secondary education to the Provincial Council but also the very existence of the provincial council system is at the pleasure of Parliament (11). The Provinces are, however, very jealous of their powers and functions.

Now primary and secondary education, and the training of primary school teachers was financed partly by the central government in the form of a general subsidy to the Province, and partly by the Provincial authority itself from the revenue derived from certain sources of provincial taxation (12). More than fifty per cent of the total provincial expenditure on education was met from the government subsidy. In 1944/45, for instance, Natal received a subsidy of £1,199,599 based on educational statistics, and spent on the education of all races the sum of £2,041,827 (13). This represented an educational subsidy of fifty-eight per cant (58%). The degree of assistance given by the Central Government is an acknowledgment of the national importance of providing primary and secondary education for the children of the country. In view of the control over the powers of taxation of the Province, and the inability of the Province to finance completely its own services, it may also be urged that the ultimate responsibility for the adequacy or otherwise of the educational system rested with the Central

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11. Bulletin of Edn. Statistics ; p.7 - para 1.
12. Ibid : p. 7 - para 2; p. 63 - Section I.
13. Report, Provincial Auditor (Natal) - 1944/45 : pp. 36, 37, 63, 106, 108 ff.
(Inclusive of Capital Expenditure, Interest and Redemption).

Government. These are points of importance to Indian education.

Educational subsidy from the Central Government was part of a general subsidy to the Provinces for the maintenance of certain provincial services. Financial relations between the Provinces and the Central Government were governed by specific acts of Parliament. The basis on which the subsidy for education was calculated has been modified from time to time. Since the details of such modifications have been dealt with in other studies (14), they will not be repeated here. It will suffice to state that between 1913 and 1925 the Union Government adopted the principle of paying a subsidy to each Province equal to one-half of the nominal or recurrent expenditure of that Province on all services entrusted to it. A varying percentage allowance was made for an increase in the annual provincial expenditure, which would earn a fifty per cent subsidy. Subsidy for expenditure in excess of this percentage allowance was fixed at one-third in lieu of one-half. In addition Natal received a special subsidy of £100,000 per annum (15). In order to enable the Provinces to meet expenditure over and above the total amount of the subsidy, certain revenues were assigned to them (15).

But in 1923 a government commission of inquiry into the provincial finances (16) condemned the £ for £

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14. Malherbe, E.G., op. cit: p. 408 ff.
    Lynch, J.R., "Financing of State Educn. in the Union of South Africa" (1910 - 1935)", Theses, M.Ed. (Pretoria), 1935.
15. Malherbe, E.G., op. cit: p. 409.
16. Provincial Finances Commission, 1923 (Chairman : Mr. Baxter).

subsidy as unsound and recommended that the Union Government should pay a subsidy which would take the form of a grant-in-aid of education, determined by the number of pupils in average attendance (17). This commission also practically settled the amount of the per capita subsidy on the average attendance. The recommendations of the Commission, with minor modifications, were embodied in the Provincial Subsidies and Taxation Powers (Amendment) Act of 1925 (18). Under this Act the subsidy for each European child in Natal from the age of seven was £16. 7. 6d. for the first 30,000 pupils in average attendance at Government schools, and £14 per child for any number in excess of this (19). The subsidy per head for European children in Government-aided schools was £5. For Non-European pupils, other than Natives, (which meant Indians and Coloureds) throughout the Union, there was a flat rate subsidy of £5. 5. Od. per caput from the age of seven years, on average attendance, irrespective of whether they were in attendance at a Government or Government-aided school. The financing of Native education in the Union was under a different basis altogether, and came under the provisions of a different Act (20). It should also be mentioned that under the financial relations of 1925, Natal's special subsidy was increased from £100,000 to £125,000 per annum.

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17. Lynch, J.R., op. cit. - p.17.
    Report, Provincial Financial Resources Cmttee.(1944) U.G. 9/1944 : Paras. 470 - 473.
18. Act 46/1925 or Natal Prov. Auditor's Reports for any year 1925/26 - 1944/45.
    Further amended by Act 50/1935.
19. Section (2) of Act 46/1925 and Second Schedule
    Bulletin Endl. Statistics : p. 7, para. 2; p.15, para. 13.
20. Ibid. : p.14, para.12.

From 1925/26 to 1944/45 educational statistics (i.e. figures of average attendance) therefore formed the main basis of calculating the general subsidy to the Provinces. But in 1945 the basis of the provincial subsidy was changed again. This time, under the provisions of the Financial Relations Consolidation and Amendment Act (21), the Central Government reverted to the pre-1925 principle of a £ for £ subsidy on the nett recurrent expenditure on all provincial services. An increase of five per cent per annum over the nett expenditure for the previous year ranked for a fifty per cent subsidy, and expenditure in excess of this ranked for a thirty-three-and-one-third per cent subsidy. Natal continued to be given a special subsidy of £125,000 but this was limited for three years. The Act became operative as from the financial year 1945/1946.

It is interesting to note that under the £ for £ subsidy the proportion of total provincial expenditure (exclusive of capital expenditure) devoted to education began to increase steadily from 62.1% in 1913/1914 (the date of the first Financial Relations Act) to 77.4% in 1923/1924, and since then gradually decreased to 54.1% in 1939/1940 under the per caput subsidy (22). The £ for £ subsidy has now been in operation during 1945/46 and 1946/47.

Since Union the individual provinces began participating in the funds of the Central Government

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21. Act. 38/1945 - Section 6; also see Prov. Auditor's Report (Natal) - 1945/46 - p.44 - para.3.
22. Bulletin Edn1. Statistics : p.63 - Table I.

and this enabled each Province to make great strides in educational development (23). The £ for £ subsidy system encouraged expenditure on education for each Province had to find merely one-half of the money required for its educational service, whereas in the pre-Union years each had to find the full amount. The expenditure incurred by a Province in excess of the amount allowed to rank for full subsidy in any given year always ranked for full subsidy in the following year (24). The cost of education in Natal, for instance, had increased by 492% between 1910 and 1921 (25). The per caput subsidy was in operation from 1925/26 to 1944/45. Between these years the total cost of education in Natal had increased by 300% (26).

Turn now to a study of the finance of Indian education, considering first the period 1910/11 to 1927/28. Within this period there were actually three systems of financing education. Up to the year of the enactment of the first Financial Relations Act in 1913, that is, in the immediate years after the formation of Union, the Central Government financed the provincial services by means of block grants. The problem of financial relations between Province and Central Government was being worked out, and no significant advances in educational expenditure would really have been expected at that stage. So it will serve no useful purpose to examine the figures for Indian

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23. Malherbe, E.G., op. cit., p.408 ff, esp. p.412.
24. Ibid. : p.410.
25. Ibid. : p.412.
26. Calculated from the gross recurrent expenditure as given in the Prov. Auditor's Reports for the respective years.

education for these years.

From the time of the adoption of the £ for £ subsidy system in 1913 to 1924, it may be stated as a general observation that the only limit to the growth of expenditure on Indian education would have been the readiness or willingness of Natal to seize the opportunity of securing for Indian education the maximum benefits of the new financial arrangement - those advantages which it actually exploited for the benefit of European education. On examining the tables of annual total expenditure on Indian education (Table 1)(a), it will be observed that the total expenditure increased from £5,755 in 1910/11 to £26,677 in 1924/25, representing an increase of 463% since Union. But the absolute increase over the same period was not so impressive, being £20,922. The actual increase of expenditure from year to year is also worthy of study. For instance, in the years 1912/13, 1914/15, 1915/16, 1924/25 such paltry sums as £379, £192, £232 and £82 respectively reflect the rate of the expansion of Indian education. They also reflect the attitude of Natal towards the educational needs of Indian children. It is true that during years 1914/18 there was a War on, but figures still show what drastic effects economy could have on a system which apparently was already being operated on a subsistence economy. Such annual increases as £2,845 and £6,086 for the years 1918/1919 and 1920/1921 respectively appear

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(a) See page 456.

abnormal in contrast to the general trend. The absolute expenditure on the education of the Coloureds and Natives, as will be observed from Table 2[X], appear to have been restricted in a similar manner.

The figures for European education make interesting comparison. In 1910/11 the annual expenditure on European education was £102,504 (Table 2)[X] and in 1924/25 this had increased to £538,282 (27), representing a relative increase of 525% and an absolute increase of £435,778 per annum (compared to the £20,922 per annum on Indian education). The contribution from provincial resources is also revealing. If provincial contribution is taken to be roughly fifty per cent (i.e. £ for £), then in 1924/25 the Province of Natal advanced £269,141 towards European education as against £13,337 towards Indian education. This works out to a ratio of 20 to 1 (28). From Table 3[XX] it would be seen that the ratio of annual expenditure on Indian and European education in 1910/11 was 1 : 19; and in 1924/25 it was 1 : 20. The ratio of expenditure is an indication of the racial standards of education in Natal, of the extent to which Indian education was permitted to lag behind the education of the children of the dominant race. It should be noted that the Indian and European populations were almost equal numerically in Natal (29).

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27. Report, Prov. Auditor (Natal) - 1924/25.

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	1910/11	1924/25
Expenditure on Coloured Edn...	£ 3,731	£18,387
" " Native " ...	£10,768	£54,312

Taken from the Ntl. Prov. Auditor's Reports.

29. "Indian Life and Labour in Natal" - ed. Prof.H.R. Burrows - Race Relations : Vol.X - No.1. - 1943, p.4.

	1904	1921	1936
Indian..	100,916	141,649	183,661
Eurpn...	97,109	136,838	190,549

[X]See page 457.

[XX]See page 459.

If these figures mean anything at all, then they are indicative of the pursuance of a policy of parsimony and neglect with regard to Indian education. On the funds available for year to year expansion, it would not be unreasonable to conclude that Indian education in these years must have passed through a very stagnant phase in its development. It may even be conjectured whether Indian education had not been put into a straight-jacket by deliberate intent. There is, at least, one piece of evidence to suggest that such an intent did exist in the Provincial Council. In 1924 the Natal Provincial Council passed a resolution recommending the limiting of all future expenditure on Indian education to a fixed sum of £27,000 (30).

These were the days when the memory of Mr. Gandhi's Passive Resistance Campaign of 1913 was still fresh in the minds of men. These were the days when a depression was setting in as an aftermath of war and the Indian became, once again, the scapegoat for the economic evils of the times; the days when the cry of repatriation and compulsory residential and commercial segregation was raised high; when on the climax of agitation the Indian was deprived of the municipal franchise in 1924. Fortunately for Indian education the resolution was not strictly enforced for in the very next year, 1925/26, a sum of £27,918 was spent, and this continued to grow in volume in subsequent years. Indians had been deprived of the

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30. Minutes of Evidence, Ind. Edn. Inquiry Committee(1928); Explanation by Chairman (Mr. Dyson M.E.C.) to South African Indian Federation - p. 306.
Similar reference in a memorandum drawn up by the Agent-General for India for guidance of India's delegates at the 1932 Round Table Conference in South Africa.

parliamentary and provincial franchise. The treatment of Indian education in this period is an instance of what can happen to a people's interests if the sanction of the popular vote cannot be applied to secure redress of their grievances.

The question of the finance of Indian education was suddenly thrust into the forefront and gained considerable publicity only in 1928. This happened during the proceedings of the Provincial Indian Education Inquiry Committee of 1928, under the chairmanship of Mr. J. Dyson, M.E.C.(31). As stated in the beginning this inquiry arose as a result of the Cape Town Agreement of 1927. It was not without some difficulty and tactful manoeuvring on the part of the Rt. Hon. Mr. Srinivasa Sastri, the first Agent-General for the Government of India in South Africa, that the Province instituted the inquiry at all.

In the first place primary and secondary education was the concern of the Province. Yet the Central Government had specifically undertaken in the agreement with the Indian government that it would take steps to have a "commission" appointed to inquire into the condition of Indian education in Natal. Secondly, Natal was in no mood to carry out the obligations undertaken by the Central Government. There was already a widespread feeling among the White population of Natal that in the Cape Town Agreement the Union Government had been generous to the Indian at the expense of, and in the teeth of the opposition of the province most intimately and vitally concerned; that promises or, at all events, virtual promises had been made on behalf of Natal

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31. Report, Ntl. Indian Edn. Inq. Committee (1928) (P.N. 174/1928.

the implementing of which would involve the Province in a policy on which she had not been consulted and of which she disapproved, and in provincial expenditure which she had neither the mind nor the power to bear (32). This feeling found utterance in a Resolution of the Provincial Council on the 10th May, 1927 viewing with "misgivings" the general conditions of the Agreement and "deploring" the fact that the Province most concerned had not been consulted through its Provincial Council on the points of the Agreement which "contemplated a relaxation of existing licensing legislation and the provision of increased education facilities" for Indians - two matters which involved "definite Provincial policy"(33)

When, however, the Inquiry Committee was finally appointed and did start its work in April, 1928 (34), it was a disappointment to the Indian community. The personnel consisted entirely of members of the Provincial Executive and the Provincial Council - the very body responsible for the grave condition of Indian education, and other anti-Indian measures (35). The Indian Agent and the Indian community had hoped for the constitution of an independent body, "able to investigate a technical matter with technical knowledge" and able also to approach the problem on its merits, - "a body untrammelled by past history and future financial responsibility" (36). The action of the Provincial Council was tantamount to the accused sitting in judgment upon himself.

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32. Report, Ntl. In. Edn. Inq. Commttee, 1928 - para. 2.
    Report, Agent for Govt. India, 1927 - para 27.
33. Report, Ind. Edn. Inq. Cmttee, 1928 - para.2 (P.N. 174/1928).
34. Report, Agent for India, 1928 - para. 38.
35. Ibid. : para.37.
    Report, Ind. Edn. Inq. Cmttee,1928 - para.1.
36. Report, Agent for India, 1928 - para.37.

The misgivings of the Indian community with regard to the probable lack of objectivity of the Committee was not exaggerated, as might be observed by the very first remarks in the final Report of the Committee. After stressing at the outset that the investigation was conducted "at the special request" of the Union Government, "arising from the Indian Agreement," and after making reference to the grievance of Natal with regard to the manner in which that Agreement was negotiated, the Report set out in extenso the Resolution of 10th May, 1927. In the next paragraph it betrayed further the spirit in which the inquiry was carried out. The Committee emphasised, "that the request to the Provincial Administration was merely one for an investigation in order that the Government might be informed as to the position of Indian education in this Province."(37). It is not surprising, therefore, that the Report ultimately presented by the Committee reflected in its contents, its omissions and its general tone the defects inherent in the Committee's Constitution (38).

The terms of reference of the inquiry were wide and comprehensive. They were as follows :- (39)

(a) The existing facilities as a whole in town and country areas;

(b) The conditions of service of Indian teachers in Government and Government-aided schools, including salary, promotion, discipline and pension;

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37. Report, Ind. Edn. Inq. Cmttee, 1928 - para.3. (P.N. 174/1928).
38. Report, Agent for India, 1928 - para.37.
39. Report, Ind. Edn. Inq. Cmttee, 1928 - para.1.

(c) The present system of Provincial grants-in-aid, and any change which may be considered to be necessary;

(d) The financial basis of Indian education, having regard to the resources of the Province, the various demands upon them, and the adequacy or otherwise of the existing Union Government subsidies in so far as they affect Indian education.

The emphasis placed upon the financial aspects of the situation will not escape attention. A perusal of the verbatim record of the proceedings would also show that this inquiry was forced to face the issue of finances fully and frankly (40). Indeed, money became the issue of this inquiry.

An interesting consequence of the composition of this Committee was that the Indian community was given a rare opportunity of coming to grips with the provincial authorities, in an open forum, on certain fundamental issues. As the Inquiry proceeded there seemed to be a tacit assumption on the part of the Indian representatives that they were in reality arguing their case before the Provincial Administration itself. The Committee on the other hand, by its aggressive eagerness to defend the policy of the Administration seemed to bear out the correctness of the Indians' assumption. The impression left on one after a perusal of the verbatim record of the proceedings was that in the face of the charges made by the plaintiffs, the judges, finding that they themselves were being charged, could not resist the temptation of frequently vacating the judicial bench in order to enter the

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40. These records are not yet available to the general public; they were consulted at the offices of the Natal Provincial Council, Pietermaritzburg, through the kind courtesy of the Provincial Secretary. Portions of the proceedings were reported in the Press.

contest as eloquent defendants of their own doings.

However disappointing the final Report might have been in its high degree of condensation, omissions and other defects, the inquiry itself was valuable for the discovery and publication, in the daily press, of the true facts concerning Indian education. It is because of the searching nature of the Inquiry and the entire success of the Indians in establishing a case for improved educational facilities that this Inquiry forms an important landmark in the history of Indian education.

The historical importance of and the public interest in the Inquiry was increased by the fact that Mr. Sastri, the Indian Agent, himself appeared before the Committee and submitted himself to a cross-examination. In the succeeding paragraphs of this chapter reference will be made to his great contribution to the cause of Indian education. Besides Mr. Sastri there was Mr. Kailas P. Kichlu, M.A., an Indian educational expert deputed by the Government of India (41) in terms of the Agreement, "to assist" in the inquiry (42). Mr. Kichlu was a Deputy Director of Public Instruction, United Provinces of Agra and Oudh, and Vice-Chancellor of the University of Agra. He was assisted by Miss C. Gordon, B.Ed., an Englishwoman who was Professor of Kindergarten at the Teachers' Training College, Saidapet, Madras (41).

Mr. Kichlu, though not a member of the Inquiry

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41. Report, Ind. Edn. Inq. Cmttee, 1928 - Paras. 4,11.
Report, Agent for India (1928) - Para. 37.
42. Part III - "Upliftment" - Para. 2(a).

Committee, was permitted to question witnesses (43). By skilful interrogation he helped Indian witnesses to establish their points more effectively, or through them demolished a point scored by the superiorly equipped European members of the Committee. His great contribution was, however, a detailed and comprehensive memorandum on the position of Indian education in Natal, which was drawn up after a first-hand study. He toured all the localities where any large number of Indians had settled and visited a great many Indian schools. However, there is no record of Mr. Kichlu being cross-examined on his memorandum. His specific recommendations, which were numerous, were neither condemned nor discussed, nor even referred to the Education Department with the authority of the Committee's approval (44). The facts presented in Mr. Kichlu's memorandum were a devastating indictment of the Natal Provincial Administration's treatment of Indian education.

Turn now to a consideration of the achievments of this Inquiry in so far as the financial aspects of Indian education are concerned. The financial policy pursued between 1910/11 and 1924/25 was, as already stated, one of restriction or, at the very best, one of rigid economy not much removed from restriction. The present Inquiry focussed attention on four main issues, namely,

(a) the alleged obligation of the Provincial Administration, under the Provincial Subsidies Act, 1925 (i.e. the per caput

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43. Report, Agent for India (1928) - Para.38.
44. Letter : Mr. Sastri to Dr. Malan (Minister of Interior) - 24 April, 1928. (Indian Agency Files).

educational subsidy system) to spend on each section of the school-going population not less than the amount earned by that section as a subsidy from the Central Government;

(b) the alleged violation of that obligation, by the Provincial Administration in that it had spent less on Indian education than was earned by way of subsidy on Indian children at school;

(c) the practice of racial discrimination by the Administration in that
(i) it was only on Indian education, of the three racial groups governed by the provisions of the Subsidies Act, that less was spent than was earned by way of subsidy;
(ii) while additional contributions were made towards the expenditure on European and Coloured education from the local revenue derived from provincial taxation, similar treatment was not accorded to Indian education.

(d) the practice of racial discrimination by the Central Government itself in the provision of differential rates of subsidy for European and Non-Europeans, the one very much less than the other, and the consequent inadequacy of government subsidy to meet the "reasonable" needs of Indian education.

The first three charges were made against the Provincial Administration, and they deal with the allocation of monies towards the education of the different racial groups; they deal with the total provincial revenue, derived from government subsidies and local taxation. They deal with the allocation of monies over which the Provincial Councils had full control. The first three issues are very closely linked together. The last issue, the question of the actual rate of per caput subsidy, while no doubt affecting the total amounts available for the education of each racial group, is an independent charge of racial discrimination against the Central Government. The first three issues are essentially a charge of racial discrimination against

the Provincial Government, and will be treated as if one issue with so many different aspects.

The Indian witnesses stated (45) that the Administration had not spent on Indian education the full amount of the subsidy earned from the Central Government on account of the agerage school attendance of Indian children; that generous savings were effected from year to year, which were diverted to the general revenue for other purposes; and that thereby Indian education was deliberately starved of its rightful dues.

The Indian case was supported by the following figures supplied by Mr. Kichlu in his memorandum(46):-

Gross Recurrent
Expenditure on Indian Education

Year.	Subsidy.	Actual Expenditure.	Savings on Subsidy.
1925/26	£36,179. 0. 9d.	£27,918. 0. 0d.	£8,261. 0. 3d.
1926/27	£38,985.19. 8d.	£28,429. 5. 1d.	£10,556.14. 7d.
1927/28[x]	£39,375. 0. 0d.	£30,977. 0. 0d.	£8,398. 0. 0d.

[x] Estimated

It was estimated, further, that in the current financial year, 1928/29, a sum of £9,000 would be saved unless the budget estimates for that year were raised to a figure not less than the amount of the subsidy to be received for that year, and the amount so provided was actually spent in that year on Indian education (46). The facts showed that from 21 to 27 per cent of the

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45. Kichlu's Memorandum on Ind. Edn. in Ntl.,1928 } Paras. 52-62.
Report, Agent for India (1928) : Para.39.
Evidence of Mr. Sastri : See "Sastri Speaks" op. cit. - pp. 224, 229, 230.
Evidence, Ntl. Ind. Congress - See Minutes of Evidence of Inq. Comittee - p. 480 ff.
Report, Ind. Edn. Inq. Ctee (1928) - Para.7.(P.N.174/1928).

46. Kichlu's Memo. (1928) - Paras. 53,54.
The expenditure does not include expenses of Administration, which have been charged to European edn.; on the other hand, the fees paid by Indian children have not been deducted.

subsidy earned by Indian children was saved every year. The Superintendent of Education, also, appears to have made an acknowledgment that the expenditure on Indian education did not represent the full amount of the subsidy accruing to the Administration on the basis of the number of Indian purpils (47).

A comparison was then made with European and Coloured education, and the following figures were adduced (48):-

(A)

Gross Recurrent Expenditure On

(i)
European Education

Year.	Subsidy.	Actual Expenditure.	Excess Over Subsidy.
1925/26	£342,150.	£440,936.	£98,786.
1926/27	£350,573	£420,701	£70,128

(ii)
Coloured Education

1925/26	£8,703	£20,278	£11,575
1926/27	£8,679	£20,069	£11,390

(B)

Average Cost Per Unit of Average Attendance (49)

	U.G. Subsidy	Unit Cost 1925/26	Unit Cost 1926/27
European Edn:			
Govt. School..	£16. 7. 6.	£21. 4. 0.97	£21.16. 10.9
Govt.-aided School.....	£5. 0. 0.	£6. 2. 4.5	£5. 1. 11.3
Coloured Edn:			
All Schools...	£5. 5. 0.	£13. 2. 1.97	£13. 3. 3.1
Indian Edn:			
All Schools...	£5. 5. 0.	£4. 0. 4.25	£3.16. 10.35

It will be observed that much more was spent

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47. Kichlu's Memo. (1928) - Para.54.
48. Ibid : Para.53.
49. Ibid : Para.55.
Mr. Kichlu based his calculations upon the information available in the Prov. Auditor's Reports.

than was received as subsidy on European and Coloured education. It is also interesting to note that Coloured education, which the Central Government treated in the same manner as Indian education, was treated very much more favourably than Indian education by the Provincial Government. The additional contributions to European and Coloured education must have come from the savings on the subsidy earned by Indian education and from the own resources of the Province. It would seem that a clear case of racial discrimination had been established in the allocation of funds for education; of financial starvation of Indian education and the generous assistance of European and Coloured education.

In alleging that the Provincial Administration was under an obligation to spend all the subsidy earned by Indian children on Indian education, the Indians had raised a contentious point most vigorously challenged by the members of the Inquiry Committee as a charge of malafides on the part of the Administration. The Committee held that, by law, the Provincial Council was not obliged to spend the full amount of the subsidy, or any part of it, on the education of any particular community, or even at all on education; that nothing could have prevented the Council from disposing of the amount as seemed proper to it (50). Referring to this point in its Final Report, the Committee stated that the Provincial Council had not exceeded its powers "in allocating a smaller expenditure to the Indian section

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50. Sastri to Dr. Malan (Minister of Interior) - 24 April, 1928. (Indian Agency Files).

of education than that earned by its school-going children" (51).

On strictly legalistic grounds the Administrations's contention appears to have been sustainable. Mr. Sastri had ascertained from Mr. Havenga, the Honourable Minister of Finance, that the Provincial Council's action was well within the law, and Mr. Sastri even disclosed this before the Inquiry Committee (52). It has been held that the capitation grant on pupils at school was merely a means of determining the amount of a subsidy towards the general expenditure of each Province (53). In other words there was, strictly speaking, only a general subsidy, a grant-in-aid to the Provinces to enable them to carry out their several functions at a certain level of efficiency. It so happened that education was the major function of the provinces accounting for approximately two-thirds of the total provincial expenditure on all services between 1911/12 to 1939/40 (54). There were other minor subsidies which went to make up the general subsidy, as for instance, the special subsidy of £125,000. The calculation of the general subsidy having been made item by item, the total amount was then placed in the hands of the Province. But there was no stipulation in the Act as to how the general subsidy should be spent; there were no special conditions attaching to the grant-in-aid (55). That was a matter left to the

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51. Report, Ind. Edn. Inq. Cmtee (1928) - Para.7. (P.N.174/1928).
52. "Sastri Speaks" - op. cit. - p.225.
53. Report, Prov. Financial Resources Ctee (1944) - "Corbett Committee" - Para.470. (U.G. 9/1944)
54. Bulletin Edn. Statistics : p.63 - Sect.1 - para.2.
55. Ibid ; p.7 - para.2.

discretion of the Provinces. Thus, though the major proportion of the general subsidy was calculated on the presumptive needs of education, yet no part of the subsidy was set aside for education as such.

It should be mentioned, however, that in the original Act, No. 46 of 1925, there was a clause on which a case could have been built that the education subsidy was meant to be used on education. In respect of European pupils at State-aided schools a per caput grant was fixed at £5 by Section 2(2)(d), but "restricted the grant to schools which were aided by the Province to an extent of not less than nine-tenths of the grant provided by the Act" (56). This stipulated that a certain proportion of the aided school capitation grant must be spent on an aided school. But by subsequent legislation (Act. No. 31 of 1926, Section I) this restriction was altered by a proviso that "in the aggregate the grants under this item shall not exceed by more than one-ninth the aggregate amount of the aid given by the Province" (56). This left to the Province discretion as to the amount of assistance to be given to any particular school (56). The Natal Indian Congress attempted to establish the legal obligation of the Province by quoting these clauses, and other evidence as to the purpose of the ordinary subsidies under the Act (57). While the legal duel made interesting reading, it is doubtful whether they had succeeded in establishing

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56. See also Report, Prov. Fin. Resources Committee (1944) (Corbett) - Para.492.
57. Evidence, Ntl. Ind. Congress : Minutes of Evidence of Inq. Committee (1928) : p.480 ff.

their point (57).

But neither Mr. Sastri nor Mr. Kichlu attempted to lay emphasis on a legalistic interpretation of the Act. Mr. Kichlu stated in his memorandum (58) that from a moral and political standpoint the purpose and destination of the per caput subsidy could be ascertained "beyond the shadow of a doubt". Mr. Sastri's stand was similar. His comment is contained in a letter to the Hon. Minister of the Interior. He wrote (59):-

> "This may be good defence against a charge before a court of criminal misappropriation. But that it was inequitable in itself and a clear transgression of the intention of the law would be clear to any one who reads the speech made by Mr. Havenga during the passage of the Provincial Subsidies Act."

While the Committee tried to hedge behind a legal defence, the Indian case was pressed largely on the point of the moral and political obligation of the Province in terms of the intention of the law. Mr. Sastri was also confronted with this legal defence in the course of his cross-examination by the Committee. He countered by saying that, it could not be said that although the statute failed to stipulate those amounts should all be spent on education, that there should not be a parity maintained between the monies received for these purposes and the money spent (60). He maintained that the fact that these subsidies had been regulated according to the number of pupils in schools, and that there was a further differentiation made between a European child and an Indian child, shewed that in the

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58. Kichlu's Memo : Para.58.
59. Sastri to Dr. Malan) 24 Apr.,1928 (Ind. Agency Files)
60. "Sastri Speaks", op. cit., - p.229.

mind of those who had framed the subsidy there was some proportion between the amount received in that way and the amount to be spent in that way (61).

This line of argument was supported by documentary evidence relating to the basis of the per caput subsidy system adopted under Act 46 of 1925. The per capita grants were based upon the recommendations of the Provincial Finances Commission of 1922, generally known as the Baxter Commission. In paragraph 484 of its report the Commission definitely recommended, "that a grant-in-aid of education be paid by the Union Government and that its amount should be determined by the number of pupils in average attendance" (62). The Education Administration Commission subsequently endorsed the recommendations of the Baxter Commission (63), and threw upon the Union Government the responsibility of financing primary and secondary education from the age of seven to fifteen years, up to a "reasonable" standard (64). The capitation grants indicated what should be the financial responsibility of the Union Government (64).

To indicate further that the legislation intended that the capitation grant should all be spent so as to cover the "reasonable needs" of European, Coloured and Indian education, the second-reading speech made by Mr. Havenga, the Honourable Minister of Finance during the passage of the Subsidies Bill

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61. "Sastri Speaks" - op. cit. - p.230.
62. Secondary Source : Report, Prov. Fin. Resources Cttee. (1944) - (Corbett Cttee.) - Paras.470,471,472.
Union Year Book No.8 - p.754 (quoted by Ntl.Ind.Cong.
63. Report, Prov. Fin. Resources Cttee.(1944) - "Corbett" - U.G. 9/1944 - Para.470.
64. Ibid : Para.472.
Union Year Book - No.8 - p.754.
Malherbe,E.G., op.cit. - p.428.
Kichlu's Memo : Para.59.

(No. 46/1925) was quoted. Inter alia, Mr. Havenga said (65):-

"I accept, on behalf of the Government generally the obligation of its fair share of the means of carrying on provincial services, and the Government finds itself in accord with the opinion expressed by the Commission over which the Hon. member for Cape Town (Central)(Mr. Jagger) presided, and subsequently endorsed by the Baxter Commission, namely, that services partly of a local and partly of a national interest should be paid for, partly by the local and partly by the Central Government. That was the basis laid down by the two previous commissions, and I accepted it as the basis of this settlement. That view has been kept prominently in mind in recasting the financial relations under the present Bill. We recognise that the greater importance of education, from a national point of view, makes that service pre-eminently one of which the Central Government can assume a definite liability. We must remember that if the Central Government did not recognise its obligations the objection could always be aimed at it that it was not fulfilling its national obligations in regard to education. Here we felt that we had a greater responsibility than in regard to other service. We propose, therefore, under the Bill, to change from the pound to pound principle - or the shadow of it, for that is all that is left - and to substitute for it a subsidy based on attendance.

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Coming to the details of the Bill, Clause 2 deals with the grants to the provinces in respect of European and Coloured children. The grants are those which were arrived at, in the first place, by the Baxter commission and subsequently endorsed by the Education Administration Commission. These grants were deemed by these two commissions to cover what was considered to be the reasonable cost of education, for the whole of the provinces, and what should be the responsibility of the Union Government.....The principle adopted was that if any province would wish to embark on any more expensive or generous scheme of education, it might do so, and the taxpayer will have to pay for it."

In the face of all this evidence, and the proved partiality towards European and Coloured education, the legal defence did not appear to be an adequate defence. Mr. Kichlu urged that if any part of the subsidy amount meant for the children of one community was diverted to

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65. Hansard, Assembly Debates : Vol.14 - Col.3034 - 3060 - 11th May, 1925.

other channels, then to that extent the education of that community was allowed to fall below what the Union Government itself regarded as a reasonable standard (66). It was held that the Provincial Administration, which was both guardian of all the communities under its rule and agent for the Union Government in this respect, could not escape responsibility for this abuse (67).

In spending more than the subsidy earned on European and Coloured education, the Administration had not only attained the reasonable standard but had gone beyond to realise a generous standard (67). For this purpose it had drawn freely upon the general revenues of the Province to which all classes, including Indians, contributed by way of direct and indirect taxation. Contrary to popular belief it was shown that Natal did not contribute a single penny from its own coffers towards the cost of Indian education.

Indeed, in the following statement of the Baxter Commission there is a suggestion that European education was developed at the expense of the Non-European education (68):-

> "When it is considered that the expenditure upon the education of Native and Coloured children is admittedly inadequate, it is impossible to come to any other conclusion than that the expenditure upon European education is too high."

While this observation was made of South Africa as a whole, and with specific reference to Natives and Coloureds, it is applicable to Natal and the condition

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66. Kichlu Memo. - Para.61.
67. Ibid : - Para.62.
"Sastri Speaks", op.cit. p.229.
68. Secondary Source : Kichlu Memo : Para.62 (Baxter Commission - Para.144).

of Indian education.

Further evidence of racial discrimination and neglect of Indian education was led with regard to capital expenditure on school, buildings, hostels, headmasters' houses, improvements to playgrounds and so on. During the seventeen years between 1910/11 and 1926/27 the Natal Provincial Administration had incurred a total capital expenditure of £919,449 on these services for all three Sections of the community (excluding the Native section for reasons already stated)(69). Now over the same period an expenditure of £891,211 was incurred on Government European Schools, against £19,158 on Government Indian Schools, and £9,080 on Government Coloured Schools (69). In 1927 there were nine Government Indian schools, and two of these were badly housed in hired buildings (70). With regard to the Government-aided Indian school buildings, it will suffice to state at this stage, there were in 1927 thirty-nine such schools, costing approximately £22,755 (71). Over the same period of seventeen years the Administration had contributed all together £3,685 in building grants towards the erection of aided schools for Indian children, and these amounts have been incorporated in the annual recurrent expenditure, on which the Province received a government subsidy (71). It has been said that while building grants were applicable to Indian schools but that in practice they

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69. Report, Prov. Auditor (Ntl.) 1926/27 : Schedule of Capital Expenditure 1910/11 - 1926/27.
Kichlu, in para.56, gives a figure of £903,779, probably limiting his calculation to schools and hostels.
See also Table 7 in this chapter.
70. Kichlu's Memo : Para.57.
71. Ibid : Para.57 and Appendix K.

were seldom given (72).

To return to the duel between the Inquiry Committee and the Indian representatives. It will be recalled that the Committee rebutted the charge of violation of the Subsidies Act of 1925 by taking refuge under a strict legal interpretation of the law. The Indians attempted to dislodge them by raising the issue to the plane of fundamental human rights, to the plane of moral and political obligations. The Committee had defended the right to spend less than the amount received, but it had also to explain the reasons that led the Administration to spend much more than received on European and Coloured education; the reason for not imposing similar disabilities on European and Coloured education, for the discrimination against Indians.

It may be stated at once that there was no reason given at all during the Inquiry for spending the full amount of the subsidy on Europeans and Coloureds, and a lesser amount than the subsidy on Indians. A justification was, however, attempted for the excess over the subsidy on European education. Here again, it must be mentioned that the special treatment of the Coloureds was not explained. Now the additional contribution from provincial funds towards European education was explained in this way: since Indians did not contribute in income tax

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72. Kichlu Memo : Summary of Rules regarding Grants to G/A Schools - Appendix G - Section III.

to the same extent as the Europeans (73); since they did not contribute more than one-fifth of the general revenues, therefore, they could not expect the same treatment as Europeans; the additional contribution to European education was "more than provided by the Europeans" (74). It was suggested that when the use made by Indians of the roads and hospitals were taken into account, it would be found that the Administration was spending "more than the grant" on the Indian population (this expresses the view that the educational subsidy was part of a general subsidy).(74a). The general principle that emerged from this way of thinking was that each section of the population was entitled to state services in direct proportion to the contribution in taxes by that section.

The Indian answer to these arguments was that Indians contributed in direct and indirect taxation; that Indians were not exempt from provincial taxation, and that they were taxed to the maximum taxable capacity (74a). Because of this retort the Committee began to lay emphasis on the gross amounts actually paid in taxation. The wealthier European section naturally paid more in taxation. Mr. Kichlu very cleverly attacked the principle of action that was derived from the unequal monetary contributions of Indian and European, and exposed the inconsistency of the argument in a manner that is worth recording.

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73. Minutes of Evidence - Ntl. Ind. Edn. Inq. Cttee (1928) pp. 231 ff. (Provincial Council Records.
74. "Sastri Speaks" - op. cit. - Mr.Clarkson to Mr.Sastri p.230.
74a. Minutes of Evidence, Ntl. Ind. Edn. Inq. Cttee.(1928) pp. 231 ff.

In the cross-examination of an Indian witness from Newcastle the Committee had scored this very point (74a). Mr. Kichlu then cross-examined the Indian witness as follows (74a):-

Kichlu : Do the European schools (which are Government Schools) contain only children of parents who are above the taxable minimum?

Witness : No, they contain all the children of school-going age.

Kichlu : Do the poorer sections of the European community have the same privileges of being educated there as the children of parents who are rich?

Witness : So far as I am aware that is the case.

The racialistic character of the differential treatment of Indians was laid bare. This way of thinking in racial compartments is a feature of South African tradition, and it is not surprising that the concept of a single South African nation or society was conspicuously absent. Mr. Sastri's observations and comments on this point of view are interesting and full of significance even for the present times, when similar arguments are being used to counter the Indian demand for improved amenities. To quote (75):-

> ".....what are called the elements of social well-being such as education, good sanitation and good laws, equal administration of justice and so forth, must be made the common property of all. They cannot be withheld.....the ordinary elements of social well-being ought not to be measured out to people. The general revenues of a country are the creation of a system of taxation to which all people contribute. Every one that contributes to the general revenues of the Province is entitled to a share of these elements of social well-being. The poor man may contribute a little to the State; he contributes according to his capacity. He contributes indirectly perhaps more than directly as a consumer of articles that are

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74a. Minutes of Evidence, Ntl. Ind. Edn. Inq. Cttee.(1928 pp. 231 ff.

75. "Sastri Speaks" - op.cit. - pp.227 - 228.

taxed at ports. But he does contribute when he contributes indirectly. You never ask in creating schools or in creating hospitals: How much does this locality pay, or how much do these people pay by way of taxation. You do what you can irrespective of that. We do not differentiate usually on the ground that a community pays or does not pay. The community is taxed to the utmost capacity, and whatever might be said about the amounts contributed by the respective communities here, I believe it will be maintained that there is good ground for believing that the Indian community does not escape taxation unduly. The taxable capacity of the Indian community is perhaps somewhat inferior, but they are paying their share, and to divide the amounts expended on education into certain portions according to the taxes is to evolve a novel principle. I don't think it is done. You don't say that the Jews on the whole pay so much in taxation, and therefore they shall have so many schools. I think if you accept the Indian community under this Upliftment Clause as a part of the permanent population here for whom you are bound to do as much as you can -- I don't say as much as they deserve -- the question of how much they pay in the way of taxes ought (not) to be taken into consideration. That is my point. They may not pay as much as the European community pays, but that does not mean that they should receive less education, or that their sanitary needs should be less cared for, or that they should be allowed to become victims of disease more than the others."

The proceedings of the Inquiry Committee had been followed closely by the Press. To the credit of the European Press of the day - "Cape Times", "Natal Witness" and "Natal Advertiser" - it should be stated that the disclosure of the misuse of the Union Government's subsidy brought down upon the Natal Provincial Administration their strictures (76). Even the "Natal Mercury" (which had described the whole inquiry as "unnecessary") made no attempt to defend the attitude of the Administration on this point, but admitted that here the Indian had a "distinct grievance" (76).

The Committee was at last forced to admit,

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76. Report, Agent for India (1928) - para.39.

during the proceedings, that because "a political fight was going on between Indian and European," the Natal Provincial Council took a deliberate decision to limit Indian education (77). In the Final Report the true explanation for the differential treatment of Indian education was set out. The Committee recorded (78) that a restrictive policy in regard to Indian education had been pursued by the Provincial Council up to that time, and was of the opinion "that in so doing the Council was interpreting the views of the general community"; that this policy "existed prior to Provincial Subsidies Act, 1925," and had "in no way been affected by that legislation" Such an admission was a moral victory for the Indian community. The admission was followed by a recommendation that in future the total amount of the Indian educational subsidy should be allocated to that service (79). But this tacit admission of past transgression was not followed by a promise of restitution (80).

It was stated in the opening paragraph of this chapter that the course of Indian education had been influenced by racial and politico-economic considerations. The admission was finally made by the authorities themselves. In a speech (81) at the laying of the foundation stone of Sastri College, Durban, Mr. Sastri expressed a hope that never again would one of the ways of showing political animosity be the curtailment of the funds for children's education, for they surely were innocent and may not be punished for the real or fancied sins of their parents.

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77. "Sastri Speaks" - op.cit. - p.225.
78. Report, Ntl. Ind. Edn. Inq. Cmttee (1928) - para.7. See also Minutes of Evidence Inq. Cmttee (1928) - pp.450 ff.
79. Ibid : para. 9.
80. Sastri to Dr. Malan (Min.of Interior) 24 Apr.,1928 (Indian Agency Files).
81. "Sastri Speaks" - op.cit. - p.119 : 24 Aug.,1928.

The state of affairs disclosed in this Inquiry seems to support the Indian view (82) that the provision of adequate housing, civic amenities, educational facilities and other services is essentially a "function of the ballot box" under a parliamentary system of government. It serves to illustrate the point that "all Indian education is Indian politics", and indicates the close relation between progress in education and the possession of the franchise.

In the course of the Inquiry the Committee considered the source from which additional funds might be secured for bringing about any improvements in Indian education that might be necessary. It considered the possibility of imposing some form of special taxation on the Indian community for educational purposes, as it was opposed to any increase in the general taxation of the Province (83). Such a principle was actually being applied in the case of Native education, where the development of services for Natives was financed from the Native Development Fund created out of the revenue derived from Native taxation (84). Mr. Sastri strongly opposed the suggestion (85). To have accepted the principle would have contradicted the integration ideals of the "upliftment clause" of the Cape Town Agreement. On being asked to interpret the "Uplift Clause", as the author of the Clause, this is what Mr. Sastri

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82. Memo by Ntl. Ind. Congress on "Civic Status" to the Commission on Ntl. Ind. Affairs, 1944. (Natal Judicial Commission under Justice F. N. Broome).
83. Report, Ntl. Ind. Edn. Inq. Cmttee (1928) - para.9. (P.N. 174/1928).
84. Report, Prov. Financl. Resources Cmttee (1944) - (Corbett Committee) - para.587 - 600. U.G. 9/1944.
85. "Sastri Speaks" - op.cit. - pp. 227 - 229.

said (86):-

> "Interpreted broadly, it would mean that the communal way of looking at these questions should be dropped; that is to say, that in considering what should be done for a community you must not ask: Who are they, which community do they belong to, what is their complexion, and so forth? But you must consider their capacity to develop by measures of upliftment, and whatever they can turn to their advantage must be afforded to them. That is to say, take education, with which we are primarily concerned at the moment. In considering how much education an individual should receive, the question should not be asked: What community does he belong to, where does he come from, how much tax he pays, but what is his capacity? How much education is he capable of receiving and turning to the advantage of the community? In other words, he must be made an efficient member of the entire community, as efficient as he can be made. Education and other facilities must be afforded to him in the measure that will draw out of him the best of which he is capable, to make him a most useful member of the community. That, it seems to me, is the ideal which generally is held up for the Government, and the Union Government said that they would be actuated by that ideal in dealing with the Indian community. That however, as I said, is the goal.....It is not, therefore, a goal which is to be immediately reached, the contemplation of which should paralyse us, but it merely means that (by) the common rule of civilised Governments, that they should make no distinction between elements of their population, but that they should deal with all alike impartially as their capacities warrant, is the ideal which is in this paragraph. It is clearly visualised as the goal of effort."

Whether because of the force of Mr. Sastri's argument or some other reason, in any case, the Committee dropped the idea as being "impracticable" (87).

The Committee then turned its attention to the question of the adequacy of the Government's per caput subsidy for Indian children. This was a point on which the Committee had the full support of the Indian representatives (88). It was one of the basic issues in the disabilities of Indian education.

Prior to the Subsidies Act of 1925 the Central

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86. "Sastri Speaks" - op.cit. p.220.
87. Report, Ntl. Ind. Edn. Inq. Cttee. (1928) - para.9.
88. Kichlu's Memo : para.64.

Government, under the £ for £ subsidy system, made no statutory distinction in the financial assistance given to European and Indian education. It was open to the Province to spend as much on each Indian child as on each European child, and claim a subsidy on the basis laid down in the law. But the Act of 1925, in adopting a capitation grant of £16.17. 6d. per European child against £5. 5. Od. per Indian and Coloured child, made a statutory distinction between European and Indian. The differentiation was very unfavourable to the Indian, for the capitation grant of the Indian child was only 31% of the grant to the European child. Since the Provinces depended on Union subsidy to the extent of almost two-thirds to carry on the educational services, it meant the relegation of Indian education to a position of inferiority to European education. It seriously limited the extent to which Indian education might be developed. It set a standard to which successive authorities became accustomed, and made any advance psychologically difficult. For instance, expenditure in the Transvaal which was £11. 5. 6d. in 1921/22 had risen to £11. 7. 4d. only in 1940/41 (89). Racial discrimination now rested with the Central Government. The ratesof the capitation grants fixed the proportional responsibility acceptable to the Union Government for its European and Indian subjects.

It is true that the rates of subsidy were

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89. Report, Prov. Finan. Resources Cttee (1944) - para.486.

recommended by the Baxter Commission, and that these rates were arrived at by examining the actual rates of expenditure by each Province at that time (i.e. 1921-1922). At that time Transvaal was spending £11. 5. 6d. per Coloured and Asiatic child (89); Natal spent £6.10. 1½d. per Indian child in a Government school, and £2.14.11½d. in an aided school (90). But it would appear that the Baxter Commission's recommendation was designed on a scale to meet rising expenditure on Indian and Coloured education (91). In fixing the subsidy at £5. 5. Od. in the Act the Transvaal, at least, was penalised for its greater liberality. In so far as Natal is concerned, the expenditure on Indian education at that time was artificially restricted, and this artificial standard was adopted as a "reasonable" standard. Undoubtedly similar restrictions had been applied to Coloured education in the Cape Province. The situation then is : the Provinces started racial discrimination and the Central Government perpetuated it. This was quite in consonance with the doctrine of "White Supremacy" and the general policy of segregation - the relegation of Non-Europeans to an inferior status permanently.

At the Inquiry of 1928 a strong case was made out for an increased capitation grant, for it was obvious that it was not possible to do for the Indian child on £5. 5. Od. what was being done for the European child on £16. 7. 6d. Mr. Kichlu showed that the nett unit cost (including all charges) in a Government Indian school was £7. 5. 6d. in 1926/27, and £2.16. 5d. in an aided Indian school. (92). The rate of grant for

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90. Calculated from data in the 1921 Report of Supt. of Education.
91. Report, Prov. Finan. Resources Cttee. (1944) - para.486 (Referring to para.533 of Baxter Report).
92. Kichlu Memo : paras. 63,64.

aided Indian schools was fixed by the Administration at £2.10. Od. per pupil (92a). The Central Government subsidy being only £5. 5. Od. per child in average attendance, it was evident that the higher expenditure on the Government school was incurred at the expense of the Aided school. The bulk of the Indian schools were Aided schools and the greater part of the children were housed in just these schools. It was impossible to achieve on £2.10. Od. even that "reasonable" standard for which the subsidy of £5. 5. Od. was designed.

Now with the signing of the Cape Town Agreement a new situation had arisen, calling for a revaluation of what would be an adequate and reasonable standard of education for Indians. The Union Government had accepted the principle of uplifting the permanent section of the Indian population to Western standards of living. Mr. Kichlu urged (92a) that since the Union Government had accepted a "definite liability" for financing primary and secondary education up to a "reasonable" standard (which would be Western standards), it should increase the rate of subsidy. The Government had undertaken that the Indian population would not be "allowed to lag behind other sections of the people". The Inquiry Committee also spoke of "abnormal demands" which had arisen as the result of the Agreement (93), and pointed out that the mere continuance of the present subsidy would leave no funds for any proposed extension. It appears that the Natal Provincial Executive had attempted to get an

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92a. Kichlu's Memo ¶ para.64. See also Report, Prov. Prov. Finan. Resources Cttee (1944) - para. 470,474.
93. Report, Ntl. Ind. Edn. Inq. Cttee (1928) - para.9.

assurances from the Union Government that more money would be granted for additional expenditure, even before the Committee had started its work (94). At that stage it hardly seemed proper for Natal to make the request as it had been effecting generous savings on the subsidy even as then constituted. But there was no doubt that future progress depended on an increased subsidy.

For immediate purposes the Committee satisfied itself with a recommendation (95) that the Union Government should meet the financial obligations that would ensue, by providing that the subsidy for this abnormal increase of Indian children should be granted year by year in respect of the current year's increased attendance, for such period as the anticipated annual increase should continue, instead of the deferred system that prevailed then. Under the "deferred system" to which reference was made, the subsidy for the current financial year was calculated on the average attendance up to 31st December of the previous year; thus the expected funds were always based on an old situation. As the ~~emolument~~ enrolment for any one year was higher than that of the previous calendar year, the effective subsidy was actually less than £5. 5. 0d.

To illustrate this point consider the

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94. Kichlu to Sastri : 20 Feb., 1928 (Indian Agency Files).
95. Report, Natal In. Edn. Inq. Committee : para.9.

figures (95a):-

1. Number of Non-European pupils other than Natives in average attendance in the Calendar Year ended 31st December, 1924..... 8,459.

2. U.G. Subsidy received by Province for financial year 1925/26.
   8549 X £5. 5. 0d..... £44,882. 5. 0d.

3. Units receiving education in financial year 1925/26.
   Coloured 1,771
   Indian 7,362 ..... 9.133.

4. Effective Subsidy for 1925/26..... £4.18. 3.4d.

5. Unit cost of Indian pupils 1925/26
   Government Schools..... £7. 9. 0d.
   Govt-aided Schools..... £2.18.11d.

If Natal had been prepared to draw upon the provincial funds to meet the needs of an expanding system, and waited to be compensated partly a year later, there would have been no need to place such emphasis on this arrangement - an arrangement involving the audit checks which the capitation system required; and it was likely to be used as a lever for requesting similar concessions for other sections, which would have reduced the system to chaos. The subsidy system undoubtedly was ineffective for meeting an expanding situation, and tended to act as a brake on progress. But only so long as the Province expected to limit the total expenditure on education to just the amount of the educational subsidy received. It never was the intention of the Baxter Commission or the Union Government that the capitation grant should cover the responsibility of both the Union Government and the Province. It was a grant-in-aid of education to the Province and the Province was expected

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95a. Report, Prov. Auditor (Natal) : 1925/26 - pp. 2L, 35, 36 and 53 and as worked out by Mr. Kichlu in his Memorandum (1928) - p.26.

to bear part of the cost of education (96). That was also the principle of the £ for £ subsidy. Yet the Committee's main financial recommendation sought to do just this thing. The recommendation was only a modification of the method of payment of the subsidy and would have granted only minor relief. In the case of European and Coloured education this disadvantage was overcome by additional Provincial contributions, precisely the method suggested here. It would seem that the only point gained by the Indians at this stage was to secure the acceptance of the principle that the full amount of the subsidy should be spent on Indian education.

The same tendency appears to have been at work in the recommendations of the Committee with regard to capital expenditure. The Committee recommended (97) that the question of the funds then in hand belonging to the Indian Immigration Trust Board should be explored with a view to ascertaining whether those funds could not be made available for the purpose of forming a <u>special</u> capital fund for the erection of Government Indian schools, and, in special circumstances, for the improvement of existing Aided schools; and, further, that representations should be made to the Union Government urging that the necessary action, legislative or otherwise be taken to give immediate effect to that proposal. In this way the Administration would have avoided bearing the cost of capital expenditure from on

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96. Report, Prov. Finan. Resources Cttee (1944) - paras. 471,472,474.
97. Ibid : para.10.

Indian education, and an acceptance of this principle would have been contrary to existing practice. Monies for capital expenditure were advanced on a long-term loan basis by the Central Government. It may be stated here that both recommendations to the Union Government - modification of method of subsidy payments and the use of Indian Immigration Trust Board funds for capital works - have not been realised to this date.

Consider now the fortunes of Indian education subsequent to the findings and recommendations of this Inquiry in 1928. From an examination of TABLE 4[x] it will be observed that for some years yet the recommendation to spend all the subsidy had not been carried out. From 1928/29 to 1938/39 amounts varying from £1,457 to £12,964 were saved from the subsidy and absorbed in the general revenues. The regularity of the savings trend was broken in two years, 1929/30 and 1934/35, when additional contributions of £2,705 and £183 respectively were made by the Administration. On the other hand, large amounts in excess of the subsidy continued to be spent on European and Coloured education. For instance, the position in 1930/31 and 1935/36 and 1938/39 was as follows (98):-

Year.	Nett Expenditure	U.G. Subsidy	Provincial Contribution	Provincial Contrbn. for Indians
		European Education		
	£	£	£	£
1930/31	549,414	353,675	+195,739	-3,657
1935/36	609,055	404,609	+204,446	-1,457
		Coloured Education		
1930/31	26,907	9,358	+17,549	-3,657
1938/39	46,311	19,872	+26,439	-3,920

98. Subsidy calculated from data in the Provincial Auditor's Reports for 1930/31 and 1935/36 - Subsidy for Indians and Coloureds being given. Previous remarks on expenditure apply here.

[x] See page 460.

The figures for unit costs also bear out this point. For example, the figures for 1935/36 were as follows (99):-.

UNIT COST OF EDUCATION
(inclusive of Interest and Redemption)

1935/36.

	European						Coloured			Indian		
	Secondary			Primary			All Schools			All Schools		
	£	s	d	£	s	d	£	s	d	£	s	d
Govt.	29	0	3	24	5	5	20	2	5	10	7	8
Govt-aided	4	3	9	7	6	1	4	15	7	3	8	10
U.G. Subsidy	£16. 7. 6. (Govt.) £5. 0. 0. (Aided)						5	5	0	5	5	0

Now in March, 1936 (100) a Provincial Commission was appointed to enquire into and report upon the system of education - for all races - in Natal. The Report of the Commission was published in February, 1938 (101). In view of the continued discriminatory treatment of Indian education, the Natal Indian Congress (102) and the Natal Indian Teachers' Society (103) drew the attention of the Commission to this state of affairs. This was a matter which had been thrashed out nine years ago, but the Indian grievance still remained. What is even more interesting is that this Commission did not hesitate to employ the identical legal defence of the 1928 Inquiry Committee, that narrow legalistic interpretation of the Subsidies Act, 1925 (104). The Report stated that there was "a fairly widespread misconception that the Union Government subsidy to the Province was earmarked solely for educational purposes", but that the subsidy was a "general-purpose grant". (105)

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99. Report, Prov. Auditor (Ntl) - 1935/36.
100. P.N. 85/1936 - Chairman : F.N.Broome Esq.,K.C.
101. P.N. 60/1938
102. Minutes of Evdnce. Ntl.Edn.Comm.(1936) p.627 ff (unpublished).
103. Ibid : pp.707 ff.
104. Ibid : p.713.
Report, Ntl. Edn. Comm.(1936) - para.474 (P.N.60/1938)
105. Ibid. para.470.

It was not until 1944 that the Indian point of view was sustained by a Union Commission of economists and financial experts. The Central Government appointed a Departmental Committee of three experts in June, 1941 (106) to go into the entire question of provincial finances in the Union, and this Committee reported in 1944. In considering the adequacy of the ordinary subsidies made by the Government under the Subsidies Act No. 46 of 1925 and the Amendment Act No. 50 of 1935, the Committee desired "to find as a fact what the subsidies at the existing rates were intended to do" (107). This was the conclusion of the Committee (108):-

> "In the light of the recommendations of the Commission (i.e. the Baxter Commission) and the statement of policy contained in Mr. Havenga's speech, the Committee finds it impossible to escape the conclusion that the rates of subsidy fixed in 1925, were intended as grants-in-aid of education which would cover all reasonable cost to the Provinces of the education of European, Coloured and Asiatic pupils."

But by this time Natal had changed her policy and had actually begun contributing additional funds in excess of the subsidy. As it will be seen in TABLE 4 the contributions from general provincial revenue in excess of the subsidy earned by Indian children had increased from £1,677 in 1939/40 to £54,427 in 1943/44 and £217,145 in 1945/46.

Now with regard to capital expenditure on Government Indian schools a policy of racial discrimination was still followed, nothing having come of the attempt to use the funds of the Indian Immigration Trust Board.

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106. Report, Prov. Finan. Resources Cttee.(1944) - U.G. 9/1944 : paras.1,2,3. - Messrs. A.F.Corbett, Prof. H.R.Burrows, C.F.Schmidt.
107. Ibid : para.470.
108. Ibid : para.474.

Between 1927/28 and 1936/37 the total capital expenditure on Indian education was £23,936 (See TABLE 6), against £5,366 for Coloured education, and £438,566 for European education. Comparing the annual savings on the subsidy (TABLE 3)[x] and the annual capital expenditure (TABLE 6),[xx] it will be seen that the former easily covered the amounts of the latter. It might be said then that the recurrent and capital expenditure on Indian education were kept well within the figure of the subsidy earned. Money borrowed for capital expenditure must ultimately be repaid from the general revenues of the Province. When capital expenditure is added to the recurrent expenditure on European education then the enormous disparity between the standards of education for Indian and European will be appreciated.

It was not only the Provincial Administration that continued to disregard the recommendations of its own Committee (i.e. of 1928) but it was also the Union Government whose capitation grant still remained at £5. 5. Od. This Education Commission (1936) too made a strong and urgent plea for increased subsidy (109).

The Report stated (109) that though great strides had been made in Indian education since 1928, yet progress had not been sound and conditions were far from ideal. It declared that so long as funds were subject to their present limitations, it would not be possible to introduce all the urgently necessary

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109. Report, Natal Edn. Commission (1936) : paras. 475,476 (P.N.60/1938).

[x] See page 459.

[xx] See page 465.

improvements in buildings, equipment, salaries, etc. It reminded the Union Government that when it entered into the Cape Town Agreement with its uplift clause and, in consequence, had requested the Provincial Administration to investigate Indian education in Natal, it must have realised that a far greater rate of expenditure would have been involved in developing the work "if the terms of the agreement were to be implemented". The Report then added : ".....if the Indian community is to advance in the manner contemplated in the Cape Town Agreement, its educational system must be more liberally supported and made a more fitting instrument for this purpose". (110)

The Report then went on to make out a case why the Province would not be able to afford the expenditure necessary to advance Indian education to the goal set in the Agreement. Natal's case ran thus : in this Province the European population was far more heavily outnumbered by the non-European population than in any other Province, the European population in Natal being less than one-tenth of the whole. In the other Provinces, the European population lay between one-third and one-fifth of the total. The Indian population of Natal was within five per cent of the European population, while the Indian and Coloured together, to both of which the £5. 5. Od. subsidy applied, were in excess of the European population. It was claimed that no other Province was in this position.

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110. Report, Ntl. Edn. Commission (1936) : para.475.

Further, in view of the fact that the great majority of the Indian population were of the "very lowly-paid labouring type" and so contributed "comparatively little" to the revenue of the Province, "the bearing of these matters on the finances of Indian education" were held to be "obvious" (111). The Report then drew attention to "a fact of great importance" in this connection that the date at which the amount of subsidy was fixed was prior to the date of the Cape Town Agreement, and that though "the obligations" of the Province had been "greatly increased thereby", the subsidy had remained the same. The Commission re-iterated an urgent request for "a considerable increase" in the subsidy. On the assumption that the subsidy would remain unchanged, the Commission then set out estimates of expenditure for improving various aspects of Indian education (112). It so happened that the Union Government changed the entire system of provincial subsidies only in 1945. In the meantime Indian education was subjected to all the disabilities consequent upon an inadequate subsidy.

Returning to the attitude of Natal from 1928/29 to 1938/39, it might be asked why the financial policy towards Indian education had not changed at all. It is suggested that it was because of the hope cherished by Natal, and, perhaps, even by the Union Government, that the scheme of voluntary emigration devised under the provisions of the Cape Town Agreement would reduce the

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111. Report, Ntl. Edn. Commission (1936) : para.476.
112. Ibid : paras.477-488.

Indian population to a negligible minimum. Natal's attitude was made clear at the 1932 Round Table Conference between India and South Africa; though it had been acknowledged that the emigration scheme had failed Natal insisted upon trying alternative schemes for the repatriation, or colonisation of Indians outside South Africa.

It is not difficult to understand why Natal would have been unwilling, under those conditions, to embark upon any scheme of educational expansion. The chances were that as a result the Indians might be encouraged to remain in Natal. It was also a difficult matter to plan for a steady development when it was anticipated that the very people for whose benefit plans were being made might not after all be there to receive the benefits. In other words, Natal looked upon the Indian population as a rapidly diminishing population. The processes of repatriation and integration were mutually contradictory. Old prejudices preferred to see the success of repatriation rather than of integration. Further support is lent to the views advanced here, that from 1939 when the idea of repatriation or re-settlement was looked upon as being impracticable, and attention was being turned to ways of integrating the Indian community, there was a concomitant change in the financial policy towards Indian education. From 1939/40 the Province began to spend in excess of the subsidy received. This amount increased from £1,677 in 1939/40 to £112,959 in 1944/45 and £217,145 in 1945/46 (See TABLES 4 and 4(a)). This movement is not coincidental. The history of the development of a new outlook by South African statesmen has been described in the previous chapter. These facts illustrate once again the influence of political policy on the development of Indian education.

Now to continue the story after the Natal Education Commission (1936) had tabled its Report. The Natal Provincial Executive Committee tabled a Memorandum on the recommendations of the Report in the Provincial Council (113). In reference to Indian education the memorandum merely re-iterated the inability of the Province to adopt a more progressive policy and obtain the desired progress unless the Union Government increased its per caput subsidy. The next step taken by the Executive Committee was to appoint in 1939 a Board of Survey whose function was to suggest which of the recommendations of the Commission could be adopted (114). The report of this Survey has not been released.

From the Executive Committee's memorandum it also appears that in July, 1938 the Inter-Provincial Consultative Committee met at Cape Town to discuss various questions relating to the provincial subsidies. The Executive Committee had taken the opportunity of stressing the needs of the Indian community for an increased subsidy. This question was shelved for some future meeting (115). InnJuly 1939 the Agent-General for India was, however, assured by the Province that the full amount of the subsidy would be set aside for Indian education (115a).

The case for an increased subsidy was pressed again by the High Commissioner for India in South Africa,

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113. My source of information is a copy of the Memo received by the Agent-General for India on 29th Aug.,1938.
114. Report, Agent-Gen. India (1939) : para.40(a).
115. Sec. Agent-Gen. India to Sec. Govt. India - 29th July,1938 (No.651).
115a. Report, Agent-Gen. India (1939) - para.28.

Sir Shafa'at Ahmed Khan, before the Departmental Committee on Provincial Financial Resources, under the chairmanship of Mr. A. F. Corbett (116). The Corbett Committee also found that the subsidy of £5.5.0d. was inadequate for the needs of Coloured and Asiatic education. After examining the many inadequacies of Coloured and Asiatic education in all the Provinces(117), the Committee set out to determine what subsidy would provide for the "reasonable" cost of education for Coloured and Asiatic pupils (118). It should be observed that the Coloureds and Asiatics were again being treated as one class. The Committee employing Coloured education in the Cape as the criteria, determined that a per caput subsidy of £10 per annum would provide for the "reasonable" cost of education of Coloured and Asiatic pupils in all the Provinces (119). This calculation was made on what would have been the "cost for reasonable educational services" in 1940/41 for Coloured pupils in the Cape schools. In 1940/41 the Cape was spending £7 per Coloured pupil, Transvaal £11. 7. 4d. per Asiatic and Coloured pupil and Natal £8. 8.10d. per Indian pupil in a government school(120). It was not unlikely, therefore, that once again improvements would have been effected in the Government schools at the expense of the Aided schools. For European education a subsidy of £22.10. 0d. per caput was recommended (121). In 1940/41 the subsidy per European pupil in Natal was £16. 7. 6d., and the actual

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116. Report, High Commissioner for India,1941,1942 - para.21.
Report, Prov. Finan. Resources Cttee.(1941-1944) U.G. 9/1944.
117. Ibid : paras. 319 - 345.
118. Ibid : paras. 487 - 491.
119. Ibid : paras. 488, 491.
120. Ibid : para. 486. The Natal Prov. Auditor (1940/41) on p.67 gives the figures for Indians as £9.3.11d. for Govt. schools, and £3.13.6d. Aided Schools.
121. Ibid : para. 483.

expenditure was £26.12. 9d. (121). But the expenditure in the Cape, Transvaal and Orange Free State was almost equal to the amount of the subsidy recommended (121). These recommendations still perpetuated racial discrimination and the disparity between European and Indian rates of subsidy. But the gap was slightly reduced in that the proposed new subsidy was 44 per cent of the European rate, whereas formerly it was 31 per cent.

The Corbett Committee Report was published in 1944. If it proved anything at all, it was the inadequacy of the existing educational subsidies of the Government for both Europeans and Indians; and, the need for a change or alteration in the existing financial relations between the Central and Provincial authorities. The ultimate action taken by the Government in 1945 took the form of altering the entire system of financial relations. The Government reverted to the £ for £ subsidy system under the Financial Relations Consolidation and Amendment Act, No. 38 of 1945, and with this development another phase in the history of Indian education was reached. Under this Act the Union Government cleared itself of any charge of racial discrimination in the sphere of primary and secondary education. The disadvantages of the "deferred" system of payment were also obviated. The onus was placed upon the Province for initiating any progressive reforms and raising the standard of Indian education. It is yet to be seen how Indian

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121. Report, Prov. Finan. Resources Cttee.(1941-1944). para.483.

education fares under the new financial arrangements.

In this study of the finance of Indian education, hitherto attention has been focussed on the chief source of the financial disabilities. The extensive references to the Inquiry Committee of 1928 and the Natal Education Commission of 1936 were intended to show the elements which went into the making of the policy towards Indian education. The salient features that stand out are racial discrimination; and, the patient struggle of the Indian community to overcome those disabilities, centring largely around the question of the subsidy. It is, therefore, possible to lose the historical perspective of the growth of Indian education during the post-Union years. Though there might have been severe obstacles in the path of progress, and progress might not have proceeded at the desired rate or to the desired extent, yet it must be admitted that there has been progress, a movement in the forward direction. The position at 1946 is a tremendous surge forward over the position at 1910.

First consider the growth of annual recurrent expenditure on Indian education. Examine TABLES (1) and (2). Expenditure increased from £5,755 in 1910/11 to £401,207 in 1945/46, and the estimates for 1946/47 are £441,555. This means that in 1945/46 the expenditure was £395,452 more than in 1910/11. It represents a relative increase seventy times over the expenditure at the time of Union. It would be observed from TABLE (1) that the expenditure curve rises rapidly from 1939/40, and there is a fairly big rise in the short period 1942/43 to 1945/46. This rapid expansion has taken place during the period of the Second World War, which commenced in September, 1939 and concluded in 1945.

TABLE 1

NATAL PROVINCIAL RECURRENT EXPENDITURE ON INDIAN EDUCATION (1910/11 - 1945/46)

To the nearest £

Year	£	Year	£
1910/1911	5,755	1928/29	39,440
/1912	6,904	/30	54,328
/1913	7,283	1930/31	57,487
/1914	8,301	/32	61,686
/1915	8,493	/33	63,880
1915/1916	8,725	/34	70,642
/1917		/35	84,194
/1918	11,174	1935/36	89,055
/1919	14,019	/37	93,368
/1920	15,369	/38	102,121
1920/1921	21,455	/39	105,572
/1922		/40	117,137
/1923	24,937	1940/41	124,803
/1924	26,595	/42	136,398
/1925	26,677	/43	157,855
1925/1926	27,918	/44	214,437
/1927	28,429	/45	309,692
/1928	35,982	1945/46	407,012
	(Estimates)	1946/47	441,555

REMARKS

1. Source - all figures have been taken from the Annual Reports of the Provincial Auditor (Natal).

2. From 1910/11 - 1927/28 : figures represent gross expenditure, inclusive of Interest and Redemption charges, but exclusive of Administration and Inspection (these being charged to European education). Total cost of Administration and Inspection (all races) increased from £6,713 in 1910/11 to £19,233 in 1927/28.

3. From 1928/29 - 1945/46 : the Provincial Auditor's Reports give in a special table the Nett expenditure on Indian education (inclusive of assessed Administration and Inspection costs, and Interest and Redemption).

4. For 1946/47 : Estimates of Provincial Recurrent or Normal Expenditure (Natal).

5. Figures represent expenditure on Primary and Secondary Education and Teacher-Training.

T A B L E 2

QUINQUENNIAL EXPENDITURE ON EDUCATION BY RACIAL GROUPS (NATAL) (1910/11 - 1945/46)

Year	Indian £	Coloured £	Native £	All Non-European £	European £
1910/11	5,755	3,731	10,768	20,254	102,504
1915/16	8,725	6,842	21,397	36,964	171,246
1920/21	21,455	18,931	36,637	77,023	535,831
1925/26	27,918	20,278	64,021	112,217	496,019
1930/31	57,487	25,251	110,900	193,638	533,059
1935/36	89,055	30,545	124,734	244,334	605,586
1940/41	124,803	57,723	204,985	387,511	725,254
1944/45	309,692	94,013	497,739	901,444	985,233
1945/46	407,012	108,401	598,480	1,113,893	1,095,327
1946/47[x]	441,555	110,072	749,977	1,301,604	1,286,557

[x] Estimates.

REMARKS

1. Source - Provincial Auditor's Reports.

2. Remarks made in TABLE 1 applicable here.

3. Nett Provincial Expenditure for Coloured Education available as for Indian Education from 1936/37.

4. Hence, from 1936/37 a fairly accurate set of figures of nett provincial expenditure on Indian, European and Coloured education is available for comparison. (Nett exp. on European education obtained by deducting total nett expenditure on Indian and Coloured and Native education from total nett expenditure for all races).

5. Native education financed on a different basis from U.G. funds and are taken as given in the Auditor's Reports.

6. Between 1928/29 and 1935/36 (incl.) - the expenditure on Coloured education is gross, exclusive of Administration and Inspection, Interest and Redemption - therefore, these figures are less than they should have been. On the other hand, expenditure on European education is higher by the same amount, for the same period.

7. Expenditure includes cost of Administration, Interest and Redemption. Prior to 1936/37 - figures for European education are slightly higher than they should be, but the general structure of the system would still remain the same, i.e. one of racial discrimination.

8. These figures are as accurate as it is possible to make them on the data available.

T A B L E 2(a)

PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF TOTAL EXPENDITURE ON EDUCATION BY RACIAL GROUPS (NATAL) (1910/11 - 1945/46)

Year	Indian %	Coloured %	Native %	European %	Total %
1910/11	4.7	3.0	8.7	83.6	100
1924/25	4.2	2.9	8.5	84.4	100
1944/45	16.4	5.0	26.4	52.2	100
1945/46	18.4	4.9	27.1	49.6	100

T A B L E 2(b)

PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF PUPILS AT SCHOOL IN SEPTEMBER, 1946.

Year	Indian %	Coloured %	Native %	European %	Total %
Sept.[x] 1946	17.6	2.8	62.2	17.4	100

[x] 1. Calculated on figures in the Statistical Supplement to Monthly Circulars to Schools, Natal Education Department.
2. Includes only pupils in Government and Government-aided schools, and Training Colleges and Classes.

T A B L E 3

RATIO OF EXPENDITURE ON INDIAN AND EUROPEAN EDUCATION SINCE 1910

Year	Actual Expenditure		Ratio of Expenditure	
	Indian £	European £	Indian	European
1910/11	5,755	102,504	1 :	19
1924/25(1)	26,677	538,282	1 :	20
1925/26(2)	27,918	496,019	1 :	18
1928/29(3)	39,440	508,717	1 :	13
1938/39(4)	105,572	690,406	1 :	6.5
1944/45(5)	309,692	985,233	1 :	3
1945/46(6)	407,012	1,095,327	1 :	2.7

REMARKS

1. At end of £ for £ subsidy system.
2. First year of per caput subsidy system.
3. One year after Report of Inquiry on Indian Education (1928).
4. One year after Report of Natal Education Commission (1936) - (published 1938).
5. At end of per caput subsidy system.
6. First year of £ for £ subsidy system.

TABLE 4

PROVINCIAL CONTRIBUTION TO INDIAN EDUCATION IN EXCESS OF U.G. SUBSIDY

(1925/26 - 1945/46)

Year	Nett Total Expenditure. £	U.G. Subsidy £	Provincial Contribution £
1925/26	27,918	36,179	- 8,261
1926/27	28,429	38,986	- 10,557
1927/28	35,982		
1928/29	39,440	43,958	- 4,518
1929/30	54,328	51,623	+ 2,705
1930/31	57,487	61,144	- 3,657
1931/32	61,686	69,404	- 7,718
1932/33	63,880	76,844	- 12,964
1933/34	70,642	79,328	- 8,686
1934/35	84,194	84,011	+ 183
1935/36	89,055	90,512	- 1,457
1936/37	93,368	98,446	- 5,078
1937/38	102,121	108,155	- 6,034
1938/39	105,572	109,492	- 3,920
1939/40	117,137	115,460	+ 1,677
1940/41	124,803	121,789	+ 3,014
1941/42	136,398	132,716	+ 3,682
1942/43	157,855	142,154	+ 15,701
1943/44	214,437	160,010	+ 54,427
1944/45	309,692	196,732	+112,960
1945/46	407,012	189,868	+217,145

REMARKS.

1. From 1925/26 - 1944/45 (incl.) - subsidy under Act 26/1925.

2. Subsidy for 1945/46 under Act 38/1945 - calculated according to provisions of the Act (See Auditor's Report 1945/46 - p.44).

3. Subsidy : From 1935/36 to 1943/44 figures include subsidy for Teacher-Training and are as given by the Education Dept. in a letter to the Natal Indian Teachers' Society (N.E.D.91/2807 - 1944).

4. Subsidy figures for 1925/26 and 1926/27 are as given in the Kichlu Memorandum on Indian Edn.(1928) p.26.

5. Subsidy figure for 1927/28 calculated from average attendance for 1926.

6. Subsidy figures for 1928/29 to 1931/32 (incl.) and 1944/45 are as given in the Reports of the Prov. Auditor. For the remaining years, are as given by Education Dpt. (N.E.D.91/2807) to N.I.T.S. For 1931/32 there is a discrepancy between Education Dept. figures and that given by the Prov.Auditor; latter, being higher, was taken.

Table 4 (contd.)

7. For 1943/44 a sum of £15,255 received from the Union Department of Social Welfare as subsidy for School Meals Service, added to the figure given by the Education Department, as expenditure includes cost of School Meals Service.

8. For 1944/45 - the subsidy figure includes subsidy of £47,132 for school meals (as given in Auditor's Report) and an estimated amount of £720 for Teacher-Training (£718 for 1943/44).

T A B L E 4(a)

PROVINCIAL CONTRIBUTION EXPRESSED AS PERCENTAGE OF EXPENDITURE ON INDIAN, COLOURED AND EUROPEAN EDUCATION (NATAL)

Year		U.G. Subsidy and Grants £	Actual Nett Expenditure £	Prov. Contribution £	Prov.Cont. / Act.Exp. X 100
1925/26					
	Indian	36,179	27,918	- 8,261	NIL
	Coloured	8,703	20,278	+11,575	57%
	Eurpn.	342,150	496,019	+153,869	31%
1944/45					
	Indian	196,732	309,692	+112,960	36.5%
	Coloured	30,812	94,013	+ 63,201	67.2%
	Europn.	492,122	985,233	+493,111	50.0%
1945/46					
	Indian	189,868	407,012	+217,145	53.3%
	Coloured	51,488	108,401	+ 56,913	52.5%
	Europn.	537,525	1,095,327	+557,802	50.9%

REMARKS

1. Subsidy figures for Coloureds : 1925/26 as given in the Kichlu Memorandum p.26; for 1944/45 as in Prov. Auditor's Report: p.77-para.20, adding subsidy on School Meals Service, and estimated subsidy of £220 for Teacher-Training.

2. Subsidy figures for Europeans : extracted from Prov. Auditor's Reports as given under heading "FINANCE ACCOUNTS - Provincial Revenue Fund - Normal Expenditure", e.g. 1944/45 - p.36 : The following items were added to find the European subsidy: (i) Subsidy for European pupils in Government and Government-aided schools; (ii) Subsidy for Teachers-in-Training; (iii) Subsidy for pupils attending Part-time Classes; (iv) School Meals; (v) Grants from Union Education Dept. for Deviate children, for Mooi River Agricultural School, National Physical Education.

3. Expenditure - taken from TABLE 2: Same remarks apply here.

4. These figures are as accurate as it is possible on the sources of information available.

5. Union Govt. Subsidy for 1945/46 calculated on basis of Act 38/1945.

T A B L E 5

ANNUAL UNIT COSTS OF INDIAN EDUCATION

(1911 - 1945/46)

Based on (i) Average Attendance
(ii) Nett Expenditure, and from 1925/26 inclusive of all charges.

Year	Govt. School £ s d.	Aided School £ s d.
1911	5. 0. 5¼	1.12. 0½
1912	5. 8. 7.	1.11. 3.
1913	4. 4. 1.	1.11.10½
1914	4. 6. 7½	1.11. 8½
1915	3.19. 9¼	1.11. 8¾
1916	3. 5. 4.	1.11. 9¼
1917	3. 8. 5½	1.14. 0¾
1918	4.16. 2¼	2. 4. 6¼
1919	5. 4.11.	2. 2. 1¾
1920	5.16. 2.	2.11. 3.
1921	6.10. 1½	2.14.11¼
1922	5.15. 4½	2.13. 0¾
1923	5.19. 6.	2.12. 7¾
1924	6. 4. 0.	2.14. 4.
1925 (Dec.))	6. 7. 8¾	2.12. 3.
1925/26 (Ap.-Mar.))	7. 9. 0.	2.18.11.
1926/27	6. 2. 9.	2.11. 7.
1927/28	7.10.11.	2.15. 5.
1928/29	7.15. 4.	2.16.10.
1929/30	8. 0. 3.	3.13. 3.
1930/31	8..0. 3.	3. 4.11.
1931/32	7.18.10.	3. 1. 5.
1932/33	8.10. 4.	3. 3. 7.
1933/34	8.15. 5.	3. 5. 2.
1934/35	9.12. 4.	3.15. 5.
1935/36	10. 7. 8.	3. 8.10.
1936/37	9.11. 9.	3. 4.10.
1937/38	9. 8. 9.	3.13. 1.
1938/39	9.13. 8.	3. 9.10.
1939/40	9.13. 8.	3.14.10.
1940/41	9. 3.11.	3.13. 6.
1941/42	9.16. 5.	3.14. 3.
1942/43	10.15.10.	4. 6. 4.
1943/44	12.13. 5.	6. 4. 5.
1944/45	15. 1. 2.	8.19. 5.
1945/46	16.18. 8.	11. 7. 8.

REMARKS.

1. 1911 - Dec.1917: Taken from Reports of Supt. of Edn.
2. 1918 - 1925: Not given - but calculated from data in Reports of Supt. of Education.
3. From 1911 - 1925: Cost is exclusive of Administration
4. From 1925/26 - 1944/45: Unit costs, inclusive of all charges, given regularly in Reports of Provincial Auditor.

T A B L E 5(a)

COMPARISON OF NETT UNIT COSTS BY RACIAL GROUPS

(on average attendance)

GOVERNMENT SCHOOLS

	European						Coloured			Indian			Native		
	Secondary			Primary											
	£	s	d	£	s	d	£	s	d	£	s	d	£	s	d
1911	5.	11.	10¾	7.	10.	2.	7.	7.	6.	5.	0.	5¼	Nil		
1916	11.	0.	7½	8.	2.	11.	6.	1.	3.	3.	5.	4.	Nil		
1921	No information published									6.	10.	1½			
1925/26..	43.	16.	9.)	20.	7.	1.	17.	13.	6.	7.	9.	0.	4.	7.	9.
	53.	5.	11.)[x]												
1930/31..	29.	17.	8.	21.	16.	6.	18.	11.	6.	8.	0.	3.[xx]	3.	4.	1.
1935/36..	29.	0.	3.	24.	5.	5.	20.	2.	5.	10.	7.	8.	2.	15.	11.
1940/41..	33.	18.	8.	26.	9.	6.	20.	14.	4.	9.	3.	11.	2.	18.	9.
1943/44..	40.	17.	8.	29.	16.	4.	24.	15.	7.	18.	13.	5	4.	10.	8.
1944/45.....	£33.	11.	1.				25.	19.	10.	15.	1.	2.	5.	9.	6.
1945/46.....	£36.	16.	1.				27.	5.	0.	16.	18.	8.	6.	4.	8.

[x] Four High Schools and one Technical High School.

[xx] Sastri College, a secondary school opened this year; Unit Cost £18.15. 5d. as per information supplied to the Agent-General for India by the Education Dept. in 1932.

GOVERNMENT-AIDED SCHOOLS

	(Fixed Schools)								
1911.....	5.	0.	3¾	2.	15.	10½	1.	12.	0½	-.	17.	8¾
1916.....	3.	9.	9.	4.	9.	7¾	1.	11.	9¼	1.	1.	11.
1921.....	No figures published						2.	14.	11¼			
1925/26...	5.	10.	8.	6.	6.	10.	5.	6.	2.	2.	18.	11.	2.	1.	8.
1930/31...	5.	9.	0.	4.	18.	2.	5.	4.	10.	3.	4.	11.	2.	16.	3.
1935/36...	4.	3.	9.	7.	6.	1.	4.	15.	7.	3.	8.	10.	2.	3.	2.
1940/41...	5.	15.	7.	7.	13.	7.	4.	13.	8.	3.	13.	6.	2.	11.	6.
1943/44...	7.	10.	5.	7.	12.	5.	7.	10.	11.	6.	4.	5.	3.	14.	7.
1944/45.....	£7.	19.	10d.				10.	15.	5.	8.	19.	5.	5.	7.	0.
1945/46.....	£8.	19.	2.				12.	12.	5.	11.	7.	8.	5.	11.	5.

REMARKS.

1. For 1911 and 1916 and 1921 information as supplied in the Annual Reports of the Supt. of Edn.
2. Remaining years from the Natal Provincial Auditor's Reports.
3. For 1911 and 1916 Nett Unit Cost appears to have been calculated exclusive of Administration charges.
4. For remaining years Nett unit costs include all charges.
5. From 1944/45 separate classification of European Secondary and Primary Education abolished in calculating Unit Costs.

T A B L E 6

CAPITAL EXPENDITURE ON EDUCATION

(1910/11 - 1945/46)

(on school buildings, hostels, headmasters' houses, sewage connection, improvements to playing grounds, etc.)

Year	Indian £	European £	Coloured £
1910/11	-	59,931	1,787
1911/12	-	26,167	761
1912/13	2,461	43,622	-
1913/14	2,714	41,673	-
1914/15	214	55,214	-
1915/16	1,194	27,877	-
1916/17	525	33,823	-
1917/18	-	34,871	-
1918/19	2,005	98,459	-
1919/20	3,744	115,343	1,325
1920/21	5,649	91,563	355
1921/22	652	75,878	166
1922/23	-	19,745	21
1923/24	-	21,433	1,014
1924/25	-	49,564	3,651
1925/26	-	32,283	-
1926/27	-	63,765	-
1927/28	-	95,712	-
1928/29	-	42,514	-
1929/30	1,221	30,192	-
1930/31	6,251	43,083	-
1931/32	6,782	45,361	200
1932/33	232	16,526	368
1933/34	11	34,999	475
1934/35	7,105	46,713	1,840
1935/36	583	32,671	1,505
1936/37	1,751	50,795	978
1937/38	4,014	85,292	3,288
1938/39	25,906	100,104	6,279
1939/40	12,225	59,490	3,882
1940/41	1,031	83,877	8,297
1941/42	-	100,274	1,215
1942/43	5,950	34,457	1,635
1943/44	4,082	45,004	-
1944/45	5,884	53,876	1,328
1945/46	5,752	81,435	87
TOTAL	£107,827	£1,975,093	£36,818

REMARKS.

1. Source : Provincial Auditor's Reports (Natal).
2. In the Auditor's Report for 1926/27 there is a schedule of Capital Expenditure for every school from 1910/11 - 1926/27 (pp.100-105), and was continued every year until 1934/35.

T A B L E 7

GRANTS-IN-AID TO INDIAN SCHOOLS

(1910/11 - 1945/46)

Year	Amount £	Year	Amount £
1910/11	3,571	1928/29	21,744
1911/12	3,962	1929/30	32,280
1912/13	4,298	1930/31	31,169
1913/14	5,278	1931/32	34,282
1914/15	5,399	1932/33	35,637
1915/16	5,692	1933/34	39,988
1916/17		1934/35	48,286
1917/18	7,874	1935/36	48,378
1918/19	9,037	1936/37	49,552
1919/20	9,047	1937/38	55,562
1920/21	11,741	1938/39	56,322
1921/22		1939/40	62,243
1922/23	13,540	1940/41	68,138
1923/24	14,586	1941/42	73,303
1924/25	14,851	1942/43	87,888
1925/26	15,350	1943/44	10,200
1926/27	15,822	1944/45	8,592
1927/28	20,484	1945/46	14,251

REMARKS.

1. Source - Reports of Provincial Auditor (Natal) - under Education Vote - Statement of Expenditure under Sub-heads as compared with Estimates.

2. Figures include grants-in-aid of Teacher-Training Classes. (Part-time).

3. From 1943/44 do not include teachers' salaries, but only building and maintenance grants and teacher training classes.

Strangely enough it was also a period of growing anti-Indianism culminating in the Asiatic Land Tenure and Indian Representation Act, 1946. The expansion, as stated earlier, coincides with the conviction that integration was the only practicable and just solution to the Indian question in South Africa.

The increased expenditure was absorbed in these four ways:

(i) the payment of Cost-of-living Allowances and War Bonuses to teachers (both of which continue to be paid as at July, 1947);

(ii) the absorption in 1943 of all Indian teachers in Aided Indian schools into the service of the Natal Education Department on the same conditions and scales of salaries as Indian teachers in the Government schools (hitherto, they were technically regarded as being the employees of the Manager of the Aided school (122)); and the further improvement of Indian teachers' salaries and married teachers allowances between 1943 and 1946 (123); and

(iii) the inauguration in January, 1944 of National School Meals Service which provided free midday meals to pupils in primary schools (124); and

(iv) the introduction of free primary tuition in gradual stages in all Indian schools as from August, 1942, and the compensation paid to Aided School Managers for loss of fee income, as a maintenance and equipment grant(124a).

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122. Report, High Commissioner for India (1944) : p.15 - para.4.
123. Ibid : p.15 - para.4. (P.N. 102/1946).
124. Report, Prov. Auditor (Ntl.) - 1943/44 : p.70 - para.22.
124a. Minutes, Prov. Council (Ntl.) 1944 : pp.43-44. Statement by Administrator.
Ntl. Edn. Dept. Circular Minutes to Principals of Govt. Schools and Managers of Aided Schools : 57/1942.

The absorption of the aided school teachers was a permanent change, and marked an important advance, in Indian education. The increased expenditure incurred by this step was offset to some extent by a drop in the grants-in-aid which had hitherto gone towards the payment of salaries of teachers in Aided schools. But still the expenditure on salaries, wages and allowances in Indian education increased from £103,265 in 1939/40 to £208,525 in 1944/45 and £292,021 in 1945/46 (125) - nearly a three-fold increase. Another large item of expenditure was incurred on the School Meals Service in Indian Schools. This increased from £12,906 in 1943/44 to £71,761 in 1945/46 (126), and the estimated cost for 1946/47 is £87,500 (127). There are no exact figures available for the maintenance and equipment grants paid in lieu of the loss of Aided school fees. The grant-in-aid for 1944/45 was £8,592 and for 1945/46 it was £14,250 (127a). This figure included building grants to Aided schools.

The trend of per capita expenditure also indicates progress. The slow but steady growth is set out in TABLE 5. In 1911 the unit cost for an Indian pupil in a Government school was £5. 0. 5¼d. and in 1945/46 it was £16.18. 8d. a three-fold increase. For the same period, the cost in an Aided school had risen from £1.12. 0½d. to £11. 7. 8d. - a seven-fold increase. The unit cost in an Aided school was almost trebled between 1942/43 and 1945/46, and was due to improvements in

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125. Report, Prov. Auditor (Ntl.) -
1939/40 - p.50. Vote L 1, vii, xiv.
1944/45 - p.56. Vote L 1, xiv.
1945/46 - p.70. Vote L 1.
Note:- 1939/40 - Vote L vii - included grant-in-aid for buildings, besides teachers' salaries.

126. Report, Prov. Auditor (Ntl.) 1943/44 - p.70;
1945/46 - p.84.

127. Provincial Estimates for 1946/47 (Natal).

127a. Report, Prov. Auditor (Ntl.) 1944/45 - p.62;
1945/46 - p.70.

Aided school teachers' salaries in that period. Up to the financial year 1944/45 the Government subsidy remained at £5. 5. Od. per pupil. The heavier expenditure on the Government school was incurred at the expense of the pupils in the Aided schools (128). But there has been much progress recently and the gap between the Government school and the aided school is not so great as it used to be in 1911. In 1911 the ratio of unit cost between Aided and Government school was roughly 1 : 3, and in 1945/46 this has been reduced to 1 : 1.5. A fair proportion of the heavier average unit cost in Government Indian schools was due to the heavier expenditure of post-primary work at Sastri College (Durban), Durban Indian Girls' High School (Durban), and the Woodlands Indian High School (Pietermaritzburg)(129). For example, the unit cost for all Government Indian schools in 1936/37 was £9.11. 9d., but the unit cost in Government primary schools only was estimated at £7. (130)

Attention must also be drawn to the progress made in the attitude of the Provincial Administration on the question of aiding Indian education from the general revenues. It will be observed from TABLE 4(a) that whereas in 1925/26 no contribution at all was made towards Indian education, in 1945/46 about 53 per cent of the expenditure on Indian education was made up of provincial contribution. Examining TABLE 4, it will be observed that the provincial contribution in excess

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128. Kichlu Memo. (1928) : paras. 63,64.
Report, Ntl. Edn. Commsn. (1936) : para.439 (P.N.60/1938).
Report, Prov. Resources Cmttee. (1944) : para.344.
129. Report, Ntl. Edn. Commsn. (1936) : para.438.
130. Ibid : para.439.

of the subsidy had doubled itself twice within the last three years. This indicates a definite change for the good in provincial policy, and if this rate of expansion is kept up Indian education would soon make up the leeway between itself and European education - that being the accepted goal of the Cape Town Agreement.

A noticeable development had taken place in the distribution of expenditure between Government and Government-aided Indian schools during the period under survey. The Aided school was an important feature of the system of schools for Indian children, and the growth of educational facilities was largely as a result of the growth of Aided schools. State expenditure on this class of school was £3,571 in 1910/11 and it reached a maximum limit of £87,888 in 1942/43, and then suddenly dropped to £10,200 in 1943/44 and £8,592 in 1944/45 (See TABLE 7). This was due to the absorption of the aided school teachers into the service of the Education Department, receiving their salaries direct from the Department. The major portion of the grants-in-aid always covered the salaries of the teachers. The schools, however, retained their aided status. Financially and administratively a position mid-way between full Government and Government-aided status had been reached. The teaching staff had been absorbed in the State-schools system but not the school buildings. The reasons for this unusual development in South African education will be discussed in another chapter. This new development also represents a great step forward. The financial consequence was a great reduction in grants-in-aid, and the smaller amounts now being provided cover building grants to new schools and maintenance grants to established Aided schools.

Now maintenance grants are also new developments. Actually with the absorption of the teachers there should have been grants-in-aid mainly for building purposes. A maintenance grant to aided Schools became necessary with the introduction of a system of <u>free tuition</u> in <u>all</u> Indian primary schools as from August, 1942 (131). Free tuition from Sub-standard I to Standard VI was designed to be achieved over a period of eight years. Thus, in 1942 pupils in Sub-standard I would not pay fees, then in 1943 Sub-standards I and II would notpay fees, and so on, until in 1949 all classes up to Standard VI will not pay fees.

This was another small but progressive step, but it had serious consequences for the managers of Aided schools. Managers of Aided schools depended on the fee-income to defray furniture, general equipment, rates, repairs and other expenses necessary to maintain the school building. In order to compensate them for the loss of the fee-income the Administration introduced a maintenance grant on a sliding scale. From 1943 the following scale was in operation (132):-

2/6d.	per	annum	per	pupil	in	Sub-Std. I
2/6d.	"	"	"	"	"	Sub-Std. II
2/6d.	"	"	"	"	"	Standard I
3/-d.	"	"	"	"	"	" 2
4/-d.	"	"	"	"	"	" 3
5/-d.	"	"	"	"	"	" 4
6/-d.	"	"	"	"	"	" 5
7/-d.	"	"	"	"	"	" 6

Some aided schools had charged fees ranging from 6d. to 3/6d. per mensem, and these scales brought in much less

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131. Report, Prov. Finan. Resources Cmttee. (1944) - para.100(2) - U.G. 9/1944.
132. P.N. 11/1943; 445/1943.

income than they had been accustomed to receiving. It is said that managers are finding it very difficult to maintain their schools on the grants now being made. From an historical standpoint, however, this development is significant because the Statehad taken yet another step (a) in which it assumed further financial responsibility for the running of an Aided school. It was an inevitable corollary of introducing "free tuition". This brings the day of complete absorption of the Aided system into the State system nearer.

Progress with regard to capital expenditure has not been so noteworthy. From 1910/11 to 1926/27 total capital expenditure on the erection of Government Indian school buildings, improvement of playgrounds, et cetera, was £19,158; during the period 1927/28 to 1936/37 the total amount spent was £23,704, and from 1937/38 to 1945/46 a sum of £65,544 (TABLE 6). This makes a total capital expenditure of £107,827 since the beginning of Union. Within the same period a sum of £1,975,093 was spent on European education, which has a school population comparable to that of the Indian.

A study of the finance of Indian education would not be complete without drawing comparisons between the provisions made for the different racial groups, for in Natal there are in reality four independent educational systems, not one (133). The Comparative growth of educational expenditure between Indian and

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(a) Besides the absorption of teachers.
133. Report, Ntl. Edn. Cmmsn. (1936) : page 1 - Introduction

European education is set out in TABLE 3. It will be observed that whereas the ratio between Indian and European standards of education (as judged by financial statistics) was 1 : 19 in 1910/11, the gap was gradually reduced until it was 1 : 2.7 in 1945/46, progress being more rapid since 1928/29. There is still a great disparity in the expense of Indian education and European education. TABLE 4(a) shows the great difference in the absolute amounts of the Government subsidy and provincial contribution for Indian and European education.

From the Table of Comparative Unit Costs (TABLE 5a) it will be seen that there is a definite system of racial hierarchy, already observed in the making in the years before Union. In the racial hierarchy the politically and economically dominant European is at the top, succeeded by the Coloured, the Indian and the Native in the same order. In this system of racio-social stratification the Indian has set himself to achieve equality with the leader. Any other position would impose a stigma of inferiority upon him, and he abhors that.

The racial basis of the educational system(s) in Natal is a characteristic feature of South African society in general. TABLE 2(a) and TABLE 2(b) set out the percentage distribution of the total nett expenditure in Natal over the four racial groups, and this is set against the percentage distribution of the total school-going children. The unequal distribution of State funds will be observed. Further, from TABLE 2, it will be seen that there is a further division into European and Non-European. Until 1944/45 the total annual expenditure on the education of European children in Natal exceeded the expenditure on the education of Natives, Indians and

Coloureds together. Non-European pupils in school in September, 1946 numbered 173,901 against 39,321 European pupils (134). In 1945/46 the comparative expenditure was as follows (TABLE 2):-

European.....£1,095,327.
Non-European.....£1,113,893.

This study of the finance of Indian education, though by no means exhaustive, is sufficient to indicate the effect of educational segregation of the different racial groups. The segregatory movement started as early as 1878 when special provisions were made by law to educate the children of Indian immigrants of the indentured class. It culminated in 1910 in the complete exclusion of Indian children from attending the same schools as European children. The post-Union years show what the segregation of the races has meant in terms of the financial responsibility assumed by the State for the education of the children of the different racial groups. Educational segregation has meant the provision of inferior facilities for non-white children. The history of the educational struggle of the Indians is a story of the struggle to rise above the limitations placed upon them because of their race and colour. Educational progress, for the Indian, is measured in terms of the extent to which the inequality between European and Indian educational standards are reduced. This has become the criterion since the adoption of Western standards of living was set down as a condition, in the Cape Town Agreement, for their integration into South African society.

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134. Statistical Supplement to the Monthly Circular to Schools (Ntl. Edn. Dept.) - Sept, 1946 - p.28.

C H A P T E R XV

THE DEVELOPMENT OF PRIMARY AND SECONDARY EDUCATION FOR INDIANS.

(1911 - 1947)

(i)

ADMINISTRATION

Before proceeding to an examination of the development of primary and secondary education for Indians in Natal during this period, under the provincial system of government, it would be helpful to review briefly the outlines of educational developments in the periods already dealt with.

The history of Indian education began with the importation of indentured Indian labourers in 1860. The years 1860 - 1877 were essentially a period of experimentation in the use of Indian labour in Natal. It was not until the first batch of imported labourers had completed a term of five years under indenture, and a further term of five years of "industrial residence", in other words it was not until 1870, that one could discern whether the Indians themselves had begun to lay the foundations of a permanent settlement in Natal. In these circumstances it was hardly likely that the question of the education of Indian children would have engaged the serious attention of the government. There was, indeed, no definite policy formulated on the question. If the employers of Indian labour had not been opposed, they were, like employers generally, indifferent to the education of the children of their employees. As for the Indians

themselves, recruited mainly from an economically and socially depressed strata of society, they had no tradition of formal education. Nor were the conditions of life under indenture conducive to the growth of a desire to secure the benefits of education for their children. There was thus little demand for educational facilities on the part of the Indian labourers.

There were, however, some Christian missionaries, aided by one or two rare employers of Indian labour, and ambitious ex-indentured Indians who interested themselves in providing a measure of formal education for Indian children. The first government grant-in-aid for an all-Indian day and evening school was made in 1869 to a Wesleyan missionary. A few small schools assisted by the government were established here and there on the sugar estates, but conditions were such that the average life of a school did not exceed one to four quarters of a year. At the end of the period there was a day and an evening school with an average attendance of 48 pupils, and it was more than probable that the evening school was attended by adults.

By the beginning of the next period (1878-1894) the employment of Indian labour had passed the experimental stage, and throughout the period there was a steady stream of Indian immigrations, including some of the trading and artisan class who had followed in the wake of the indentured labourers. Most of those who came into the colony preferred to make their homes here, and so in the course of time a permanent settlement of Indians was established in Natal.

Under Law 20 of 1878 a policy for the education of the children of Indian labourers was formulated, and a special body known as the Indian Immigrant School Board

was created to undertake the responsibility of promoting and administering education for the children of the class mentioned. It should be also mentioned that under another law, previously passed, a body known as the Council of Education was formed to promote primary and secondary education amongst European children. Upon the Indian Immigrant School Board then fell the responsibility for laying the foundations of a system of education for the mass of the Indian labouring class. Indian children who were unable to conform to the dress and habits of European schools were, however, not precluded from attendance at the European schools. Before the end of the period there were signs that racial mingling was not looked upon with favour by the European community, and so in 1894 the Council of Education passed a resolution which excluded Indians from attending European schools until they had exhausted the resources of their own schools set up by the Indian Immigrant School Board. So it may be said that the foundations of educational segregation were also laid in this period.

There was a greater demand for educational facilities from the Indians in this period, and it came mainly from the ex-indentured, merchant and professional class who were relatively more prosperous than the indentured class. The indentured class, who formed the bulk of the Indian population, were still unawake to the benefits of education. Economic advancement and a rise in the standard of living went hand in hand with the demand for improved educational facilities. As before, employers of Indian labour were not in favour of educating Indian children. Since the government of the colony was dominated by the planting interests, little money was made available to the Indian Immigrant School Board. On the little that was made available a cheap

and inadequate system of government and government-aided schools were established. Once again missionary enterprise was largely responsible for the growth of the aided system of schools. The most active missions in the field were the Church of South Africa (Anglican), the Wesleyan, and the Roman Catholic. There was a special Inspector of Indian schools working under the Board. The system of education was severely handicapped by a lack of suitable teachers. The Board depended upon the pupil-teacher system for its supply of trained teachers.

The condition of buildings and furniture of the aided schools, especially, constituted a most unsuitable educational environment. A big advance in pupil enrólment was made by the end of the period, but it was a small fraction in comparison with the large number of children of school-going age not in school. Pupil enrolment was affected by the fact that to the majority of Indian parents their children were an economic asset. There was also the traditional apathy of Indians towards giving their women a formal education of a secular character. The highest standard permitted to be taught at Indian schools was Standard IV. Most of the pupils were enrolled in the sub-standards, and left after only one or two years at school. The life of schools was still affected by the migration of labour and general apathy of indentured Indians. But by the end of the period significant advance had been achieved in the size and continuity of existence of schools. Separate aided schools for girls were notable achievements of the period. By the end of the period it might be said that a tradition of education had been built up. The facilities for Indian education provided by the Indian Immigrant School Board were much inferior

to the facilities provided by the Council of Education, and consequently Indians of the more prosperous class shunned what came to be known as the "indenture" schools. In June 1894 there were 12 government and 24 government-aided schools with a total attendance of 1581 pupils.

In the following period 1895 - 1910 all education was placed under the administrative control of a Department of Education. The policy of developing a separate system of schools for the children of indentured Indian labourers was continued, and extended now so as to exclude Indian children of any class from attending schools attended by European children. By the end of the period segregation of the races in the schools was achieved, and Indian education became just a separate branch of the general system of education in Natal. Indian demands for educational facilities were stronger in this period, and they came largely from the economically and socially advanced members of the trading and professional class. Indians under indenture were still apathetic to the benefits of education. The growing class of colonial-born Indians, becoming more Westernised, sought similarity and equality of educational opportunity with the European. The agitation of this, and the economically more prosperous trading class, for educational facilities of better quality, and for post-primary educational facilities, led to the establishment by the Government of the Higher Grade Indian schools at Durban and Pietermaritzburg. The highest standard permitted to be taught in the elementary (or primary) schools was still Standard IV. At the Higher Grade schools instruction was given by a European staff up to Standard VII. The main responsibility for the provision of educational facilities for Indian children still fell upon the shoulders of private enterprise, particularly

missionary. Hence, aided schools constituted a large proportion of the schools for Indians. There was, however, a growing antagonism among Hindus and Muslims towards the primary motives of the Christian missionaries, which was proselytization. Educational segregation led to racial discrimination, and the provision of facilities inferior to those of the European. Indian education once again suffered from a severe restriction of funds, which prevented proper development. Furthermore, a maximum age limit of 14 was imposed upon all Indian children in government schools, whereas there was no such limit on European pupils. These were times when there was great hostility towards Indian immigration and settlement. However, the number of schools and pupil enrolment showed an advance over the previous period. In the year 1909/1910 there were 5 government and 31 government-aided schools with a total average enrolment of 3387 pupils. The proportion of Indian girls to boys in the schools was still very low. The average school life of an Indian pupil was still around two to three years. Indian education was still hampered through lack of competent and reliable teachers. A beginning was made in this period in raising the educational qualifications, and the proper certification of Indian teachers. There were part-time week-end classes at different centres, and full-time classes at the Sydenham Training College, an aided institution under the Church of South Africa, which prepared candidates for the Teachers' Senior and Junior Certificate Examinations. Generally speaking, the educational system was ineffective, in facing up to the problem of growing illiteracy amongst the Indian population.

In the present period of study (1911 - 1947) various advances have been made in the educational

status of the Indian people. The outstanding features in the development of Indian education were as follows :-

(1) the widespread interest and initiative displayed by Indians in securing educational facilities for their children;

(2) the renewed interest and concern of the Government of India in the general and educational welfare of the Indians in South Africa, and the appointment of an Agent-General (later High Commissioner) to secure this end;

(3) the relative decline of Christian missionary activity in the face of Hindu and Muslim activity in the establishment and management of aided schools;

(4) the slow but steady growth of a new attitude amongst Europeans towards the educational needs of Indian children and the increasing assumption of State responsibility;

(5) continued development of the system of segregated schools and the practice of racial discrimination in the provision of educational facilities for non-White children;

(6) the creation of a sub-department in the Education Department (as for Native education) to deal especially with Indian education;

(7) expansion in the number of schools, particularly the aided schools, by a system of building and maintenance grants, and improvements in the general administration of the aided system;

(8) the growth and spread of facilities for post-primary education;

(9) the increase in the enrolment of pupils brought under instruction, especially in the number of girls;

(10) the establishment of a State teacher-training college and an advance in the standards of the teachers' general education and certification;

(11) the improvement of salaries and conditions of service of teachers, particularly by the absorption of all teachers in aided schools into the direct employment of the Natal Provincial Administration;

(12) the introduction of a system of progressive free tuition in all schools;

(13) the introduction of indigency grants, bursaries, and school meals service.

To study systematically the main educational developments of the period, consider first the administrative side of Indian education. Under the constitution of the Union of South Africa (South Africa Act, 1909), education "other than higher" was delegated to the legislative and administrative control of the respective Provincial Councils (1). The responsibility of the Provincial Council was restricted to the sphere of primary and secondary education, and the training of teachers for primary schools. Secondary school teachers were trained at the universities, which came under the control of the Union Education Department (2). Diagram No. 1 on the next page sets out the main features of the administration of Indian education in Natal as at 1946, which was substantially the same throughout the period.

Now the Education Department established in 1894 (Act 5) under the old colonial government was retained with little change in the internal administration under

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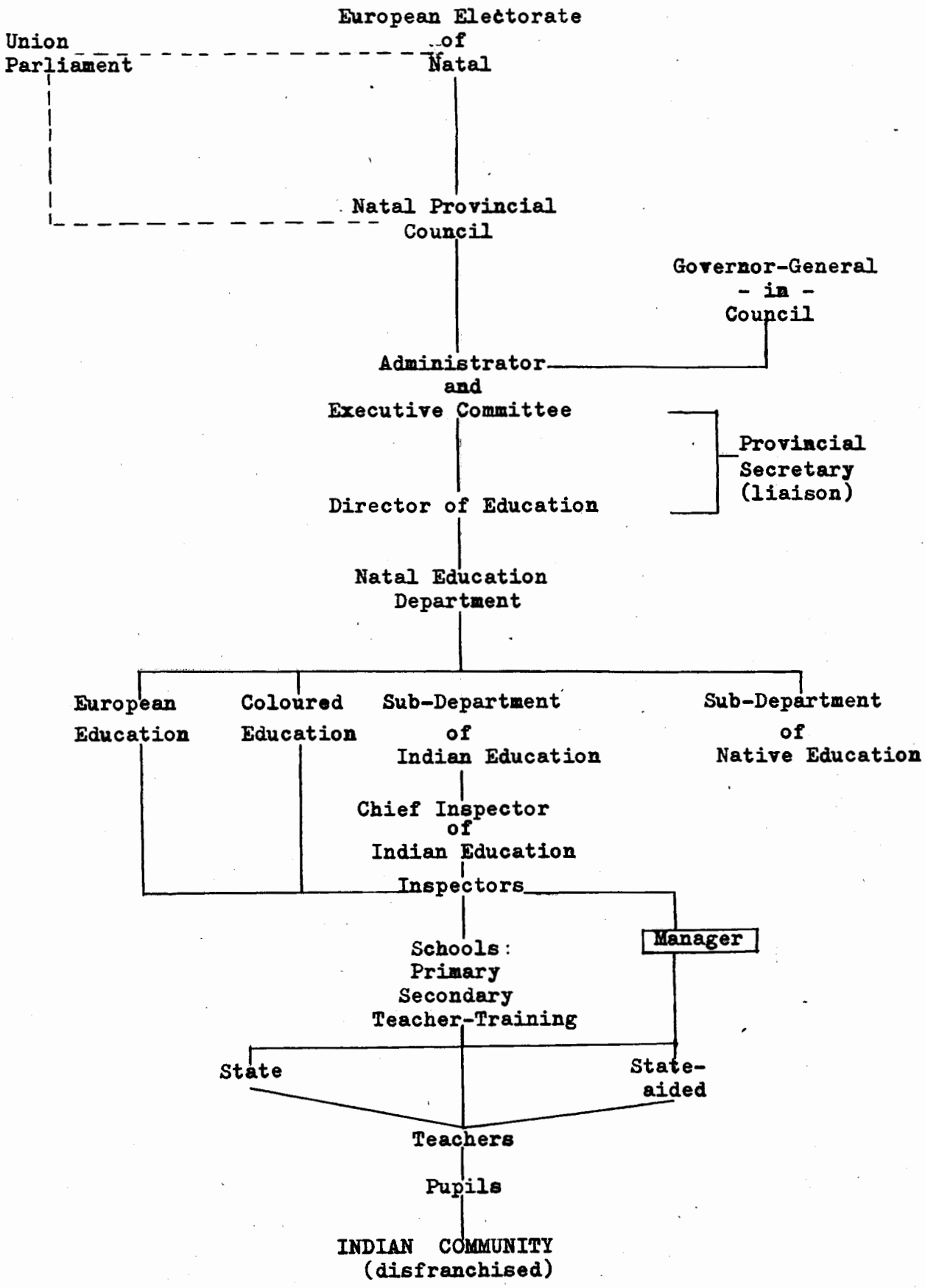
1. See Chap. XIV.
2. Union Bulletin Educational Statistics (1940) : p.12 - Sect.8(iv).

DIAGRAM 1V.

ADMINISTRATION OF INDIAN EDUCATION IN NATAL.

(1946)



the new provincial system of government as a department of the Natal Provincial Administration (3). It continued to exercise the central direction of public education under a permanent head of the department, namely the Superintendent of Education (4). Whereas formerly the Superintendent of Education was directly responsible to the Minister of Education, he was now responsible to the Administrator and the Provincial Executive Committee, and ultimately the Provincial Council (5). The Provincial Secretary was the channel of communication between the Superintendent and Provincial Executive Committee (6); thus the Superintendent had no direct access to the Executive Committee, and he had no assurance that the Provincial Secretary would place his recommendations and information in full before the Committee. An Education Commission of 1937 felt that the Superintendent should, in some cases, have direct access to the Executive Committee (6). It is not known to what extent some of the decisions of the Executive Committee on Indian education might have been influenced by this deficiency or weakness in the centraladministration of education. While in theory the Provincial Council was the ultimate authority in the provincial system, but in practice the Administrator and the Provincial Executive Committee was the policy-making body, and the Superintendent of Education was entirely dependent on it for final authority. Under the Superintendent there was a staff of Inspectors who supervised the inner working and administration of the schools (7). There was a common inspectorate for all

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3. Malherbe, E.G., "Education in South Africa, 1652-1922" - p.398.
4. From 1938 the designation was "Director of Education".
5. Union Bulletin Edn1. Statistics (1940) : p.6 - Diagram.
6. Report, Ntl. Edn. Commsn.(1937)(Brcome) : para.14 - P.N.60/1938.
7. Union Bulletin Edn1. Statistics (1940) : p.9 ; Sect.7(a)

European, Coloured and Indian schools; Native Schools had a separate inspectorate (8).

An important feature about the administration of Indian education that should be noted is the complete absence of Indian representation on the bodies that formulated and executed educational policy. Even after 87 years residence in the country Indians had no say in the central administration of their education. There has not been a single Indian appointed on the Inspectorate, either as inspector or sub-inspector (or even as a supervisor as in the case of Native schools). Indeed, there was not even an Indian clerk in the Educational Department. The system of education developed under these circumstances was, therefore, a product of the European mind. European attitude towards the Indian has not been always friendly and sympathetic. In the sphere of local administration it was a rarity before the Cape Town Agreement (1927) to see an Indian approved of by the Education Department as a manager or grantee of an aided school. But since this date a number of new aided schools have been placed under the managership of Indians. It appeared to have been assumed that Indians should not or could not shoulder the responsibility of administration. There are grounds for believing that the continuation of this practice to this day, when many highly educated and experienced Indians are to be found, is dictated more by political expediency than by considerations of efficiency. The non-appointment of Indians on the inspectorate could reasonably have been also due to the low academic and professional qualifications of the Indian teachers in the years prior to the last decade. But there can be no doubt that the

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8. Union Bulletin Edn1. Statistics (1940) : p.14-Sect.12(b)
Report, Supt. Edn.(Ntl.),1935 : p.2.

exclusion of the Indian from the general administration of Indian education was mainly due to his inferior political status in the country. It should be remembered that the Indian had neither the parliamentary nor the provincial franchise at this time; nor even a municipal franchise since 1924. It might be said that the European assumed a kind of trusteeship over the Indian, as had been done over the Native (Bantu) peoples. To complete the picture, it should be added that the administration of education generally in Natal was highly centralised and of a severely bureaucratic nature (9).

The Indian people thus had not the way of making their needs and wants felt by the exercise of democratic franchise. It was the European will and wish that shaped the course of Indian education. While no doubt many real advantages had accrued to the Indian people by European supervision and administration, there were, on the other hand, serious disadvantages in a situation which permitted one racial group to dictate to another racial group. The racial discrimination practised in the relative financial provisions made for Indian and European education would bear testimony to the evil effects of racial hegemony. The Indian community made representations, for what they were worth, through their political bodies, teachers' societies and social organisations. Commissions of Inquiry were invariably viewedby them as occasions for ventilating their grievances.

The legislative foundation of the Natal educational system consisted of a large number of Laws, Acts and Ordinances passed since 1877, and a bewildering series

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9. Malherbe, E.G., op. cit. pp.201-216.
Report, Ntl. Edn. Commsn.,1937 (Broome) - paras.5-12. (P.N.60/1938).

of regulations, and amendments to regulations, made from time to time thereunder (10). Where the precise meaning of any particular provision was uncertain, the Education Department placed its own interpretation upon it and acted accordingly (10). The Natal Indian Teachers' Society in 1937 complained to a Commission of Enquiry into Natal Education that the regulations were frequently interpreted to the detriment of the teacher (11). In the years 1926/27 and 1927/28 the Provincial Auditor reported (12) that for the past seventeen years annually he had sought to have the matter put right by a consolidating ordinance, as much of the expenditure from an auditor's point of view was at the time unlawful. The Education Commission of 1937 condemned this "undesirable state of affairs", and recommended the enactment of a consolidating Education Ordinance to replace the existing "mass of educational legislation" (13). At last in 1942 such a consolidated Education Ordinance was passed (14).

For the major portion of the period the powers and duties of the Education Department were substantially the same as conferred upon it under Act 5 of 1894. The Department had power (15) to establish and maintain primary and secondary schools, and also to make grants-in-aid out of public funds to any private school established by private persons or by local boards or committees. Such grants may include contributions to the salaries of teachers, the purchase of apparatus, books or

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10. Report, Ntl. Edn. Commsn.,1937 (Broome) - para.1.
11. Minutes of Evidence, Ntl. Edn. Commsn.,1937 (Broome) p.713.
12. Reports, Prov. Auditor (Ntl.) : 1926/27 - p.4,para.7. 1927/28 - p.4/5,para.5.
13. Report, Ntl. Edn. Commsn.,1937 (Broome) : para.1. (P.N.60/1938).
14. Ntl. Edn. Ordinance, No. 23/1942.
15. Official Year Book of the Union of S.Africa : No. 2 - p.259.

equipment, and the cost of sites and buildings. Grants in aid may also be made to privately established secondary schools provided that such secondary schools agree to come under the system of inspection, and maintain the same standard of education as in the government schools. The Department had authority generally to regulate all schools which it had established, or to which grants-in-aid were made.

The Department, also upon request, undertook the inspection of private schools. Under the Education Ordinance of 1942, however, the power of the Department over the conduct of the private schools was extended. The Department was empowered (16) to effect compulsory registration of such private schools which were not in receupt of grants-in-aid, Unless registered it was now unlawful to conduct or to teach in such schools (17), and if a registered school was not run to the satisfaction of the Director with regard to buildings, sanitation and teachers, the Director had power to close down that school (18). These new powers were assumed so that private schools might be conducted in such a manner as not to be detrimental to the physical, mental and moral welfare of the pupils attending them. Whether this provision would, in the future, be applied to the private vernacular schools of the Indians, where conditions generally would transgress the requirements of this ordinance, it is still too early to say. In the system of Indian schools there have always been a number of private schools, which retained that status until they were successful in obtaining a grant-in-aid.

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16. Section 26(1) - Ord. No. 23/1942.
17. Section 26(9)
18. Section 26(10).

The compulsory registration of such schools should have the effect of improving their efficiency until Government was able to grant them government-aided status.

In the second half of this period a significant development had taken place in the central administration of Indian education. In Natal there are really four separate systems of education, corresponding to the four racial groups which inhabit it, and independent of one another to different degrees (19). For the administration of Native (Bantu) education a subdepartment of the Education Department had been created, and a special officer known as the Chief Inspector of Native Education was placed in charge of this subdepartment (20). He had under him a special staff of European inspectors and Native (Bantu) supervisors of schools; Native education was thus kept entirely separate from the education of the other three sections in respect of administration, inspection, curriculum and finance. It, however, came under the general direction and supervision of the Superintendent of Education.

The other three sections - European, Coloured and Indian - were for many years treated as a unit for administrative and inspection purposes. It seems, however, that with the growth of Indian education the work at the head office was becoming heavy, and that the problems connected with the development of this branch of the educational system required special attention. Hence, in 1929 the Superintendent drew attention to the "necessity or desirability for a special branch"

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19. Report, Ntl. Edn. Commsn.,1937 (Broome) : "Introduction" (P.N.60/1938).
20. Report, Supt. Edn.,1925 : p.4. Ibid : 1929 : p.13. Union Bulletin Edn1. Statistics, 1940 : p.14 - Section 12.

to deal with Indian education in the future (21). The difficulty which he foresaw, however, was to find men (presumably European) as keenly interested in Indian educational problems as those who were engaged in the Native branch (21).

The 1928 inquiry into Indian education revealed the many deficiencies in the system, which required complete overhauling. So in 1930 the task of reorganisation of Indian education was placed almost entirely in the hands of one of the inspectors, Mr. J. H. Lawlor (22). Inspector Mr. Lawlor, too, made a case for a separate sub-department to deal with the education of Indians, as it seemed too burdensome for an individual inspector, already engaged upon the usual inspectoral duties of his special area (23).

In 1931, instead of a special sub-department, the new post of "Inspector-in-Charge of Indian Education" was created, and Mr. Lawlor was appointed to the post (24). Much of his usefulness was curtailed by lack of clerical assistance (24). He did not occupy this position for long as he was promoted to the position of Chief Inspector of Schools (24). Mr. Lawlor had been unofficially placed in charge of Indian education for three or more years (24), and during that brief period did much to improve the conditions of teachers in aided schools within the limited funds available for such purposes; in formulating new regulations for aided schools; in improving the central supervision of the staffing of aided schools (25); in instituting a new system of certification for Indian teachers (25): in

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21. Report, Supt. of Edn., 1929 : p.13.
22. Ibid. 1930 : pp. 8, 10.
23. Ibid. 1930 : p.13 - Sect. 3.
24. Ibid. 1931 : p.9.
25. Ibid. 1930 : pp.13-15.

arranging vacation courses for teachers (26); in instituting a post-matriculation teacher-training bursary scheme; and in trying, unsuccessfully, to start a professional library for Indian teachers (27). In Mr. Lawlor, Indian education appears to have had a genuine and sincere sympathiser. He was succeeded by Mr. J. Macleod, who also had to work for Indian education under the most difficult and discouraging conditions (28).

The question of a sub-department of Indian education appears to have come up again in 1937, before the Education Commission. The Commission agreed (29) with the views of the Superintendent of Education, as expressed in his annual reports, that as soon as circumstances permitted a separate sub-department should be created "to control and administer" Indian education, with a senior inspector in charge, "somewhat in the same way as had been done in the case of Native education". According to the Commission's Report (29) it appears that as a result of the "special oversight of Indian work" given over to an Inspector-in-Charge of Indian Education, more attention had been given to the "peculiar problems" of this branch. Now as the cost of creating a sub-department would have been heavy, the Commission did not recommend that this should be done immediately (30). As a step towards this, it recommended granting further powers to the "Inspector-in-Charge" and the appointment of two additional inspectors dealing "exclusively with Indian education" (30). It was recommended (31) that definite responsibilities should be delegated to the Inspector-in-Charge of Indian education,

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26. Report, Supt. of Edn., 1931 : p.9.
27. Ibid. 1930 : p.14.
28. Ibid 1931 : p.9.
29. Report, Ntl. Edn. Commsn.,1937 (Broome) : para.472 (P.N.60/1938.
30. Ibid : para.488.
31. Ibid : para.472.

"....so that he may have authority, under the Superintendent, not only to deal with routine matters, but, within the policy laid down by the Administration, to make decisions and to develop the work along the lines agreed upon."

Indian opinion in Natal was described as having been "vehemently opposed" (32) to the creation of a sub-department on the lines of the Native sub-department. It appears (33) that in 1938, after the publication of the Commission's Report, the Natal Indian Teachers' Society and the Indo-European Joint Council of Durban had submitted memoranda to the Provincial Authorities, and objected to the proposal on the ground that it "would lead to a deterioration in the quality of education provided for Indians". Indian opinion evidently looked upon the proposal as a further means of entrenching segregation and racial discrimination in the sphere of education. In their experience separation or segregation has inevitably meant neglect or inferior services. Thus, for instance, in the proposal to appoint inspectors exclusively concerned with Indian education, they feared that inferior men would be posted to this branch of education. Furthermore, as these inspectors would not have a certain number of European schools under their supervision, there was the probability that they would become accustomed to the lower standards of Indian schools, for lack of frequent comparison with the higher standards of the superiorly equipped, staffed and conducted European schools. In the past, except during the regime of the Indian Immigrant School Board, Indian education always had the benefit of an inspectorate common to European and Indian

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32. Letter Sec. Agent-General India to Sec. Govt. India (Dept. Edn., Health and Lands), No. 651 - 29 July, 1938 (File No. 141 - Agent-General's Office, Johannesburg).
33. Annual Report, Agent-General for India, 1938 : p.12 - para.26.

schools. If Indian education was to be raised to the same standards as European education, as envisaged in the Uplift Clause of the Cape Town Agreement, it seemed to the Indian that the movement should be more towards inter-locking and integrating the two systems rather than in complete separation and isolation. There was also the fear that the "peculiar" problems and needs of Indian education, which were cited in support of the sub-department, might be so interpreted in the future as to introduce a curriculum in Indian schools different from that pursued in European schools. There was the fear that such conditions might lead to the instruction imparted in Indian schools being stamped different and inferior. The consequences of such an impression created in the minds of employers upon the employment chances of Indian youths are too obvious to need further clarification.

In view of the lack of representation or effective say in the administration of the education of their children, and in view of the general policy of the European not to accede equality to the non-European, it was neither illogical nor unnatural for the Indians to have looked upon the proposal with fear and suspicion. Yet it would seem that for efficient administration a sub-department of Indian education was an inevitable and logical development in a system replete with racial distinctions and discrimination. In matters of finance, staffing, teachers' salaries and conditions of service, provision of buildings and equipment, compulsory and free education, and so on, there was no uniformity of treatment of the four racial groups. The expansion of Indian education and the growing mass of differential regulations only threw into relief the administrative difficulties arising out of this differential treatment of European and Indian

education. In short, the inequalities of Natal's four-pronged educational system necessitated a separate administrative division for each prong. The necessity would remain so long as the basic inequalities remained.

Nothing further was heard of the proposal to establish a sub-department until the year 1942, when the Director (Superintendent) of Education (34) once again urged the separation of the work of the Indian schools from that of the European and Coloured schools. He advanced the reason that the anticipated absorption of Indian teachers in aided schools into the employment of the Provincial Administration, on the same basis as Indian teachers in government schools (a), would increase the work of the staff section of the Department to a considerable extent. As a beginning two clerks and a typist had been allocated to that section (35). At the same time the Provincial Executive approved the creation of a new post known as the "Chief Inspector of Indian Education", whose functions were to be partly administrative and partly inspectorial (36). It was designed to make the new section or branch of the Department "more or less self-contained", at least in so far as administration was concerned (36). From a statement made by the Administrator of Natal in the Provincial Council in 1943 (37) it would appear that a sub-department to deal "only with Indian schools" had been created. The appointment of a Chief Inspector of Indian Education was finally announced in 1945 (38), and his duty was, according to the announcement, to co-ordinate the work of the schools and to advise the Director on matters of

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34. Report, Director of Edn. (Ntl.),1941 & 1942 (combined) p.14 : para.7.
(a) Teachers in aided schools were legally the employees of the managers.
35. Ibid Report, Drctr. Edn.(Ntl.), 1941 & 1942 (combined) p.14 - para.7.
36. Ibid : p.16 - para.17.
37. Minutes, Prov. Council (Ntl.) - 12 May,1943 : pp.41-42
38. Ibid : 20 Mar.,1945 : p.3.

policy and administration. The present incumbent is Inspector Mr. J. E. Devlin (39). The sub-department was thus created in gradual stages. The Indian community has either not awakened to this fact, or has probably changed its views in that regard for no protests have been registered as yet.

Apart from this, other significant changes and improvements took place in the administration of the government aided schools. In Natal there was no system of local school boards as in the other provinces. But provision had been made under Act 5 of 1910 for the formation of local advisory school committees (40). These committees failed to be a success in Natal, for various reasons, and consequently there was a high degree of centralisation of educational control in the Education Department. The Education Commission of 1937 considered the question of decentralisation but did not favour its being effected by the system of school boards (41). The Commission recommended decentralisation by increasing the responsibility of head teachers (42).

There were, however, school committees connected with individual aided schools, but they in no way resembled, or were meant to resemble, the advisory committees provided for under the Act of 1910. These committees had come into being to erect a school building and not to advise the Department on educational matters. The administrative link in the aided system was the manager or the grantee - an individual person - who may or may not have represented a local school committee, missionary society or some other body. A condition precedent to the making of a grant-in-aid was that there

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39. Monthly Circular to Schools (Ntl.Edn.Dpt.) - Statistical Supplement : Sept.,1946 - p.1.
40. Malherbe, E.G. op.cit., pp.203 - 204.
41. Report, Ntl. Edn. Commsn.,1937 (Broome) : para.6 & 7.
42. Ibid : paras. 8 - 12.

should be a manager (or grantee) to receive the grant-in-aid, and who alone would be responsible to the Department for the proper conduct and management of an aided school (43).

Since the great majority of Indian schools belonged to the aided category, it would seem that the main burden of the administration of Indian education was shifted to the managers. The efficiency of the aided system would, therefore, have depended upon the efficiency of the management. From Mr. Kichlu's findings in 1928 (as set out in his memorandum)(44), it would appear that the administrative control by the Department over the Indian aided schools was weak, lacked definition and clarity. Considerable powers of discretion appear to have been vested in the managers. The chief function of the manager was to appoint teachers, receive the grants from the Government, disburse this as salaries amongst the staff he had engaged, and to visit the school about once in three months (45). The teaching part of the work was, of course, subject to departmental inspection.

But many unsatisfactory features had crept into the system, particularly affecting the methods of handling finance, the control and ownership of school property, staff rationing, promotion and payment of teachers' salaries. Some idea of what these were in 1928 may be gained by studying the following recommendations of Mr. Kichlu relative to these matters (46):-

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43. P.N.461/1929 - Para.1.
44. Kichlu Memorandum, on Indian Education in Natal, 1928: pp. 7-16.
45. Ibid : para.23.
46. Ibid : para.17,25.

1. That the minimum number of teachers laid down for a school be engaged;

2. That the teachers engaged should be of the qualifications laid down;

3. That no untrained teacher should be engaged unless the Inspector of schools certified that no trained teacher is available;

4. That no untrained teacher should be engaged who has not passed the Standard VI examination. An untrained teacher who has passed the Standard IV or V examination may be engaged if the Inspector is satisfied that no teacher who has passed Standard VI is available, but his continuance in the post should depend on his passing as a teacher the Standard VI examination conducted by the Department;

5. That salaries should be paid to teachers on a scale fixed by the Department, and not left to the discretion of managers;

6. That the amount of grant left over every month after disbursing the salaries at the scale suggested should be credited to the school fund and be available for such items of expenditure as furniture, equipment, etc., with the sanction of the Department;

7. Each government-aided school should have the full benefit of the grant given to it and of its fee income and a separate account of each school should be kept by the grantee, and such grant should be inspected by the Department and audited periodically by an Auditor;

8. Each school should have a separate grantee and he should be a local man or person within easy reach of the school; one grantee should not have more than one school in his charge;

9. The grantee should be an honorary worker and no remuneration or travelling expenses should be permissible;

10. Each school should have a Committee or Board of Trustees which should be a corporate body registered under the law;

11. All school property and funds should be vested in the school committee or trustees;

12. That no portion of the grant or fee income should be used on capital expenditure on buildings, etc.;

13. The present system under which the grantee or Mission or Managing Committee incurs debts in respect of the various schools in his charge and makes the present or prospective income of the school (Government grant and fee income) liable for the repayment of the debt should be discontinued.

In the new regulations governing aided Indian schools published in 1929 (P.N.461/1929) some of the recommendations, particularly those referring to a scale of salaries fixed by the Department, and accounts of income and expenditure, were incorporated. No specific regulations have yet been framed regarding the other matters. School properties belonging to the local Indian community continued to be registered in the name of the individual grantee or sometimes of a mission. In the circumstances obtaining in Natal, where it was difficult to secure the services of a sufficient number of suitably qualified public-spirited persons to act as managers of Indian schools, Mr. Kichlu's suggestion that there should be one honorary grantee for each school was not realisable. In any case, this recommendation would have made the lot of the aided teacher harder still by diminishing his chances of promotion. The Education Commission of 1937, too, felt that for this and "other economic reasons" it was desirable to group a number of aided schools under one management (47).

A number of Indian witnesses appear to have expressed dissatisfaction with the grantee system of managing aided schools, but the Commission was satisfied that the system on the whole worked "admirably" (47). But from the Commission's subsequent recommendation that the annual financial statement of the management should be posted up for public inspection at each school (47), it would seem that there was still no public confidence in the financial administration of the managers. From the answers given by the Inspector-in-Charge of Indian Education in cross-examination, it seems that some managers had been

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47. Report, Ntl. Edn. Commsn.,1937 (Broome) : para.473.

accused of fraudulent practice, such as not paying their teachers the full amount of the salaries or of withholding payment for some time (48). There appears to have been some ground for Indian complaints, for the school accounts submitted by the Managers were still not audited (as recommended by Mr. Kichlu), and the Inspector himself acknowledged that there was a possibility that some of the managers could be making something out of an Indian school (49).

Under the aided system the teachers were technically the employees of the Manager (50). Consequently a good deal of the work and problems of staffing and promotion and payment of teachers, besides the maintenance of buildings, fell upon the shoulders of the Managers. The difficulties and disabilities of the teachers will be discussed in a subsequent section. The point is that the Department's administrative responsibility for aided schools had stopped with the inspection of teaching standards, and the payment of block grants to the Managers. But in 1943 a development took place which suddenly expanded the responsibility of the Department for the conduct of aided Indian schools. In this year, in accordance with the provisions of the 1942 Education Ordinance, Indian teachers in the aided schools were absorbed into the direct employment of the Natal Provincial Administration and, henceforth, came under the direct control and disciplinary action of the Education Department(50a). If the proprietor of an aided Indian school did not desire his school to be staffed exclusively by teachers

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48. Minutes of Evidence, Ntl. Edn. Commsn.,1937 : p.762.
49. Ibid : p.768.
50. P.N. 461/1929 - Para.36.
50a. P.N.11/1943.
Report, Director of Edn.(Ntl.) 1941 & 1942 - p.10 - para.12; and 1943 - p.10 - para.15.
Minutes, Prov.Council (Ntl.), 1944 - Administrator's Statement : pp. 43-44.

who were the employees of the Administration, then, the proprietors were informed, the school could not retain its aided status beyond March, 1943 (51.). This new development in Indian education diminished considerably the powers, duties and functions of the Managers, and left them only with the task of maintenance of the buildings.

Now it was stated in the previous chapter that the introduction of a scheme of gradual free tuition in all Indian primary schools as from August, 1942, made it necessary for the Department to compensate the Managers of aided schools for loss of fee-income, from which they usually met the expenses of maintenance. When tuition up to Standard VI becomes free in 1949, then the Department would have taken another step in securing greater control over the aided school, for it would then have assumed responsibility not only for the staffing but also for the maintenance and equipment of aided schools. It may be predicted that the end of the managerial system is in sight. But there is still the question of ownership of buildings. Now since 1930 (52) the Department had been giving building grants to aided Indian schools to the extent of one-third of the registered valuation or proved cost of the building, and from 1944 a grant of one-half was permissive (53). But since 1944 (53) provision was made that no building grant would be given unless the proprietor of the school entered into a legal agreement with the Administrator to carry on the school to the satisfaction of the Director for ten years from the date on which the grant was made,

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51. Circular Minute to Managers Aided Indian Schools by Edn. Dept. : No.1/1943 - N.E.D. 47/2807.
52. P.N. 253/1930.
53. P.N. 79/1944.

failing which the proprietor had to repay the Administration on a certain scale. This would ensure a certain amount of continuity in the life of the schools - of those erected under these new regulations - should there be differences between the proprietor and the Department, which in all probability would be over the question of maintenance, equipment and extensions. It does not seem that the Department could avoid assuming further financial burdens if free, and, perhaps, subsequently compulsory education are to be carried out effectively. There can, however, be no complete security unless the Administration takes over the buildings too. In 1918 this is precisely what happened in the case of European education, when teachers and buildings were taken over simultaneously (54).

These then were the chief developments in the administration of Indian education. A discussion of the effectiveness of the administrative system in securing adequate educational facilities for and raising the educational standards of the Indian people must be postponed to a later stage. In the following chapters the development of Indian education under the Administration of the Education Department will be examined.

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54. Report, Supt. Edn. (Ntl.), 1918.

C H A P T E R XVI

THE DEVELOPMENT OF PRIMARY AND SECONDARY EDUCATION FOR INDIANS (contd.)

(1911 - 1947)

(ii)

GROWTH OF SCHOOLS AND PUPILS

Consider first the system of schools which has come into being between 1911 and 1947 to cater for the educational needs of Indian children. DIAGRAM NO.V on the following page sets out the essential features of this system. It will be noted that the system of Indian schools was kept distinct from the schools for European, Coloured and Native (Bantu) children. The policy of educational segregation forged in the pre-Union years was developed further in this period. The children of one race were not permitted generally to attend the schools established for another race. But it appears that in some areas, presumably rural areas, Indian children have been in attendance at Native (Bantu) schools, for payments have been made from the Indian subsidy to the South African Native Trust in respect of Indian children in Native schools (1). The numbers involved could not have been many for the payments were generally small. It is not known whether Bantu children had been admitted to Indian schools under

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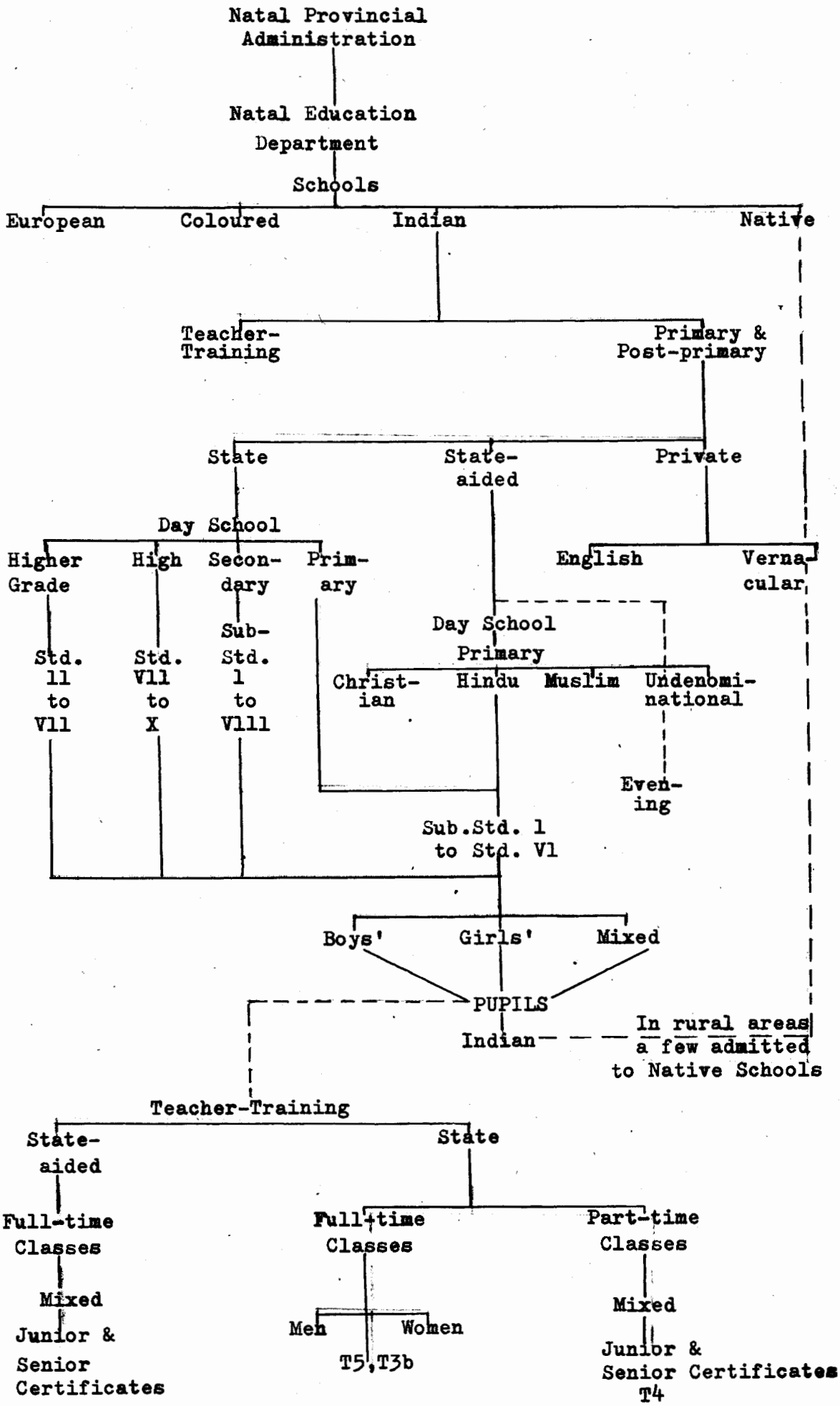
1. See Chapter XIV and, for example, Report, Ntl. Prov. Auditor, 1944/45 : p.62.

DIAGRAM V.

SYSTEM OF SCHOOLS FOR INDIANS IN NATAL.
(1911 -- 1947)



similar circumstances. As far as it is known separation of European from non-European is complete and rigid.

The practice of racial separation until 1942 was supported by a regulation published in 1909 (G.N. 201/1909), presumed to be valid under certain provisions of Act 5 of 1894. The same set of regulations had imposed different maximum age limits for Indian and European children at government schools, and in a legal suit brought by the Indian community against the Minister of Education the Court upheld the validity of that regulation (2). The Indians did not take the matter to higher courts as they had intended to, and the Department continued to develop the system of segregated schools on the strength of that judgment. It was not until the Education Ordinance of 1942 was passed that a clear statutory authority was conferred upon the Education Department to establish separate schools for each race, or "for pupils belonging to one or more of such classes of persons"(3).

The system of segregated schools was the inevitable product of a race and colour-caste society, such as obtains in South Africa. It does not seem that the system would undergo any change unless the political and economic foundations of South African society are changed, which would allow the non-Europeans to rise to the same standards of living and culture as the European people. Present inequalities and wide diversities in those respects would act as barriers to the abolition of the system.

The original idea appears to have been to

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2. See Chapters XI and XII.
3. Ntl. Edn. Ordinance, No.23/1942 - Sect. 4.

develop racially separate but similar and qualitatively equal educational facilities for each racial group. But these ideas and objectives appear to have been discarded in the post-Union period. Progress in the direction of providing similar facilities and equal educational opportunities for Europeans and non-Europeans was very slow indeed. In practice segregation has meant cheaper and inferior facilities and restricted opportunities for the non-Europeans. Other considerations such as the preservation of "White Supremacy" or "White Leadership" or "White Civilisation" have been the real determining factors in the development of the educational system. The system as it stands would continue to accentuate racial, colour and class differences, and hinder the growth of a concept of common citizenship for all races. In the immediate future, progress is likely to take place in the direction of equalization of educational facilities and opportunities without racial intermingling. At any rate, this is the present trend of Indian agitation, which hitherto, has been opposed to all segregation in principle.

As in the previous periods, there were the government, government-aided and private schools. Interesting developments in connection with the government schools were the establishment of (1) secondary schools, and primary schools with secondary "tops", and (2) girls' schools. In September, 1946 there were five Indian schools doing post-primary work(4); three up to the Matriculation level, and two up to the Junior Certificate. In 1947 another two schools at Dundee and Newcastle started secondary classes. In the previous period the two Higher Grade Indian Schools at

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4. Monthly Circular (Ntl. Edn. Dept.) - Statistical Supplement, Sept., 1946 : p.5.

Durban and Pietermaritzburg respectively carried Indian pupils up to Standard VII only. As for girls' schools, there were in September, 1946 six such schools completely under the Education Department (4). One of these in Durban is described as a high school. Government activity in this direction is of recent origin. The first government school for girls was opened in 1930(4a). Three more girls' schools under State control were added, by conversion of aided schools, only as recently as 1945 and 1946. There were two aided schools for Indian girls in 1946 (4b). In all there were then 8 schools exclusively for Indian girls in 1946 compared to three in 1925, for instance (4c). This development is very important to the progress of Indian education as the attendance of Indian girls in large numbers is dependent upon the provision of a number of schools exclusively for girls.

The aided school is still an essential feature of the system of schools for Indian children, and the bulk of them are housed in just these schools. They are all primary schools. There were four types of aided schools depending upon whether they had been established by the efforts of (a) Christian missions, (b) Hindus, (c) Muslims, or (d) lay Europeans. Schools established by Hindu and Muslim denominational groups are a new development in the history of Indian education. Now the managers or proprietors of aided schools were vested with the right of admission or exclusion of any pupil, or class of pupil (4d). This means that the schools supported by the State are not open to any Indian child by right. The situation leaves the schools open to exploitation by sectional interests. If certain

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4a. Report, Supt. of Edn. (Ntl.), 1930.
4b. Monthly Circular (Ntl.Edn.Dept.) - Statistical Supplement, Sept., 1946 : p.11-12.
4c. Report, Supt.Edn.(Ntl.),1925 : p.81.
4d. Director of Edn. to S.Cooppan : 10 Nov.,1947 (N.E.D. 40/3174.

tendencies now being displayed are permitted to develop, it is likely that there will be in the near future schools which cater exclusively for the rich Indians, or Hindus or Muslims or Christians. To racial and colour segregation will be added linguistic, religious and economic segregation in the system of Indian schools.

Then there were the private schools. Some of these were schools in which only Indian languages were taught, and others in which a certain amount of English was also taught. In 1928 Mr. Kichlu reported that there were about 50 such schools maintained by the Indian community, and that the total cost of the buildings was about £35,000 (5). Most of them were connected with the Mohammedan mosques and were maintained by the Muslim community. Such schools are known as "Madressas". The Hindu schools are generally known as "Patshalas". Mr. Kichlu gave detailed descriptions of five Hindu schools at Newcastle, Dannhauser, Dundee, Ladysmith and Stanger, where Tamil and Hindi were taught (5); and of nine "Madressas" at Stanger, Umzinto, Newcastle, Dannhauser, Dundee, Ladysmith, Estcourt, Durban and Pietermaritzburg (5), where Urdu, Arabic and religion were taught. Though the vernacular schools were not conducted as efficiently as the public schools, yet they had arisen to cater for the special cultural needs of the Indian people, and they were an essential feature in the education of the Indian child.

This period also saw a private school preparing Indians for post-primary subjects, situated in Durban and known as the Indian Educational Institute.

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5. Kichlu Memorandum (1928) - para.65.

More will be said of this institute later.

Now under the Education Ordinance of 1942 all private schools had to be registered in the Education Department. In 1945 there were thirteen schools with an enrolment of 1,055 pupils (6), and in 1946 there were ten with an enrolment of 817 pupils (7). It is not clear which of these were English schools awaiting a grant-in-aid, and which were Vernacular schools. The Tamil Protective Association Vernacular School, Maritzburg, has been listed with 34 pupils in the secondary division in September, 1946. But it is not known that the Indian high school at Maritzburg was so full as to refuse admission to secondary pupils. That school, therefore, was probably a Tamil school. It would be a new and interesting development if private vernacular schools were being brought under Departmental supervision. The relevant regulation is not specific in this regard, but it is not likely that it was intended to be applied to vernacular schools of the Madressa and Patshala type.

Another interesting but short-lived development in the system of Indian schools was the establishment in 1940 of an evening class at Durban for Indian youths <u>in employment</u>, who were under 16 years of age and had not passed Standard IV (8). The classes ~~were~~ was conducted by the Indian Technical Institute in Durban, mainly for the youths at the Durban Municipal Corporation Barracks (Somsteu Road), and were subsidised by the Education Department (9). In 1940 the Province made a grant of £60 (10). Another condition of grants-in-aid

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6. Monthly Circular (Ntl.Edn.Dept.) Statistical Supplement, Sept. 1945 - p.26.
7. Ibid : Sept. 1946 - p.26.
8. Ibid : Oct. 1940 - p.13; and March, 1941 - p.13.
9. Minutes, Indian Technical Edn. Committee : 23 Oct.,1941
10. Ibid : Balance Sheet for Year Ending 31 Dec.,1940.

appeared to be that the supervising teacher should be a European (9). In 1940 there were 27 pupils in attendance, and in 1941 there were 33 pupils (11). The class failed because of the difficulty of keeping out pupils who turned to this class owing to lack of accommodation in the day schools (12).

This class was reminiscent of the evening classes sponsored by the Indian Immigrant School Board. It marked an attempt by the Natal Provincial Administration to make up for the deficiencies in the system of education for Indians and eradicate illiteracy amongst the young people, but unfortunately the experiment was not pursued with vigour by either the Indian Technical Institute or the Education Department. There was, of course, the danger that this makeshift measure might have distracted attention from the main issue of providing more day-school accommodation and introducing compulsory education. But the scheme would definitely have met the needs of the class for which it was intended - a class which probably contains several hundred youths in Natal. The Indian Technical Institute itself held continuation classes from Beginners to Standard VII, but admission was restricted to pupils from the age of 16, or who had passed Standard IV (13).

Attention is also drawn to the absence of "farm" schools for Indian children. These are government-aided "schools", or rather centres of instruction, in the outlying rural areas. The average number of pupils in each European "farm" school was generally three or four. In September, 1946 there were 170 farm

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11. Monthly Circulars (Ntl.Edn.Dept.) - Statistical Supplement : Oct.,1940 - p.13, and March, 1941 - p.13.
12. Minutes, Indian Technical Education Committee : 23 Oct. 1941.
13. From personal knowledge as Secretary-Registrar of the Institute in 1945.

schools in the European system catering for 468 pupils (14); and two for Coloureds with 12 pupils (14). With the erection of centralised boarding schools, "farm" schools are a diminishing feature of the Natal system of schools (15). It is interesting to record that in 1928 Mr. Kichlu urged the establishment of not only "farm" schools for small agricultural centres, but also "factory" schools near the mining centres (16). Finally, it should be mentioned that there were no boarding schools for Indians in the system.

Examine now the growth of this system in terms of the number of schools and number of pupils brought under instruction. Taking the growth of schools first, a study of TABLE 1[x] will indicate that the total number of primary and secondary schools for Indian children established or supported by the State had increased from 36 in 1911 to 144 in 1946. This represents a relative increase of 400 per cent. It will be noted, here again, that the years 1927-1928 mark a turning point in the development of Indian education. Whereas during the seventeen years between 1911 and 1927 there was an increase of only 21 schools, yet in the succeeding nineteen years some 87 new schools were opened. The volume of growth after the Cape Town Agreement in 1927 was then about four times greater than in the period before it.

It will also be observed that in this period four times as many government-aided as government schools were established. From the beginning to the end of this period a total of 21 new government and 87 new government-aided schools were opened. The Provincial

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14. Monthly Circular (Ntl.Edn.Dept.) - Statistical Supplement, Sept., 1946 : p.28.
15. In 1925 there were 279 European farm schools with a gross enrolment of 1075. (Report, Supt. Edn.(Ntl.), 1925 - p.65).
16. Kichlu Memorandum, 1928 : paras. 68,69.

[x]See Page 511.

TABLE I

GROWTH OF INDIAN SCHOOLS IN NATAL

(1911 - 1946)

Year	Govt.	Aided	Total	Year	Govt.	Aided	Total
1911	5	31	36	1929	12	64	76
1912	5	34	39	1930	13	69	82
1913	5	36	41	1931	13	72	85
1914	5	34	39	1932	13	72	85
1915	5	34	39	1933	13	72	85
1916	5	39	44	1934	14	79	93
1917	5	39	44	1935	15	80	95
1918	6	39	45	1936	17[xx]	79	96
1919	6	38	44	1937	17	85	102
1920	7	40	47	1938	17	88	105
1921	9	38[x]	47	1939	17	94	111
1922	9	38	47	1940	17	96	113
1923	9	39	48	1941	17	98	115
1924	9	39	48	1942	17	104	121
1925	9	39	48	1943	17	107	124
1926	9	39	48	1944	17	113	130
1927	9	44	53	1945	21	116	137
1928	10	57	67	1946	26	118	144
				1947	26	124	150

REMARKS.

[x] Excluding 4 Part-time Teacher-Training Classes. These were listed in the Reports of the Supt. of Edn. as Aided Schools, but from this date excluded from this TABLE.

[xx] Given as 16 on p.61, and as 17 on p.73 of Report, Supt. Edn. (1936).

1. All information extracted from the Annual Reports of the Superintendent of Education (Natal).

2. Figures for 1944, 1945 and 1946 from the Annual Statistical Supplement to the Natal Education Dept. Monthly Circular to Schools.

Administration appeared to be reluctant to establish government schools for Indians. There were long periods of stagnation before new government schools were opened in new localities. From 1927 to 1944, during the period of maximum expansion, only 8 schools were added to the system of government schools. It was only in 1945 and 1946 that 9 more schools were added to the list. During the same period (1910/11 - 1946) the number of government schools for Europeans increased from 59 to 154, for Coloureds from 2 to 19, and for the Natives (Bantu) from nil to 214(17). It should, however, be mentioned that while numbers might have remained static, extensions had been carried out to some of the government Indian schools buildings, so that they could accommodate more children. Thus, between 1936 and 1944 the number of schools remained static at 17, but the average enrolment increased from 4,288 to 7,257 (a) (See TABLE 2 - Page 544).

Accessions to the list of government schools came about in different ways. Sometimes the Administration erected a new building and started a new government school. Examples of these are Mitchell Crescent, Durban (now the Indian Girls' High) and Greyville, Durban established in 1921 and 1938 respectively (18). A new school may have arisen in existing government school buildings. For example, the Durban Indian Girls' High School is housed in the Mitchell Crescent School, which was a boys' primary school; similarly the Dartnell Crescent Junior Girls' School, Durban is housed in the old Carlisle Street (or Higher Grade) School. Some government schools started their career in hired buildings until a new building was erected for them. Dundee, Estcourt, Port Shepstone and the Maritzburg

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17. Report, Supt. Edn.(Ntl.) : 1910/11.
Monthly Circular (Ntl. Edn. Dept.) - Statistical Supplement, Sept.,1946 : p.28.

(a) The latter figure represents attendance as at Sept.,1944 and not average enrolment, figures for average enrolment not being available.

18. Reports, Supt.Edn.(Ntl) : 1921 & 1938.

Girls' Schools belong to this category (19). Actually Port Shepstone is housed in a provincial hospital building adapted for school purposes (20). Then there were others erected by the Indian community and handed over to the Administration. Sastri College at Durban is the outstanding example, having cost the Indians about £18,000 (21). Sometimes newly erected aided buildings were absorbed into the government school system. The following aided schools, for instance, were well designed, substantial brick buildings: Tongaat Boys', Mt. Edgecombe, Fairbreeze, Naidoo Memorial (Umkomaas), Clairwood Senior Boys' and Clairwood Senior Girls'. Most of the government schools had originally been government-aided schools.

It will be gathered from this that the State avoided, as far as possible, incurring additional capital expenditure on Indian education, and depended to a large extent upon private enterprise for providing even its own schools. The relative capital expenditure on European education and Indian education has already been discussed in the chapter dealing with finance. It is sufficient to state that the growth of government schools was restricted by the unwillingness of the Natal Provincial Administration to provide more money for capital expenditure on buildings, and of the Union Government to provide an increased subsidy adequate to meet the higher cost of conducting such schools. When in the circumstances the Education Department sought to assist private

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19. Kichlu Memorandum (1928) : p.13.
    Report, Supt. Edn. (Ntl.) : 1934 - p.18; 1935 - p.16; 1938/39 - pp.14-16.
20. Ibid : 1928 & 1935 - p.16.
21. Ibid : 1930 - p.14.
    Report, Agent-General for India, 1927 : para.40.
    ("Sastri Speaks" - p.241.)

enterprise in building aided schools by providing building grants from the money meant for ordinary, recurrent expenditure, it can be imagined how much lower the standards of Indian education were depressed, how much more the gap between European and Indian education was widened, and how much more remote became the ideal of providing equality of educational opportunity for all the citizens of the State.

The fourfold expansion in the total number of Indian schools has, then, been largely due to the increase in the number of aided schools. Compared to the position in 1911(See TABLE I) there were 87 additional aided schools in existence in 1946. Actually more than this number of aided schools had come into being, but some of them had been converted into government schools. The rate of growth appears to have been accelerated since the Cape Town Agreement of 1927. Whereas between 1911 and 1927 only 13 new schools had been added to the system, yet between 1928 and 1946 another 70 schools came into being.

Comparing the number of government schools with the number of aided schools, it will be observed that a very large proportion belonged to the latter class. In 1911 the ratio of government to government-aided schools was about one to six; in 1928 the ratio was almost about the same; and, in 1946 it had been reduced to only one is to four-and-a-half. Thus, it may be said, that the aided system of schools provided the chief means of education for Indian children in Natal. This statement is substantiated by the distribution of the pupils over the two systems of schools. Examining TABLE 2 it will be observed that while the government schools had absorbed an additional 10,048 pupils since 1911, the government-aided schools

absorbed over the same period some 21,773 additional pupils, or, in other words, twice the number. In 1911 approximately 84 per cent of the total number of Indian pupils were educated in the aided schools; in 1927 the proportion was reduced to only 79 per cent; and in 1946 to only 70 per cent. Thus, in 1946 seven-tenths of the Indian children depended for their education upon accommodation provided by private enterprise, partly assisted by the State. The government schools then catered for only 30 per cent. In striking contrast, in 1946, out of 35,151 European pupils in government and government-aided farm and fixed schools, 30,541 were in attendance at government schools, or about 85 per cent (22). The figures for the same year for Coloureds in government schools was 63 per cent, and for Natives (Bantu) 42 per cent approximately (22).

The excessive proportion of aided schools in the system of Indian education is an indication of the laissez faire attitude adopted by the State towards the educational needs of the Indian. The aided school system, the absence of compulsory attendance of pupils, and the lack of free education services owe their origin to the philosophy of laissez faire pursued by so many governments in the past, not only in matters concerning education but also trade, industry, labour conditions, housing, town planning, transport and so on. But these ideas have been abandoned now in all civilised and progressive countries. In Natal they were abandoned when compulsory education of European children was enforced by Act 6 of 1910, and education for European children was made free in 1918, and various steps were taken subsequently to equalize educational opportunities for European children.

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22. Monthly Circular (Ntl.Edn.Dept.) - Statistical Supplement, Sept.,1946 - p.28 - calculated.

The new outlook was, however, not carried over to encompass the Indian people in its view. It must have been due to the habit of viewing the Indian people as something apart, something "alien" in South African society; as people who did not have the same claims as Europeans for educational and other facilities. The same attitude was adopted towards the educational needs of the other non-European races in South Africa. To illustrate, in 1922/a provincial committee of inquiry into Natal education generally expressed a regret that Indian demands for improved educational facilities were based upon "the political cry of equal rights and opportunities with the European"; and it went on to state that as the European systems of so-called free education were the outcome or successors of self-supporting systems or institutions, that similar opportunities were open to the Indian community (23). It then recommended that where a disposition to self-help was manifested the State might give some assistance.

The Superintendent of Education (Mr. H. R. Dukes) however, contradicted the existence of the alleged opportunities, when he wrote, inter alia (24),

> ".....the Indian should be given the opportunity to pay for further education if he wants it. The trouble is that if he does want it, and is willing to pay for it, there is no machinery for getting this done. It is surely the business of the White rulers of this country to afford this chance to the Indian who does not know how to set about getting it."

It seems as if there was not only a policy of laissez faire but also one of repression. Similar opportunities for

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23. Report, Education Committee, 1922 (W.A.D.Russell) - para.23. (April 1922)
24. Report, Supt. Edn.(Ntl.), 1921 : p.6.

Indians as for Europeans simply did not exist in Natal. Where Indians have shown similar initiative and made similar self-sacrifices to improve themselves educationally and otherwise European political power was employed to restrict rather than encourage such activities. This was admitted at the 1928 Indian Education Inquiry Committee. The fragmented view of society commonly held in South Africa dies hard. That it makes it easier to condone a laissez faire policy in the case of the non-European at all times is evident from the following views expressed by an Education Commission as recently as 1937 (25):-

> "It has taken the European hundreds of years to achieve his present educational status, and this has been acquired only as the result of generations of effort and self-sacrifice. Although the Indian has behind him an ancient civilisation, the idea of popular education has come to him comparatively recently, and it can be fully realised only when the community is prepared for its acceptance by years of effort and sacrifice."

These views were expressed even after the general poverty of the Indian masses, their past and present self-sacrifices to promote the education of their children had been abundantly illustrated by witnesses and even acknowledged by the Commission. The communal way of thinking which Mr. Sastri would have wished to eradicate, however, must obtrude. Reference to India and conditions of education in India can hardly have relevance to the demands of Indians born and bred in South Africa, governed by substantially the same laws, owing allegiance to the same central authority, and described as a South African Nationals like the Europeans settled in South Africa. This

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25. Report, Natal Education Commission, 1937 (Broome) : para. 453 (U.N.60/1938).

line of thinking, if it does not seek to rationalise what is patently iniquitous treatment of a section of the population, still betrays the laissez faire attitude, a certain indifference or reluctance to assume full responsibility for the education of the Indian, and non-European generally. When such an attitude continues to be adopted towards the needs of the Indian people in Natal, it serves to focus attention on the unevenness of the distribution of the elements of social well-being and social justice, and the imperfections of democracy in this part of the world in this enlightened era.

The dependence of Indian education on the aided schools was immediately necessitated by lack of adequate financial support both from the Central and the Provincial Governments. The Central Government subsidy per European child was £16. 7. 6d. in Natal, and per Indian child £5. 5. 0d. The Provincial Government not only made no additional contribution from its own resources, as it did for European education, but it actually spent less than the total amount of the subsidy earned on Indian education (a). Since all expenditure on Indian education, right up to 1939, was kept within the maximum amount of the subsidy received from the Central Government, it was possible to maintain the more expensive government schools only by saving on (or reducing the cost of) the aided schools (b). That this is exactly what the Education Department had been doing was acknowledged at the two inquiries into Indian education in 1928 and 1937 (26). In short it was a cheap system of education for it avoided capital

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(a) Fuller discussion in Chapter XIV.
(b) See per capita costs in Chapter XIV.
26. Minutes of Evidence, Ind.Edn.Inq.Cmttee.(1928): 2 Apr. Evidence by Mr. Hugh Bryan, Supt. of Edn.
Report, Ntl. Edn. Commsn.(1937) : para.439(P.N.60/1938)
See also Report, Supt.Edn.(Ntl.),1929 : p.15.

expenditure on land and buildings, on equipment and furniture, and made possible the employment of teachers on a scale of salaries and conditions of service inferior to that of the teachers in the direct employment of the Department. Thus, the unit cost in 1937 to the Department in an aided Indian school was about £3.15.10d., while the unit cost in a primary government Indian school was about £7; if post-primary education is included the unit cost of government schools rises to £9.12. Os.(27).

The Union subsidy was £5. 5. Od. per unit. Since this subsidy was paid on the previous year's average attendance, the effective subsidy actually available for current development was even less (28), because (1) the number of pupils to be catered for in any year was always greater than the number in the previous year, and (2) the average attendance units are always lower than the average enrolment units. Inspector Mr. Lawlor calculated that the effective subsidy for 1929 was only £4. 7. 6d. per pupil (28). Building grants for aided schools had to come out from this subsidy too. European education did not face similar difficulties because of its larger subsidy, and additional provincial contribution towards recurrent and capital expenditure. This also applied to Coloured education. An ability to manipulate finance was a much more necessary qualification in the Inspector of Indian education than any professional educational experience. The truly remarkable abilities of Inspector Mr. Lawlor will only be appreciated when one

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27. Report, Ntl.Edn.Commsn.(1937) : para.439.
28. Report, Supt. Edn.(Ntl.),1929 : p.15ff. An interesting and detailed account by Inspector Mr. Lawlor on the subject of the financial problems of Indian education.

comes to study the "improved" scales of salaries he designed for government-aided teachers (where none existed before), the Fort Hare bursary scheme for Indian teachers, and the system of building grants to aided schools - all out of £5. 5. 0d. per caput ! The immediate effect of Natal's (and the Union's) laissez faire policy accentuated periodically by a hostile policy, was the restriction of funds available for Indian education.

There were many unsatisfactory features associated with the sided system of schools for Indian children, the chief of which were :-

(1) it depended primarily upon local initiative, and local economic ability to provide land, building and furniture before a school could be started in any locality; the serious anomaly in the system, therefore, consisted in the fact that it "helped those who were most able and willing to help themselves, but those who from ignorance, poverty or indifference, made no effort to found schools, and who thus showed more plainly their need of instruction, were left in their apathy, unless an external agency other than that of the Government was set to work on their behalf."(29);

(2) poorly qualified, poorly paid, unfairly treated, and discontented teaching staff;

(3) poorly built, poorly maintained, poorly furnished and equipped school buildings.

(4) gave an opportunity to certain persons of acquiring ownership or control over school property to serve private or sectional interests;

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29. Report, Supt. Edn.(Cape),1870 : Secondary Source - Malherbe, E.G., op.cit., p.114.

(5) tended to promote sectional interests, and accentuate religious rivalry.

In spite of drawbacks it has been the policy of the Province to develop Indian education along the aided system. The lack of finance compelled the Education Department to make a virtue out of necessity. The Superintendent of Education himself (Mr. Hugh Bryan) stated in 1928 that for the sake of efficiency he would rather see all the aided Indian schools converted to Government status (30). Mr. Kichlu's recommendations (a) too revealed a very disturbing state of affairs. But the 1928 Inquiry Committee, faced with a Union subsidy less than one-third of the amount given to Europeans and reluctant to recommend drawing upon provincial resources, instead recommended that the most speedy way of expanding educational facilities for Indian children would be by way of extension of the aided schools throughout the Province (31). It was a question of a choice between wider dissemination of education, however inferior, among the people or of a more expensive education for the few (32). In the circumstances, Mr. Sastri and Mr. Kichlu, taking a realistic view also agreed that the extension of the aided system would be the best solution (33). Mr. Kichlu, however, urged that in the interest of efficient education the proportion of pupils enrolled in government and government-aided schools should be raised in the following three years to one-third and two-thirds, and thereafter to half-and-half as soon as possible (33).

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30. Minutes of Evidence, Ind.Edn.Inq.Cmtee.,1928 : 2 Apr. (Mr. Bryan).
31. Report, Ind.Edn.Inq.Ctee.,1928 : para.8(a)(P.N.174/1928)(a) Chapter XV : p.497.
32. Report,Supt.Edn.(Ntl.),1929 : p.13.
33. Kichlu Memorandum (1928) : para.32.
Minutes of Evidence, Ind.Edn.Inq.Cmtee.(1928) : p.107 - Mr. Sastri's Evidence.

The Education Commission of 1937 recommended a similar course of action for the same reasons (34), though the inadequacies of the system were recognised.

In 1944 a central government inquiry committee into provincial finances, generally known as the Corbett Committee, after its chairman, Mr. A. F. Corbett, having examined the school accommodation available for Coloured and Indian children, held the view that it was the financial responsibility of the State to see that adequate accommodation was provided for every child of school-going age, whether through State or State-aided schools.(35) This Committee admitted that the excessive proportion of aided schools in the Indian system was not conducive to efficiency, and recommended that it should be reduced (36). It, however, believed that aided schools would continue to be a "necessary feature" of Indian education in Natal, as in those schools the Indians could meet "the particular conditions which are essential to them."(36) From the previous sentences in that paragraph it would appear that the Committee was referring to the social customs of the Indians, and in particular to their objections to mixed schools for girls. Whether the demand for special girls' schools is peculiar to Indians, and whether it could be met only by aided schools is open to question.

In fairness to the Committee it should be mentioned that it was not prepared to condone lower standards in the aided schools. To quote (37):-

> "If it is the function of the State to see that each child receives adequate education, it must exercise that function in respect of

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34. Report, Ntl.Edn.Commsn.(1937)(Broome) : paras.436-439. (P.N.60/1938).
35. Report, Prov.Finan.Resources Comtee.,1944 : paras. 329, 342 (U.G. 9/1944).
36. Ibid : para.342.
37. Ibid : para.344.

> all children, irrespective of whether they are educated in State schools or other schools.....the subsidy should be designed to bring the education up to the standard required by the State and should not be based upon the recognition of lower standards in non-State schools."

The Committee's views with regard to approximating standards in Indian schools and European schools were unfortunately not as clearly and forcibly expressed. It seems as if this point was left obscure purposely. But its recommendation that a Union subsidy of £22.10.0d. should be paid to the Province per European child (38) and £10 per Indian and Coloured child, is sufficiently eloquent as not to require further comment.

The Indian community, through its teachers' societies and political organisations, on the other hand, has persistently agitated for the conversion of aided schools to government status (40). For the teacher, conditions of service were well-nigh intolerable; it was probably the lack of other avenues of employment that held anybody in the service at all. For the parent, the aided schools were more expensive than the government schools and were open to the objection of

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38. Report, Prov.Finan.Resources Ctee., 1944 - para.483
40. 1921 : Memoranda to the Russell Edn. Inq. Comttee. by Durban and Dist. Indian Teachers' Society, Durban and Dist. Indian Ednl. Advisory Comttee. Natal Indian Congress (P.M.Burg Branch);
    1928 : Memoranda to Dyson Ind. Edn. Inq. Comttee. (1928) by Natal Indian Teachers' Society, Mr. Kichlu, Natal Indian Congress (P.M.Burg Branch), South African Indian Federation, H.L.Paul and others.
    1937 : Memoranda to Natal Edn. Commsn.(Broome) by Natal Indian Congress, Natal Indian Teachers' Society.
    1944 : Memoranda to Natal Indian Affairs Commission (Broome) by the above bodies again.
    July 1947 : Natal Indian Congress Memorandum to Administrator of Natal on "Indian Education".

Christian missionary influences, and the system virtually imposed a special education tax on Indians not universally applicable. To the community generally, the continued extension of educational facilities through the aided system meant continued denial of similarity and equality of educational opportunity with their fellow European citizens; it meant racial discrimination in education; it meant inferior facilities. They, therefore, objected to the entire system on principle, and called upon the Government to assume full responsibility for the education of Indian children. Equality of educational opportunity was but one aspect of their general struggle for equality of opportunity in the political and economic spheres and for the recognition of common citizenship with the presently dominant European group.

Having considered the chief reason for the preponderance of aided schools in the system of education for Indian children, consider now the agencies that contributed to the establishment of these schools. There are two standpoints from which this question may be studied, namely (a) the source from which the funds came for the erection of the buildings, and (b) the class of person in whom the management of the schools was vested.

With regard to the first point of view, it may be said at once that all evidence points to the fact that the Indian community itself, directly and indirectly, made the most substantial material contribution towards the erection and maintenance of the aided schools. This they no doubt did, under the sympathetic guidance and skilful leadership of persons who were mostly non-Indians, Christian missionaries and lay philanthropists. Prior to the Cape Town Agreement

and even more so after the Agreement, the Indians themselves were the principal persons to shoulder the responsibility for providing school accommodation. In many instances, evidence for the material contribution of the Indian community has been obscured by the ownership of the school property being vested in non-Indian persons, corporate bodies, or denominational missions.

It was Mr. Kichlu who, in 1928 first made known the extent of the contribution of the Indian community towards the education of their children, as evidence of their desire to profit by education and willingness to help themselves. Now this was in the period prior to the stimulus and encouragement given by the Cape Town Agreement. He estimated that Indians had contributed £15,000 towards the buildings which then formed part of the system of public schools (government and government-aided)(41), and £35,000 towards the construction of buildings of private schools in which English and vernacular instruction were being given (41), making a total of £50,000. Between 1919-1927, besides material and labour, a sum of £3,037 was contributed towards the aided schools. In 1928 the community had raised by subscription a sum of £20,000 towards the construction and equipment of a new Training College and High School at Durban (i.e. Sastri College)(41). Evidently the Natal Indian Congress, before the 1928 Education Inquiry Committee, also revealed the existence of two Education Trusts

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41. Kichlu Memorandum (1928) : p.15 - para. 28:
p.33 - para.66.

created by an Indian, the late Mr. Parsee Rustomjee of Durban, involving an amount of about £45,000, and which brought in an income of £2,000 per annum (42). It was declared that almost all of this amount was used from time to time to erect school buildings.

There were 39 aided schools in existence in 1926. These schools were erected and maintained from funds obtained from different sources, namely, (1) savings from the general maintenance grant-in-aid from the Department, (2) Indian subscription, individual and collective, (3) Christian Mission funds, (4) individual European philanthropists, and (5) fee income. On analysing the information gathered by Mr. Kichlu (43) regarding these schools, the following picture emerges :-

Building Cost Met By	Number of Schools Completely	Partly	Rental Met By
Government.....	1	4	1[x]
Missionary Body.....	5	1	
Community.....	8	10	2
Single Donor :			
European.....	1	3	
Indian.....	2	-	
School Fees.....	4	11	4

[x] Trinley Manor, only from 1916-1920.

Now school fees are contributed by Indian parents, and, therefore, should be considered as Indian contribution. It will be seen that 14 out of 21 schools were put up entirely with Indian money, and 21 out of 29 partly

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42. Minutes of Evidence, Ind. Edn. Inq. Comttee.(1928) : Supplementary Statement by the Natal Indian Congress
43. Kichlu Memorandum (1928) : Appendix K.

from Indian money. . Furthermore, the Indian community paid monthly rentals for the hire of school buildings, ranging from £21 to £84 per annum. The total value of the buildings were estimated to be £22,755 and Indian contribution £15,000 (43).

It is noteworthy that in the case of 19 schools the fee-income had been utilised to pay for the cost of erection or hire of school buildings. It also seemed to be common practice to pay off the debts on buildings by pooling together the fee-income and savings from the government grant-in-aid (44). Such savings from the grant-in-aid were made at the expense of the poor teacher. It was usual for a manager to pool together the total income from grants-in-aid and school fees from all the schools under his control, and pay the teachers of individual schools at his own discretion, there being no scales of salaries for aided school teachers (44). The total savings available to a manager for redemption of debts on capital expenditure were thus greatly increased.

It is interesting to record that while most of the aided Indian schools were under Christian missionary management, very few of them had erected school buildings from their own mission funds. Where such buildings had been erected by the Mission, it was not unusual for rentals to be charged against school revenue (45). The original outlay of some of these Christian bodies was thus recovered through rentals and sometimes "more than recovered" (45a). Two schools erected by individual Indian donors also appear to have been a form of investment for rentals were paid from the fee-income (45).

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44. Kichlu Memorandum (1928) : paras. 22, 28.
45. Ibid : Appendix K.
45a Report, Survey of G/A Schools in Durban and Peri-Durban Areas, 1939 : by P. Sykes, Asst. Sec. Agent-General for India - p.27. (Agency Files).

Some Missions and lay European managers came to own school property in their own name, though their own contribution was but financial administration (46). There was one glaring case of a Mission (46a) which obtained a building grant of £2,000 from the Provincial Administration on the understanding that the Mission would contribute a like sum in order to erect a new aided Indian school in Durban. But it appeared that the contribution of the Mission was only in the form of a loan raised by the Mission, the interest of which was paid from the ppoled income of the schools. A sinking fund had also been formed in respect of the loan to which contribution was made from the pooled income of the schools. A nominal rental of £30 per annum was also charged for the building from the pooled income. The Mission further proposed to pay off the debt by selling one of the buildings in its charge towards which an Indian philanthropist had donated £1,600.

It was thus usual for managing bodies to raise loans for which the school income was pledged in advance. As the management was largely in the hands of Europeans, the Sykes Report of 1939 alleged that in some localities Indians lost interest in their schools because the assets in the nature of land and buildings were taken over by the manager and were lost to the community (47). Mr. Kichlu's recommendations in regard to these matters have been set out in the previous chapter (a), but apparently the situation had not changed much in 1939.

In this discussion on the source of revenues for construction of aided school buildings reference was made

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46. Kichlu Memorandum (1928) : paras. 25, 28.
46a Ibid : p.14 - para.28.
47. Report, Survey of G/A Schools, etc.,1939 by P.Sykes (op.cit. p. 27.
(a) Chapter XV - page 497.

to government grants-in-aid. Now these were meant to pay for the salaries of teachers, and, perhaps, also for equipment and general maintenance. It was not meant to be used for capital expenditure on buildings. The fact that it has been so used shows how loose was Departmental supervision over the financial affairs of the aided schools in 1928. Prior to 1930 it was not usual to make building grants to aided Indian schools (48). Between 1911 - 1928 the actual amount given in building grants to aided Indian schools totalled £5,685, and the sum included £2,000 given in 1927 to the Mission referred to above (49). Mr. Kichlu urged that local initiative should be encouraged by a definite system of building grants for which regular budgetary provisions are made (50).

In 1930 regulations were framed which made explicit provision for a building grant limited to one-third of the registered valuation or proved cost of the building (51). Where an existing school or a new school was about to be converted to government status, then it was competent for the Department to make a building grant of any amount (52). Thus Fairbreeze and Mount Edgecombe which were converted to government schools as soon as their buildings were completed came under the latter regulations.(53) An amendment to these regulations in 1944 (54) increased the amount of Government assistance that may be given. While the basic rate still remained one-third, it was

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48. Kichlu Memorandum, 1928 ; Appendix G - Section III
49. Ibid ; para.28 - p.14; Report, Ntl.Prov.Auditor 1927/28 - p.63.
50. Ibid ; para.29 - p.16.
51. P.N. 253/1930.
52. P.N. 453/1934.
53. Reports, Supt. Edn., 1934- p.14; 1936 - p.12.
54. P.N. 79/1944.

it was permissible to exceed this limit up to one-half the proved cost of the building. Many of the new aided schools were thus assisted to the extent of 50 per cent of their building costs, but in 1947 the Department, for some reason or other, reverted to the basic rate (55).

Complete figures for the annual amounts thus provided are not available. In 1935, however, a sum of £5,700 was given out as building grants to aided schools, and this money was used for renovations and structural improvements to some schools, class room extensions at others, and for the erection of new school buildings (56). In 1938 the total grant to 7 aided schools was £3,333 (57) and in 1939 it was £6,000 to 23 aided schools (58). Government initiative in providing aided school accommodation for Indian children, therefore, only really commenced from 1930. But money for this purpose, coming as it did from the budget for ordinary expenditure, was severely limited, and was entirely inadequate to meet the needs of an expanding system. The growth of schools was, therefore, retarded as many localities were unable to erect their own buildings without substantial State assistance. Thus, in 1936 there were requests for assistance from School Committees affecting 19 schools (59).

Compared to previous periods, and in contrast to lack of Government initiative, the Indians showed considerable activity in providing their own school

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55. "Leader" - 5 Apr.,1947, "Education Dept. Alters Grant" - 26 Apr.,1947, "Indians Relieving State of Responsibility"
56. Report, Supt. Edn.,1935 - p.16 ; para.7.
57. Ibid : 1938/39 ; p.14.
58. Ibid ; 1938/39 ; p.16.
59. Memorandum to Ntl. Indian Edn. Commsn.,1937 by Inspector-in-Charge of Indian Schools, Mr.J.Macleod ; p.5.

buildings. The expansion after 1927 is to accounted for by the stimulus of the Cape Town Agreement and the Agent-Generals for India. Indian efforts have been favourably commented upon by the inspectors of schools and by the Commission of 1937 (60). Inspector Mr. Lawlor, for instance, was struck by the magnitude of their efforts "often in the most unlikely places." The provision of building grants by the State was eagerly siezed upon, and undoubtedly must have encouraged them in the work of uplifting themselves. While they continued to agitate for the State to show greater concern for their welfare, it would have been an unwise negative attitude to wait for the State to awaken to its responsibility. It was made clear from various sources that unless the Indian helped himself there was little hope for progress (61a).

One of the chief reasons for the increased activity of Indians in erecting schools was the desire to counteract the proselytizing activities of Christian missionaries. The religious motive provided a powerful incentive in the development of educational facilities for Indian children. Anti-Christian sentiment has always been strong amongst the Indians, but it had become more vocal and organised in the post-Union period. Reference to the census figures for 1921 and 1936 will show the relatively small progress made by Christianity in obtaining converts to its fold. At one time a section of the Indians thought that by embracing Christianity they would achieve a higher status in the country, on par with the Christian European community, but the

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60. Reports, Supt.Edn.(Ntl.) : 1931 - p.9; 1932 - p.14; 1934 - p.30; 1937 - p.14,28.
61. Ibid : 1931 - p.9.
61a. Ibid : 1930 - p.15 (Inspector Mr. Lawlor); 1931-p.9. Report, Ntl.Edn.Commsn.,1937 : paras.437, 451 (P.N.60/1938).

increasing severity of the colour bar has shattered these hopes. Economic reasons had compelled others to change their faith. The continuation of caste prejudices in the Hindu community has been another reason.

The following quotation from a Hindu paper published in Natal will adequately illustrate the Hindu viewpoint in regard to missionary activity in education (62):-

> "The Government Aided schools under missionary control or semi-control are decidedly a menace to our (national) solidarity..... The activities of the missionaries, perhaps contrary to their intention, tends to cause disunion and (disruption) in many families by creating a false notion of independence in family relationship quite juxtaposed to the generally accepted principles of Indian family life. It also conduces to make pernicious inroads in our national, political, social and religious notions. It tends, in short, to minimize the virtues of Indian civilization in the uncultured minds of the products of these missionary scholastic institutions. The education in the Government schools also tends towards the same objective but not to the same extent as it is not obsessed with the Christian missionary zeal." (a)

At the 1928 Education Inquiry one of the missionaries admitted that mission schools existed to provide religious education, and that, therefore, the managing board retained the power of appointing teachers in their own hands (62a). Indians complained that non-Christians were prejudiced in their chances of securing employment in aided schools under clerical management (63). As recently as 1943 a similar complaint was made that in aided schools under missionary management religion was

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62. "Dharma Vir" - 27 July, 1917, "Education"
See also "Colonial Indian News" - 7 May, 1915 : "Education Grievance"
"Dharma Vir" - 14 Oct.,1916 - "Christian Missionary Propaganda"

(a) Spelling corrected from "nationol"; word changed from "distupture" to "disruption"

62a. Minutes Evidence, Ind. Edn. Inq. Comttee.(1928) : p. 347.

63. Ibid : p.448.

employed as a test of appointment to a post (64). An amendment to Section 2(2) of P.N. 11/1943 conferred powers upon the proprietor of a religious school to require that principal and assistants shall be a member of the religion under the aegis of which the school was conducted. It should be stated that it was open for Hindu ar Muslim denominations to do the same as Christian denominations. It was, however, alleged that non-Christian youths were compelled to change their religion for the sake of securing a teaching post (64). Opposition to these methods, which amounted to economic pressure, has been growing. The absorption of aided school teachers into Government service does not seem to have eliminated the influence of religious denominations in Indian education. Furthermore the Hindu Maha Sabha objected to the teaching of scripture in aided schools to non-Christian children (65).

In these circumstances the only way out for the non-Christian Indians was to establish their own schools and place them under secular European management. It may be mentioned that one of the motives of Indian agitation for conversion of aided schools to government status was to have these schools under secular control. An observation made by one of the Inspectors in 1928 confirms this movement amongst the Indians (66). He also observed that several new grantees of newly recognised schools were Indians (66). From his subsequent remarks one gathers the impression that non-Christian Indians were loath to express their gratitude to the work of the Christian missions in the

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64. "Leader" - 10 July, 1943 ; Editorial - "Teachers' Religion."
65. Minutes Evidence : Ntl. Edn. Commsn.,1937 (Broome) : p.1127ff.
66. Report, Supt. Edn. (1928) ; p.39.

field of education. Examples of schools which owe their origin to the reaction to Christian missionary activity are : Arya Yuvuk Sabha, Hindu Tamil Institute, M. K. Gandhi Sentamil May Street, Hindu Sangatan Candella Girls', Overport Shree Ramyan Sabha, Puntan's Hill, Sarasvati, Shree Gopallal Temple, Temple Somsteu Road, Vedic Sanmarka, Kathiawad Seva Samaj.

In recent years there appears to have been an awakening amongst the Muslim trading class to secure Western educational benefits for their children. No longer are they content to educate their sons just sufficiently to be able to stand behind the counter and give the exact change. The intricacies and difficulties of modern business practice seem to have impressed upon them the need for better educational equipment in order to be better able to stand up to the competition from their Hindu and European rivals. The Muslims, too, have therefore entered into the field of constructing and establishing aided schools under their own management. Hitherto, they have been content to give monetary aid to non-Muslims to establish schools in which their children were also admitted. Examples of the manifestation of their new outlook are the following schools : May Street Madressa, Mohammedan Oriental (Maritzburg), Nottingham Road, Nizamia Muslim (Maritzburg), the new school at Mayville (Durban) established by the A. M. Lockhat Trust at a cost of nearly £25,000, and the proposed boarding school at Currie's Fountain (Durban)

The successful growth of the aided school system was not made possible merely by constructing a number of school buildings. In the almost discouraging financial circumstances surrounding Indian education a greater burden was thrown upon the management for the continued existence of the schools than upon those who merely constructed the buildings. The magnitude of the

contribution of the management (whatever criticisms there might have been against some of the managers or managing bodies) will only be appreciated when one considers how much skilful husbandry must have been required to erect new schools, furnish and maintain them, and pay teachers' salaries, travelling expenses of managers, supervisory charges, if any, rentals and rates from the pooled income of school fees paid by a generally poverty-stricken people and a capitation grant from the State of only £2.10. 0d. per unit of <u>average attendance</u>. Mr. Kichlu has rightly drawn attention to some of the wide powers vested in the managers, but this was an inevitable development when the State itself showed such little interest in the education of the Indian. The real administrators of Indian education were the managers; they appointed, promoted and dismissed teachers, fixed scales of salaries and conditions of service for teachers, and they were generally responsible for the good conduct of the schools under their care. The function of the Department was merely one of superintendence. If managers and local communities had not taken the trouble and the initiative to establish schools and keep them going there would have been today no system of Indian schools or a tradition of education amongst Indians worth writing or talking about.

In 1929 Inspector Mr. Lawlor, who had an intimate knowledge of the difficulties of the aided system, wrote as follows (67):

> "The wonder is that under these conditions Indian education progressed as it did. On the whole the grantees had a difficult task to perform;

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67. Report, Supt. Edn. (1929) - p.16.

> there is not much liberality towards Indian Aided schools on the part of either Europeans or Indians, and school fees cannot bring in a large sum in view of the money earned by the average Indian parent. On the whole, too, the grantees performed their difficult task with success."

And again (67):-

> "All honour must be paid to those communities that have undertaken in addition to the pursuit of their special objects the ungrateful task of providing for the secular education of the Indian. Some of their critics can have had little appreciation of the difficulties that have beset them, just as many of the critics of a road construction policy have little idea of the cost of making a mile of durable road."

Mr. Kichlu, too, clearly stated that the Indian community was under a deep deabt of gratitude to the present and past grantees and the Missions which conducted the schools; that the noble work done by philanthropic and generous-minded women like Miss Esther Payne-Smith was deserving of high commendation (68). His criticism was directed against the system and not the persons.

In a memorandum submitted to the Natal Education Commission of 1937, Inspector Mr. J. Macleod made the following observation regarding the qualities required of a good manager :-

> "The importance of this post is not generally realised.
>
> "Not only should the Manager be a man of the highest integrity but he should in addition be well educated, possess insight into the character of school buildings and equipment as well as perhaps an understanding sympathy with the teacher.
>
> "Some of the existing Managers are doing excellent work; others again mean well but are too ill-informed on school matters to be able to give to their Committees a lead that will result in better conditions for children or or teachers, or to select teachers on their suitability and qualifications.
>
> "In some instances a number of schools put their affairs in the hands of one efficient

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68. Kichlu Memorandum, 1928 : para.22.

> Manager; but very often a Committee appoints one of their own number whose only qualification almost for the post is that they want to honour him with it.....Local Committees would receive very much better service if they were to consult the Department and accept its advice on the appointment of a Manager."

The latter remarks of the Inspector would be a correct reflection in regard to many of the Indian managers. It is only in recent years that a suitable type of person for managership is becoming available in the Indian community. While Christian missions and individual lay Europeans may not have contributed as much in money as the Indians towards the construction of schools, yet their greatest and most valuable contribution was in the administration of Indian education. Taking all the circumstances into account it would be no exaggeration to say that the greatest need of Indian education at that time (and even at this time) was a body of able managers, and these were supplied by the European community. Herein is witnessed one of those strange vagaries of human nature: while one section of the European community was doing all it could to suppress the educational advancement of the Indian, yet another section of that very community has been using all its skill and ingenuity to combat the growth of this enforced illiteracy.

In 1910 the management of the aided schools was distributed as follows (69):-

Name.	Schools.
Rev. A. Baillie (Ch. of S. Africa)	9
Rev. A. Ikin	7
Rev. A.P.Chaplin	4
Roman Catholics	4
Bishop of Natal	2
Rev. A.H. Hodges	1
Bede Goble	1
Rev. F. Dowling	1
I. Siljee	1
F. M. Sivie	1
	31

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69. Report, Supt.Edn.(Ntl.) : 1910/11.

It will be observed that 29 of these schools were under clerical or missionary management. In 1927 the situation had changed to the extent that lay European and Indian management had now come to the fore. The position was as follows (70):

Name.	Schools.
Rev. Metcalf	13
Mr. Geo. Hindson	10
Rev. G. Hibbert Ware	2
Rev. W. W. Cragg	1
Rev. C. W. Ballweg	1
Rev. F. Weir	1
Rev. Mo. Raphael	1
Rev. Mo. Ambrose	1
Rev. Mo. Mary of the Cross	1
Rev. Mo. Oakford Convent	1
Miss B. M. Wilson	1
Miss E. Payne-Smith	5
Mr. Lewis Byron	2
J. P. Stones	1
H. H. P. Waller	1
Mr. Ramportal	1
Mr. D. C. M. Nundoo	1
	44

There were thus 22 schools under clerical management, 20 under lay European and 2 under Indian management. The Anglican mission (Church of South Africa) which had most of the schools under its management in the previous period appears to have gradually withdrawn from the field of Indian education, particularly in Durban, since 1921 (71). It is noteworthy that the schools under Mr. Hindson belonged to a corporate body known as the Natal Indian Schools Trust, and that in 1939 Mr. Hindson had sixteen schools under his management (72). Indian education was fortunate at times in having inspectors of schools as their managers. Thus in 1915 Inspector Mr. Ballance had seven schools under him (72a).

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70. Report, Supt. Edn. (Ntl.) : 1927 - p.81.
71. Ibid : 1921 - p.21.
72. Sykes Report, 1939 (Asst. Sec. Agt.-Gen. for India) p.10.
72a. Report, Supt. Edn., 1915.

In the absence of suitable managers, Inspector Mr. P. K. Cliff was Acting Manager of one or two schools in 1939 (72b). Managers appear to have been allowed travelling expenses. For instance, Mr. Hindson was reported to have received £2 per visit per school (73). The system of placing many schools under one management had its advantages for the teacher. It was, however, criticised and described as a "farming out of education" (74). There was one serious disadvantage in the grouping system; usually the schools passed out of the ownership of the local community into that of the larger "combines", and the local community began to lose all interest thereafter. Consequently it was difficult to raise local subscriptions for extensions or repairs, and the condition of the buildings gradually deteriorated. Other defects in the system of aided school management have been dealt with in the previous chapter (a).

The condition of aided Indian school buildings was generally very unsatisfactory, mainly because of lack of funds. Some idea of the conditions under which those who were fortunate enough to get into a school were being educated may be gleaned from this description by Inspector Mr. Lawlor in 1919 (75):-

> "One of the advantages of being an inspector of schools in Natal is that duty brings him into contact with what might be called after a well-known phrase of Darwin's, living fossils of educational history. The Indian Mission school, as I remember it within the last 10 years in Natal, might have been modelled on the early English primary schools

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72b. Sykes Report, 1939 : Appendix.
73. Ibid : p.28.
74. Ibid : p.29.
75. Report, Supt. Edn. (Ntl.),1919 : p.47.
See also : Ibid : 1921, p.6.
(a) Chap. XV - p.497.

> of the 19th century - the infants' gallery packed to overflowing, the backless benches also overcrowded, the primer class standing around the monitor, the monotonous chanting of the A, B, C. All were there."

In 1927 the same inspector reported upon another aided Indian school in the Midlands District in which there had been "no advance in accommodation or comfort for close upon twenty years" (76). He hoped that something would be done to better conditions of schools, teachers and pupils.

In 1928 Mr. Kichlu also stated (77) that the poor condition and unsuitability of aided school buildings constituted their chief weakness. The buildings were badly designed and did not contain suitable class rooms. Several classes had to be taken in the same hall or part of a hall. The noise was very great and teaching was carried on under the most trying conditions. Buildings were generally overcrowded and accommodation in many cases was insufficient. The buildings were generally constructed of wood and iron, and that made the buildings very hot in summer and most unsuitable for teaching or learning. Even some of the Government schools were either badly constructed or badly sited on low lying, damp ground, liable to be flooded. He estimated that it would have cost £15,000 to improve aided school buildings, and £10,000 for government school buildings.

Not much progress appears to have been made even in 1937. The evidence of the Inspector-in-Charge

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76. Report, Supt. Edn. (Ntl.), 1927 - p.12.
See also : p.24 (Inspector Mr. Winterton's Comments).
77. Kichlu Memorandum, 1928 : paras. 26, 27, 28, 29.

of Indian Schools is quoted here (78):-

> "A few of the Aided School buildings can compare with Government Schools, but in general, lack of funds has made it quite impossible for these institutions to keep pace with the modern character of a school building in addition to satisfying the demand upon extension. More usually the educational character of the building has been sacrificed in order to make provision for more school places. Several of the buildings are old, dilapidated, and made of unsuitable material - a mere iron shell without ceiling or lining of any kind. A good few are badly designed, deficient in cloakroom arrangements and other conveniences, therefore a bad educational environment. In some places the school is a large hall where several teachers with their classes are trying to do work under very difficult conditions. It is not always easy to defend the continued use of some of these buildings on considerations of health as well as of comfort. The grounds of Aided Schools, as the result of exigencies or of the shortsightedness of Committees, are very commonly too small. There is just enough ground perhaps to give the children an airing, but not as a rule for organised games.....or other educational uses like school gardening."

Members of the Education Commission of 1937 who had seen examples of this type of school described these conditions as being "discreditable to the Province" (80). To have put the whole of the aided school buildings and their grounds into a satisfactory condition would have cost a large sum. The Commission considered that the work, however, should be seriously undertaken, and recommended that a detailed survey be made and a plan of renovation and reconstruction elaborated with a view to bringing the whole of the school buildings up to educational standard within a stated period, and that local bodies who show a spirit of self-help be encouraged by grants-in-aid to bring those school buildings and their grounds up to the standard required.

But with the Province unwilling to spend more than the amount of the five-guinea subsidy received from

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78. Memorandum to Ntl.Edn.Commsn.(1937) : p.4. Quoted also in Report of the Edn. Commsn.(1937) : para.434. (P.N.60/1938).
80. Ibid : paras. 434, 435.

the Central Government very little progress was made. Another Committee of Inquiry (Corbett Committee) also observed in its report of 1944 that the aided Indian school buildings were unsuitable, and in recommending an increased subsidy of £10 per annum per Indian and Coloured child it took into account the responsibility of the State for providing suitable accommodation (81). As stated in an earlier chapter Government, however, adopted the £ for £ system of provincial subsidies, throwing the initiative for improvement on the Provinces. The problem before the Province is not only the provision of improved accommodation but also additional accommodation at the same time. The solution hinges on finance, and this depends upon whether the old laissez faire policy towards the Indian will change or not.

Having studied the growth of schools, and the aided system in particular, turn now to a consideration of the growth of the enrolment of the pupils. Examining TABLE 2 it will be observed that the average enrolment of pupils in Indian schools had increased nearly ten times between the years 1911 to 1946 (a). Compared to 1911 an additional 31,821 pupils had been brought under instruction in the public schools. Enrolment figures, too, show that the years 1927-1928 marked a turning point in the development of Indian education. Whereas between 1911 and 1927 the average enrolment had increased by 6108 pupils, but between 1927 and 1946 it had increased by 25,713. Thus within the nineteen years following upon the Cape Town Agreement (1927) more than four times the number of pupils

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81. Report, Prov. Financial Resources Committee, 1941 : paras. 342, 490. U.G. 9/1944.
(a) Note Remarks under Table 2.

were brought into the schools as within the previous seventeen years.

Since there were more aided schools than government schools in the system of Indian education, the growth in enrolment was naturally reflected in the enrolment of pupils in aided schools. Whereas the aided schools catered for 3089 pupils in 1911, but in 1946 there were 24,862 pupils. Enrolment in government schools also showed some progress, the average enrolment increasing from 569 in 1911 to 10,617 in 1946. But much of this progress dates only from the year 1927.

Examined from the point of view of sex distribution (TABLE 3), the number of Indian boys in school had increased from 3192 in 1911 to 22,379 in 1945 (a). This represents a relative increase of 700 per cent over the entire period. It is also interesting to record that a considerable increase in the enrolment of Indian girls had taken place during this period. The enrolment increased from 466 in 1911 to 11,652 in 1945 (a) This represents a relative increase of 2500 per cent. It is noteworthy that nearly all the progress was made since 1927, for 10,102 girl pupils were placed on the rolls after that year. There is, however, a great disparity in the number of boys and girls in Indian schools. But progress must be recorded, for whereas the ratio of boys to girls was approximately 7 : 1 in 1911, and 5 : 1 in 1927, but in 1945 it was 2 : 1.

From TABLE 3(a)(i) it will be observed that there has been a significant increase of girls in the government schools. This is mainly due to the establishment of exclusively girls' schools in recent

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(a) Attendance as at June, 1945. Not average enrolment.

TABLE 2.

GROWTH OF PUPILS IN INDIAN SCHOOLS (NATAL) (BY AVERAGE ENROLMENT)

(1911 - 1946)

	Govt.	Aided	Total		Govt.	Aided	Total
1911...	569	3089	3658	1929...	2692	10772	13464
1912...	564	3532	4096	1930...	3258	11443	14701
1913...	726	3967	4693	1931...	3502	12816	16318
1914...	733	4217	4950	1932...	3516	13572	17088
1915...	751	4438	5189	1933...	3545	14173	17718
1916...	832	4905	5739	1934...	3876	15085	18961
1917...	908	5482	6390	1935...	4067	16585	20652
1918...	1027	4884	(6842)	1936...	4788	17498	(22286)
1919...	1158	4835	(5993)	1937..	(4976)	17693	(22669)
1920...	1464	5484	6948	1938...	5148	18452	23600
1921...	1953	5489	(7442)	1939...	5816	19265	25081
1922...	2014	6342	(8356)	1940...	6300	21149	27449
1923...	1983	6416	(8399)	1941...	6502	22388	28890
1924...	1933	6513	8446	1942...	6647	23413	30060
1925...	1971	6735	8706	1943...	6877	24006	30883
1926...	2015	7087	9102	1944...	7257	25618	32875
1927...	2042	7724	9766	1945...	8453	25718	34171
1928...	2227	9235	11462	1946..	10617	24862	35479

REMARKS.

1. All figures taken from Annual Reports of Supt. Edn. (Natal), except for 1944-1946 which are from the annual Statistical Supplement to Monthly Circulars and are attendance figures at a certain month.

2. Figures in brackets ( ) indicate years in which discrepancies occur in the Reports between the Summary of Totals for Ten Years given in one place, and Totals obtained by adding separate figures for government and government-aided given elsewhere. In every instance the higher of the two totals taken for this TABLE. In any case it is the trend that counts.

3. Owing to the discrepancy in 1919 an explanation of the sudden drop has not been attempted.

TABLE 3.

GROWTH OF AVERAGE ENROLMENT OF INDIAN BOYS AND GIRLS (NATAL) (all schools)

(1911 - 1946)

	Boys	Girls		Boys	Girls
1911....	3192	466	1929....	10703	2761
1912....	3551	545	1930....	11581	3120
1913....	4058	635	1931....	12755	3563
1914....	4269	681	1932....	13166	3860
1915....	4631	758	1933....	13810	4274
1916....	4922	815	1934....	14501	4674
1917....	5248	1142	1935....	15448	5449
1918....	5024	889	1936....	15958	5814
1919....	5123	870	1937....	16225	6253
1920....	5837	1111	1938....	16596	6655
1921....	6335	1107	1939....	17709	7372
1922....	7091	1265	1940....	19012	8437
1923....	7200	1199	1941....	19710	9180
1924....			1942....	20275	9785
1925....	7261	1445	1943....	20595	10288
1926....	8173	1529	1944....		
1927....	8156	1550	1945....	22379	11652
1928....	9271	2191	1946....		

REMARKS.

1. Figures from Reports of Superintendent of Education (Natal).

2. 1932 - 1938 (incl.): not average enrolment but attendance at a fixed date.

3. Figures for 1945 taken from South African Indian Congress Memorandum to United Nations Assembly (November, 1946).

T A B L E 3(a)

AVERAGE ENROLMENT OF INDIAN BOYS AND GIRLS (NATAL)

(1911 - 1946)

(i) Government Schools.

	Boys	Girls		Boys	Girls
1911....	544	25	1929....	2449	243
1912....	534	30	1930....	2904	354
1913....	682	44	1931....	3082	420
1914....	689	44	1932....	3112	404
1915....	705	46	1933....	3097	448
1916....	773	59	1934....	3273	603
1917....	831	77	1935....	3328	739
1918....	917	112	1936....	3875	913
1919....	1034	124	1937....	3982	994
1920....	1281	183	1938....	4056	1092
1921....	1736	217	1939....	4449	1367
1922....	1803.	211	1940....	4509	1391
1923....	1766	217	1941....	4658	1844
1924....	-	-	1942....	4805	1842
1925....	1756	215	1943....	4925	1952
1926....	1787	228	1944		
1927....	1861	181	1945		
1928....	2079.	148	1946		

T A B L E 3(a)

AVERAGE ENROLMENT OF INDIAN BOYS AND GIRLS (NATAL)

(ii) Government-aided schools.

	Boys	Girls		Boys	Girls
1911....	2648	441	1929....	8254	2518
1912....	3017	515	1930....	8677	2766
1913....	3376	591	1931....	9673	3143
1914....	3580	637	1932....	10121	3456
1915....	3726	712	1933....	10748	3809
1916....	4149	756	1934....	11290	4075
1917....	4417	1065	1935....	12207	4711
1918....	4107	777	1936....	12415	4994
1919....	4089	746	1937....	12279	5264
1920....	4556	828	1938....	12575	5583
1921....	4599	890	1939....	13260	6005
1922....	5288	1054	1940....	14503	6646
1923....	5434	982	1941....	15052	7336
1924....	-	-	1942....	15470	7943
1925....	5505	1230	1943....	15670	8336
1926....	6386	1301	1944		
1927....	6295	1369	1945		
1928....	7192	2043			

REMARKS.

1. Figures from Reports of Supt. Edn. (Natal).

years. Since 1943 four new girls' schools were added to the list of government girls' schools, three of them by conversion of existing aided girls' schools. The total enrolment of the four schools at 1946 was 1342, bringing the total enrolment of Indian girls in all government schools to about 3300. The proportion of boys to girls in government Indian schools may be said to be approaching equality. In 1943 there were nearly twice as many boys as girls in the aided schools (TABLE 3(a)(ii). With the conversion of three aided girls' schools to government status there would be greater disparity now. But it may be said that in 1946 about twice the number of girls were still enrolled in the government-aided schools as in the government schools. Similarly, about three times as many boys were being educated in the aided schools as in the government schools.

The following comparative table shows the progress made in the geographical distribution of schools and pupils in the past 21 years. It is an indication of the dispersion of educational opportunities and the advantage taken of them by the Indian people.

T A B L E 4.

GEOGRAPHICAL DISTRIBUTION OF INDIAN SCHOOLS AND PUPILS.

	Durban(a)		P.M.Burg and Environs		Rural	
	School	Pupils	School	Pupils	School	Pupils
1925						
Govt.	4	1219	1	76	4	676
G/A.	18	3783	4	773	17	2179
Total	22	5002	5	849	21	2855
1946 (Sept.						
Govt.	11	4820	2	688	13	5109
G/A.	44	12605	7[x]	2163	66[xx]	10094
Total	55	17425	9	2851	79	15203

[x] Includes Sutherlands and Mt. Partridge.

[xx] Excludes Gillits as no attendance figures available.

(a) Approx. same boundaries taken for 1925 as the boundaries of Durban in 1946.

The expansion of the educational system in the rural areas is particularly noticeable, for the number of schools had increased by three-and-a-half times, and the number of pupils by more than five times. Similar progress was made in the two chief urban areas of Natal where the bulk of the Indian population was living.

To obtain a truer picture of the soundness and effectiveness of all this expansion, it will be necessary to examine the number of children of school-going age in school and out of school, the distribution of the pupils over the standards, and their rate of elimination from the schools. These matters will be discussed at a later stage. But on the face of the data hitherto presented it must be admitted that, compared to the position at the time of Union, a considerable degree of progress has been achieved in Indian education in respect of the number and type of schools available, their distribution, and the number of children in attendance at schools.

One of the outstanding features of this period was the development of secondary education. The demand for secondary education is a sound indication of the leaven of social progress at work in the Indian community. Vertical development in education also has the tendency to bring about horizontal expansion, and this in turn tends to increase the vertical development. Finally there is a general upliftment in the educational status of the community. The two Higher Grade Schools of the previous period owe their origin to the desire of a certain section of the Indian community for post-primary education. Indian Elementary Schools had been permitted to teach only up to Standard IV (82). The Higher Grade schools made

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82. "African Chronicle" - 18 Jan., 1913 ; "Indian School Regulations" - as they appeared in the Natal Provincial Gazette of the 9th Jan., 1913.

provision for instruction up to Standard VII. The exclusion of children about the age of 14 from government Indian schools in 1909 was a restrictive measure which stifled the growth of secondary education beyond Standard VII. The age restriction did not give an Indian pupil the opportunity to go beyond Standard VII. Similar restrictions did not apply to Europeans; and Coloureds were restricted at 16 years.

Frustrated by Government action, the Indians opened a Private High School at Pietermaritzburg in August, 1909, to supply a long felt want (82a). It was under the control of a committee of five members, and was maintained partly by fees and donations from the Indian public (82). The fees were fixed at 5/- per boy, and 10/- for all the children of one and the same family (84). In October, 1909 out of 13 boys six were being prepared for the Cape Junior Certificate Examination, and the remainder for the Cape Elementary Examination (84). Some of the scholars came from Durban and the northern town of Ladysmith as this was the only school of its kind at this time offering facilities for post-primary education. Financially the school was not a success. The small attendance indicated that either post-primary education was as yet not appreciated by a larger number of Indians, or that it was too expensive except for the well-to-do, or that it was started at the wrong centre. It would seem that all three factors were responsible for its failure. Nothing was heard of this school after 1911, the last reference to it being in September, 1911 (85).

82a. "African Chronicle" - 7 Aug., 1909 : "A New Higher Grade School"
- 23 Oct., 1909 : "Maritzburg Private Indian High School"
- 15 Jan., 1910 : "Indian High Sch"

83. Ibid : 29 Jan.,1910 : "Appeal to the Indian Public"

84. Ibid : 23 Oct.,1909 : "Maritzburg Private Indian High School"

85. Ibid : 30 Sept.,1911 : "Letter by "Donor".

The attempt at Pietermaritzburg, however, appears to have inspired others in Durban. Another private institution for "higher education" (post-primary education), known as the Indian Educational Institute was opened at Durban in September, 1911 (86). Mr. H. L. Paul, the Indian interpreter, who was associated with the establishment of the Higher Grade Indian School, Durban, was the leader again (87). Leading Indians had identified themselves with this venture and donated sums of money (87). Starting originally with a view to providing both Higher Education and Technical Education, subsequently only Higher Education up to the Matriculation level came to be provided (88). At first intended for day scholars only (89), but later circumstances made it necessary to open an evening class too (90). Board and lodging was also provided for up-country pupils (91).

In the evening class tuition in English, French, Latin, Sanskrit, Hindustani and Gujerati was offered; the other subject were mathematics, shorthand, typewriting and bookkeeping (92). The number of pupils

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86. "African Chronicle" : 3 Sept.,1911 : "Indian Educational Institute."
: 12 July,1911 : Ibid.
"Indian Opinion" : 24 March,1916 : ibid.
87. "African Chronicle" : 18 Jan.,1913 : "A Resume of Indian Education"
88. Ibid : 19 Aug.,1911 : "The Goal in Sight"
: 6 Jan.,1912 : "School Vacation (sic.H.D.K.), Indian Edn1. Institute."
: 26 July,1913 : Advert. Indian Edn1. Inst.
Also Private Papers of Mr. H. L. Paul.
89. "African Chronicle" - 2 Sept.,1911 : "Indian Edn1.Inst.
90. Ibid : 1 Mar.,1913; 29 Mar.,1913; 28 June,1913 : "Indian Educational Institute"
Similar information available from a printed circular amongst Mr. Paul's papers.
91. "African Chronicle" - 26 July,1913 - Advert. Indian Educational Inst.
92. Ibid : 6 Jan.,1912 - "School Vacation (sic.H.D.K.)
28 Mar.,1913 - "Indian Educational Institute"

increased from 23 in January,1912, to 30 in March, 1916 (93). This institution served a distinct need at the time for ambitious young men and progressive parents (94). Several pupils were prepared for the Cape University Examinations. A total of 108 pupils had enrolled at this private school, and they had come from different parts of Natal.

The fees were fairly high, being £1. 1. 0d. per pupil per month (95); in the evening class a fee of 10/6d. was charged for eahh subject group, and there were four groups classified as follows :
(A) European languages, (B) Higher Subjects (i.e. Arithmetic, Algebra, Geometry), (C) Indian languages, and (D) Commercial Subjects. So if four subjects were chosen, one from each group, the total fee per month would have been £2. 2. 0d.(96). The staff consisted of Europeans - two graduates (one of the London University and the other of the Bombay University) and one undergraduate (Intermediate Arts) of the Calcutta University (97).

The institute was managed at first by the foundation members, and subsequently by an Executive Committee of the members (98). The original enthusiasm of the community appears to have waned, and little support was given in the final years of its career (99).

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93. Ibid : 6 Jan.,1912 ; "School Vacation" (Sic H.D.K.)
"Indian Opinion" - 24 Mar.,1916 : "Indian Edn1. Inst."
94. Ibid - ibid : ibid
"African Chronicle" - 3 June,1916 : "Durban Ind. Inst."
95. Ibid - 19 Aug.,1911 : "Goal in Sight"
- 2 Sept.,1911 : "Ind.Edn.Inst."
96. Copy of "Application Form" amongst Mr. H. L. Paul's papers.
97. H. Laval, B.A.(Lond.); S.D.Shroff, B.A.,A.C.I.(Bombay) P. Vaughan (Inter. Arts-Calcutta).
98. "African Chronicle" - 2 Sept.,1911 : "Ind. Edn. Inst."
Ibid - 3 June,1916 : ibid
"Dharma Vir" - 25 Mar.,1916 : ibid
99. "African Chronicle" - 20 May,1916 : Durban Ind. Inst."
Ibid - 3 June,1916 : ibid.

It was in any case a school which catered only for the wel-to-do, for the fees and cost of board and lodging were too high for the general body of Indian parents. The evening class, though it provided a fairly impressive range of subjects, was not adequately supported (100). The school was eventually closed in 1916 after 5 years of existence (101). This Institute was another example of Indian initiative and self-help in the field of education. It probably failed because the well-to-do class, for which evidently it was catering, were as yet unable to appreciate the benefits of post-primary education; and, most of them were of the trading class. On the other hand it is doubtful whether a private school could have been conducted at rates less than this. The two private high schools, had, however, sown the seeds of post-primary education which was to grow up sturdily in later years. The Pietermaritzburg school in its short career had, by 1911, entered six Indians for Cape Junior Certificate examination, and three for the Matriculation (102). From the private papers of Mr. Paul it seems there were students in the Junior Certificate and Matriculation classes in the Durban private school.

There was also another private institution in Durban for providing secondary education for Indians. It was known as the Marine College and was established by a European, the Rev. Mr. Lamont who, according to himself, had made the higher education of the Asiatics the warp and woof of his life for many years (102a). It is not clear exactly when this College was opened, but it was in existence in 1928. It had apparently

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100. "Indian Opinion" - 24 Mar.,1916 : "Indian Edn1. Inst."
101. "Indian Views" - 25 Jan.,1918 : "Higher Education."
"African Chronicle" - 8 June,1916 : "Ind. National Edn1. Inst."
102. Report, Supt. Edn.(Ntl.) : P.N.26/1911 - 8 Feb.,

102a. (P.T.O.)

come into being because of the dissatisfaction with the manner in which the secondary classes were conducted at the Carlisle Street Government Indian School (Durban). The fees were fairly high, ranging from £1. 1. 0d. to £3. 3. 0d. per month per pupil, but the Rev. Lamont appears to have given free tuition to some ppor boys when they were "particularly promising, and their ability and promise was a good influence on the others (102a). There were in 1928 about 50 students altogether of whom 20 were in the "higher department" (102a). With the opening of Sastri College in 1930 this school closed down for lack of support.

Government action in the provision of post-primary education was taken in 1918 after representations from the Indian community (probably after the failure of the private school). In 1914 those who wished to proceed beyond the Standard IV provided in the Elementary Government Indian schools, proceeded to the two former Higher Grade Schools (under European headmasters and staff), or the Sydenham College (an aided institution), or the part-time teacher-training classes for the Indian Teachers' Junior or Senior Certificates (103). In 1917 Inspector Mr. Loram had suggested the establishment of a modern High School for Indians with academic and commercial departments (103a), But nothing was done in the matter.

Indian demands for higher educational facilities were persistent (104), and in 1918 it was organised through a body known as the Durban and District Indian Educational Advisory Committee (105). The Education

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102a. Minutes, Evidence : Ind. Edn. Inq. Comttee.(1928) - p.334.
103. Report, Supt. Edn. (Ntl.) 1914 - p.7.
103a. Ibid 1917 - p. 59, 62.
104. Report, Prov. Administration Commsn.,1917 - U.G.8-'17
Report, Supt.Edn.(Ntl.),1917 - p.62.
105. "Indian Opinion" - 12 July,1918 - "Notes & News"
- 9 Aug.,1918 - ibid.
"Natal Advertiser" - 1 Aug.,1918 - "Higher Education for Indians"

P.770

The Education Department started secondary classes in August, 1918, at the Carlisle Street Government School, Durban (formerly the Higher Grade Indian School). The Provincial Council appears to have given permission for a class to be started at Pietermaritzburg too (106), but nothing was done uhtil many years later. This event was considered by the Indians to mark "a new era in the history of Indians in South Africa" (107). The first batch of 20 boys were taken to the school with great pomp and ceremony. Before going to school they assembled at Mr. Parsee Rustomjee's office, who provided them with light refreshments. After a few words of encouragement by two Indian leaders, then "the pioneers of the higher education were marched to the Carlisle Street School at 9.30", and a list of names was"formally" handed to the headmaster (107). Six members of the Indian Educational Advisory Committee, who appear to have given an undertaking to the Department to see that the numbers did not diminish, accompanied the boys (107). This class was reported to be making good progress in 1919 (108).

In 1921 the Government Indian schools, where the staff was suitable, were permitted to teach beyond Standard IV (presumably up to Standard VI)(109). Evidence (110) given by the Durban and District Indian Teachers' Society and the above-mentioned Advisory Committee to the Education Enquiry Committee of 1921-1922 (Chairman Mr. W. A. D. Russell) disclosed that the Indian people

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106. "Natal Advertiser" - 1 Aug.,1918 - "Higher Edn. for Indians"
Report, Supt. Edn.,1918 - p.62
107. "Natal Advertiser" - 1 Aug.,1918 - as above.
108. Report, Supt. Edn.,1919 - p.20.
109. P.N. 97/1921 - 20 Apr., para.9.
Also P.N.26/1925 - 11 Feb. - para.7.
110. Memorandum - Prov. Council Records ; Amongst Minutes of Evidence.

were not satisfied with the half-hearted manner in which the Department was providing secondary education at the Carlisle Street School. For some time there was only one teacher to deal with all the secondary work. Subsequently two teachers were appointed; these two managed between them in two separate rooms four different grades of students. In one room there were four boys in "early Matric" (Standard IX) and six boys in the "J.C." (Standard VIII); and in the other room fourteen boys who passed Standard VI in August 1920, and 20 who passed Standard VI in August 1921. Several boys had left school because "the grafting of less advanced boys made the prospect of ultimate success in secondary work less assured to them." However, in 1927 this very school was reported to have 46 pupils in Standard VII, 17 in Standard VIII, 3 in Standard IX and 1 in Standard X (111). It also appears that in one or two aided schools a Standard VII was added, but that the work was not up to Standard, and was attended by only one or two pupils (112). Some of the Indian parents sent their boys to the South African Native College at Fort Hare in the Cape Province, where post-primary education was available from Junior Certificate level to Matriculation (113). This College was opened in 1916 primarily for Native (Bantu) scholars.

The next step forward in the development of secondary education was taken when the Sastri College was opened at Durban in February, 1930 (114). This

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111. Kichlu Memorandum (1928) : para.5.
112. Ibid : para.2.
113. Report, Under Secretary for Education, 1919 - p.57 : U.G. 17 - '19.
Report, Native Affairs Department, 1919-1921 : p.21 : U.G. 34 - '22.
See also the Calendar of S. A. Native College.
114. Report, Supt., Edn., 1930 - p.14.

institution was intended to continue the secondary work formerly conducted at the Carlisle Street school, and also to make provision for the training of Indian teachers "on more effective lines" than had obtained in the past (114). The College was named after Mr. Srinivasa Sastri, the first Agent for India in South Africa, through whose personal efforts it had come into being. It was erected from funds raised among the Indians. The funds raised were insufficient to carry out the original plan which included a main educational block, a science laboratory and staff room block, a Principal's residence, two hostels, and a caretaker's cottage (114). Only the first and last buildings on this list had been erected, and there seemed to be no eagerness on the part of the Indians to continue further. Absence of hostel accommodation appeared to have prevented many up-country Indians from availing themselves of the opportunity of secondary education and teacher training. Subsequently two hostels were established by private enterprise (115). Besides a European Principal and Vice-Principal, the rest of the staff in 1930 comprised six graduate teachers imported from India, under a three years' contract, and two Natal Indians (116). Subsequently European and Natal-born Indian graduates filled the vacancies when the teachers from India terminated their contract (117). The College was taken over by the Administration and run as a government school.

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115. "Indian Opinion" : 16 Dec.,1932 - "Farewell to Sastri College Lecturers"
: 15 Dec.,1933 - "Sastri College Progress"

116. Report, Supt. Edn.,1930 : p.15.

117. Ibid : 1932 : pp. 14, 24
: 1933 : p.18.

Originally it was intended to commence from Standard V and go up to Standard X (118), but it seems the College actually started from Standard VI (119), and by 1933 Standard VI classes were eliminated. The enrolment at first was limited to 220 boys (Sastri College was a boys' school), and a written undertaking had to be given by parents that they would keep their sons at College until they had completed at least Standard VIII (118). The fees ranged from 7/6d. per school month for Standard VII to 15/- for Standard X (118). In the very first year the College was reported to be crowded, and every year since then the supply of accommodation has never been equal to the demand (120). In September, 1946 there were 547 boys enrolled in Standards VII to X, and another 39 in the teacher-training section (121). Sastri College today is graded on the same level as the highest European High School in Natal, and is equal in efficiency to the best high school in the country. The expenditure on Sastri College was estimated to cost about £4000 to £5000 per annum in 1930, being one-twelfth the total subsidy on Indian education (122). Sastri College has played a most important role in the educational advancement of the Indian people of South Africa. In Sastri College, it may be said, that the Indian people have achieved their most cherished ambition of securing a standard of

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118. "Natal Mercury" - 13 Jan.,1930 - "Indian Educational Facilities. Regulations regarding Sastri College."
119. "Indian Opinion" - 15 Dec.,1933 - "Sastri College Progress" (Principal's Report).
120. Report, Supt., Edn., 1930 - p.9.
Report, Ntl. Edn. Commsn.,1937 - para.459 (P.N.60/1938)
121. Monthly Circular, Statistical Supplement (Ntl. Edn. Dept.) - September, 1946 - p.5.
122. Report, Supt. Edn., 1929 : p.13 (report written in 1930).

post-primary education equal to the best available in South Africa. Within six years of its inception 200 students had passed the Junior Certificate and 38 had matriculated (123).

Post-primary educational facilities for Indian girls were provided by the Government at the newly established Mitchell Crescent Girls' School, Durban, as from January, 1930 (124). The lowest standard in this school was Standard IV. The fees were lower than for the boys at Sastri College. For example, the monthly fee for Standard VII was 5/- (124). It was staffed by local European women.

In 1933 post-primary work was being done at two aided schools (Sydenham Girls', Durban and St. Xaviers, Oakford Priory, Verulam) and two government schools (Sastri College and Mitchell Crescent). Total attendance at these four schools was 276 boys and 20 girls (125). Facilities at Pietermaritzburg were extended only in 1935, having been held up through lack of finance primarily (126). A "secondary top" was added to the former Higher Grade School (name changed to York Road Indian Government School, and subsequently Woolands Road). In 1935 there were in all 353 post-primary pupils, and at the end of the same year the Sydenham school discontinued post-primary work (125). In 1937 a private class of 18 pupils was reported at an aided school in Malvern (Alencon)(127). The demand for secondary education was

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123. Report, Ntl. Edn. Commsn.,1937 : para.45 (P.N.60/1938)
124. "Natal Mercury" - 13 Jan.,1930 ; "Indian Educational Facilities"
125. Report, Supt., Edn., 1933 - p.12.
126. Ibid 1929 - p.13; 1935 - p.14.
127. Ibid 1937 - p.14.

reported to be insistent, and by 1943 facilities had been extended to Ladysmith and Stanger in the rural areas (128). The greatest demand was said to be in Durban. In September, 1946 post-primary work was being conducted at eight government schools with a total attendance of 1052 pupils (129). It is interesting to record that some of this extension had taken place in the rural areas like Dundee, Newcastle, Ladysmith, Stanger and Tongaat where "secondary tops" were added to the primary schools (129). Post-primary work was confined entirely to government Indian schools. Thus from the 20 pupils who started at the Carlisle Street Indian school in 1918, the number of Indian pupils in post-primary classes had slowly crept up to the figure of 1052 in 1946, representing nearly 3 per cent of the total enrolment in government, government-aided and private (registered) schools (a). See TABLE 5(i) and (ii) on pages 562 and 563). The corresponding figures for European children in 1946 was 6958, or approximately 18 per cent (130).

It should be mentioned that part-time post-primary instruction in the evening has also been given since 1930 and 1939 at the Indian Technical Institute, Durban (now the M. L. Sultan Technical College) and the Maritzburg Indian Technical Institute respectively. These institutions come under the control of the Union Department of Education, under the Higher Education Act

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128. Minutes, Prov. Council (Ntl.) ; Statement by Administrator - 12 May, 1943 - pp. 41 - 42.

129. Monthly Circular, Statistical Supplement (Ntl. Edn. Dept.) Sept., 1946 - p.5.

130. Calculated from same source : Govt. schools : 4536
: G/Aided : 1028
: Private : 1394

(a). Excluding the 34 pupils classified as "Secondary" in the school of the Tamil Protective Association, Maritzburg, who are evidently in Tamil classes.

of 1923. These classes were essentially in the nature of continuation classes and prepared students for the Junior and Senior Certificates of the National Commercial and Technical Examinations of the Union Education Department. The enrolment figures at these classes are not comparable with the figures of the full-time provincial day schools, for students in the former institutions generally complete their examinations in stages (i.e. by one or more subjects at a time). However, quite an appreciable number eventually secure the complete certificates. These examinations are also written by Indians who studied privately at home, either under the guidance of correspondence colleges or on their own initiative. The work of these institutions will be discussed in a subsequent chapter, and is merely referred to here in order to indicate the existance of other facilities for post-primary education, though not under the same administrative authority.

The growing volume of pupils in the primary and secondary Indian schools is an indication of the desire of the Indian community to secure the benefits of Western education for its children. The Cape Town Agreement, and the persuasive oratory of men like Mr. Sastri and his successors in office, stimulated the Indian community to greater efforts (131)., The Cape Town Agreement set before the Indians the hope of better treatment by the Europeans should they adopt Western standards of living in South Africa and approached the Western pattern of life more closely. It was impressed upon them that education was the instrument by which a society uplifted itself, advanced itself

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131. Report, Supt., Edn., 1929 - p.15.

TABLE 5(1)

GROWTH OF SECONDARY EDUCATION (INDIAN) (NATAL)

(1918 - 1946)

Enrolment by Standards - Both Sexes

	Std.VII	Std.VIII	Std.IX	Std.X	Total
1918....	-	20	-	-	20
1919....	-	-	-	-	-
1920....	-	-	-	-	-
1921....	34	6	4	-	44
1922....	36	15	-	-	51
1923....	37	-	-	-	37
1924....	30	-	-	3	33
1925....	12	7	-	3	22
1926....	45	5	-	2	52
1927....	44	15	2	1	62
1928....	34	25	5	-	64
1929....	49	22	9	4	84
1930....	66	30	5	9	110
1931....	98	57	5	5	165
1932....	156	91	16	8	271
1933....	146	111	23	15	295
1934....	159	117	24	20	320
1935....	189	111	28	25	353
1936....	209	135	41	31	416
1937....	187	136	54	40	417
1938....	207	144	51	48	450
1939....	137	160	75	57	429
1940....	284	140	56	74	554
1941....	294	206	45	65	610
1942....	261	259	84	39	643
1943....	352	245	85	69	751
1944....	-	-	-	-	825
1945....	368	322	100	86	876
1946....	-	-	-	-	1052

REMARKS.

1. Figures from 1921 - 1939 from Union Bulletin Edn1. Statistics, 1940.
2. Figures from 1940 - 1943 : Reports of Supt. Education.
3. Figures for 1945, as supplied by N.E.D. to South African Indian Congress and embodiednin Memorandum to UNO (Nov. 1946) : pp.51-52.
4. Totals for remaining years from the Monthly Circulars (N.E.D.) - Statistical Supplement.
5. All figures represent attendance at a certain date.

T A B L E 5(ii)

GROWTH OF SECONDARY EDUCATION (INDIAN) (NATAL)

(1932 - 1946)

Enrolment by Standards - GIRLS.

	Std.VII	Std.VIII	Std.IX	Std.X	Total.
1932....	12	8	-	-	20
1933....	15	3	2	-	20
1934....	10	10	1	2	23
1935....	21	13	-	3	37
1936....	26	23	1	2	52
1937....	21	20	6	-	47
1938....	26	30	7	6	69
1939....	32	31	11	5	79
1940....	62	34	12	11	119
1941....	46	52	9	14	121
1942....	36	37	17	11	101
1943....	43	43	6	20	112
1944....					
1945....	52	39	13	12	116
1946....					

REMARKS.

1. All figures from Reports of Supt. Education; except for 1945 (S.A.I.C. - UNO Memorandum).

and secured the benefits of modern civilisation; that important as "bread and butter" interests were, these themselves can be secured and defended only by a literate and educated population. Expressions of views, like the following, in reference to Indian education served to encourage them more (131a) :-

> ".....history has time and again demonstrated that there is no fixed horizon to the possibilities of advancement of peoples who are willing to make material sacrifices for the education of their children."

The complete acceptance of South Africa as their home, and recognition that their destiny lay in this land, have intensified Indian desire to secure the same political, economic, educational and other cultural provileges now enjoyed by the European. Self-help in education has, therefore, accompanied agitation for educational facilities.

Starting with individual, personal agitation for educational opportunities (as in the case of Mr. H. L. Paul), the movement spread over to organised group activity, and was sustained through various clubs, societies, and political organisations. Commissions of Inquiry into education or Indian affairs were adroitly exploited by the Indian people (who it should be remembered were not represented in Parliament nor the Provincial Council nor the Municipal Councils) to agitate for better facilities. Thus, to mention only a few instances, the case for Indian education was pressed before the 1921-1922 Education Committee (Mr. W. A. D. Russell, Chairman) by the Durban and District Indian Teachers' Society, Durban and District Indian Educational Advisory Committee, Hindu Young Mens Association (Maritzburg), Natal Government Schools' Indian Teachers'

131a. Report, Supt. Education, 1928 : p.27. (Inspector-Mr. Murray-Brown)

Society, Natal Indian Congress (Maritzburg Branch) and so on.

Similarly, at the Indian Education Inquiry Committee of 1928 very strong representations were made by the Natal Indian Congress, the Natal Indian Teachers' Society, the South African Indian Federation, Natal Indian Farmers' Association, H. L. Paul and Others, and various organisations representative of all the centres of Indian settlement. At the Education Commission of 1937 the additional voices of the Durban Indo-European Council; the South African Hindu Maha Sabha, the Colonial Born and Settlers Indian Association and the Indian Women's Association were heard. At the Natal Indian Affairs Commission of 1944 voluminous evidence was collected from Indians at different centres. Apart from the platform of the Commissions, memoranda, petitions, deputations to and interviews with, the Administrator and his Executive Committee, and the Superintendent of Education formed an important means of bringing to the notice of the authorities the needs of Indian education. Today Indian educational needs are flashed in the world press and discussed in international assemblies.

From 1927, of course, the voice of India became an important factor. It would not be possible to detail the various representations made by the office of the Agent-General (and subsequently the High Commissioner) for India, at the diplomatic level, for improved educational facilities. Sastri College alone is a grand monument to the direct interest and initiative of India. A perusal of the annual reports alone of the Agency and the High Commissioners (from 1927 - 1945) will indicate the very close watch that was being kept over educational development; the subjects ranged from lowering or abolition of school fees for Indian girls, as a first step towards

free education, to opening of schools in new centres, improvement of teachers' salaries, and technical and university education. The Indian has learnt that only by persistent agitation would he obtain any relief. Publicity to this agitation in the local European and Indian press, combined with public meetings, have all served to impress upon the Indian masses the necessity and importance of education for their children. The growth of the enrolment not only of boys but also of girls is an indication of the success of these efforts. There is, of course, much room for improvement in the attitude towards the education of girls, but statistics indicate a slow but significant change.

The growth of enrolment was, on the other hand, retarded by many factors; some outside the control of the Indian community, others within their control. The lack of free and compulsory education was a serious retarding factor. Education for the European child in Natal was made compulsory under the provisions of the Act 6 of 1910, and made free in 1918. The essential feature of Indian education throughout this period was that it was based upon a system of voluntary attendance. Provisions for compulsory attendance and free education, at least up to the completion of the primary school course, are indispensable aspects of modern educational administration and practice. Compulsion in education marks the end of the era of laissez faire policies. The provision of free and compulsory education are, therefore, tests of the degree to which a State has discarded the old policies of neglect and indifference to the material and spiritual welfare of its citizens, and has assumed full responsibility. These are considered to-day the essential privileges of democratic citizenship.

Indians demanded compulsory provisions, and protested against being left out in the provisions of Act 6 of 1910. The demand was reiterated before the Education Inquiry Committee (1921 -1922), but their demand was that compulsion should be applied only to boys, and not to girls. The Committee seized upon this weakness in the Indian case, and declared that differentiation constituted "a vital difficulty" in a compulsory system of education, which must aim at training both sexes (132). The Committee, also, generally objected to the Indian case for such facilities being based on the "political cry" of equal rights and opportunities with the European.

This question was brought up again in 1928. Mr. Kichlu based his case upon the wastage by the rapid elimination of pupils in the lower classes, and the large numbers outside school. He urged that every effort should be made to bring under instruction all children of school-going age, and to keep them at school until they had completed the full primary course and received the full benefit of education, so that they did not lag behind other sections of the population (133). He pointed out that Indian parents, like parents everywhere, were liable to be neglectful of the duty of keeping their children sufficiently long at school to enable them to complete the full primary school course.

He recommended (134):-

(1) that the <u>first</u> step should be to extend and improve the existing educational facilities on a <u>voluntary</u> basis;

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132. Report, Edn. Inq. Committee (Ntl.),1921-1922 (Russell) Section 23 - para.2.
133. Kichlu Memorandum (1928) : para.33.
134. Ibid : paras. 34,35.

(2) that (it) compulsion should be introduced after five years, that is, from 1933, when the necessary improvements in the voluntary system should have been improved;

(3) that it should be introduced gradually in suitably selected areas, where

(i) suitable accommodation was available,
(ii) at least 50 per cent of the children of school-going age had already come under instruction, and
(iii) the "ground" was "well prepared for it",

(4) that compulsion should be applied

(i) at first to children 7-13 years of age, and up to Standard IV, and
(ii) later to be extended to 7-15 years and Standard VI;

(5) that in the beginning it should be applied to boys only, and afterwards extended to girls;

(6) that in the case of girls the compulsory age to be 7-12 years.

The 1928 Inquiry Committee, presumably on financial grounds, was unable to recommend anything except the continuance of the system of voluntary attendance (135) It was hardly possible to extend compulsory education to Indians on a Union subsidy of £5. 5. Od. per unit, when it cost more than £6. 7. 6d. per unit to provide that for European children.

Subsequent to this Inquiry the attendance of Indian children continued to grow rapidly, on the voluntary basis. The Education Department was unable to cope ~~even~~ with this expansion and on an aided system of schools. The demand for compulsory education was reiterated before the Education Commission of 1937. This Commission, at least, agreed that compulsory education should be the

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135. Report, Ind. Edn. Inq. Committee (1928)) para.8(a) (P.N. 174/1928).

ultimate aim in implementing the Uplift Clause of the Cape Town Agreement (136). But, according to the Commission, the difficulties in the way were

(1) lack of accommodation and facilities of adequate quality and quantity,

(2) lack of teachers, and adequate teacher-training facilities,

(3) lack of Indian women teachers, and

(4) lack of funds.

Taking all the factors into account it was felt that it would be a considerable time before compulsory education could be introduced. Mr. Kichlu had hoped that it would have been possible to make a start in 1933. This Commission, too, was faced with the facts of uneven distribution of pupils in the classes and their rapid elimination, but instead of admitting that such conditions had arisen from lack of compulsion, it believed that the position could be bettered by "co-operation between the authorities and the parents", and by improvements in the system of promotion. Its immediate recommendations merely reiterated Kichlu's views that before compulsion could be introduced the conditions of the aided schools should be improved, and, the further suggestion that more liberal fee concessions might be made to indigents. And again, it appeared to assume that Indian parents, unlike parents everywhere, would be more conscious of their duty to their children by requesting them to realise their "share of responsibility for improving the present state of affairs."

Its long term recommendation was not unlike Kichlu's. It recommended the introduction of compulsion

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136. Report, Ntl. Edn. Commission, 1937 : paras. 446, 451 (P.N.60/1938).

for boys and girls, from 7-14 years, up to Standard IV; and, that it should be introduced gradually in suitable districts. It was intended to begin "experimentally" in this way so that the attitude of Indians to compulsory education might be tested. Nothing at all has been done in this respect to this day (November, 1947), and Indian demands for compulsory education for boys and girls to the age of 16 continue to be made (137).

Besides the absence of compulsory attendance, there was no free education for Indians until August, 1942. Under the provisions of the Education Ordinance of 1942 free tuition in the primary classes (i.e. exemption from payment of school fees) for all children in government and government-aided Indian schools was introduced. Instruction was, however, not made free immediately. From August, 1942 to December, 1942 instruction was to be free in Sub-Standard I and in 1943 this was extended to Sub-Standard II, and in 1944 to Standard I, and in each succeeding year an additional standard was included, up to and including Standard VI (138). Thus in 1949 all pupils from Sub-Standard I to Standard VI will be non-fee-paying. This legislation also made provision for the grant of free books and school requisites, but only to necessitous pupils (138).

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137. Memorandum by Ntl. Indian Congress to Ntl. Indian Affairs Commsn., 1944.
Memorandum by Ntl. Indian Congress to Administrator of Ntl., July, 1947.
"Passive Resister" - (Indian Weekly) : 7 Aug., 1947 - Memoranda on Indian Education.
138. Education Ordinance (Ntl.) No. 23/1942 : Sect.15(vi).
139. Minutes, Evidence: Ntl. Ind. Edn. Inq. Comttee., 1928 - p. 28ff. Statement by Supt. of Edn. (Mr. Hugh Bryan).
Report, Prov. Financial Resources Committee, 1944 - paras. 104 (2); 107 (2); U.G. 9-1944.

Previous to this legislation exemption from fee payment, including a free supply of school books, appears to have been made to primary school pupils to the age of 16 in necessitous circumstances (139). Assistance was limited to government schools, and the numbers who were allowed to profit by it do not appear to have been as great in proportion to the indigency of the Indian generally. In 1916 there were 12 free pupils in government Indian schools (140). In 1939 the number of free pupils increased to 1,130 or 19.4 per cent of the enrolment (140a). In 1932/33 there was a grant of £21. 5. 6d. for free books and school requisites (141), and in 1941/42 this amounted to £1035, but it included expenditure on school meals to necessitous children in Indian schools. In 1944/45 the amount spent on providing books and school equipment to Indian children of indigent parents was £68.17.10d., and in 1945/46 £20. 3. 4d. (142).

A greater amount of relief appears to have been given by the managers of Aided Indian schools. These are the available figures of free pupils in attendance at aided Indian schools (143):-

	Free Pupils.
1911.....	280
1912.....	314
1913.....	358
1914.....	366
1915.....	382
1916.....	407
1917.....	432
....	...
1934.....	2500 (estimated)

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139. See Previous page.
140. Report, Supt., Edn., (1916). Figures for other years not available.
140a. Ibid (1938-1939) - p.14.
141. Report, Prov. Auditor (Ntl.) 1932/33.
142. Ibid 1944/45 : p.75; 1945/46 : p.84.
143. Reports, Supt. Edn., 1911 - 1917
Ibid 1934 - p.18.

Otherwise Indian children have been paying fees in government and government-aided schools. The amount of fees paid by Indian children in government schools increased from £464. 9. 8d. in 1911 to £6448.13. 9d. in 1945/46 (144). Complete figures for aided schools have not been published. But for the years in which they were published the amounts paid in school fees increased from £711.18. 5d. in 1911 to £1556. 11. 3d. in 1917 (145). In primary government schools the fees varied according to the standard in which the pupil was and the sex of the pupil (145). They were fixed on a monthly basis and ranged from 6d. to 3/- for males, and from 6d. to 1/- for females, as at 1941 (145). In government-aided primary schools, fees were fixed at the discretion of the school managers, and ranged from 6d. to 3/6d. per mensem. In secondary schools (all of which were government schools), the fees charged also varied with the standard in which the pupil was, and the sex of the pupils. They ranged from 7/6d. to 15/- per mensem for males, and from 2/6d. to 5/- per mensem for females (145). Throughout the period no assistance was given at all to pupils to proceed to secondary schools. A University of South Africa bursary was open to Indian students under 16 years of age who obtained a First Class - First Division - pass in the Junior Certificate examination, to enable them to complete the Matriculation. But regulations published in October, 1947 made provision for tuition and boarding bursaries for secondary students for the first time, and were to be available from 1948 (146). Tuition

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144. Report, Supt., Edn., 1910/11 - Statistical Section.
Report, Prov. Auditor (Ntl.), 1945/46 - p.86.
145. Reports, Prov. Financial Resources Committee, 1944 : para. 101(2). U.G. 9-1944.
146. P.N. 418/1947.
See also advert. "Leader" 25 Oct., 1947.

bursaries of £10 per annum or Tuition and Boarding bursaries of £40 per annum were available to

(i) pupils who have passed Standard VI or VII to proceed to Standard VIII;

(ii) girl students may be granted a one-year bursary to take Standard VII course only;

(iii) pupils who have passed Standard VIII or IX to proceed to Matriculation.

Necessitous pupils at Sastri College and Woodlands Road,(Maritzburg) have been assisted by private donors (147). At Sastri College a number of bursaries have been provided from the proceeds of dramatic plays acted by the Students' Dramatic Society (147). Similar efforts are being made by Indian women to promote secondary education amongst Indian girls (148).

In order to offset geographical disadvantages there have been no transport grants, nor boarding establishments for Indian pupils. In 1937 the Education Commission commented upon the necessity for hostel accommodation for the students attending the high school and teacher training department at Sastri College and another for girls attending the Mitchell Crescent Girls' School (now the Durban Indian Girls' High School) (149). While recommending that such hostels should be established, here again the Commission looked upon the Indian community to provide material assistance, thus relieving the State of its responsibility.

Indian education was thus retarded by lack of systematic effort to equalize educational opportunities for all the children within the community, and by lack of State pressure upon the ignorant or neglectful

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147. From personal knowledge.
148. "Passive Resister" - 23 Oct.,1947 : "Raising Funds for Bursaries. Indian Women's Organisation Active"
149. Report, Ntl. Edn. Commsn.,1937 - para.465-467 (P.N.60/1938)

parent to send his children to school and keep them there. Enrolment suffered because of the inability of the average Indian parent to bear the heavy cost of education. A plea for free education was made by the Indians as early as 1922 before the Education Inquiry Committee (150). It was pointed out that about three-quarters of the children in the government schools were without the full complement of books. The Chief Inspector of Indian Schools (Mr. J. Macleod) made a statement before the 1937 Education Commission that the contributions that Indian parents were obliged to make to the education of their children in school fees and books were quite commonly a very real sacrifice, and hindered the expansion of Indian education (151). The point was admitted by the Commission in its report when dealing with the probable incidence of compulsion on the economic difficulties of the Indian parent (152). It was suggested by the Acting Agent-General for India to this Commission that a certain amount of relief would be given if fees for Indian girls were abolished (153). The Commission, while not agreeing that compulsory and free education should necessarily accompany one another, and implying that Indians should be prepared to make these sacrifices, ultimately recommended free education for Indians, not

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150. Memorandum Govt. Indian Schools' Teachers' Society (Prov. Council Records).
151. Memorandum to 1937 Education Commission : p.4 - para.5 (Prov. Council Records).
152. Report, Ntl. Edn. Commsn.(1937) - para.448 (P.N.60/1938)
153. Minutes Evidence, Ntl. Edn. Commsn.(1937) - p.1122ff (Book 13).

because of its recognition of the necessity of giving relief to an economically depressed group, but because it had become the practice to make education free wherever it was compulsory (154). Since then regulations have been introduced to make education free before it was compulsory.

Another important factor which has retarded the growth of the enrolment is the small number of Indian girls in attendance. In 1926 out of a total enrolment of 9477 pupils in all Indian schools, there were only 1650 girls (155). The ratio of boys to girls was 4 to 1. In 1946 the ratio was 2 to 1. It was estimated in 1937 that while 74 per cent of the possible number of Indian boys were at school, only 30 per cent of the girls were enrolled (156). The Corbett Committee estimated that in 1939 there were 23,800 Indian girls of school-going age (6 - 14 years), but only 7253, or 30.4 per cent, were enrolled in schools (157). Though the ratio of boys to girls in school has been progressively reducing, the great disparity in the enrolment of boys and girls is most noticeable. It is a significant feature of Indian education at the present stage of its development.

Some of the chief reasons submitted for this state of affairs were as follows (158):-

(1) the persistence of old Eastern traditions regarding the seclusion of women, which are dying out only slowly as a result of the impact of Western civilisation upon Eastern civilisation;

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154. Report, Ntl. Edn. Commsn., 1937 - paras.452 & 453 (P.N.60/1938).
155. Kichlu's Memorandum (1928) - p.4.
156. Report, Ntl. Edn. Commsn., 1937 - paras.421-422.
157. Report, Prov. Financial Resources Committee, 1944 : para.340 (U.G.9-1944).
158. Durban & Dist. Ind. Edn. Advisory Comttee. Memo to Edn. Inq. Committee, 1921-1922 (W.A.D.Russell)

(continued overleaf)

(2) according to Mr. Sastri in 1928, there was no religious difficulty but a sentimental difficulty that girls do not need as much education as men, "a somewhat backward notion" more common in Indian society than in European society;

(3) objection to sending girls to mixed schools staffed by men teachers, and to co-education from the age of puberty; the majority of Indian schools were mixed schools, staffed almost entirely by male teachers.

(4) early marriage age of Indian girls, and the consequent withdrawal of girls from schools in order that they might learn household duties in preparation for a married life; this is really an indication that the curriculum is not adapted to the needs of the average Indian girl, particularly the domestic and religious background, and that parents desired to make up for the deficiency in the public school system;

(5) the inability of poor parents to afford the expense of educating both boys and girls at the same time, and, therefore, preference is given to the boys, who are the potential wage earners of the family;

(6) for the same economic reasons there is a tendency to keep the girls at home, where they are required to help in the domestic work and look after the younger children;

158.(contd.) Kichlu Memorandum (1928) : paras. 50-51.
Minutes, Evidence, Ind. Edn. Inq. Comttee.(1928) : p.106 ff. (Evidence Mr. Sastri); and also of Mr. J. W. Godfrey and Mrs. V. R. R. Moodley and Ntl. Indian Teachers' Society.
Report, Ntl. Edn. Commsn.,1937 : paras.423, 424, 426, 428, 429(iv) - P.N.60/1938.
Memorandum by Inspector Mr. J. Macleod to above Commission : p.4.
Report, Prov. Financial Resources Committee, 1944 : paras. 340 (U.G. 9-1944).
"Indian Life & Labour in Natal" - Prof. H.R.Burrows (edit.) 1943, p.27 (Race Relations - Vol.X - No.1.)

(7) lack of central boarding facilities under proper supervision, and transport difficulties.

The most obvious solution to the problem was, of course, provision for more separate girls' schools, employment of women teachers, and compulsory and free education and a modification of the curriculum until the Indians got over their present prejudices or predelictions. Indeed, these were suggested by Mr. Kichlu and recommended by the 1937 Education Commission (159). There were, however, two main obstacles. One was finance; and the other a lack of Indian women teachers, which itself was due to the paucity of girls in the upper standards. The employment of European and Coloured women as teachers in the transitional stages was recommended (160), but the employment of European teachers, at higher scales of salary, presented financial problems of great magnitude.

Another factor which impeded the growth of enrolment and the rise in educational status, was the lack of incentive provided by opportunities of employment in the more remunerative trades and professions. Educational authorities, too, were concerned with the important question as to whether educated Indian youths would find suitable employment under the existing conditions, commensurate with their education; and whether unrestricted vertical expansion was desirable or wise.

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159. Kichlu Memorandum, 1928 : paras. 50, 51.
Report, Ntl. Edn. Commsn., 1937 - paras.426, 446, 453.
160. Ibid - para. 426.

Thus in 1923 the Superintendentof Education discussing the policy to be followed in non-European education expressed the following point of view (161):-

> "This should be almost entirely Primary for some time to come, not because the Native, mixed and Asiatic peoples are incapable of assimilation, but because present economic conditions do not allow of the products' absorption in the service of their own people, save to a limited extent. To provide a large number of these components of the population with unusable effects is as short-sighted as it is inevitably an d eventually subversive of discipline, but at present the teachers and ministers in being represent 2 per cent only of the school population.
>
> "At the same time it must be noted that we have not in those schools more than a quarter of the available school population, and that the present policy of no advance in facilities is equivocal. Repression is foolish."

Yet again in 1928 and 1937 when Indians demanded the extension of educational facilities, particularly post-primary facilities, it was attempted to justify the restriction of such facilities on just these grounds elaborated by the Superintendent (161a). There also seemed to be a fear that higher education of Indians would lead to greater competition in the labour market between European and Indian youths.

The Natal educational system in attempting to assist in maintaining the vested privileges of the European, and the status quo between European and non-European, had deviated from its true functions and aims. Spinoza's views that the pursuit of the highest good was open to all; or the view that education was essential to good citizenship, do not appear to have been accepted as applying equally to Europeans and non-Europeans.

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161. Report, Supt. Edn., 1923 - p.5.
161a. Minutes, Evidence, Ind. Edn. Inq. Committee, 1928 : pp..257, 322.
Ibid Ntl. Edn. Commsn., 1937 - p.652.

Nor was it recognised that horizontal expansion would inevitably lead to demands for vertical expansion; and that vertical expansion in itself by raising the educational level of the group would increase the awareness of the benefits of education, and a desire to secure them, thereby stimulating further horizontal expansion. The attempt to restrict vertical development must have necessarily affected the spread of education among the Indian masses.

Indian education, therefore, was stifled and stunted in its growth in order to adapt it to the prevailing inequalities of the socio-economic structure of the country. It is strange, however, that the 1937 Education Commission, which was confronted with this issue in the case of both Coloureds and Indians, should have pronounced itself only in reference to the former. It is not certain whether its remarks were intended to apply to Indians, too, but they are quoted here, as being equally applicable to Indians, and as the answer of the Commission to the protagonists of educational status quo (162):-

> "It was pointed out that boys cannot be apprenticed without a Standard VI certificate, but whether mere eligibility for apprenticeship is likely under present conditions to be of much practical advantage is doubtful. At the same time the Commission feels that education ought not to be restricted merely because opportunity is restricted. While a removal of economic barriers would no doubt stimulate a desire for education, those barriers may perhaps be made to yield somewhat to pressure from within. Education must lead as well as follow."

Another thing that affected attendance was the restriction imposed upon government and government-aided schools, not under a European head teacher, to

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162. Report, Ntl. Edn. Commsn., 1937 - para. 381, (P.N. 60/1938). See also paras. 454-460.

teach only up to Standard IV. Facilities beyond Standard IV were provided only at the Carlisle Street School, Durban and the York Road School, Maritzburg. Consequently a number of children left at an early age, "to roam the streets" as the Indian Teachers' Society declared in 1922 (163). In 1927 out of 43 aided Indian schools only 19 taught beyond Standard IV (164). The restriction might have been imposed for the sake of efficiency, owing to the poor qualifications of Indian teachers. But the fact remains that at this stage of the development of Indian education the highest standard offered in the majority of Indian schools was only Standard IV, and progress beyond that stage was not possible, and, therefore, the school career of most pupils came to an end at a stage when they should have been still at school.

Another factor which restricted attendance was the minimum age limit imposed by the conditions of the 1925 Subsidies Act. Subsidy was given only to children seven years and over, and excluding those below seven. The Administration had on its own initiative lowered the permissive age to six, which meant that cost of educating the six-year-olds was borne by the province. But owing to the increase in the enrolment of Indian pupils after the Cape Town Agreement the Province was not prepared to find the additional money for those under seven years of age. Consequently admissions to Indian schools were for many years restricted to children who qualified for the subsidy, that is, from the age of seven (165).

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163. Memorandum by Ntl. Govt. Indian Schools' Teachers' Society to Edn. Inq. Committee, 1921-1922 (Russell)
164. Kichlu Memorandum, 1928 : para.2.
165. Reports, Supt. Edn. (Ntl.) : 1926 - p.18; 1927 - p.8; 1929 - p.15.

There was no maximum age limit under the Subsidies Act of 1925, but a maximum age of 16 was imposed on aided Indian schools by the Province (165a), that is, no grant-in-aid would be given those above sixteen years of age.

If there was any one factor which has constituted the greatest obstacle to the progress of Indian education it was the chronic shortage of accommodation, of adequate quantity and quality. Even under a voluntary system of attendance it was not possible to accommodate all those who wished to attend. In 1921 Indians complained of the need for more schools; even at that date many children were refused admission to schools for lack of accommodation (166). Again in 1928 Mr. Kichlu reported that both government and government-aided schools were full and generally overcrowded (167). In one school alone at Clairwood 300 pupils were refused admission. In several schools prospective pupils were refused admission for want of accommodation. He reported that there was a great desire on the part of the Indian population to send their children to school, and girls as well as boys were anxious to enrol if they could be provided with the facilities for doing so. In 1934 the Superintendent reported that there was a request for government grant-in-aid from 9 private schools with 1150 pupils, but they could not be assisted for lack of money; again in 1934, 1935 and 1936 he reported that there was need of schools at Greyville (Durban), Candella Estate,

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165a. P.N. 29/1926 - 3 Feb.
166. Memo. Durban & Districts Indian Edn1. Advisory Committee to Edn. Inq. Committee - 1921-1922.
167. Kichlu Memorandum, 1928 - para.3.

Alencon (Malvern), Entumeni, Kelso Junction, Ottawa, Gingindhlovu, Clairwood, New Glasgow, Glenroy, Quembi, Umzinto and New Hanover (168). The 1937 Education Commission was unable to recommend compulsory education immediately for the lack of adequate accommodation (168a). Referring to conditions in 1941, the Corbett Committee also reported that the existing schools could not accommodate suitably all those who wished to attend school, and were certainly inadequate to accommodate all those who should attend (169).

The only secondary Indian school in Durban, Sastri College, frequently had to refuse admission; in 1945 over 50 boys were refused admission (170). In 1947, owing to the demand for admission into Standard IX from the country schools, which only taught up to Standard VIII, Durban pupils were finding it difficult to secure admission into Standard VIII at Sastri College (171). In the primary schools the position was worse. In 1945 the Greyville School, Durban, refused admission to 200 pupils; Clairwood Senior and Junior turned away 600 children; Candella Estate over 200 children; even the Dartnell Crescent Girls' School was overcrowded and refusing admission(172)Year by year the demand for school accommodation has exceeded the supply (172a).

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168. Reports, Supt. Edn. (Ntl.) : 1934 - p.16; 1935 - p. p.14; 1936 - p.14.
168a. Report, Ntl. Edn. Commsn.,1937 - para. 446.
169. Report, Prov. Financial Resources Committee, 1944 - para. 342.
170. "Leader" - 10 Feb., 1945 : "Children Grow up in Ignorance."
171. "Leader" - 1 Feb., 1947 : "Frustrated Hopes of Indian Children."
172. "Leader" - 10 Feb., 1945 : "Children Grow up in Ignorance."
172a. See also Report, Director of Edn. (Ntl.), 1943 - p.10 - para.16.

It was a perennial issue, causing grave anxiety to Indian parents. Children have been placed on long waiting lists for, sometimes, two or three years, and preference was given to the older children when admissions were made (173). According to one estimate, in the central areas of Durban alone there were 6,000 Indian pupils whom it was not possible to admit because of lack of accommodation (174). A number of private schools had grown up and attempted to relieve the pressure, but conditions in these schools are very unsatisfactory (175). Conditions in some of them are reminiscent of the early 19th century.

There is no better illustration of the negligence or indifference of the Government to the needs of Indian education than in its lack of planning, initiative, and financial support of a building programme. In his annual report for 1943 the Director of Education stated that the building programme was some 15 years behind schedule (175a). In his evidence to the Natal Post-War Works and Reconstruction Commission he estimated that £1,672,000 was urgently needed, and subsequently another £1,020,000, for capital expenditure on Indian, European and Coloured schools. He referred to the difficulty of acquiring sites in partially built up areas, the difficulty of planning buildings on small and sometimes uneven sites, and the inadequacy of the playing fields

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173. "Leader" - 10 Feb.,1945 : "Children Grow up in Ignorance."
"Passive Resister" - 7 Aug., 1947 : "Memorandum on Indian Education."

174. Ibid ibid
and also "Plea for Extended Facilities."

175. "Passive Resister" - 7 Aug., 1947 : "Memorandum on Indian Education."

175a. Report, Director Edn., 1943 : p.10 - para.16 (Published only in 1947.)

of the vast majority of schools, as all evidence of lack of long range policy. He pointed out that only 55% of the Indian population of school-going age could be accommodated at any one moment (175a), and that was the position in spite of all the expansion of the recent years. In his view, there were two long range problems in regard to the accommodation of Indian children (and also Native children):-

(a) over a period of years to provide such accommodation as would enable all these children to obtain the means of education; and this meant the enccouragement of local effort to build schools which may receive State aid;

(b) to formulate plans for progressively increasing the number of schools entirely maintained and controlled by the State; and this may be effected either by building schools, by taking over State-aided schools or by renting existing school buildings.

The Indians themselves, in 1947, agitated for the accommodation of all Indian children of school-going age within a period of five years (176).

At the height of this shortage, the Administration actually stifled private initiative by reverting once more to the practice of giving only a building grant of one-third of the cost of the building, and that when funds permitted. The Natal Indian Congress, while insisting that it was the responsibility of the State to provide adequate accommodation, urged that where local help was available, the Administration should stimulate and further assist it by increasing the building grants

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176. Memorandum to Administrator (Ntl.) by Natal Indian Congress, 28 July, 1947. See also "Passive Resister" 7 Aug., 1947 - op.cit.
See also Report, Prov. Finan. Resources Cmttee., 1944 para. 344 (U.G.9-1944).

to three-quarters to four-fifths (176). Another memorandum addressed to the Minister of Finance and Education requested that the Central Government should make a special grant to the Natal Provincial Administration, earmarked for the upliftment of Indian education, as it was mainly through the past neglect and racial discrimination of the Union Government that the present situation had arisen (177).

Another factor which has equally retarded the growth of Indian education in respect of enrolment and standard of instruction pertains to the adequacy of supply and training of teachers. As the question of teachers and teacher-training is an important aspect of the development of Indian education, it will be discussed in the following chapter. It will be sufficient at this stage to state merely that the expansion of the system of education for Indians has been slowed up through a shortage of suitably trained teachers of both sexes.

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177. "Passive Resister" - 4 Sept.,1947 - "What N.I.C. told Hofmeyer."

C H A P T E R XVII

THE DEVELOPMENT OF PRIMARY AND SECONDARY EDUCATION FOR INDIANS (contd.)

(1911 - 1947)

(iii)

TEACHERS AND TEACHER-TRAINING

In the previous chapters the administrative, accommodational and pupil attendance aspects of the system of Indian education in Natal were discussed. The teaching personnel and curricular aspects of the system remain to be considered.

The question of teachers may be studied from three aspects : (1) the adequacy of the supply; (2) the preparation, training and certification of teachers; (3) the remuneration and conditions of service of the teachers in employ.

The number of teachers employed in the government and government-aided Indian schools increased from 130 in 1912 (1) to 871 in 1944 (2). Calculated on the basis of the increased enrolment of Indian schools since 1944, it may be estimated there were approximately 1000

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1. Report, Supt., Edn., 1912.
2. Memorandum by Ntl. Edn. Dept. to Ntl. Indian Affairs Commission (Broome), 1944. Figures beyond this date are not accessible. In 1943 there were 883 on the staff, in the same year there were in all 1954 European teachers. Report, Supt. Edn., 1943 - p.51.

teachers in 1947. The majority of the teachers were employed in the government-aided schools.

The two sources of supply of teachers for Indian schools were (a) India, and (b) the local South African population. India as a source of supply has never been fruitful even in the past. Immigration restrictions imposed in 1913, and the general disabilities of the colour-bar in South Africa probably contributed to discouraging the intellectual elements from attempting to migrate to this country. It should be mentioned that under the Smuts-Gandhi Agreement of 1914 it was open to six educated men, like priests and teachers, to enter the Union every year and acquire domiciliary rights. This arrangement has, hitherto, been exploited by the Indian community to import only priests, and teachers of the Indian languages for private vernacular schools.

In 1930, however, when the Sastri College was opened in Durban, as a combined High School and Teacher-Training College, the Provincial Administration had recourse to India again in order to staff this institution. This step was taken on the recommendation of the Indian Education Inquiry Committee, of 1928, which believed then that it was "quite impossible to find professors in this country capable of starting the Training College"(3). The Committee was thinking of Indian" professors, as it was Mr. Sastri's intention that the new institution should be staffed by Indian lecturers and a European principal (3a). It had the support of the Education

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3. Report, Ind. Edn. Inq. Comttee.,1928 - para.8(b) & (c) (P.N.174/1928).
3a.Kichlu Memorandum, 1928 - para.37.

Department, for it hoped that selected matriculants might be sent (probably on some endowed bursary scheme) to India for graduation, subsequently returning to serve as masters in their old College, so that in time it would be manned by a South African Indian staff (4). Accordingly six Indian graduate teachers, personally selected by Mr. Sastri, were engaged on a 3 years' terminable contract (4), and they arrived in Durban during the Easter of 1930 (5).

On the termination of their contract they returned to India at the end of 1932 (6), and since then the expediency of importing teachers from India has not been resorted to. The imported teachers had been paid at the rate of £400 per annum, and it seems that for reasons of economy alone it was found not desirable to continue with their services (7). Their places were taken by Europeans whose special qualifications, it was expected, would have enabled them "to cope more effectively and economically with the present curricula of the College"(8). Nor was the scheme of training local Indians in India carried out, but instead they were sent to the South African Native College at Fort Hare, under a Bursary scheme (9), as also provided for in the Cape Town Agreement (10). It should be noted, however, that, in this instance, recourse was had to India only for a supply of Indian graduate teachers for post-primary work. There is no evidence ~~either~~ that in this period Indians were imported from India to teach in government, or government-aided, primary schools.

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4. Report, Supt. Edn.,1928 : p.14.
5. Ibid : 1930, - p.15.
6. Ibid : 1932 - p.14.
7. "Natal Witness" - 25 July, 1932 - "Sastri College Teachers."
8. Report, Supt., Edn., 1932 : p.18.
9. P.N.445/1930; P.N.8/1936; P.N.418/1947.
10. "Sastri Speaks" (edit.) Bramdaw & Naidoo: Upliftment Clause 2(b). p.204.

The chief source of supply of teachers for Indian schools was then the local population - European, Coloured and Indian. In 1932, for instance, (since when detailed figures have become available), there were 36 European and 17 Coloured teachers in all the Indian schools (11); in 1939 there were 70 Europeans and 11 Coloureds (12), and in 1940 they formed 10.1% of the staffs of Indian schools, being distributed mainly in the secondary and aided schools (13). In 1943 there were 76 Europeans and 13 Coloured teachers on a teaching staff of 883 (13a). The staffing of Indian schools, then, has depended almost entirely upon the Indians themselves.

But the supply of suitably trained Indian teachers has never been sufficient to meet the demands of an expanding system of education. Consequently, Indian education has been, and is, seriously retarded in its development. The shortage of teachers has been felt in other branches of Natal education too (14). In so far as Indian education was concerned the attention of the Provincial Administration had been drawn to this matter several times during this period. Thus, in 1916 Inspector Mr. Ballance reported that the problem of supply of qualified Indian teachers, though accentuated at the time through the First World War (1914-1918), was likely to be aggravated rather than diminished (15). References were made again in 1917 and 1919 (16). Then in 1926 the Superintendent of Education declared that the progress of Indian education was held up through want of qualified teachers, and that to train a sufficient number to meet immediate

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11. Report, Supt. Edn., 1932 - p.57.
12. Ibid 1939 - p.117.
13. Ibid 1940 - p.10 - para.4.
13a. Ibid 1943 - p.51.
14. Ibid 1925 - p.14.
15. Ibid 1916 - p.19.
16. Ibid 1917 - p.62.
Speech, Administrator. P.N.61/1919 - 19 March.

needs would have taken a number of years (17).

When the educational demands of the Indians were stimulated by the Cape Town Agreement and the efforts of Mr. Sastri and the leaders of the Indian community, the Education Department was absolutely unprepared to cope with the situation and expand the educational facilities for Indian children. It lacked a programme or a scheme for meeting the situation, though not entirely through its own faults. What the lack of teachers meant to the development of Indian education may be imagined, when the Superintendent could report in 1928 that the enrolment of Indian pupils could have been increased at the rate of 2000 per year, if only he could have obtained the teachers (18). There were at the time about 20,000 Indian children of school-going age, or nearly two-thirds of the potential school population, not in schools, and Mr. Kichlu had urged that they should be brought under instruction within a period of five years (19). This was not realised owing to the past neglect, or lack of planning for the future needs of Indian education. Inspector Mr. Lawlor estimated that even at the rate of 30 to 40 new schools per annun, and an annual recruitment of 100 qualified teachers it would have taken at least ten years to make up for this backlog (20). A glance at TABLE 2 in the previous chapter will show that the existing arrangements for the supply of teachers (and of accommodation) failed to secure an increased enrolment of 2000 per annum.

In 1937 the Superintendent of Education referred to the shortage of teachers again (21). The Education Commission of 1937 was confronted with the

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17. Report, Supt., Edn., 1926 - p.9.
18. Ibid 1928 - p.14.
19. Ibid 1926 - p.9.
Kichlu Memorandum, 1928 - paras. 1, 78.
20. Report, Supt. Edn., 1928 - p.16.
21. Ibid 1937 - p.26.

same position as in 1928. There were some 20,000 Indian children of school-going age (6 - 14 years) still out of school (22), and teachers could not be found for them. To bring all those children into school would have required double the number of teachers then in employ, and double the amount of accommodation, and double the expenditure (23). It was estimated that at least another 100 schools and more than 500 teachers would have been required. The training of all these teachers would have taken some years, while it was not impossible to provide all that accommodation within a year or two.

A Central Government inquiry committee investigating into the financial affairs of the Provinces also came face to face with the excessively large number of Indian children out of school. The provisions made for Indian education were described as being "clearly inadequate" (24), and in its view the root causes of this inadequacy appeared to be the lack of teachers and accommodation (25). This was admitted in 1943 by the Provincial Administration (26). In recent years the shortage of Indian graduates, offering science subjects, began to be felt, and the opening up of new secondary classes have been held up (27). Considering the thousands of Indian children still out of school at the end of this period of study (in 1945) the shortage of teachers for Indian schools must be as acute as ever, and retarding the expansion of educational services (28).

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22. Report, Ntl. Edn. Commssn.,1937 : paras. 414, 416. (P.N.60/1938).
23. Ibid : para.446.
24. Report, Prov. Financial Resources Cttee.,1944 : paras. 338, 339 (U.G.9/1944)
25. Ibid : paras. 342,343.
26. Statement on Indian Edn. by Administrator (Ntl.), 12 May,1943 (Minutes, Prov.Council pp.41/42).
27. "Passive Resister" - 7 Aug.,1947 : "Memorandum on Indian Education.
"Leader" - 26 Apr.,1947 : "Damper on Secondary Schools" reporting a speech by the Supt. of Edn.
28. See overleaf.

Like everything else in Indian education - like the shortage of accommodation, the lack of free and compulsory education, the lack of free medical and dental inspection - the chronic shortage of teachers may be traced back to the insufficient financial provisions made for Indian education. It costs money to train teachers properly in sufficient quantity, and to remunerate them adequately for their services. The financial aspect has been dealt with fully in a previous chapter. The main conclusion drawn there was that a restrictive and racially discriminatory policy had been followed in regard to Indian education. Since the greater proportion of ordinary educational expenditure is incurred on the training and payment of teachers, the pursuance of this policy could not but have resulted in a serious shortage of suitably qualified teachers, or in a supply of ill-equipped and mediocre teachers, causing more difficulties by their presence than by their absence. It may be said at once then that the chronic inadequacy of the supply of Indian teachers was fundamentally due to the avoidance by the State of the assumption of its full and proper share of the responsibility for the education of the Indian child, and, in the resulting indifference and lack of planning, or the adoption of superficial, makeshift measures completely in accord with general Asiatic policy.

There were, however, other contributory factors which brought about a situation which tended to restrict the supply of teachers. They were as follows:-

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28. "Leader" - 12 July,1947 : "Progress Made - But Not Enough" - reporting Conference Speech of the President, Ntl. Indian Teachers' Society.
Speech Administrator (Ntl.) - 19 Mar.,1946 - Minutes, Prov. Council : p.4.

(1) the insufficiency of the number of Indian pupils reaching an educational standard, which might be considered an adequate preparation for entering the teaching profession;

(2) the smallness of the number of Indian women prepared to take up teaching as a profession;

(3) the lack of a teacher-training institution;

(4) economic inability of the average Indian parent to bear the cost of providing a full-time professional education for his children, and the meagreness of State assistance;

(5) lack of hostel accommodation for prospective student-teachers; and

(6) unattractive salaries and conditions of service.

Examine these factors in a little more detail, considering at the same time what steps had been taken by the Provincial Administration to minimise or overcome the obstacles. A critical study of the educational standards reached by the Indian pupil will be made in a later section. It will be sufficient to draw attention here to the fact that for almost half the length of this period the highest standard taught in the majority of the primary Indian schools under Indian headmasters was Standard IV. One government school at Durban and another at Pietermaritzburg, under a European staff taught up to Standard VII at first, and subsequently up to Matriculation. The attendance at these secondary classes has been discussed already. For the first half of the period, at any rate, the primary school attainments of the general body of Indian pupils was so low, that it was hardly possible to consider the situation as offering even a limited field of choice from which suitable teachers could be recruited. Even to this day (1945) some 87 per cent of the Indian pupils are enrolled in classes below Standard V, and about 70%

do not even reach Standard VI (29). Owing to the inability of the educational system to keep the pupils sufficiently long enough in school to complete a primary course, and the lack of enccuragement and facilities to proceed beyond the primary school course (29a), there were not enough Indian youths of adequate pretraining educational attainments who could have made suitable candidates for the teaching profession. The restrictions upon the horizontal and vertical expansion of Indian education have left a legacy of material unsuitable and ill-equipped for the teaching profession. The solution of the problem of securing an adequate supply of teachers for all the requirements of the educational system is, therefore, fundamental. The Education Department and the Provincial Administration have not tackled the issue fundamentally. To this day education for the Indian child is not compulsory, nor completely free even up to Standard VI; nor are there enough schools for all purposes. The position actually is a vicious circle, to break which more expensive European staff might be employed, but that again could only be done if adequate financial provisions are made by the State.

The shortage of teachers has been particularly acute in respect of Indian women teachers. It has been a long-standing defect of the system of Indian education and has had an important bearing upon the development of the education of the Indian child, particularly of the girls. The shortage of Indian women teachers for the infant classes was commented upon in 1925 (30), 1927(30a),

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29. See also Union Bulletin Edn1. Statistics,1940 ; pp.56, 57.
29a. Minutes Evidence, Ind. Edn. Inq. Ctee.,1928 : p.40. Evidence Inspector Mr. Lawlor.
30. Report, Supt. Edn.,1925 : p.14.
30a. Ibid 1927 : p.12.

1928 (31), and even as recently as 1943 (32). The Director of Education declared that it was quite out of place for a grown man to be teaching children of six and seven years (32). Further references to the general insufficiency of women teachers were made in 1933 (33), 1936 (34), 1937 (35), 1944 (36) and 1947 (37). There was thus a demand for women teachers from the schools as well as from the Indian community (38).

The number of women teachers, of all races, in Indian schools had increased from 41 in 1912 (39) to 88 in 1933 (40), and 197 in 1943 (41). Owing to the paucity of Indian women, European and Coloured women were employed in the government and government-aided schools. It was, however, not the policy of the Education Department to permit Europeans, men or women, to serve in schools under an Indian headmaster. In fact, in 1924, and 1925, the Provincial Council recommended that the employment of European women in Indian schools for boys should be forbidden (42). In the absence of Indian graduates, and because it was cheaper to engage women, they were being employed at the Carlisle High School, Durban (42). In 1932 there were 31 European and 14 Coloured women in the Indian schools (43); in 1939 there were 53 European and 8 Coloured women (44); and in 1943 there were 62 European and 9 Coloured women (45).

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31. Report, Supt. Edn., 1928 : p.35.
    Kichlu Memorandum, 1928 : para.50.
32. Report, Supt. Edn., 1943 : p.4 - para.5(c).
33. " Ibid 1933 : p.12
34. " Ibid 1936 : p.14
35. Report, Ntl.Edn.Commsn., 1937 : para.425 (P.N.60/1938)
36. Report, Prov.Finan.Resources Ctee., 1944 : para.343 (U.G.9/1944)
37. "Leader" - 12 July, 1947 : "Progress Made But Not Enough" reporting Conference Speech, Pres. Ntl. Indian Teachers' Society.
38. Report, Supt. Edn., 1943 : p.4 - para.5(c).
39. " Ibid 1912
40. " Ibid 1933 : pp.12, 59.
41. " Ibid 1943 : p.51.
42. " Ibid 1925 : p.14.
43. " Ibid 1932 : p.57.
44. " Ibid 1939 : p.117
45. " Ibid 1943 : p.51

It is interesting to note that whereas there were more females than males amongst the European teachers, on the other hand, there were more males than females amongst the Indian teachers. The relative figures for 1932 and 1942 are as follows (46):-

		Men	Women
1932.....	European Teachers	25.8%	74.2%
	Indian Teachers	86.7%	13.3%
1942[x].....	European System	27.2%	72.8%
	Indian System	76.7%	23.3%

[x] In the European system and Indian system; therefore, includes women of all races in Indian schools.

Now in 1933 out of 88 women teachers in Indian schools only 46 were Indian (47); again in 1938 out of 119 only 64 were Indian (2 in government and 62 in government-aided schools)(48), and in 1943 out of 197 there were 126 Indian women teachers (15 in government schools)(49). In 1943 there were 126 Indian women against 668 Indian men teachers, or only 15.9% of the Indian personnel was composed of women (49).

The supply of Indian women teachers is intimately related to the attendance of Indian girls in the primary and secondary schools. The vicious circle observed in the general shortage of teachers is particularly true in this instance. Once again the causes of the shortage were fundamental. Because a sufficient number of Indian girls did not stay long enough in the primary schools or continue up to the secondary level

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46. Report, Supt. Edn., 1932 - p.57.
Ibid 1942 - p.14 - para.5.
47. Ibid 1933 - pp. 12, 59.
48. Ibid 1938 - p. 87.
49. Ibid 1943 - p.51.

it was difficult to recruit a sufficient number of women candidates for the teaching profession. Because there were no women teachers, Indian parents were reluctant to send their girls, particularly the grown-up girls, to be taught by Indian male teachers (50). Furthermore, Indian parents objected to their girls attending mixed schools, especially in classes above the sub-standards (50). Now separate girls' schools could not be established unless there were enough Indian women teachers to staff them.

For this reason (and others too) it was estimated that in 1940 some 15,000 out of 23,000 Indian girls of school-going age were not in school(51). There were at that time some 8,000 boys, too, out of school (51). The problem of providing education for all Indian children of school-going age is, therefore, essentially one of providing suitable facilities for Indian girls, and that depends under existing conditions, upon the adequacy of the supply of women teachers. It is interesting to note in passing that some sections of the European community, too, have objections to co-education, though such views are not so widespread or intense as amongst the Indians (52). The problem in European education is the shortage of male teachers.

Some of the reasons for the non-attendance, or meagre attendance, of Indian girls already referred to

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50. Report, Supt. Edn.,1929 : p.17.
Report, Ntl. Edn. Commsn.,1937 : para.426 (P.N.60/1938)
Kichlu Memorandum, 1928 : para.50.
51. Report, Prov. Financial Resources Committee, 1944 - para.340 (U.G. 9-1944).
52. Report, Supt., Edn., 1919 - p.7.

in a previous chapter are :

(1) economic - (a) parents could not afford to pay for tuition, school books, travelling, and so on,

(b) the services of girls were needed at home because frequently both parents were employed;

(2) social - (a) objection to co-education,

(b) objection to being taught by male teachers,

(c) early marriageability and unsuitability of the curricula for their needs,

(d) backward notion that girls did not need as much education as boys.

Now all, or some of these reasons, also influenced thr number of Indian girl candidate-teachers. The Education Commission of 1937 set down the following difficulties in connection with securing more Indian women teachers (53):-

(1) objection of Indian parents to co-training of boys and girls at Sastri College (the objection would have been stronger because the boys and girls would have been in their adolescence);

(2) the impracticability of having a separate training college for women in view of the small numbers coming forward;

(3) the early marriageability of Indian girls resulting in shorter average teaching career than amongst European girls;

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53. Report, Ntl. Edn. Commsn.,1937 - para.427.

(4) the necessity of a very large number of trainees to come forward to keep up the supply and counteract the rapid depletion caused by the above factor.

To this might have been added the economic factor involved in the cost of training to the parent, especially when it included cost of board and lodging (54). The very ones who were forced to earn a living came from families which could ill afford the cost of training.

In 1937 the Superintendent of Education stated that the efforts of the Education Department to get more Indian girls to train as teachers had been unsuccessful, and he was inclined to believe that the reasons for the failure was deeper than a mere absence of separate schools where larger numbers could receive pre-training preparation (55). He was not incorrect in his surmise for there were reasons which lay buried deep in the traditions of India. There was that deep reverence of the Indian for the institution of family, his deep attachment to family life. Around this was built up his code of sexual relations. The family was inviolable; the central figure of the family was the mother (a) - the woman; the inviolability of the family is resident in the woman; woman must, therefore, remain chaste and inviolate, both in body and mind. Chastity can be broken only in wedlock. A very high code of moral conduct was prescribed for woman. The severity of this code is still preserved in Indian society, but there appears to be some slight relaxation under the impact of conditions in South Africa.

Arising from this is the Indian view that the

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54. Report, Supt. Edn., 1943 - p.4 - para.5(c).
55. Report, Supt. Edn., 1937 - p.14.
(a) The order of worship taught to Indian children is : First Mother, Second Father, Third Guru (teacher), Fourth Deva (Deity).

place of the average woman is in the home. It is, therefore, expected that sooner or later she would be married and have her own home and family, to which she must be able to take a chaste body and mind, to uphold the traditions of her husband's family., Consequently in everyday life the constant care of the parent is to see that his daughter is suitably, and not unduly belatedly, married. Delay, or rejection after proposal, is a grave affront to the dignity and honour of his household, and a charge against the purity of his daughter. This intense emphasis upon the personal purity of the woman overrides even the considerations of securing an adequate intellectual preparation of the woman. In such circumstances instruction of woman in religion, art, music, ethics and domestic science would be considered more important than scientific and intellectual accomplishments; the training of character and the emotions rather than of the intellect and body.

The entire attitude of the Indian parent towards the education of his girl was then governed by the thought of whether such and such an action would increase or decrease her chances of getting married. Free intermingling of the sexes, unchaperoned movements, immodest taste and behaviour would render her chances small. Therefore, it will be found

(1) that the Indian woman, particularly the young unmarried woman, is not encouraged to work for a livelihood outside the precincts of the home or the surveillance of the parent; the purdah system, introduced by the Muslims in India, has reinforced the seclusion of women from contact with menfolk not belonging to the household; a man feels socially lowered if any of his womenfolk are forced

to seek such employment and come out of the seclusion of the home. Teaching for gain in the public schools would fall under this category. It would appear that the Indian community in general prefers to face poverty and lower standards of living than break from this tradition (b). The rate of change in this attitude is slow in South Africa, but there does appear to have been some little change for the percentage of Indian women teachers has increased since 1932. Nearly all of these women belong to the Christian and Hindu sections (Tamil, Telegu and Hindi-speaking). The practice of seclusion is strongest in the Muslim community;

(2) that the objection to co-education is carried over to co-teaching, that is, teaching with male teachers on the same staff;

(3) that young unmarried girls are not permitted to teach in a locality which would necessitate their living away from home and out of parental control.

It is not likely that under Western influences, and the example of social changes taking place in modern India, this attitude towards Indian women would long remain unmodified. There is pressure from within the community itself which would eliminate any social stigma attached to a young woman engaging in outside employment. The process of social change may also be accelerated by the demands of the growing number of Westernised, educated Indian youths. The Indian community is passing through a transitional stage in the re-orientation of Eastern mores with Western mores. The problem of the shortage of Indian women teachers is, therefore, to bridge this transitional

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(b) Refer to the N.U.C. Survey of Poverty in Durban mentioned in Chapter XIII.

period. It is significant that whereas at one time Indian demands for compulsory education were limited to the boys but now the demands are made on behalf of both boys and girls.

The remedies suggested by Mr. Kichlu in 1928 were essentially fundamental (56). Pending the introduction of compulsory education for girls and boys within 5 years, he suggested (i) as a first step the immediate abolition of fees for girls in all schools in the primary stage, (ii) the opening of new government and government-aided schools exclusively for Indian girls (iii) where the number of girls on the rolls was sufficiently large the provision of facilities suited to their needs, such as needlework, sewing, cutting out, cookery etc., (iv) separate scholarships and stipends to be awarded on merit to boys and girls separately to encourage them to cover (a) the course for Standards V and VI, (b) the course for Standards VII and VIII, and (c) the course for Standards IX and X.

When the next inquiry took place in 1936-1937 the girls were still fee-paying pupils (though in the government schools they were at reduced rates, but in the aided schools no such concessions were general); out of 103 schools only six girls' schools were in existence (2 government and 4 government-aided); facilities for domestic science were available only at the Mitchell Crescent (later Dartnell Crescent) girls' school in Durban (though in 1935 (57) many were not taking advantage of the facilities here); there were no primary or post-primary scholarships. There was, of course, no compulsory

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56. Kichlu Memorandum, 1928 : paras. 46, 47, 51.
57. Report, Supt. Edn., 1935 - p.28.

education. To crown it all there was not sufficient accommodation in the schools, even should they have desired to attend (58). There was a definitely expressed desire on the part of Indian parents to educate their girls to higher standards (59), provided, of course, separate schools of women teachers were made available. It was known to the Department that the education of Indian girls had become "a real item in the scheme" of education (60). Now it was not until 1935 that a second government school for girls was established in Pietermaritzburg (61); the request for a school from this centre was made in 1929 (62).

What little progress had been made in tackling this question of the shortage of women teachers may be gauged from the following recommendations of the 1937 Commission, which with minor variations, were substantially the same as those made by Mr. Kichlu in 1928 (62a):-

(1) the creation of as many separate girls' schools as possible;

(2) employment of available Indian women teachers in the girls' schools;

(3) employment of more European and Coloured women teachers to tide over the transitional period;

(4) acceptance of lower academic qualifications for Indian women teachers in infant classes;

(5) replacement of men by women in the infant classes of urban and rural areas;

(6) improvement of salaries and conditions of service to make the teaching profession more attractive;

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58. Report, Prov. Finan. Resources Ctee.,1944 - paras.340, 342. (U.G. 9-1944).
59. Report, Supt. Edn., 1928 - pp.14, 26.
60. Ibid 1929 - p.13.
61. Ibid 1935 - p.14.
62. Ibid 1929 - p.13.
62a. Report, Ntl. Edn.Commsn.,1937 - paras.426, 427, 467.

(7) special inducements to girls to continue their education through primary to secondaty schools;

(8) provision of hostel accommodation.

These were besides the recommendations for free and compulsory education.

Representations were made by the Agent-General for India (Sir Rama Rau) in 1940 and 1941 for (i) the introduction of compulsory education in urban areas, as a first step, and (ii) making education for girls free (62b). But these proposals were rejected by the Administration (62b). The Agent-General reported that there was no sign of any attempt to tackle the problem of accommodation (new schools for girls), or to effect any of the other improvements asked for (62c).

It is, therefore, not clear what were all the efforts, which the Superintendent of Education had stated in 1937 (63) had been made to encourage the education of Indian girls and the training of women teachers. How well the recommendations of the earlier Commissions were carried out may be gauged from the fact that in 1946 out of about 12,000 Indian girls attending school only 2,503 have been able to find accommodation in exclusively girls' schools (6 government and 2 aided). The desire of the Indians to educate their girls is seen in the fact that between 1936 and 1945 the number of girls in school had doubled, and that under a system of voluntary attendance and fee payment.

The truth of the matter is that, apart from the social backwardness of certain sections of the

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62b. Report, Agent-General India, 1940 - para.26(a)
Report, High Commissioner India, 1941 - para.21.
62c. Ibid 1941 - para.21.
63. Report, Supt. Edn., 1937 - p.14.

Indian community, the Provincial Administration and the Union Government did not make adequate financial provisions for the stimulation and promotion of the education of Indian girls. The Education Commission of 1937 recommended the employment of European and Coloured women teachers to break the vicious circle which the education of Indian girls had got into (64). The latter were not available in adequate quantities even for their own schools, but the former were more expensive as they were paid on the higher European scale of salaries. This recommendation was not carried out in a vigorous manner, and the reason was that the funds provided for Indian education would not have allowed this additional expenditure without seriously restricting the general growth of the system of Indian education. In the circumstances the Education Department appears to have been compelled to sit and wait until the more lowly paid Indian women teachers became available in the process of time. The solution to the shortage of Indian women teachers in the transitional stages, then, is fundamentally one of finance, and that seems to depend not only upon the ability of the Provincial and Central Governments to bear the additional cost but also upon their willingness to incur the additional expenditure for the education of the Indian.

It is likely that the Corbett Committee was aware of some of these facts when it urged (65) that the authorities should take all possible steps to eliminate the obstacles which prevented sufficient Indian

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64. Report, Ntl. Edn. Commsn.,1937 - para.426 (P.N.60/1938)
65. Report, Prov. Financial Resources Committee, 1944 - para.343.

women candidates from coming forward to the teaching profession; and, believed that difficulties could be overcome "if dealt with realistically". It was also of the opinion (66) that with regard to the attendance of Indian girls, the Administration should, as far as practicable, adapt the provisions which it makes to meet Indian customs. Once again it was urged that more girls' schools should be established in the urban areas in which a large proportion of the Indian population was located (66).

Continuing the discussion on the factors contributing to the inadequate supply of Indian teachers, consider now the question of the training facilities provided during this period. For almost half the length of this period the only facilities available for teacher-training were those provided by (1) the Sydenham Training College, Durban, and (2) the part-time classes instituted and conducted by the Education Department. Both of these institutions had come into being in the previous period, and continued their work for some time during this period.

The Sydenham Training College was an aided institution, under the aegis of the St. Aidan's Mission (Anglican)(67), conducting full-time teacher-training classes in conjunction with the Sydenham Boys' School. Definite information is not available as to whether part-time classes were also conducted here, but from direct evidence gathered from the senior Indian members of the teaching profession, and from a perusal of the large attendance figures, it would appear that part-time classes too were conducted by this institution. Students

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66. Report. Prov. Financ. Resources Ctee., 1944 - para.342.
67. Report, Supt. Edn., 1910/11.

were prepared for the Indian Teachers' Senior and Junior Certificate Examinations. It was in receipt of a grant-in-aid of £200 per annum until its closure in 1921 (68). For many years this College was the chief source of supply of trained Indian teachers, as the following figures would also indicate (69):-

	Average Enrolment	Fees Collected	Free Pupils
1911	8	£9. 0. 0.	7
1912	26	25.13. 0.	9
1913	43	59.12. 6.	3
1914	52	73. 4. 6.	5
1915	58	82. 0. 3.	8
1916	54	71.13. 3.	8
1917	63	61.11. 0.	5
1918	33	no figs.	no figs.
1919	31	" "	" "
1920	32	" "	" "

The Education Department was not quite satisfied with the facilities provided at this institution. In 1917 Inspector Mr. Ballance commented that the Sydenham Training College was chiefly intended for training Mission teachers and was "by its very constitution unfitted to become cosmopolitan" (70). He suggested that the Government should review the "whole question and place it upon a proper footing." What he meant by that is not clear, but in 1919 the College was reorganised and a capable principal was appointed (71). But as stated earlier it stopped functioning in 1921, without developing into a bigger and broader institution.

Another instance of private enterprise in the training of Indian teachers was reported in 1928 (71a).

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68. Reports, Supt. Edn., 1910/11 - 1920.
Closure reported by Dbn. & Dist. Indian Edn1. Advisory Committee in a memo to Edn. Inq. Ctee.(Russell)1921/22
69. Reports, Supt. Edn., 1910/11 - 1920; espec. 1916 - p.19.
70. Ibid 1917 - p.62.
71. Ibid 1919 - p.53.
71a. Ibid 1928 - p.26.

Reference was made to Indian girls being trained at the Clairwood Girls' school under missionary influence. It is also interesting to note that in 1937 the St.Aidan's Girls' School at Sydenham was training eight girls for the T5 Examination on Saturday mornings in competition with the Departmental classes, but the Department stopped these activities (71b).

The questions of supply and better training of Indian teachers seem to have occupied the minds of the educational authorities in 1916, 1917, 1918 and 1919 (72). Apart from the above re-organisation of Sydenham Training College, in 1918 an attempt was made to start a continuation class for intending teachers at York Road Government School (formerly the Higher Grade School) in Pietermaritzburg, and the entrance qualification was the passing of Standard VI in a Government school (73). This really restricted the entrants to pupils of York Road itself as the other government Indian schools only went up to Standard IV. From subsequent references it seems that only a part-time class for teachers had been instituted in Pietermaritzburg in connection with the York Road School. Another part-time class was started at Tongaat on the North Coast in 1920 (74).

Now these part-time classes had been started in the previous period in order to make up for the lack of educational background of Indian teachers and to give some theoretical instruction on pedagogy in preparation for the Departmental Certificate Examinations. These arrangements were not entirely satisfactory for attend-

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71b. Minutes Evidence, Ntl. Edn. Commsn.,1937 - p.702 (Miss Howard, Headmistress).
72. Report, Supt., Edn.,1916 - p.19.
Ibid 1917 - p.62.
Speech Administrator (Ntl.) - P.N.70/1918 - 20 March.
Ibid P.N.61/1919 - 19 March.
73. Report, Supt. Edn., 1918 - p.53.
74. Ibid 1920 - p.15.

dance was only part-time and buildings and equipment were absent (75). In 1921 (75) the Superintendent stated that the most pressing matter in connection with Indian education at the time was the lack of proper training for teachers. These tutorial classes, generally held on Saturday mornings, were attended almost entirely by teachers already in employment, with no professional certificates at all, or only a low certification upon which they wished to improve. Up to 1926 fees had been charged at these classes, but were abolished after that date (76); and, they were financed on a grant-in-aid system (77), even to this day. Thus in 1922 (77) the enrolment and grants-in-aid were as follows:-

Centres.	Average Enrolment.	Aid.
Durban	61	£40. 3. 6d.
Tongaat	16	31.19. 0.
Pietermaritzburg		
- Senior	9	50. 0. 0.
- Junior	14	50. 0. 0.

Being grant-in-aid institutions the fees were kept by the teachers, or head teacher.

As years went by the lack of proper training facilities, and the inadequacy of the existing arrangements were more frequently scathingly commented upon. Thus, in 1925 (78), the Superintendent of Education wrote as follows :-

> "The present system succeeds in giving an imprimatur of a certificate to the born teacher, ...but it does not, and cannot, succeed in creating a teacher out of the ordinary individual, because his practice is far too little, or not at all, supervised."

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75. Report, Supt. Edn., 1921 - p.6.
76. Report, Prov. Auditor (Ntl.), N.P. 5/1926 - p.51.
77. Report, Supt. Edn., 1922.
78. Ibid 1925 - p.14.
See also Ibid 1926 - p.22.(Insp. Mr. Murray-Brown)

The entire system was criticised as being a "makeshift and palliative" (79); to produce Indian teachers under this system was said to be "like making bricks without straw" (80). Then again in 1930, it was said (81) that the "training" demanded for Indian Teachers' Certificate Examinations had been "at best a very inadequate preparation for the teaching profession." There was "no Training College, no training school, no corporate student life, and no continuous study." The nearest approach to all these desirable things had been attendance at lectures lasting from 3 to 4½ hours per week. Inspector Mr. Lawlor wrote (81):-

> "That there are Indian teachers in Natal who have risen superior to this meagre opportunity and made themselves a credit to the profession, is a matter for individual admiration, and not for general congratulation."

The type of individual who attended these classes may be gauged from this description of the Chief Inspector of Schools (82):-

> ".....a considerable number of the students attending these classes are not fit to be teachers and are not likely to pass the qualifying examinations. The classes require a thorough combing-out and their effectiveness will be considerably increased when they have been purged of the indifferent, the intermittent and the lazy."

There were many, however, who were a greater credit to themselves and to the teaching profession.

These official criticisms were very mild indeed. It was a system which, having inducted into the profession, on a permanent basis, good, bad, indifferent and barely literate, absolutely unskilled

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79. Report, Supt. Edn., 1927 - p.12 (Insp. Mr. Lawlor)
80. Ibid 1928 - p.17 (" " ")
81. Ibid 1930 - p.14
82. Ibid 1931 - p.9 (" " ")

or untalented persons, subsequently attempted to teach them not only the technical side of the profession, but also to make up for the deficiency in the pre-requisite general education. This was laissez faire carried to the extreme. It was a method of training technical personnel which would never have been condoned in any of the other professions - legal, medical or engineering. No industrial organisation of any worth would have tolerated such a haphazard way of selecting and training its personnel. Is it any wonder that the teaching profession was, and is, not held in the same esteem as the other professions ? How else could it be, when a man may not call himself a skilled carpenter unless he has acquired the necessary preliminary general education and served a long apprenticeship under skilled supervision and guidance, and yet an Indian teacher could have picked up his skill, and made up for the want of the preliminary requirements in education as he went along. It was, therefore, not surprising when the Inspector reported that there was a tendency amongst young Indians to side-step full-time training, when it subsequently became available (quite apart from possible economic stress) and that this had a deleterious effect on Indian education (83).

In 1930 the Sastri College was opened and full-time teacher-training commenced in 1931 (84). But the External Part-time Classes were continued and even expanded. Thus in 1932 another class was opened at Stanger (85). After 1942 the Tongaat class, and after 1943 the Stanger class, appear to have gone out

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83. Report, Supt. Edn., 1937 - p.28.
84. Ibid 1931 - p.9.
85. Ibid 1932 - p.14.

of existence (86), leaving the Durban and Pietermaritzburg classes still in existence in September, 1946 with a total attendance of 82 teachers. When the expansion of Indian education began in 1928, it was recognised that most of the teachers then in schools had not received proper training (87). It was stated that for the sake of teachers at that time who could not have afforded to sacrifice a year's salary to take full-time training, it was decided to continue this system of External classes with the new system of internal training and examination (87). The system then was continued in order to give an opportunity to the older teachers to improve their qualifications and acquire the new certification instituted in 1931 (88). But owing to the shortage of teachers, young unqualified teachers filtered into the profession, and used the facilities of these classes to prepare for the new Indian Teachers' Fifth and Fourth Class Certificates (i.e. T5, T4), since they were not debarred from attending these classes. So the original intention of gradually sealing off the classes to the younger generation of teachers, and channelling them into the new Training College did not succeed. The table on the next page will indicate to what extent the Indian teachers made use of the facilities afforded by the Education Department. The point that must be emphasised, however, is that these External Classes were not a source for the supply of fully-trained new teachers. The classes acted in an ex post facto manner, improving the stock acquired under duress and by fortuitous methods.

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86. Statistical Supplement, Monthly Circulars (Ntl. Edn. Dept.) - for Sept., 1943; 1944; 1945; 1946 - No reference made.
87. Report, Supt. Edn., 1937 - p.28.
88. Ibid 1931 - p.9; 1932 - p.24.

TABLE 1

INDIAN TEACHERS-IN-TRAINING

(1911 - 1946)

(Average Enrolment)

	Internal Full-time.	External Part-time.		Internal Full-time.	External Part-time.
1911	8	?	1929	-	(249)
1912	26	14	1930	-	(260)
1913	43	9	1931	- (Snrs Jnr) Pt. I Cert.) Pt. II	(263) (181)
1914	52	9	1932	25	292 (58 w)
1915	58	9	1933	21	329
1916	54	10	1934	28	230
1917	63	14	1935	28 (6 wc.)	149
1918	33	12	1936	25 (1 ")	147
1919	31	9	1937	26 (4 ")	201
1920	32	14	1938	29 (4 ")	150
1921	Closed	92	1939	22	135
1922	-	100	1940	24	174
1923	-	93	1941	55	169
1924	-		1942	44	178
1925	-	89	1943	58 (35 ")	145
1926	-	91	1944	63	92
1927	-	130	1945	65	87
1928	-	(160)	1946	39	82

REMARKS.

All information from Reports of Supt. Education.

1. From 1911-1920 : Internal classes at Sydenham Training College. Some of the pupils were in attendance at the part-time classes conducted by the College. Separate figures not available.

2. From 1932-1946 : Internal training for men at Sastri College.

3. From 1935-1940 : Internal training for women - partly at the Dartnell Crescent Indian Girls' High and partly at Sastri College; from 1941 completely at former school.

4. From 1940-1946 : figures of attendance as given in the Annual Statistical Supplement to the Monthly Circular (N.E.D.); 1943 from Supt. Edn. Report.

5. External Classes : Maximum number 4 (Durban, Pietermaritzburg, Tongaat, Tongaat (sometimes shifted to Verulam).

6. From 1928-1931 : figures not available; figures in brackets are examination entries.

7. European System:
In 1943 there were 48 European men and 162 European women in training for post-matriculation and post-graduate teaching diplomas at the Natal Training College and the Natal University College (Report, Supt. Edn., 1945 - p.53). There are no external classes for Europeans.

The enrolment was irregular and erratic.

The work done in the part-time classes was supplemented by Vacation Courses on various topics or subjects such as Methods of Teaching Subjects of the School Curricula, Music, Art, and Physical Education. They were planned in 1926 by Inspector Mr. Lawlor (89), and the first Vacation Course was held in January, 1929 (90). The teachers appeared to be eager to improve their knowledge and training, and so at the July, 1930 course some 300 teachers enrolled (91). Courses were held in July, 1931 (92), January, 1933 (93), 1937 (94) and other years. They have played a considerable part in the training of Indian teachers, particularly in giving tuition in the subjects mentioned above (95). Vacation Courses were found to be valuable not only for teachers preparing for External Examinations, but also as refresher courses for trained teachers and in enabling them to keep abreast of modern developments in education (95). It may also be mentioned that an attempt was made in 1927 and 1930 (96) further to supplement the educational background of the Indian teacher by establishing a library and reading room at Pietermaritzburg, but was dropped for lack of money.

The first step in the establishment of a full-time Training College was taken once again by private enterprise. In 1927 after consultations with the Education Department Mr. Sastri worked out a scheme for a combined High School and Training College, and having secured the co-operation of the Indian community and raised £18,000 for the project (97). In 1928 Mr. Sastri offered

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89. Report, Supt. Edn., 1926 - p.22.
90. Ibid 1928 - p.26 (report published in '29)
91. Ibid 1930 - p.19.
92. Ibid 1931 - p.9.
93. Ibid 1933 - p.18.
94. Ibid 1937 - p.14.
95. Ibid 1943 - p.8.
96. Ibid 1927 - p.12; 1930 - p.14.
97. Ibid 1927 - p.3. (contd. overleaf)

the Provincial Administration as a "gift" a fully equipped Training College for the Administration to assume responsibility for its conduct and maintenance (98). The 1928 Indian Education Inquiry Committee appears to have been persuaded that a Training College was "absolutely essential" to supply the necessary qualified teachers to provide for the proposed extension of educational facilities for Indian children, and it recommended that Mr. Sastri's "gift" should be accepted (98). It was intended that the College should be organised on modern and up-to-date lines, and that the staff should be well qualified and efficient (99). It was proposed in 1928 to accommodate 40 pupil-teachers, twenty in the senior class and twenty in the junior class (99). Many great expectations were held of the proposed Training College at the time. It was expected that teacher-training would be put on proper basis after all the years of makeshift arrangements (100); that girls for infants' classes would be trained here (100); and that advanced courses for primary school teachers would be conducted (100). But it was recognised that the new College would not begin to relieve the shortage of Indian teachers until some four or five years later (101). The new College named after its founder Mr. Sastri, was opened in 1930 (102), and the first full-time teacher-training classes of pre-Matriculation level were started in 1931 (103), and in 1932 the pupil-teachers entered for the newly instituted T5 and T4 Examinations (104).

Another step was taken in 1935 in the training

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97 (contd.) Report, Agent for India, 1927 - para.36 - 41 (See "Sastri Speaks" - Bramdaw & Naidoo (edit.) - pp. 240-241.)
98. Report, Ind. Edn. Inq. Committee, 1928 - para.8(b) & (c) (P.N.174/1928).
99. Kichlu Memorandum, 1928 - paras. 37, 39.
100. Report, Supt. Edn., 1928 - p.14.
101. Ibid 1928 - p.14; 1929 - p.13; 1930 - p.8.
102. Ibid 1930 - p.14.
103. Ibid 1931 - p.9.
104. Ibid 1932 - p.24.

of Indian teachers, when arrangements were made at the Dartnell Crescent Indian Girls' High School to provide instruction on the academic side to Indian girls (105). For instruction on the professional side the girls attended Sastri College which was quite nearby. This was a compromise in deference to the Indian objection to mixed classes. But the number of girls in attendance in these classes was very small. From 1938 no girls were in attendance at Sastri College (106). From 1941 full facilities appear to have been provided at the Girls' School, but there was a general complaint that sufficient number of girls were not taking advantage of the classes (107). The enrolment for teacher-training at Sastri College and the Dartnell Crescent Indian Girls' School appears to have been affected by the parallel system of External Classes where women could prepare externally for the T4 and T5 Examinations, and the men for the T4 Examination. The T3B required attendance at internal classes, for both men and women; and the T5 for men only (108). There may have been other contributory economic reasons, but full-time training was being avoided; it was felt that in the true interests of Indian education this evasion could not be allowed to continue (109). But it seems that the External Classes will continue to compete with the Internal Classes for some years yet. Whereas it was planned to foster higher certification by providing only internal training, such as in the case of the T3B

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105. Report, Supt. Edn., 1935 - p.28.
106. From observance of Statistical Returns in the Supt.'s Reports.
107. Report, Supt. Edn., 1937 - p.28; 1941/42 - p.14. 1943 - p.4.
108. See Handbooks of Regulations for T3B, T4 & T5 Certificates issued by the Ntl. Edn. Dept.
109. Report, Supt. Edn., 1937 - p.28.

Certificate, it now appears that this Certificate may in future be taken by external candidates too (110). This has become necessary if the bulk of the teachers in employ are not to remain at the T4 level. For the supply of more highly certificated Indian primary school teachers the system then still depends largely on the external part-time classes. This expediency is unavoidable in the circumstances of an acute shortage of teachers and the demand of an expanding system. Internal training on a larger scale would seem to require more generous assistance to needy students, and scholarships and bursaries for the meritorious ones. It is, however, noteworthy that at the end of this period plans were being made to establish a separate Normal College for Indians (111). Contrary to the expectations of Mr. Kichlu (112) the importance of the high school part of Sastri College has completely overshadowed the Training College section. The main reason for wanting to establish a Normal College appears to be to deal with the "back door" entry into the teaching profession (113).

At this stage it would be appropriate to discuss briefly the question of certification of Indian teachers. The responsibility for the training and certification of primary school teachers rested with the Provincial Administration. Secondary school teachers were trained by the Central Government through the Universities (114). Up to 1931 there were two grades of certification for Indian teachers, known as the

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110. "Leader" - 12 July, 1947 - "Progress Made But Not Enough" - Rfce. by Pres.,N.I.T.S. in his Conference Speech.
111. Ibid.
112. Kichlu Memorandum, 1928 - para.37.
113. "Leader" - 26 Apr.,1947 - "Damper on Secondary Schools" speech by Supt. Edn.
114. Union Bulletin Edn1. Statistics (1940) - p.12 : Section 8.

Indian Teachers' Senior Certificate and the Indian Teachers' Junior Certificate and the examination was conducted by the Education Department. They were carried over from the previous period. The Teachers' Senior Certificate was a post-Standard VI certificate, awarded after about 1½ years study, and was thus just below the Cape Junior Certificate level (115). The Teachers' Junior Certificate was about Standard VI level, and a teacher with Standard IV school record, provided he was over the age of 16, could enter for this examination (115). The Department tried to make the syllabus for the Junior Certificate examination in some way suited for the work the teachers would have to do in the Indian schools (115). The standard of certification was admitted to be low (115). In 1915 the European teachers' certificates were of three grades, namely T1 (post-graduate), T2 (under-graduate), and T3 (pre-Matriculation, but subsequently made post-Matriculation)(116).

In 1912 the proportion of certificated to uncertificated Indian teachers, in the government and government-aided Indian schools was as follows (117):-

Table 2(a)

1912

GOVERNMENT INDIAN SCHOOLS

	Male	Female	Total.
Certificated Teachers	16	3	19
Uncertificated Teachers	1	3	4

GOVERNMENT-AIDED INDIAN SCHOOLS.

Certificated Teachers	38	9	47
Uncertificated Teachers	34	26	60

All the headmasters were certificated teachers (117).

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115. Minutes Evidence, Ind.Edn.Inq.Ctee.,1928 - Evidence Supt. Edn.(Mr.Hugh Bryan) - 2nd Apr.,1928.
116. Report, Supt. Edn.,1915.
117. Ibid 1912.

The position in 1943 was as follows :- (118)
Table 2(4)

1943

GOVERNMENT INDIAN SCHOOLS

	Graduates		Non-Graduates		Total
	Men	Women	Men	Women	
Certificated	28	-	143	13	184
Uncertificated	1	-	3	2	6
GOVERNMENT-AIDED INDIAN SCHOOLS					
Certificated	4	-	372	40	416
Uncertificated	1	-	116	71	188

The methods of instruction of Indian teachers have been severely criticised more than once (119). To quote but three reports :

(a) "The junior teachers are generally poorly paid and very often poorly educated. Although many of the schools are better now than they used to be, many of the teachers of the infant classes are products of the schools of former days and have not reached a higher standard themselves. Their education has not been such as to inculcate a love for study; and even if it had, their means precluded them from buying books. The more ambitious among them avail themselves of the Teachers' Classes and do fairly well; but in advising them as to method it is difficult to establish intellectual contact with them on account of their poor groundwork. There are brilliant exceptions among the senior teachers;.....But the junior will profess a phonic method of teaching reading and yet be found unable to distinguish the sound of o in so from the sound of o in not. His class will read from a Primer and be unable to recall the sense of any sentence they read; though if the books be taken away and the first sentence read out, the whole class will "read" without the book right through the lesson. Initiative is a word unknown to this type; a hint he metamorphoses into a rigid law."

That was written in 1926 (120). Then in 1928, referring to the candidate teacher, Inspector

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118. Report, Supt. Edn.,1943 (latest information available) - p.51. Above figures refer only to Indian teachers.
119. Reports, Supt. Edn., 1912,1914,1918,1925,1926 (p.18), 1928 (p.17), 1930 (p.8).
120. Ibid 1926 - p.18 (Inspector Mr.Lawlor)

Mr. Lawlor wrote as follows (121):-

(b) "That nothing can be said to have been taught until it has been learnt by someone else was a truth that passed his understanding. Even recently, after fifteen years of makeshift Teachers' Classes, a candidate gave before one of my Colleagues a lesson on the habits of bees and displayed as a solitary illustration a spider in its web."

In 1937 the teaching in infants' classes, where the bulk of the pupils in Indian schools were to be found was stated to be "deadly and often senseless routine" hindering rather than helping intellectual development, and in want of initiative and enterprise (122).

The Indian teachers, however, seem to have been making great efforts to improve their certification; and their work in the schools has been gradually improving, though in comparison with European schools the general level of efficiency in Indian schools, particularly of the aided type, was not the same (123). In 1931 a more ambitious system of certification was instituted (124). There were three grades of certification open to those who had not reached Matriculation level, namely, the Indian Teachers' Fifth Class (T5), Fourth Class (T4) and Third Class (T3B) Certificates.(125). There were two parts to the syllabus : Part I covered academic subjects and Part II the professional subjects. The old Senior and Junior Certificates were abolished.

The lowest of these qualifications (T5) did not demand any better academic foundation than Standard VI

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121. Report, Supt. Edn., 1928 - p.17.
122. Ibid 1937 - p.28. See also 1935 - p.30
123. Ibid 1912, 1915, 1929 (p.13), 1930 (pp.8,14), 1937 (p.28), 1943 (p.4)
124. Ibid 1931 - p.9.
125. Ibid 1932 - p.24; 1933 - p.18.

(126). The academic standard was about Standard VII. It was hoped that by exacting such a low standard (though the T5 was an advance on the old Junior Teachers' Certificate) at the beginning of instituting a course of training, so many students would attend that in a few years this Certificate could be abolished and replaced by a higher one with qualifications more suited to the profession (126). This objective appears to have been attained in so far as the male teachers are concerned, but it is still the grade in which a fairly large proportion of the women are trained. Thus in 1943 there were 5 men against 56 women preparing for the T5 Certificate (127). The next higher certificate (T4.) prescribed (128) as minimum preparation the T5 Certificate (or the Teachers' Junior Certificate gained before 1932), or a pass in certain four subjects of the University Junior Certificate (i.e. Standard VIII), or the complete National Junior Certificate (which, by the way, could be obtained by passing one or more subjects at a sitting). The academic standard of Part One of the examination was thus about Standard VIII level. The next higher certificate was the T3B (to distinguish it from the European T3 which was a post-Matriculation certificate requiring credit in a certain number of degree courses). Qualifications for admission were the possession of the University Junior Certificate or the T4 Certificate. It was a two-year internal course, but Matriculated students could obtain exemption from Part One (the academic part) and complete the professional side in one year (129).

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126. Report, Supt. Edn.,1934 - p.30. See also Handbook of Regulations T5 (issued Aug.,1939) N.Ed. Dept.
127. Report, Supt. Edn.,1934 - p.53.
128. Handbook T4 Regulations (issued Jan.,1940) - N. Ed.Dept
129. Handbook of Regulations (T3B), 1940 (N. Ed. Dept.)

The schedule of subjects required for these examinations was as follows :-

T 5

Part I : Main Language (Oral Test, Literature and Composition, Language Study), Arithmetic, Physiology and Hygiene, Geography, History, Second Official Language or Biology (optional).

Part II : Teaching Methods, Teaching Practice, Blackboard Work; not more than three nor less than two of the following subjects:- Art, Music, Physical Education (compulsory for men), Handicrafts, Needlework (compulsory for women), Domestic Science, Agricultural Science I.

T 4

Part I : As for T5.

Part II : To the above add Organisation and Management of Schools, Manual Training; and modify Blackboard work to Chart and Blackboard Work. (Needlework again being compulsory for women).

T3B

Part I : As for T5, but Biology is compulsory, Afrikaans as second language optional.

Part II : As for T5, but adding Principles of Education; and Needlework extended to include Dietetics and Mothercraft (compulsory for women) and Cookery (optional).

There was also a post-matriculation Teachers' Second Class(T2) Certificate Examination conducted by the Department and open to European, Coloured and Indian candidates, but no provision was made for training Indian students. In 1934 three Indian graduates on the staff of Sastri College wrote this examination as external candidates and passed (a). Post-matriculation teaching

(a) Direct acquaintance.

certificates were generally taken by the Indian students attending the South African Native College at Fort Hare, Alice, Cape Province, which might be equated with the Natal European T3 or the University of South Africa Lower Education Diploma (non-graduate) (130). From 1948 it is proposed to institute a T3 Certificate course at Sastri College, of the same standard as the T3 Certificate now awarded to European teachers (b). Indian teachers with T3B or even T4 certificates (or the Fort Hare Diploma) were eligible for appointment in the Indian secondary schools. A very small number possess the post-graduate diploma in education (H.E.D. or U.E.D.) awarded by the University of South Africa. Until quite recently the examination for this diploma could have been written by external candidates with the necessary preliminary requirements, which included a teaching degree plus a certain number of years of teaching experience (131). The main source of supply of graduates with post-matriculation internal teacher-training experience was then the Fort Hare College.

The table on page 619 would indicate the progress made in the higher certification and academic preparation of Indian teachers. Figures of the different professional certificates held by Indian teachers now in employment are not accessible. It can be said that there has been some progress in the certification of teachers in employment in Indian schools. Thus, in 1932

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130. See Calendars of the S.A.N.College, Fort Hare for conditions of examination and names of Indian students who passed - from 1931 - 1945.
The Education Dept., however, equated this with the T3B causing much dissatisfaction amongst the teachers (See Memo by N.I.T.Society to Prov.Executive (Ntl.) 29 June, 1946 - Annex. C).

131. See University of S. Africa Calendar, 1942.

(b) According to information given to me by the Secretary to the Principal, Sastri College.

when the new certificates had been instituted, 70% of the teachers in Indian schools were certificated (132); the more highly qualified type of teacher was scarce, there being only 11 University graduates in all in Indian schools and only 2 of these were Indians (132). In 1936 the percentage of certificated teachers had risen to 73.1; and, at this time there were in all six Indian male graduates (133). In the government schools there were in 1937 98.1 per cent certificated teachers, but only 64.2 per cent in the government-aided schools (134). In 1943 the percentage of qualified teachers had risen to 76.1, the highest figure yet attained in Indian education (135); if Indian teachers only are taken into account then the percentage is 75.6 (136). Therefore, approximately one-quarter of the Indian teachers in employment in 1943 were unqualified. In the European system of schools 15.6 per cent of the teachers were unqualified in 1943 (136).

To continue the discussion on the question of supply and factors affecting it, consider now the bearing of Indian indigency on the matter. A large number of boys and girls left school very early in their school career for economic reasons; and, therefore, there was not a sufficient number who continued their academic preparation to the end of the primary course or through to a secondary course, who might have turned out to be good teachers. Free education up to the end of the primary course, with generous secondary bursaries for meritorious students would have been the obvious solution.

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132. Report, Supt. Edn., 1933 - p.12.
133. Ibid 1936 - p.14.
134. Ibid 1937 - p.14.
135. Ibid 1943 - p.4.
136. Ibid 1943 - p.53 (calculated)

Free education for Indian children up to Standard VI is a matter of recent history; post-primary bursaries are of even more recent origin - they will come into operation as from 1948 (137).

Mr. Kichlu had suggested in 1928 (138) the award of (a) 40 post-Standard IV scholarships of £12 per annum tenable for 2 years (30 for boys and 10 for girls) to enable Indian boys and girls to complete the Primary School Certificate Examination (P.S.C. - Standard VI); (b) 20 post-Standard VI scholarships (15 for boys and 5 for girls) of £24 per annum tenable for 2 years to enable them to complete the University Junior Certificate Examination; (c) 10 post-Standard VIII (J.C.) scholarships and stipends of £36 per annum (7 for boys and 3 for girls) tenable for 2 years at some Indian high school to enable them to complete the Matriculation, and provided they gave an undertaking to join the new Training College at Durban, and after training, to serve as teachers for at least 3 years.

No action was taken by the Administration on these suggestions. However, in 1930 two post-matriculation bursaries of £30 per annum, tenable for two or more years at the South African Native College, Fort Hare, were instituted (139). These were intended for teachers of post-primary classes at Sastri College, and assisted them to acquire a degree and a post-graduate or undergraduate education diploma. In 1947 the amount of the bursary was increased to £50 per annum to meet the increased costs at Fort Hare (140).

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137. P.N.418/1947 - October.
138. Kichlu Memorandum, 1928 - paras. 46, 47.
139. P.N. 441/1930
Report, Supt. Edn., 1930 - p.15.
140. ~~P.N. 441/1930~~. P.N. 418/1947 — oct

There was no assistance to primary school teacher-trainees for many years. The need for such bursaries which would have enabled necessitous students to undergo pre-matriculation full time teacher-training at the Sastri College was stressed by the Superintendent in 1937 (141). The inability to afford the expensive post-primary tuition at Sastri College was the chief reason for the poor support given to the classes at Sastri College. It is strange that the Education Commission of 1937 did not deal with the question of supply, and means of increasing the supply of Indian teachers. The Commission was not unaware of the indigency of the average Indian parent (142), and, yet there were no specific or clear recommentations for assistance by the State to intending teachers. The Director of Education referred to the bearing of indigency on the supply of candidates for teaching-training in 1943 again (141a).

The Corbett Committee reported that in 1941 the following assistance was being given to the pre-Matriculation teacher-trainee (143):-

(1) free tuition and books (with boarding and transport allowances, if necessary, to needy students taking the T3B course;

(2) free tuition, books and transport up to £8 a year to Indian girls taking the T5 course; in 1944 twelve bursaries of £10 per annum tenable for 2 years were available to Indian girls to enable them to complete the T5 Certificate Examination (144); and, with

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141. Report, Supt. Edn., 1937 - p.28.
141a. Ibid 1943 - p.4.
142. Report, Ntl. Edn. Commsn.,1937 - paras, 429,448.
143. Report, Prov. Financ. Resources Ctee.,1944 - para.136.
144. Memo by Ntl. Edn. Dept.,1944 to Ntl. Indian Affairs Commission, 1944.

two of these bursaries there was a boarding allowance of £25 per annum (143, 144).

Under the recently published regulations (1947) a number of T5 bursaries for girls tenable at the Indian Girls' High School, Durban, and T3B bursaries tenable at Sastri College are being awarded.

The monthly fees which were charged for the internal teacher-training classes were as follows (145):-

Courses.	Males.	Females.
T 3 B	12. 6d.	5. 0d.
T 5	5. 0d.	2. 6d.

In the financial year 1945/46 (146) the amount spent on bursaries, shholarships, and indigency grants were as follows :-

Indian Education.....£273.13. 1d.

Coloured Education.....4698.15. 8.

European Education -

(a) Bursary & Grants (primary).....12,113. 1.10.
" (combined prim. & secondary) 4393.12.11.

(b) Scholarships & Bursaries (secondy) 6388. 8. 0.

(c) Bursaries (teachers).....1525. 0. 0.
University fees (teachers).....393. 9. 0.

Total European £24,813.11. 9.

Another factor which retarded the growth of the full-time facilities for teacher-training at Sastri College and the Dartnell Crescent Indian Girls' High School was the lack of hostel accommodation. The full building scheme for Sastri College included a hostel for at least 40 up-country students and teachers-in-training (147), but this has not materialised as yet.

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145. Report, Prov. Financ. Resources Ctee.,1944 - para.135
146. Report, Prov. Auditor (Ntl.), 1945/46 - pp.68,69,70.
147. Report, Agent for India, 1927 - para.39 ("Sastri Speaks" - op.cit. - p.241.)
Kichlu Memorandum, 1928 - para.37.

After the initial donation of about £18,000 for the main block of buildings the Indian community appears to have lost its enthusiasm, and the building scheme did not proceed any further. In 1930 the Superintendent of Education reported (148) that the absence of hostel accommodation deprived up-country students of secondary education and teacher-training, and urged the Indians to finance and complete the Sastri College scheme envisaged by Mr. Sastri.

It was mantioned in 1933 that two hostels for Sastri College boys were in existence, under private control and supervision (149); in 1936 only one of these was in existence under the supervision of the vice-principal, and was operated as a private enterprise (150). The Education Commission of 1937 recommended the provision by the Administration of hostel accommodation in connection with Sastri College for boys, and with the Mitchell Crescent (or Dartnell Crescent) High ~~and Training~~ Schools for girls (151). The latter was considered to be essential if Indian girls were to be drawn into the teaching profession in larger numbers. But the Indian community was expected to take the initiative and give some "tangible evidence" of its interest in the furtherance of girls' education (152). To be brief, nothing has resulted from these recommendations on the part of the State or the community, and in 1943 the Director of Education reported how the lack of suitable accommodation and boarding facilities was retarding the training of much needed teachers (153).

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148. Report, Supt. Edn.,1930 - p.14.
149. "Indian Opinion" - 15 Dec.,1933 - "Sastri College Progress."
150. Report, Ntl. Edn. Commsn.,1937 - para.466.
151. Ibid paras.466, 467.
152. Ibid para.467.
153. Ibid p.4.

The present attitude of the Indian community appears to be that it should be the responsibility of the Administration to provide at least these hostel facilities, as it does for Coloured and European pupils, since ~~it~~ the community was already being unfairly burdened with the provision of its own school buildings. The Administration, on the other hand, was handicapped by the small per caput subsidy for Indians. In the financial year 1945/46 the recurrent expenditure on hostels (apart from capital expenditure on buildings) was as follows (154):-

Indians		Nil
Coloureds		£5509.11.10.
Europeans -		
Teacher Training	4106. 5. 1.	
Secondary Schools	28702.10. 9.	
Preparatory Schools	8477. 3. 3.	
Primary Schools	£1658.10. 9.	
Combined Prim.& Sec.	61361.18. 7.	
		£124,306.8.7d.

Total receipts from hostel and boarding fees were at the same time £62,136. 6. 0d. (155).

Finally consider now the salaries and conditions of service of Indian teachers in the government and government-aided schools. The supply of candidates for the teaching profession or any other form of employment depends largely upon the attractiveness of the monetary and other rewards for services rendered. If the conditions are not satisfactory, it is not to be unexpected that the supply of personnel would be meagre, or that the persons offering themselves would be of mediocre quality.

Teachers in Indian schools may be classified into two groups according to whether they were employed in the government schools or the government-aided schools; and their salaries and conditions of service also differed

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154. Report, Prov. Auditor (Ntl.),1945/46 - pp.68,69.
155. Ibid p.28.

accordingly. The former were employees of the Natal Provincial Administration, appointed to the teaching establishment. The latter were, until recently, employees of the School Grantee or Manager, and were generally appointed to individual schools.

In whichever type of school they were employed, their conditions of service, during this period of study, were generally characterised by the following features:-

(1) inadequacy of the salaries;

(2) racial discrimination between the European teacher and Indian teacher, especially in regard to salaries;

(3) limitations to their advancement on the salary grades by reason of the operation of a quota system, known as the Posts System;

(4) arbitrary alteration or interpretation of the regulations sometimes to the detriment of the teacher's interests;

(5) inadequate and racially discriminatory provisions for pensions;

(6) lack of adequate consultations between the Provincial Administration and its employees; and

(7) wide disparity in the conditions of service and salaries of teachers in the government and government-aided schools.

Examine first the position of teachers in the government Indian schools. That they were not reasonably remunerated, or at any rate, that they were not contented with their scale of remuneration, was stated in 1921, before the Education Inquiry Committee (156). At this time demands were made for

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156. Memorandum Natal Govt.,Schools' Indian Teachers' Society, 1921.
Memorandum Durban & Districts Indian Edn1. Advisory Committee, 1921 - Prov. Council Records.

equal pay with the European teacher for equal work. The teachers complained that it could not be expected of them to teach children to live decently and hygienically unless they themselves could set an example of such conditions of living; they declared that they wished to be paid sufficiently so as to be able to live on a higher standard than that of "an ordinary labourer or workman."

The scale of salaries of Indian teachers at the time was as follows (157):-

1921.

	Per Annum	
	Men	Women
HEADMASTERS.		
Grade I : 250-400 av.attend.	200x10-240	180x10-220
Grade II : 100-250 " "	180x10-220	160x10-200
Grade III : Under 100 " "	150x10-180	130x10-150

	Men and Women
ASSISTANTS.	
Grade B : Senior Certificate	120x10-150 p.a.
Grade A : Junior Certificate	80x10-120 p.a.
Unqualified	72

Headmasters also received a house allowance of £2 per month (158). It will be observed that the salaries of headmasters depended upon pupil attendance and was, therefore, subject to fluctuation. Now the Committee of Inquiry made no recommendations for the improvement of the salaries of Indian teachers in the government schools.

At the time of the next official inquiry into Indian education in 1928 the only improvements effected by that time were (1) the addition of another grade (a Special Grade) to the headmasters' scale carrying a

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157. Quoted by the Ntl. Govt. Schs. Ind. Teachers' Society.
158. P.N. 260/1919 - March 19th.

salary of £250x10-300, and (2) the institution of a system of marriage allowance of £2 per month to male assistant teachers as from 1925 (159). Otherwise the scale of salaries had remained the same. An assistant teacher reached his maximum within three or four years, and then remained at a standstill for the rest of his career, unless he got one of the rare headships. Since 1929 the marriage allowance, to newly appointed teachers, was applicable only to male certificated teachers, 23 years of age and over (160).

At the 1928 Inquiry Indian teachers repeated their demands for improved salaries (161). Mr. Kichlu supported them. He stated (162) that the government schools should set a standard; that the salaries then being paid were not sufficient to secure and retain the services of really competent teachers; that some improvements were necessary even on the existing qualifications. He then suggested scales of salaries for teachers with the old qualifications, and, for those who would have the newer qualifications from the Training College. According to the evidence tendered by the Superintendent of Education the average salary of Indian teachers in the government schools was £140 per annum (163). In the end the Committee's finding was that there was "little left to be desired in the Government schools." (164)

But from April, 1929 an improved scale of

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159. P.N. 94/1926 - revised scales operative from 1925. Kichlu Memorandum, 1928 - para.9.
160. P.N. 232/1929 - Section 17.
161. Memo. Ntl. Ind. Teachers Soc.,1928 (Prov.Council Records of Evidence led)
162. Kichlu Memorandum,1928 - para.10.
163. Minutes, Evidence, Ind.Edn.Inq.Ctee.,1928 - 2 Apr. (Mr. Bryan).
164. Report, Ind.Edn.Inq.Ctee.,1928 - para.6(b) (P.N.174/1928).

salaries was adopted, and the figures were generally higher than those suggested by Mr. Kichlu (165). With the inauguration of the new system of certification, a new scale of salaries for government schools was adopted in 1933 (166). It made provision for teachers with Matriculation and post-Matriculation qualifications, and for separate scales for women. The highest grade ("F") provided for a minimum salary of £188 and a maximum of £305. According to the subsequent experience of the Indian teachers, it turned out that while the rates of pay were "an attractive advance on paper; in actual application the progress was by no means phenomenal." (167)

At the Education Inquiry of 1936-1937 the main burden of the Indian teachers' grievances in regard to their conditions of service was the method of application of the 1933 scale (168). This point will be taken up later. Referring to the scales in existence at 1942 the Corbett Committee believed that the Indian teacher in the Government school was not receiving an unreasonable wage if the post occupied was consonant with the teacher's qualifications (169). The Natal Indian Teachers' Society repudiated the statement that the salary was adequate (167). To meet the general dissatisfaction of Indian teachers a revised scale of salaries was published in 1943 (170). The main feature was that it attempted to give further recognition to the more highly qualified teachers who were now entering the professions. Thus, it provided for two scales within Grade D to dis-

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165. P.N.232/1929 - 10 July : Sect. 11,14.
166. P.N.266/1933 - Sect. 5.
See also P.N.105/1934 - 21 March., P.N.132/1936 - 9 Apr
167. Memo by N.I.T.Soc. (Nov.1944) to Ntl.Teachers' Salaries Commission, 1944 (Beardmore) (N.I.T.S.Files).
168. Memo by N.I.T.S. Soc. (May,1936) to Ntl.Edn.Commsn. (Broome) 1936-1937 (N.I.T.S. Files).
169. Report, Prov.Financ.Resources Ctee.,1944 - para.137. (U.G.9-1944).
170. P.N. 10/1943.

tinguish between the matriculate and graduate with professional certificates; it stepped up the scales in Grades E and F which were the two highest posts in the system; the scale on the "F" post was now £210x 12-258x15-333.

The Natal Indian Teachers' Society rejected (171) this scale on the grounds that the basic salary was "totally inadequate" to meet the increased cost of the improved standards of living, and growing responsibilities resulting from the large degree of Westernisation and urbanisation of the Indian, and the disintegration of the joint family system which had hitherto enabled the Indian teacher to live on his low salaries. The Administration took no heed of this agitation, as it was then engaged in bringing the status of salaries of Indian teachers in the aided schools on a par with the teachers in the government schools (172). Matters were then brought to a head when 21 of the highly qualified Indian graduate teachers employed at Sastri College, Durban tendered their resignation en masse in May, 1944 (173). On technical grounds the resignations were not accepted.

This demonstration, and the contemporaneous agitation by the European teachers, led to the appointment in October, 1944 of a Commission to Inquire Into Teachers' Salaries in Natal (174). The Commission reported in 1945. The Commission came to the conclusion that teachers" salaries in Natal must "fairly be characterised as inadequate" (175). Following upon the recommen-

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171. Memo by N.I.T.Soc. (June,1943) to Ntl.Prov.Exec.Cmtee.
172. Report, High Commissioner for India, 1944 - p.15 - par.
173. Ibid
174. Statement Administrator Ntl., 8 May, 1944 - (Minutes Prov. Council,1944 - pp.43, 44.)
"Natal Mercury" - 9 May,1944 - "Sastri Teachers' Pay Scales Debated."
174. P.N.407/1944.
175. Report, Teachers' Salaries Commsn.,1945 (Beardmore) para.15.

dation s of the Commission new and improved scales of salaries were published in March, 1946, with retrospective effect from April, 1945 (176). These scales were based upon the arbitrary principle that the scales of Indian and Coloured teachers should be 70 per cent of the European scale, and that women should receive 75 per cent of the salary of men. To quote the Commission's words (177):-

> ".....they (the members of the Commission) formed the opinion that the standard of living and the social status and obligations of the Indian and Coloured teachers, taken in conjunction with their more limited availability to the Department in the disposition of its personnel, as compared with the European staff, could be equitably expressed in the ratio of about 70 to 100, their women being graded in the common basis of 75 per cent as compared with their men."

Below are some items from the 1946 salary scales for Indian teachers :-

TABLE 4

PRINCIPALS.

Grade	Qualification	Men £	Women. £
Grade A	T3 + Degree (a)	480 - 615	380 - 470
	T4 + Degree (b)	450 - 585	360 - 450
Grade B	T3 + Degree (a)	435 - 570	350 - 440
	T4 + Degree (b)	405 - 540	330 - 420
Grade C	T3 + Degree (a)	390 - 525	320 - 410
	T4 + Degree (b)	360 - 495	300 - 390
	T3B	360 - 495	300 - 390
	T4	330 - 465	280 - 370
Grade D	T3 + Degree (a)	345 - 480	290 - 380
	T4 + Degree (b)	315 - 450	270 - 360
	T3B	315 - 450	270 - 360
	T4	285 - 420	250 - 340
Grade E	.....	.....	.....
Grade F	.....	.....	.....
Grade G	.....	.....	.....

176. P.N. 102/1946 - Section 37.
177. Report, Teachers' Salaries Commisn.,1945 - para.17.

Grade	Qualification	Men	Women
Grade H	T5	Assts. Salary (max. £240) + non-pensionable allowance of £30 p.a.	£180 + £20 p.a.
	Increments for men by £15 p.a. " " women " £10 p.a.		
	VICE-PRINCIPALS.		
Primary	T4	240 - 375	200 - 290
	T3B	270 - 405	220 - 310
Secondary	T4 + Degree	345 - 480	260 - 350
	Increments as above.		
	ASSISTANTS.		
Ib	Degree + one year e.g. B.A.+ U.E.D., B.A.+ T3	240 - 420	180 - 300
Ia	Ditto	435 - 465	310 - 330
IIb	Matric + 3 yrs. e.g. T2; T3 + 8 degree courses	210 - 390	160 - 280
IIa	Ditto	405 - 435	290 - 310
IIIb	Matric + 2 yrs. e.g. T3; T3B with 5 degree courses.	180 - 360	140 - 260
IIIa	Ditto	375 - 405	270 - 290
IVb	Matric or J.C. + 2 yrs., e.g. T4; T3B without Matric.	150 - 300	120 - 220
IVa	Ditto	315 - 345	230 - 250
V	T5	120 - 240	100 - 180
	Increments generally £15 p.a. for men and £10 p.a. for women.		

In addition assistants and vice-principals and principals were in receipt of a marriage allowance of £54 per annum (having been raised from £24 to £36 in 1943)(178).

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178. P.N. 102/1946 - Sect. 24(ii) Statement Administrator (Ntl.) - 12 May, 1943 (Minutes Prov. Council).

Now as from April, 1947, the scales of salaries of European teachers were further improved in order to bring them into uniformity with the scales for Europeans in the other Provinces. Apart from basic increases, the marriage allowance of £75 per annum, and the 5 per cent war bonus which all teachers were receiving, were incorporated into the salaries. It made a great difference to the salaries of unmarried teachers, in particular. Similar action was not taken in the case of Indian and Coloured teachers. Consequently, the ratio between European and Indian salaries was depressed below 70 per cent. The average minimum of Indian principals for comparable grades and qualifications was 52 per cent of European ... and average maximum 60 per cent; the average minimum of Indian women assistants was 63 per cent of the average minimum of European women assistants, and the average maximum 55 per cent; similarly for unmarried Indian males the average minimum and maximum were 65per cent and 62 per cent respectively (179). Once again there was much dissatisfaction (179).

Before taking up this question of racial discrimination, consider another feature in the salary scales of the Indian teacher, namely, the post system in the government and government-aided schools. The system was introduced in 1929 with the new scales of salaries(180) Under a system of staff rationing a certain number of teaching posts was allocated to each grade of school and was dependent on the average attendance of pupils. Thus, for example, in 1929 for Grade I (586 - 625 average attendance) the total number of posts allocated in a

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179. Memo by N.I.T.Soc. to Prov.Exec.(Ntl.) : June,1946.
Memo by N.I.T.Soc. to Prov.Council (Ntl.) - june,1947.
Memo by Ntl. Indian Congress to Administrator (Ntl.) July, 1947.
"Natal Mercury" - 14 Dec.,1946 - "Indian Teachers Protest."
"Natal Daily News" - 16 May,1947 - "Strike Threat by Natal Indian Teachers."

a government Indian school was 16 (exclusive of the headmaster)(181). These posts were then divided into two classes - First and Second class posts (a). In the Aided schools there were three classes of posts (182). In the above example there were 5 First Class and 11 Second Class posts (the headmaster always held a First Class post). The qualifications for both posts were the same - Indian Teachers' Senior Certificate. But the First Class carried a higher salary than the Second Class (b).

In this matter a quota was fixed for each class of post in each grade of school. The 1933 scale and subsequent amendments carried on this system. In 1936 there were four classes of posts for primary school teachers, namely, A, B, C and D (183). The number of posts in classes B, C, and D might not exceed 40%, 20% and 10% respectively of the total number of posts in the government schools' teaching establishment. In the case of the aided schools the quota necessarily had to be fixed per school. The system was severely criticised by the Indian teachers for the iniquities which resulted from it and the Education Commission of 1937 agreed with them (183). It was found that though each post had its appropriate qualification, yet many Indian teachers were not appointed to the post and the notch of the salary scale indicated for their qualification, because the quota was already filled. Thus a teacher might hold the highest qualification required for the highest post, but he might be placed on the lowest grade because there

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180. P.N. 232/1929.
181. Ibid Section 10.
182. P.N. 461/1929 - Section 18.
183. Report, Ntl. Edn. Commsn.,1937 : para.445 (P.N.60/1938)
(a) Temporarily there was an alternative division into three classes.
(b) First Class : 150x12-186; Second Class 138x12-174. (P.N.232/1929 - Sect. II).

might be no vacancies in the higher grades. Further restrictions were imposed upon the two highest posts ("E" and "F"); these were reserved for teachers in the post-primary classes. The "F" post was almost virtually closed to Indian teachers when an amendment to the regulations in 1935 made eligibility to this post dependent upon the teacher being engaged in the work of the two highest classes in the secondary school, namely Standard IX and X (184).

Now in the European system there was this system, too, but though teachers might be appointed to a lower grade they did not suffer in their initial notching of their salary, which was the minimum of the grade for their particular qualifications; they could have been handicapped only at the maximum end, but by that time vacancies in the higher grades would probably have become available. Similar treatment was not accorded to the Indian teacher. An attempt was made to improve the situation of the Indian teacher by the creation of a special grade "A" for newly appointed teachers. The starting salaries on this grade varied with the qualifiaations, but were still less than what they should have been if the initial notching had been according to qualification (185). In other words, the scales evaded the payment of a teacher according to the qualifications he possessed, Higher qualifications merely conferred eligibility for promotion to more highly paid posts when vacancies occurred. In the meantime, the teacher was monetarily penalised through no fault of his own.

The effect of all this was discontent amongst

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184. P.N.376/1935 - Sept.
185. P.N. 132/1936 - 9 April.

the teachers and discouragement from any attempt to improve their qualifications; the effect on the quality and standard of instruction, though not easily measurable, yet must have been "entirely unsatisfactory", for it meant that 70 per cent of the posts required only the low standard qualifications of T4 and T5 (186). On the one hand the Education Department complained of the low qualifications of Indian teachers and yet, on the other hand, it instituted a system of monetary awards which could not but stifle all desire to improve. The Education Commission recommended the abolition of the post system and the appointment of Indian teachers according to their qualifications. The system was still in existence in 1942 (187), and the Corbett Committee also recommended its abolition to improve the prospects of the Indian teacher in the service.

From August, 1943 the unpopular post system was abolished in the four grades (A, B, C & D)(188); the two upper grades were thrown open to graduate teachers in primary schools, but there was still a quota fixed for these two posts. They were regarded as posts for recognition of efficiency, but Indian teachers were now initially notched in the same way as European teachers. But under the regulations issued in 1946 the post system seems to have been abolished completely, for a new system of recognising efficiency, in each grade, was adopted (188a). It may, therefore, be stated that the Indian teachers have advanced and gained at least one of their points, namely, payment according to qualifications.

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186. Report, Ntl. Edn. Commsn.,1937 - para.445.
187. Report, Prov. Financ. Resources Cmtee.,1944 - para.137
188. Statement Administrator on Mass Resignation of Indian Teachers - Minutes, Prov. Council, 1944 - pp.43/44. Memo N.I.T.S. to Teachers' Salaries Commsn.,1944 (Annexure A).
188a. P.N.102/1946 - Sect. 10(A)(i).

The bulk of Indian teachers were employed in the aided schools. This study will not be complete without reference to their conditions in the past, and the progress made since. As early as 1922 a case had been made out for the improvement of the salaries of these teachers. It was stated (189) that most of the assistants were underpaid, with little hope of increase; and, that some of them were paid only quarterly. The Committee of Inquiry admitted that "in general the scale of salaries might be advanced", but would not admit that the Administration was "in any way pecuniarily responsible for the status, etc. of the teacher in the aided school."(190). The aided school teacher had thus remained the Cinderella of the teaching profession until 1943.

Being technically (and it might be said conveniently) regarded as the employees of the Managers, their salaries and conditions of service were prescribed by the Managers. Because of the inadequate assistance given to the aided schools, these conditions were very much inferior to those obtaining in the government schools. Besides all the general disabilities of Indian teachers in the government schools, they suffered from the additional disadvantages of -

(1) lack of uniform salary scales until 1929;

(2) inferior salary scales since 1929;

(3) lack of uniform staff rationing before 1929;

(4) lower rates of marriage allowance (£18 per annum)(190a);

(5) lack of sick and long leave privileges (190a);

(6) lack of pension or provident fund privileges (190a);

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189. Memo by Govt.Sch's. Ind. T. Soc. & Dbn. Dist. Ind. Edn. Advisory Ctee. to Edn. Inq. Ctee.(Russell) 1922.
190. Report, Edn. Inq. Ctee.,1921-1922 : Sect.23.
190a Report, Ntl. Edn. Commsn.,1937 - para.441.

In 1928 Mr. Kichlu's investigations revealed that the scale of salaries of 215 teachers in 43 aided Indian schools was not based on any principle, and was generally inadequate and unsatisfactory (191). He described the position of many of the assistants as miserable. There were no less than 71 assistant teachers whose salaries were below £60 per annum, and some of them came down to such low figures as £21, £20, £18 and £12 per annum (191). In the case of 13 Wesleyan Mission schools, in charge of one Grantee, there were 65 teachers, and out of these no less than 27 were paid the following annual salaries (192):-

3 at £56 each, 4 at £54 each, 2 at £50 each,
10 at £48 each, 1 at £42, 1 at £36, 1 at £32,
1 at £28, 2 at £24, 1 at £15, 1 at £12.

He thought it was "refreshing" to find in the 10 schools under Mr. Hindson, there were only 8 who drew annual salaries below £60 each, and that even these 8 (2 at £54, 5 at £48, and 1 at £36) did not draw such low salaries as in the case of the 13 schools just referred to (192). He urged that even though some of these teachers were untrained or only partially qualified, they deserved to be given a fair and living wage. The Superintendent of Education stated that it was "an abuse of words to call it a salary" (193). The average salary was £57 per annum; the highest salary paid to two persons in 1928 was £18 per month.

Such low salaries were being paid because (at least one reason) the grant to an aided school was only £2.10. Od. per unit of average attendance. An additional grant of £20 per annum per assistant was admissible, but

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191. Kichlu Memorandum, 1928 - para.14.
192. Ibid para.23.
Ibid para.14.
193. Minutes Evidence, Ind. Edn. Inq. Committee, 1928 - 2nd April, 1928.

it was not always given (194). Owing to this difficulty the grantees were driven to the necessity of cutting ddwn the scale of pay in order to secure assistant teachers for their schools. There was also no uniform system of staff rationing, and as grantees engaged assistants according to their means, the Indian teachers in aided schools were further burdened with huge classes of 50 and 60; and yet in one-third of the schools grants were not used entirely on salaries (195). It was not surprising, therefore, that qualified teachers sought to enter the government schools. From the mass of evidence brought forward the 1928 Inquiry Committee declared as its finding that (196) the status, salaries and method of payment of Indian teachers was unsatisfactory, and recommended

(a) that the existing system of grants-in-aid which was paid purely and simply on a capitation basis should be changed.

(b) that aided schools should be graded by average attendance;

(c) that financial aid should be in the direction of Provincial responsibility for the total cost of the teachers' salaries.

(d) that a proper scheme of salary scales and conditions of service should be introduced on a more liberal basis than was in existence at the time, and that it should be made applicable to the whole of the Province.

The regulations published in 1929 (197) incor-

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194. Kichlu Memorandum, 1928 : para.14.
195. Minutes Evidence, Ind. Edn. Inq. Ctee.,1928 (Evidence Inspector Mr. Lawlor).
196. Report, Ind. Edn. Inq. Ctee.,1928 - para.6(c); 8(b) and (c) (P.N. 174/1928).
197. P.N. 461/1929.

porated the recommendations. The salary scales for the assistant teachers were as follows :-

TABLE 5

First Class Post.....£120x12-£156 (Senior Certif.)
Second " " .....£78x12-£114 (Junior ")
Third " " .....£60 fixed (Uncertificated)

While the grading of the schools was equal, the distribution of the First, Second and Third Class posts in the aided schools was not as favourable as in the government schools. The Third class post was an integral part of the aided system, whereas in the government schools it was only a temporary expedient (198). Because of the post system a considerable proportion of the teachers, some with high qualifications, were limited to earning only £5 per month.

The quota as fixed from 1930 was as follows:- 45% of the assistants were fixed at £60 per annum; 42½% were on the scale £78 - £114 per annum; 12½% on the scale £120 - £145 per annum (199). There was also a married age allowance of £18 per annum (compared with £24 for government school teachers)(199). The Commission of 1937 did not see the justification for the wide disparity in the scales of salaries and conditions of service for the teachers in the two types of schools (2)). It appeared that the saving made on the aided school was used to pay for the better conditions in the government schools (201). It was made necessary by the small amount of Government subsidy, of course, but in the opinion of the Commission this seemed indefensible (201).

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198. See P.N.461/1929 - Sect.18; & P.N.232/1929 - Sect.10.
199. Report, Ntl.Edn.Commsn.,1937 - para.441.
200. Ibid para.442.
201 Ibid para.444.

The Commission, therefore, recommended the equalisation of the salaries and conditions of service of the two classes of teachers (202). Hitherto, when an aided school teacher became ill, he had to find a substitute of equal qualifications and come to some terms with him (or her). There was no long leave privilege or sick leave privilege, nor a pension fund, because there was not enough money in the hands of the managers to pay for additional assistants or to contribute to the pension funds. The teaching service in the aided schools, therefore, did not offer the security commonly associated with civil employment.

From 1926 a teachers' organisation had been formed to protect and advance the interests of government and government-aided school teachers - the Natal Indian Teachers' Society, but the organisation was not successful in advancing the material interests of the aided school teachers because the Administration's attitude was that these teachers were the employees of the Managers. It was a convenient method of avoiding the issue, but it did not ameliorate the conditions of these teachers. Taking advantage of the interpretation placed upon their legal status, the aided school teachers in 1941 formed themselves into a separate body, known as the Natal Indian Teachers' Union, and registered the body under the trade union laws (Industrial Conciliation Act, 1937)(202a). They then agitated for an improvement in their conditions of service, and prepared to use industrial labour methods, such as strikes, to have their demands met.

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202. Report, Ntl. Edn. Commsn.,1937 - para.443.

202a. "Natal Daily News" — 27 May, 1941 : "Indian School Teacher" Bulletin, Natal Teachers' Union: March, 1942

At one stage they had taken steps to apply for an Industrial Conciliation Board to settle the dispute between themselves and the Managers.

Matters were brought to a head when they threatened to sue the Managers for non-payment of the statutory Cost-of-Living Allowance during the war years (1939-1945).(202d) The managers were not paying the Allowances because the Administration, which was now totally responsible for the amount of the salaries, did not provide them with the necessary funds. These methods gave much publicity to the conditions of service in these aided schools, and yet the teachers were completely outside the disciplinary control of the Administration. A law suit against the Managers for the Cost-of-Living Allowance would have placed the Managers in a predicament. The threatened lawsuit struck home and forced the Administration to admit its ultimate responsibility for the condition of the teachers in the aided schools. After adjustments to the salaries in 1941 and 1942 which gradually brought the scales nearer to the level of the government school scales, finally in 1943 they were completely absorbed into the service of the Department (203). The other great advance or achievement of the Indian teacher was then in securing improved conditions of service for the teachers in aided schools, on terms of equality with Indian teachers in the government schools.

The next objective appears to be the achievement of equal pay with the European teacher for equal

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203. Report, High Commissioner for India, 1944 : p.15.

202d. "Natal Daily News" — 21 Aug. 1941 : "Indian Teachers Poorly Paid"
— 26 Mar 1942 : "Underpaid Teachers"
Bulletin, Natal Teachers' Union : December, 1942

qualifications. The demand for equality and protests against racial discrimination have become more insistent and louder in recent years, with the advent of the graduate Indian teacher with qualifications equal to those of the European. Attention was focussed sharply on the disparity in the European and Indian scales at Sastri College where Indian graduates and European graduates taught side by side. Europeans in Indian schools were governed by conditions pertaining to European teachers in European schools (204). The principle adopted by the Beardmore Salaries Commission that Indian salaries should bear to European salaries an arbitrary ratio of 70 : 100 illustrates the racial basis of conditions of service of teachers in Natal. In reply to the protests of the Natal Indian Teachers' Society against this discrimination in the salary scales of 1946, the Administrator of Natal is reported to have said that it was the settled policy of the Administration and the Central Government not to concede equality of treatment to Indian teachers with European teachers (205). A similar statement was reported to have been made by the South African government representatives at the recent meeting of UNESCO in Mexico (206).

Racially discriminatory provisions were also made in connection with pensions. In 1917 with one or two exceptions, Indian teachers in the government schools had no pension rights (207). By 1920, they

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204. See P.N.102/1946 - Sect. 9(b).
205. "Leader" -14 Dec.,1946 - "Mitchell Tells N.I.T.S. No Hope of Equality."
Resolution N.I.T.S. - 9 Dec.,1946 (N.I.T.S.Files).
"Natal Mercury" - 14 Dec.,1946 - "Indian Teachers Protest."
"Natal Daily News" - 14 May,1947 - "Strike Threat by Natal Indian Teachers."
206. "Cape Argus" - 17 Nov.,1947 - "No Equality in Teaching" by Mr. A. A. Roberts.
207. Report, Prov. Admnstrn. Commsn., U.G.8-1917 : p.901 (Exid. H.R.Dukes, Supt.)

were, however, permitted to contribute to the Natal Teachers' Pensions Fund (208). In 1930 (209) an Ordinance was passed which made special provision for retiring allowances or other financial benefits for non-European teachers, and excluded all newly appointed teachers from the benefits of the Natal Teachers' Pensions Fund. The new ordinance created a Provident Fund towards which the Administration contributed on a £ for £ basis, and the benefits received at retirement were much inferior to that received under the Pensions Fund. In 1946 the Administration was contemplating making some changes in the provisions made for Indians and other non-Europeans (210).

Summing up this study of the question of teachers, it may be said that while a considerable degree of advance had been made in the certification and payment of Indian teachers, and in their chances of promotion, the position at the end of the period was that there was still a big gap between the standards achieved in European education and in Indian education. The racial outlook still determines what shall be the standards attained by the Indian, and that is still the main determining factor in the provision of funds. The percentage of unqualified teachers is too high (25%) and when it is remembered that of the certificated ones some 70% hold qualifications equal to or lower than Standard VIII, then the efficiency of teaching in Indian schools does not leave room for complacency. As for

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208. Report, Prov. Auditor - N.P.5/1920 - p.23.
209. Ordinance 10/1930 (Ntl.) - Sect. 2, 24.
Report, Prov. Financ. Resources Ctee.,1944 - para.138.
210. Administrator - reply to Mr. Fowle - Minutes, Prov. Council, 1946 - p.57.

the question of the adequacy of supply the system of Administration has not solved this problem yet. There were over 30,000 children of school-going age out of school, to instruct whom a very large number of teachers, male and female are required.

C H A P T E R XVIII

THE DEVELOPMENT OF PRIMARY AND SECONDARY EDUCATION FOR INDIANS (contd.)

(1911 - 1947)

(iv) CURRICULUM

(v) CRITICAL ESTIMATE OF PROGRESS

A study of the development of primary and secondary education for Indians will not be complete without some reference to the curriculum of Indian schools. An examination of this aspect of the educational system is of some interest because of the peculiar position of the Indian community in South Africa. This has been dealt with in a previous chapter (a). It is sufficient to state here that the curricular aspect of Indian education should be studied in the light of the fact that the Indian community has ~~been one which was~~ orientated partly to Eastern and partly to Western European modes of living and thinking. In their economic activities and political aspirations they followed the same patterns as the European community, and there was no fundamental difference in their economic and political needs. In the less tangible sphere of art, music, literature, religion and family life there were some observable differences of inherited traditions.

(a) Chapter XIII.

One of the curricular demands by the Indian people arising from these circumstances was for a curriculum and syllabi similar and equal to that provided in the European schools. The Indian community appears to have had a thorough appreciation of the necessity of educating their children along the same lines as European children, if they were to be given the same opportunities in life - at least, in the economic and political spheres. The Indian has been striving for similarity and equality of opportunity with the European in these two spheres. It was clearly recognised that one of the instruments by which these ends could be achieved and secured was by education. They were aware that in the final analysis equality of content, equality in preparation, was an indispensable element of educational equality. In their view similarity and equality of educational opportunity resided both in the interna and the externa of the educational system. In view of their experience with the ill effects of educational segregation in the matter of accommodation, teaching and finance, they seemed to be suspicious of anything that savoured of segregation, separation or differentiation. The demand for the same curriculum as in European schools was, therefore, influenced to a great degree by politico-economic considerations. The objectives and ideals set out in the Cape Town Agreement merely helped to define their strivings more clearly.

Therefore, as in the previous periods, the curriculum of Indian schools - both primary and secondary - was the same as that of European schools, and expert Indian educational advice recommended that it

should continue to be so (1). Thus, the medium of instruction has been English, though it was estimated in 1929 to be responsible for the retardation of Indian children by about one year (2). To meet the difficulty of Indian children who entered school without any or little knowledge of English, an Introductory Class lasting six months was instituted; under proper guidance they should have been able to pass into Sub-Standard 2 within 18 months from first starting school (3). But very few of the Head Teachers seemed to have grasped the aims and methods of the Introductory Class, thus contributing to the further retardation of these children (3). The English medium of instruction was unavoidable in view of the multiplicity of the languages spoken amongst the Indians, which has prevented the general use of any one of them.

It is interesting to note that some sections of the Indian community made requests for the teaching of Afrikaans in the schools (4). Some of them called attention to the practical need for a knowledge of Afrikaans for business purposes in up-country towns. The difficulty was in finding Indian teachers who knew the language (4). By 1937 a start had been made in the Greytown Road Government Indian School in Pietermaritzburg, and at Sastri College Afrikaans was taught to pupils who came from the Transvaal with a previous knowledge of the language. The Natal Indian Teachers' Society desired to have Afrikaans taught as an optional subject to training college students at Sastri College

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1. Kichlu Memorandum, 1928 - para.44.
   Report, Ntl. Edn. Commsn., 1937 - para.454 (P.N.60/1938)
   Report, Prov.Financ.Resources Ctee., 1944 - para.108
2. Report, Supt. Edn., 1929 - p.17.
3. Ibid 1935 - p.30.
4. Report, Ntl. Edn. Commsn., 1937 - para.463.

and also to have part-time classes provided by the Department for the benefit of present teachers (4). It should be mentioned that another educational authority provided in Durban part-time afternoon classes under the aegis of the Indian Technical Education Committee (4). The Commission of 1937 recommended that (i) in districts where Afrikaans was the predominant official language, the medium of instruction for Indian children should be Afrikaans;(ii) that the second official language (Afrikaans or English as the case may be) might be introduced after Standards IV, where ever practicable, care being taken that these children, whose mother tongue is neither English nor Afrikaans, are not overburdened intellectually; (iii) that Afrikaans should be made optional, in the first instance, at the Training College; and (iv) every encouragement and facility should be given to Indian teachers to learn Afrikaans (5).

The primary school curriculum has come to be determined by the requirements of the Primary School Certificate which is given after passing the Standard VI examination conducted by the Education Department. The secondary school curriculum was determined by the requirements of the University of South Africa for the Junior Certificate, and of the Joint Matriculation Board for the Matriculation or School Leaving Certificate. Post-primary pupils in Natal were prepared for these externally conducted examinations. Thus the primary and secondary curricula were the same for Europeans and Indians. The only limitations at the Indian secondary schools were limitations in the range of subjects that particular

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5. Report, Ntl. Edn. Commsn., paras 455, 463, 464 (1937).

schools could offer, and that was governed by the financial considerations and the availability of the necessary staff.

It does transpire, however, that prior to 1928 there was a special syllabus for Indian schools; and that while the syllabus in Arithmetic was quite up to standard, that in English, History and Geography was not up to the same level as for European children, and it was believed that it would have taken some years to have brought them up to the European standard (6). This seems to have been due entirely to the inadequate academic preparation of the Indian teachers themselves (6). Hence, in 1928, Mr. Kichlu recommended that while Indian children should be encouraged to complete the primary school course by entering for the Departmental Standard VI examination, but because in the beginning it might not be possible for them to take all the subjects for the Primary Certificate, as a temporary measure they should be allowed to appear in as many subjects as possible (7). So then it seems that while the curriculum of the primary Indian schools was the same as that of the European schools, the syllabi in many of the subjects were inferior.

But in one respect the curriculum of Indian primary schools was deficient, and that was in the actual provision made for the skill and taste group of activities such as Art, Music, Handicrafts, Manual Training and Needlework. In fact as early as 1916 Inspector Mr. Lawlor commented upon the excessive verbal

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6. Minutes Evidence, Ind. Edn. Inq. Committee, 1928 - p.40 (Inspector Mr. Lawlor).(Prov.Records).
7. Kichlu Memorandum, 1928 - para.44.

instruction and lack of "occupational" activities in the Indian schools (8). The need for manual work, and the stimulation of the handicraft traditions of the Indians, was commented upon at various times (9). The chief hindrance was the lack of funds for material and tools. The York Road school at Pietermaritzburg was notable for its instruction in woodwork (10). Agriculture was reported to be another neglected subject in the Indian schools (11). Art work, and physical training, were very formal and unsatisfactory.(12). Musical training appears to have been generally absent in Indian schools (13). The difficulty here, as in some of the other activities, too, would have been mainly the lack of teachers, themselves trained in these matters. The Vacation Courses were intended to remedy the deficiency in the teachers. But in the case of Music, there is reason to believe that Western music did not find ready response with Indians who had a highly developed tradition of their own in this respect. An attempt was made in 1930 to give Western musical training for the male student-teachers at Sastri College, but fell through in 1932 for the lack of a suitable teacher, and was re-started in 1934; but it seems to have been dropped during the war years once again, for the lack of a suitable teacher (14). Domestic Science consisted mainly of Needlework, where women teachers were available (15). The introduction of this subject in the curriculum was handicapped by both lack of teachers and lack of finance. The two government girls' schools at Durban and Pietermaritzburg have toady well-equipped domestic science kitchens.

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8. Report, Supt. Edn., 1916.
9. Ibid 1912, 1913, 1914, 1931, 1932.
10. Ibid 1916
11. Ibid 1932 - page.24.
12. Ibid 1931 - p.12.
13. Ibid 1930 - p.31.
14. Ibid 1930 - p.31; 1932 - p.28; 1934 - p.36.
15. Ibid 1931 - p.12.

Arising from the partial adherence of Indians to their own inherited linguistic and religious traditions were demands for the inclusion of some or all of the Indian languages in the school curriculum. Thus, before the 1921-1922 Education Inquiry Committee requests were made for the teaching of Tamil, Hindi and Gujerati as second languages. There appeared to be grave concern over the strain imposed upon Indian children because they had to secure instruction in these languages after normal school hours, and during the school vacations, at the private vernacular classes established for that purpose (16).

In its Report, the Russell Committee of Inquiry (1921-1922) took the view (17) that it was not the duty of the State "to include instruction through the medium of a language foreign to the country, the teaching of that language as a subject, or the promotion and preservation of the national aspirations and ideals of other States or peoples, even though they be sister Dominions or peoples." The Committee also referred to the difficulty of imparting instruction in a multiplicity of languages, even if the State were willing, for in any one class in an Indian school there were pupils belonging to at least three or four language groups. On the other hand, the Committee also refused to recommend a grant-in-aid of any language institution (17). The Tamil Protective Association had asked for such a grant-in-aid. The Committee felt that these institutions

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16. Memoranda by Tamil Protective Association (Pentrich), Hindu Young Men's Assn., Govt. Ind. Sch. Teachers' Soc., Natal Indian Congress (P.M.Bg.). Dbn. Dist. Indian Educational Advisory Committee (1921-1922) to the Russell Education Inquiry Committee (1921-1922) (Provincial Records).
17. Report, Ntl. Edn. Inq. Committee, 1921-1922 ¶ Sect.23.

drifted into"semi-political institutions not animated by friendly disposition to the State" in whose borders they were, and was reluctant that this "political drift" should be brought about by means of an opportunity created through the education vote (17). These remarks did not apply to Indians only.

The demand for instruction in the Indian languages was re-iterated at the 1928 Inquiry into Indian Education (18). The Superintendent of Education in his evidence referred to the existence of a number of private vernacular schools, and expressed the view that the value of the instruction given in these schools was dubious and that their continuance was not necessary (19). It is interesting to record that for some years up to 1928 Tamil and Gujerati and Urdu were taught during the ordinary school hours in the two government Indian schools at Pretoria; the teachers were also paid by the Transvaal Provincial Administration (20). The practice has been discontinued since 1929, and, there is reason to believe, on the recommendations of Mr. Kichlu himself, who felt that vernacular instruction during school hours placed the Indian child in a less favourable position to compete against the European child. He thought that if Indian parents wanted their children to be instructed in the vernaculars, then they should make private arrangements (21). His views were obviously based upon politico-economic considerations, and the terms of the Cape Town Agreement. Sectional organisations, like the Hindu Maha Sabha for instance, repeated their requests for the

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18. Memo by Ntl. Indian Teachers' Soc.,1928 to Ntl. Indian Edn. Inq. Ctee.,1928.
19. Minutes of Evidence, Ntl. Ind. Edn. Inq. Ctee.,1928 : 2 Apr.,1928 (Mr. Bryan).
20. The writer was in attendance at one of these schools for many years and was instructed in Tamil.
21. Memorandum on Indian Education in the Transvaal, 1928. (Kichlu) (Private).

inclusion of Tamil, Hindi, and Urdu as a language subject in the ordinary school curriculum (22).

Even should the organisational difficulties be overcome, and adequate financial support were forthcoming, there would still be the difficulty of securing local teachers qualified to teach these languages. On the other hand, if it is considered desirable that the Indian people should not lose all knowledge of their own languages, the situation could be met by grants-in-aid to approved private institutions teaching these languages, and by providing suitable accommodation in the existing schools. With better remuneration of the teachers; with the employment of young Indians trained in methods of teaching, and the introduction of a carefully prepared syllabus, the efficiency of these vernacular classes could be raised, and the instruction after school hours could be limited to three hours per week, and attendance to three times a week. Advanced vernacular instruction for intending teachers might be given in the two technical institutions at Durban and Pietermaritzburg. It would seem that all that Indian parents desire for their children is that they should be able to speak, write and read with reasonable fluency in the mother tongue.

It would not be out of place to quote here in extenso the views of the Committee of Inquiry into Adult Education in South Africa in regard to the cultural development of the Native, the Coloured and the Asiatic peoples (23):-

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22. Memo to Ntl. Edn. Commsn., 1937 (Prov. Records).
23. Report, Adult Education in S. Africa, 1945 - paras. 81-82. (U.G.35/1945).

"The Committee is of opinion that it would be a pity if the Native, the Coloured person and the Asiatic should in their process of development become Europeanised in such a manner and to such an extent that everything which in the cultural field has become traditionally their own should be lost. These non-European groups could make a valuable contribution to the richness and fulness of the South African cultural pattern, evinced in their own music, their dramatic art, their various arts and crafts, their literature, the rythm of their oratory, the grace of their deportment and their national dance festivals coloured by picturesque and fantastic costumes.. .....

"The European in South Africa is too often ignorant of the beauty of the non-European culture and of its value, Much more should be done to encourage and develop these South African cultural assets. .....It is realised that much of the cultural life of the non-European is hampered and stultified in his struggle for existence. Cultural protection and appreciation should form as much a part of the Europeans' guardianship of the Native people as economic security. Voluntary assistance on the part of the European and state-aid for cultural efforts of the South African non-European will testify to the sincerity of the European in his fulfilling his duty to safeguard the cultural interests of the non-European."

These views would seem to be in accord with Indian aspirations. Present day Indian opinion (23a) is that fundamentally the education of the Indian child should be no different from that of the European child, particularly in those instruments of political and economic progress; but that in order to preserve their cultural heritage some more efficient arrangement must be made to teach the vernacular languages; that the syllabus might be modified to include the history and literature of India (23b); and, that Indian forms of music, and of cooking might also be included in the curriculum of the schools.

In recent years the education authorities seem

23a. Report of Ntl. Regional Conference - S.A.Institute Race Relations - held at Maritzburg, 31 July,1943. (R.R.114/43 - p.5.) : expressed by the present writer.

23b. Report, Supt. Edn.,1927 ? p.25 - similar views by Inspector Mr. O. K. Winterton - in reference to the history and geography syllabi.

to have been inclined to think that the curriculum of the Indian schools should be adapted to the environment (24). The existing curriculum was not favoured because it was based "more or less regardless of the difference in tradition, in present conditions, and in the immediate future of the subjects of the systems." (24). It recommended the adoption of "a simple primary curriculum directed to the practical needs of the Indian rather than an elaborate scheme which will fritter away the pupils' time and energy on the subjects for which they are not ripe" (25). It also recommended that in addition to the three R's, the primary curriculum should include health education and training in hygienic habits - "matters of fundamental importance to the Indian and to the whole community in which he lives;" that, therefore, the curriculum should include practical hygiene, physical training and outdoor games (26).

A further recommendation was that in the case of rural schools, and most suburban areas as well, the curriculum should be given an agricultural background, and that the children should be encouraged to work in the field or school garden so as to learn the elements of agriculture in a simple and practical manner (27). The premises upon which this recommendation was made are not sound.

It was stated (27) that 90 per cent of the Indian immigrants to Natal were agriculturists, and that the rising generation did not take to agriculture but preferred to seek employment in the towns; and, that consequently the skill in cultivating the land of the older generation was being rapidly lost in the general tendency to turn from agriculture to trade. It was

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24. Report, Ntl.End.,Commsn.,1937 - para.454, and Memo. by Inspector Mr. Macleod to the Commission.
25. Ibid para.455.
26. Ibid para.456.
27. Ibid para.457.

believed that the teaching of agriculture in rural areas could do much to retore agricultural pursuits to their place and to lead Indians to find profitable occupation on the land instead of adding to the congested ranks of unemployment in the towns.

It seems to have been assumed here that lack of agricultural training was the chief cause of the drift from agriculture to other occupations, and from the rural areas to the urban areas. The factors that have led to these changes in occupation and residence are fundamentally economic. It is not possible to go into the question in detail here, but it may be briefly indicated that some of the factors were the smallness of individual land holdings and the inability of the soil to support a growing population; the growing difficulty of purchasing suitable agricultural land; the attraction of higher wages in the growing industries of the city; competition of the African in the field of heavy manual labour (for most of the immigrants really engaged in heavy field labour, and not skilled agriculture nor farming as such); and disintegration of the joint family system. Those who are still agriculturists are mainly small market gardeners, whose livelihood is daily becoming more precarious. The proportion of Indians engaged in agricultural occupations has steadily declined from 48 per cent in 1911 to 18% in 1936 (28). It does not seem that the mere absence of teaching agriculture could have been the cause, or that the teaching of agriculture could stay or reverse the process.

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28. "Indian Life and Labour in Natal" - (edit.) Prof. H.R. Burrows - Race Relations - Vol. X - No.1, 1943 - pp. 6-9.

With regard to post-primary education provided by the Provincial Administration, this was, and still is, entirely academic. Commenting upon the pressure of accommodation at Sastri College the Inspector-in-Charge of Indian education pointed out (29) that

> "....it seems more than likely that parents attach a highly fictitious bread and butter value to this course where their boys are concerned.....Annual promotion schedules of post-primary classes show that too many pupils who are subjected to this type of education are totally unfitted to benefit from it."

The Commission of 1937 was appreciative of the need for an academically biased curriculum for specially capable youths intending to embark upon further professional courses, but was of the opinion that to the majority the academic course in Latin, mathematics, etc., of the matriculation curriculum was not likely to give suitable preparation for the careers that they might be destined to follow (30). The "Matriculation" fetish was, however, not confined to the Indian people. It is a problem that affects the European as well as the Indian. The Commission suggested (30) the introduction of a differentiated curriculum with a commercial bias, for those who would not profit by the academic curriculum. In 1938 Bookkeeping was taught at Sastri College as an optional subject in the class preparing for the Matriculation examination, but since then it has been dropped (31).

The chief obstacle to a differentiated curriculum was finance. To be equitable and successful it would have

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29. Report, Ntl. Edn. Commsn., 1937 - para.459 (P.N.60/1938)
30. Ibid para.460.
31. The writer was on the staff of Sastri College at the time.

been necessary to provide adequate facilities for both types of curricula on the secondary level. The Indian people appear to have objected to the recommendation of a differentiated curricula, particularly to the agricultural bias in the rural schools, on the grounds that it would have led to a deterioration in the quality of education provided for Indians (32). The Indo-European Joint Council felt that only those with an aptitude for agriculture should be trained in that field (33). The objection to a commercial bias probably arose from the fact that commerce itself, even for European youths, placed a high value on the academic Matriculation certificate. A Junior or Matriculation Certificate seemed to increase the chances of employment; and the Indian has often found that he had to be very much better qualified and more useful than a European youth to secure even a junior position in a European office or firm. While the academic curriculum of the Junior Certificate or the Matriculation was in all likelihood not an adequate preparation for the clerical employment which most of the post-primary pupils sought, but it was still a passport to such employment. It is, therefore, suggested that Indian parents were not altogether so unrealistic in their demand for this curriculum. In any case there was no alternative provision for post-primary education.

In a country like South Africa with its numerous colour and racial barriers upon the free play of economic forces, and upon the free development of the human personality, a differentiated curriculum introduced on the best educational grounds will inevitably be viewed with

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32. Report, Agent-General for India, 1938 - para.26.
33. Minutes Evidence, Ntl. Edn. Commsn., 1937 - p.652 ff (Prov. Records).

suspicion and fear by the non-Europeans on politico-economic grounds. There is a real danger in adopting a curriculum for the non-Europeans based upon their present status and disabilities. Adaption to existing political and economic conditions might help to make permanent those conditions, which non-Europeans, and progressive Europeans, hope to change. The real solution lies in increasing the opportunities for employment and exercise of political responsibilities. It does not appear to be the function of the educator to make the decision as to whether such opportunities exist or not, or how soon they would become available or not; it is not his function to herd classes of people into certain types of curricula on politico-economic grounds. A differentiated curriculum is a concept of modern democracy based upon educating each individual according to his temperament and aptitude. If individuals educated in this manner become malcontents then it is an indication that the social structure is due for a change. The concept of adaptation to environment is open to abuse and misinterpretation in the conditions that exist in South Africa. In so far as Indians are concerned the correct aim in education for them has been set out in the Upliftment Clause of the Cape Town Agreement (a), and that aim is in complete accord with the aims of education in a modern democracy. A differentiated curriculum needs to be accompanied by opportunities for differentiated employment, free from artificial barriers.

(a) See Chapter XIII.

The task of developing a many-sided curriculum for the Indian is further complicated by the division of educational functions between two administrative authorities, namely, the Provincial and Central authorities, whereby vocational and non-vocational education is separated under different authorities. The growing view amongst educationists appears to be that the present arrangements require to be changed to bring the educational system up to the level of modern educational practice (34).

(v) CRITICAL ESTIMATE OF PROGRESS

Turn now to a critical estimate of the educational progress made by Indians in this period. The effectiveness of the system must be first judged by the number of children of school-going age in school and out of school. According to the census of 1921 there were in Natal 31,599 Asiatic children of school-going age (35). In 1921 the average enrolment of Indian pupils was 7,442 (36), which represents 23.5 per cent of the potential school population. Thus, 76.5 per cent of the Indian children of school-going age were not in school in the year 1921. The Education Department was not unaware of this growing mass of illiteracy for pointed reference was made by the Superintendent of Education in his reports for the years 1925, 1926 and 1927 (37). The position was fully investigated in 1928, and admitted as being unsatisfactory (38).

When the next Inquiry was made into Indian education in 1936-1937 the position had improved slightly, but there was still a large percentage of children of school-going age out of school. According to the Census

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34. See also Report, Social & Economic Planning Council (No.2) - p.95 - para.113. (U.G.14-1944).
35. Report, Supt. Edn., 1925 : p.14; 1926 - p.9 (presumably 6 - 14 years).
36. TABLE 2 - page.544.
37. Reports, Supt. Edn., 1925 - p.14; 1926 - p.9; 1927 - p.3
38. Report, Ntl. Ind. Edn. Inq. Ctee., 1928 - paras. 6(a), 8(a). (P.N.174/1928).

returns for 1936 (39) there were 52,610 Asiatic Children in Natal between the ages of 6 and 15 years (b). The attendance for this age group as at June, 1936 was 20,691 (40). (The attendance for all age groups was at least 21,772). Thus in 1936 there were 31,919, or 60.6 per cent of Indian children between the ages of 6 and 15 years not in school (c).

The relative figures for European children of the same age group for the same years were as follows :-

Potential school population	34,014
In attendance at school	26,177[x]
Number out of school	7,837
Percentage out of school	23%

[x] Excluding farm schools.

In the case of European children the compulsory conditions permitted them to leave school before attaining the age of 15 years if they passed Standard VI. Now in 1936 the median age of European children for Standard VI was 13.85 years, so a fair proportion of those out of school must have completed the primary school course. On the other hand the median age of Indian children for Standard VI was 15.51 years in 1936 (40), and, therefore, not many of those outside school could have left because of having completed the primary school course.

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39. Report, Census, 1936 - Vol.II : p.194.
40. Report, Supt. Edn., 1936 - Tables.
(b) Age 15 is the upper compulsory age limit in Natal for European children.
(c) The following figures were given by the Natal Edn. Commsn. of 1936-1937 on p.78, para.415. (P.N.60/1938)

	Total Number[x] (estimated)	Number in School (actual)
Boys	21,000	15,594
Girls	19,000	5,762
	40,000	21,356

[x] 6 to 14 years.

According to the 1936 Census returns there were 26,523 Indian boys and 26,087 Indian girls between the ages of 6 to 15 years in Natal and Zululand. The school attendance as at June, 1936 of boys of all ages was 15,958; and of girls of all ages was 5,814. Thus, in 1936 over 10,000 boys and over 20,000 girls of school-going age were not in school.

Now according to the preliminary figures for the 1946 Census the Asiatic population of Natal numbered 228,119. Assuming that the proportion of children between 6 to 15 years was the same as in 1936 (i.e. 28 per cent approximately), there would have been 63,873 Indian children of school-going age in 1946. In September, 1946 there were 35,479 Indian children of all ages in the schools. This represents about 55.5 per cent of the potential school population. Thus, in 1946 some 28,394, or about 44 per cent of Indian children of school-going age were not in school. The median age of Indian children for Standard VI in 1943 (the latest published figure) was 15.31 years. Therefore, only a very small proportion of those out of school would have completed the primary school course. In 1936 the ratio of boys to girls in this age group was even. It may be assumed that the ratio had not changed in 1946. But the ratio of boys to girls in school had changed from 3 : 1 in 1936 to 2 : 1 in 1945. On this basis it may be estimated that of the 28,394 children out of school, over 18,000 were girls and over 9,000 were boys. It would, therefore, seem that the progress in enrolment since 1936 has made little significant difference to the number of Indian children of school-going age not under instruction.

Under such circumstances the system of education

provided for Indian children cannot be considered to be adequate. It has failed in bringing under instruction all the children of school-going age. Since the accepted principle is that Indian education should be raised to the Western or European standards of education, these figures indicate the leeway that has yet to be made up. If the State and the Indian people have genuinely accepted the abovementioned goal of development for the Indians in South Africa, then the large number of girls, who remain outside the school system, must be brought in by compulsory and other measures. Prejudice and backwardness which will not be condoned by the State amongst Europeans, cannot in equity be condoned amongst the Indians.

From another point of view, the system of Indian education was equally ineffective in keeping under instruction all those who voluntarily came to school, for a sufficient length of time to enable them to complete a primary school course, which under modern conditions is the very minimum standard of education necessary for an individual. The effectiveness of the educational system in retaining the pupils in school may be studied by examining the figures for the distribution and elimination of the pupils in the various standards. Consider the following TABLES (41).

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41. The percentage figures have been calculated from figures given in the Report, Superintendent Education (Ntl). Figures for 1945 from S. A. Indian Congress Memorandum to UNO - Nov., 1946 - p. 51-52, for which figures were supplied by the Education Department. The Education Department has refused to furnish me with more recent statistics.
Further tables of Enrolment by Standards and of Elimination may be found on pages 56 and 57 of the Union Bulletin of Educational Statistics, 1940. (Union Education Department).

T A B L E I

ENROLMENT OF INDIAN PUPILS BY STANDARDS (NATAL)

	1940	1941	1942	1943	1945
Sub-Std. I	7825	8686	8204	8112	8283
" " II	4146	4503	5219	4936	5606
Standard 1	3796	4203	4369	4885	4741
" 2	3805	3423	3787	3855	4211
" 3	2829	2683	2798	3202	3922
" 4	1983	2279	2107	2263	2791
" 5	1287	1450	1730	1612	2058
" 6	1069	1002	998	1317	1543
" 7	284	294	261	352	368
" 8	140	206	259	245	322
" 9	56	45	84	85	100
" 10	74	65	39	69	86
TOTAL	26694	28839	29855	30933	34031

T A B L E 2.

PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF INDIAN PUPILS ACCORDING TO STANDARDS (NATAL).

	1930	1940	1945
Sub-Std. I	36.6	29.3	24.3
" " II	17.9	15.5	16.5
Standard I	14.5	14.2	13.9
" 2	10.4	12.0	12.4
" 3	7.8	10.6	11.5
" 4	5.5	7.5	8.2
" 5	4.0	4.8	6.1
" 6	2.6	4.0	4.5
" 7	.4	1.1	1.1
" 8	.2	.5	.9
" 9	.03	.2	.3
" 10	.06	.3	.3
Unclass.	.02	-	-
	100.00	100.00	100.00

TABLE 3.

CUMULATIVE PERCENTAGE OF INDIAN PUPILS IN AND BELOW EACH STANDARD (NATAL)

	1930	1940	1945
Sub-Std. I	36.6	29.3	24.3
" " II	54.5	44.8	40.8
Standard 1	69.0	59.0	54.7
" 2	79.4	71.0	67.1
" 3	87.2	81.6	78.6
" 4	92.7	89.1	86.8
" 5	96.7	93.9	92.9
" 6	99.3	97.9	97.4
" 7	99.7	99.0	98.5
" 8	99.9	99.5	99.4
" 9	99.93	99.7	99.7
" 10	99.99	100.0	100.0
Unclass.	.02		

T A B L E 4(a).

PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF PUPILS OF ALL RACES IN 1945*

	Europeans (Union)	Indians (Natal)	Coloureds (Cape)	Natives (Union)
Sub A & B	20.44	40.82	45.21	51.24
Standard 1	10.92	13.94	14.60	14.26
" 2	10.73	12.37	12.38	10.22
" 3	10.05	11.52	10.04	8.54
" 4	9.65	8.20	7.47	5.97
" 5	9.88	6.05	5.00	4.22
" 6	9.61	4.53	3.19	3.21
" 7	7.28	1.08	1.20	1.57
" 8	5.14	0.95	0.69	0.42
" 9	2.76	0.29	0.11	0.10
" 10	2.18	0.29	0.08	0.05
Unclass.	1.36	-	0.03	0.20
TOTAL	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00

TABLE 4(b)

CUMULATIVE PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF PUPILS OF ALL RACES IN 1945

	Europeans (Union)	Indians (Natal)	Coloureds (Cape)	Natives (Union)
Sub A & B	20.4	40.8	45.2	51.2
Standard I	31.4	54.7	59.8	65.5
" 2	42.1	67.1	72.2	75.7
" 3	52.1	78.6	82.3	84.3
" 4	61.8	86.8	89.7	90.2
" 5	71.7	92.9	94.7	94.5
" 6	81.3	97.4	97.9	97.7
" 7	88.6	98.5	99.1	99.2
" 8	93.7	99.4	99.8	99.7
" 9	96.5	99.7	99.9	99.8
" 10	98.6	100.0	99.9	99.8
Unclass.	1.4		.03	.2

× Annual Report, Union Advisory Board on Native Education (1946) : p.6 — Table x 1.

TABLE 5

RATIO OF ENROLMENT IN EACH STANDARD TO SUB-STANDARD I TAKEN AS 100

(NATAL)

		1930	1940	1945	Europeans 1943
Sub-Std.	I	100	100	100	100
" "	II	48.9	52.9	67.7	95.7
Standard	1	39.9	48.5	57.2	93
"	2	28.4	40.9	50.8	90.2
"	3	20.3	36.1	47.3	92.6
"	4	15.1	25.3	33.7	94
"	5	10.8	16.4	24.8	95.6
"	6	7.2	13.6	18.6	89.3
"	7	1.2	3.6	4.4	58.5
"	8	0.5	1.9	3.9	45.4
"	9	0.1	.7	1.2	23.9
"	10	0.1	.9	1.0	19.8
Unclass.		.05	-	-	

TABLE 6

ELIMINATION OF PUPILS IN INDIAN SCHOOLS

(Tracing the numerical progress of a class of pupils commencing in Sub-Standard 1 till they reach Standard X)

(i)

Class	Year	Enrolment	Year	Enrolment
1	1924	2386	1934	6439
2	1925	2234	1935	2891
I	1926	1225	1936	2815
II	1927	1146	1937	2453
III	1928	964	1938	2153
IV	1929	859	1939	1730
V	1930	602	1940	1287
VI	1931	537	1941	1002
VII	1932	156	1942	261
VIII	1933	111	1943	245
IX	1934	24	1944	?
X	1935	25	1945	86

(ii)

Class	Year	Enrolment	Year	Enrolment
I	1938	6179	1940	7825
IV	1943	2263	1945	2791
VI	1945	2058		

(iii)

Class of	% Starting Sub.1	% Remaining Left in Std.IV.	% Remaining Left in Std.VI.
1924	100	36	22.5
1934	100	26.9	15.5
1938	100	36.6	33.3
1940	100	35.6	

TABLE 7

CALCULATION OF AVERAGE LENGTH OF TIME SPENT BY INDIAN CHILDREN IN A PRIMARY SCHOOL.

1. Tracing elimination figures of two classes starting in 1922 and 1936.

		Year	Number	Year	Number
Sub-Std.	I	1922	2469	1936	6686
" "	II	1923	2098	1937	4156
Standard	1	1924	1070	1938	3803
"	2	1925	998	1939	3334
"	3	1926	802	1940	2829
"	4	1927	633	1941	2279
"	5	1928	425	1942	1730
"	6	1929	263	1943	1317
		TOTAL	8758		26134

2. Average Primary School Life $= \frac{8758}{2469}$ $= 3.5$ years

Average Primary School, Life $= \frac{26134}{6686}$ $= 3.9$ years

Out of 8 years of normal primary school life.

NOTE:- If allowance is made for the fact that in the European system the average enrolment from Sub-Standard 1 to Standard VI was 94% in 1943, and assuming that 94% of the Indian children should have been in the same classes, then the average school life for the 1936 class works out at 4.1 years.

The following points are worthy of note :-

(1) There is tremendous wastage because of the, rapid and abnormal elimination of the pupils long before they have even completed a primary school course. In Tables 6(i), (ii) and (iii) the numerical progress of two particular classes was followed through, year by year, until the pupils had reached Standard X. The class which started in 1924 in Sub-Standard 1 had only 36 per cent of its number intact on reaching Standard IV, and 22.5 per cent at Standard VI. Sixteen years later the class which started in 1940 in Sub-Standard 1 had only 35.6 per cent of its number intact. Thus, about two-thirds of the Indian children are eliminated before reaching even Standard IV.

(2) As computed in Table 7 the average number of years spent by an Indian child in a primary school course extending over eight years was between 3.5 and 3.9 years. That would have brought them into Standard Two.

(3) These conclusions are supported by the figures for the distribution of Indian children in the various standards. It will be observed from Table 3 and 4(b) that more than half the children in school were concentrated in Standard 1 and the two Sub-standards. Ninety-two percent of Indian children were in and below Standard V; but ninety-three per cent of the European children were in and below Standard VIII. The relevant figures for the other racial groups will be found in Table 4(b).

(4) It will be observed from Table 5 that the distribution of Indian pupils over the standards is not uniform as it should be under normal conditions. The distribution

of European children is given in the same Table, where there is uniformity and stability from class to class.

(5) In 1945 (Table 5) the enrolment of Indian children in Standard VI was 18 per cent of the enrolment of Sub-Standard 1; or, in other words, only 18 per 100 of those who enter the school reach Standard VI. There has, however, been some improvement in every standard since 1930. The figure for European children in 1943 was 89 per cent.

Similar conditions were observed by the Education Commission of 1937 (42), which made the following observations (43):-

> "viewing the rapidity with which the present system of Indian primary school education has sprung up and the shortness of the average school life, it would appear that the majority of Indian children do not acquire the rudiments of primary education. The system from this point of view must appear to be an unsoud mushroom growth, and it is not desirable that it should be extended in its present form; far less is it possible to build up a sound educational system on this basis. The foundation must first be made good."

The expansion of the post-Cape Town Agreement period was then largely a horizontal expansion with little vertical development, or substantial alleviation of the mass of illiteracy in which the Indian community has been growing. The Adult Education Commission of 1943-1945 estimated that in the Union 70-75 per cent of the Coloured and Indian population together were illiterates (44). The system of education provided for Indians has then failed to raise the educational status of the people above the minimum standards of literacy, which is taken

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42. Report, Ntl. Edn. Commsn.,1937 - para.419 (P.N.60/1938)
43. Ibid para.420.
44. Report, Adult Education Commsn.,1943/1945 - para.70. (U.G.35/1945).

to be the passing of Standard IV. From the point of view of the child and the State an education which for a large proportion is completed in the sub-standards, and, for the majority below Standard IV, represents nothing that is of any real value and means the virtual loss of a very considerable percentage of the funds spent on Indian education.

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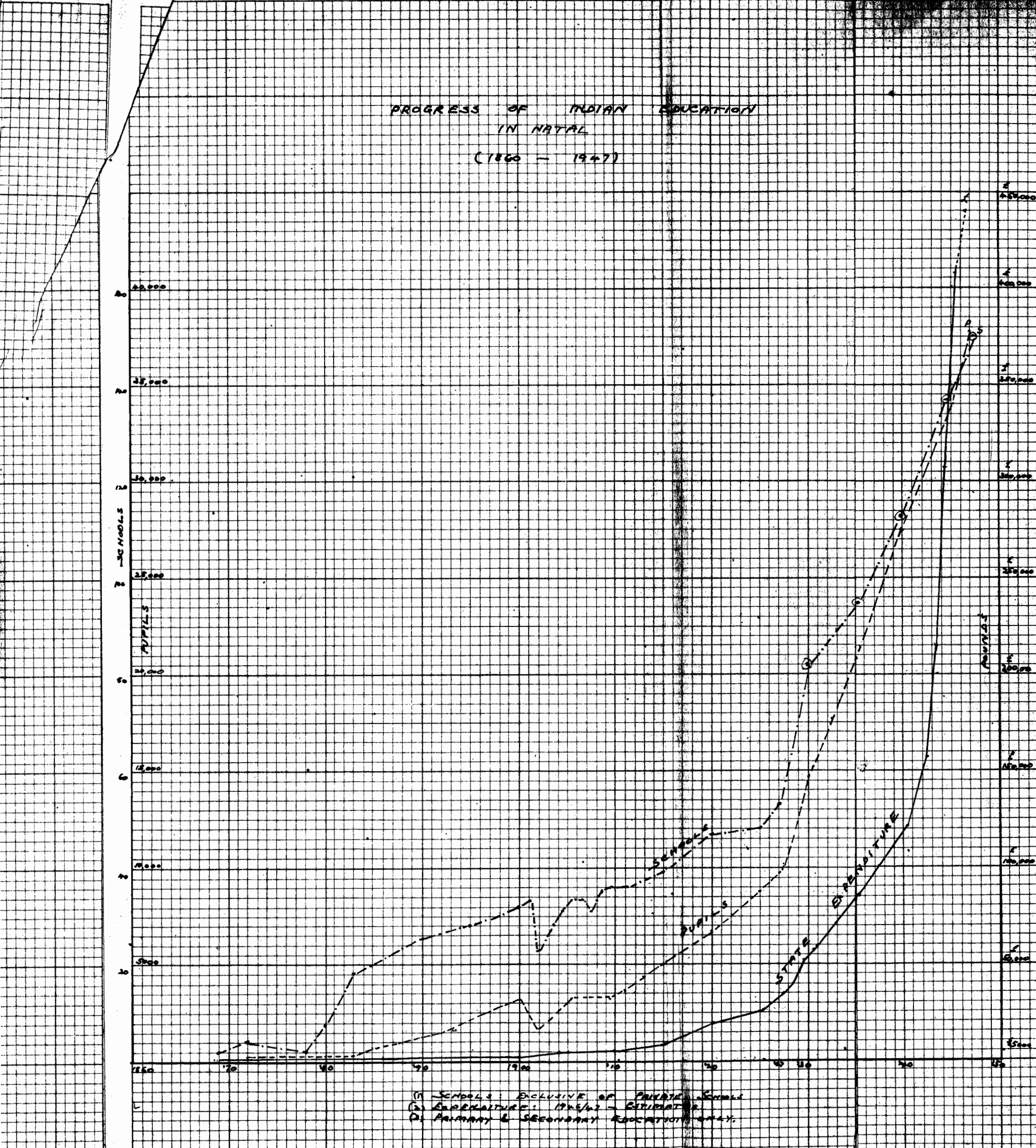
45. These were the views expressed in the case of Native education, and they are applicable to Indian education. With few alterations these are the words used in the Annual Report of the Union Advisory Board on Native Education (1946) - p.6. (U.G.45/1947).

PROGRESS OF INDIAN EDUCATION IN NATAL

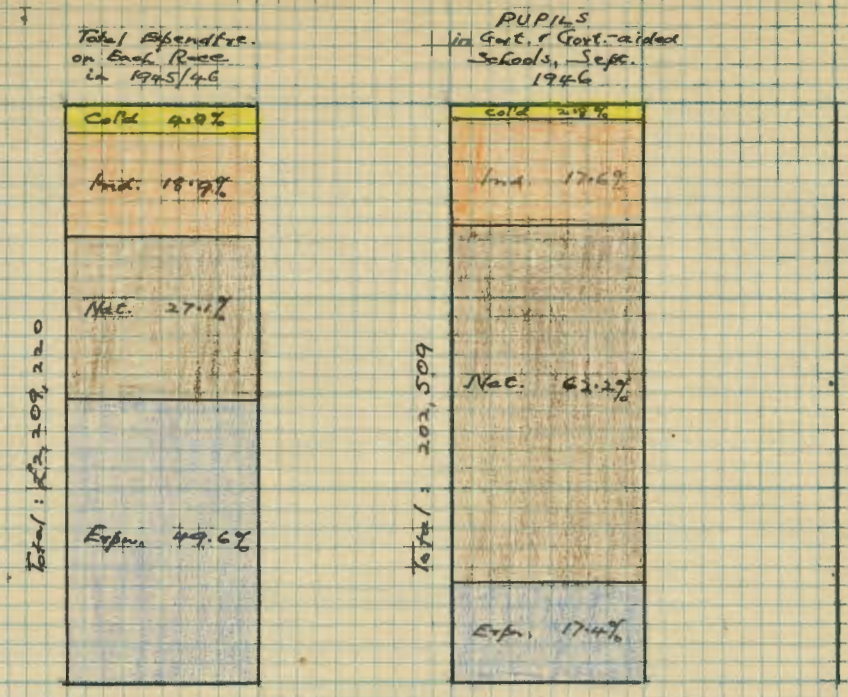
(1860 — 1947)



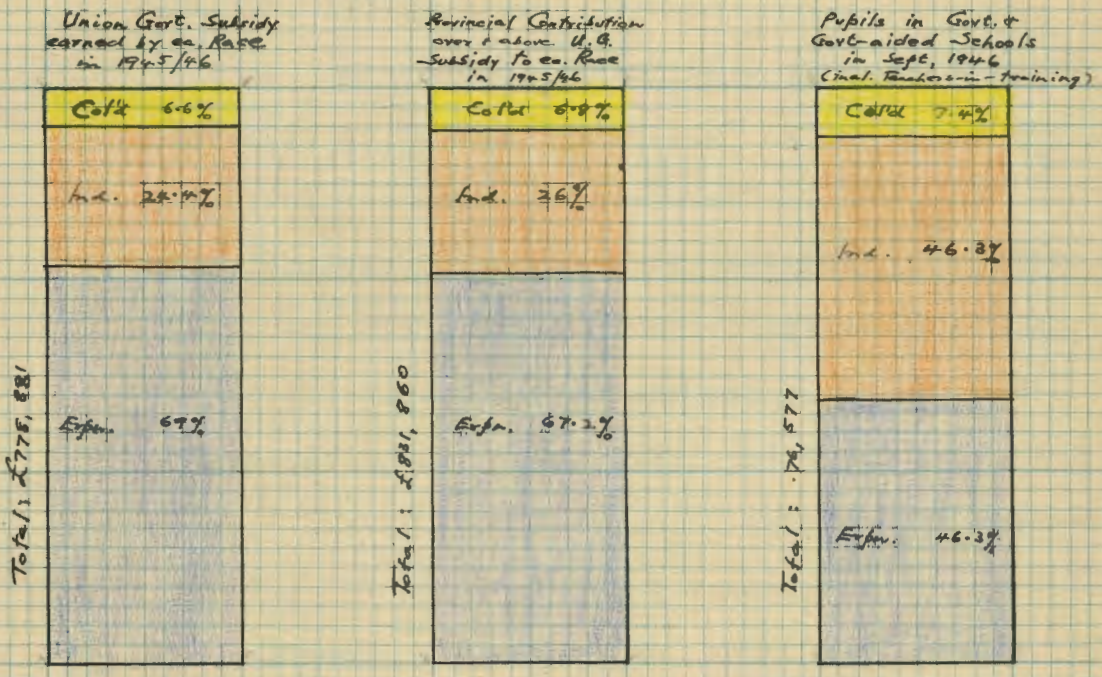
(1) — SCHOOLS : EXCLUSIVE OF PRIVATE SCHOOLS
(2) EXPENDITURE : 1946/47 — ESTIMATES
(3) PRIMARY & SECONDARY EDUCATION ONLY.

DIAGRAM OF PROPORTIONAL DISTRIBUTION OF PUPILS & STATE EXPENDITURE

(Primary & Secondary Edn. & Teacher-Training) (NATAL)

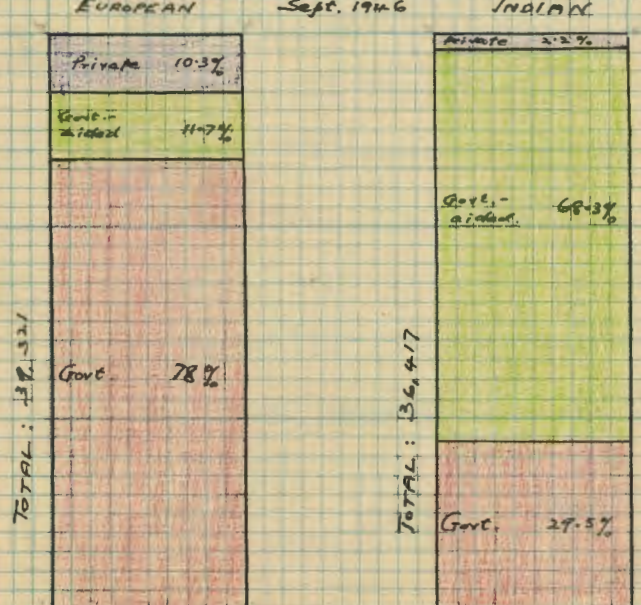


INDIAN, COLOURED, AND EUROPEAN EDUCATION ONLY.

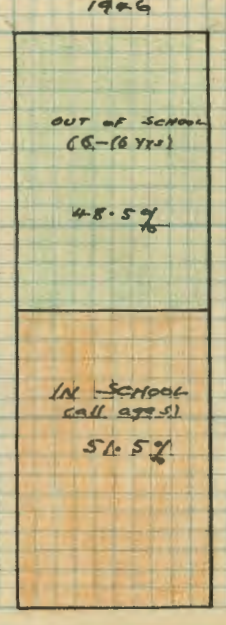


DISTRIBUTION OF PUPILS IN TYPES OF SCHOOLS

Sept. 1946



INDIAN CHILDREN (6 + 16 YRS) IN SCHOOL & OUT OF SCHOOL 1946



† Calculated at 31% of Indian population at 1946 Census.

†† Same percentage as 1936 Census assumed

CHAPTER XIX

TECHNICAL, VOCATIONAL AND UNIVERSITY EDUCATION FOR INDIANS IN NATAL.

(1911 - 1947)

As stated already in a previous chapter the provision of "higher education" was made the responsibility of the Central Government at the time of Union. This term was interpreted as university education and the Government confined its activities mainly to this branch of education for many years. Then under the provisions of Act 30 of 1923, and by an agreement arrived at between the Provincial and Central governments in 1925 (1) all, vocational training given in technical colleges, and in trades, vocational, housecraft and agricultural schools became a matter of Union control and was administered by the Union Education Department. In 1938, agricultural schools were handed back to the provincial departments, the Union government agreeing to pay 85 per cent of the nett cost (1). Prior to 1925, then, technical and vocational education below the university level was the responsibility of the Provincial Educational authorities. The provincial Educational Departments have now the following types of

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(1) Union Bulletin, Edn1. Statistics (1940) - p.12 - Section 10.

vocational or semi-vocational education under their control : subjects like agriculture and bookkeeping in the post-primary standards, and agricultural schools for post-primary pupils. In Natal there is one agricultural school, known as the Mooi River Agricultural School, for European children (2).

Consider first in outline the kind of educational facilities developed under the Union Education Department for technical, vocational and university education in South Africa (3). There are a certain number of State-aided technical colleges in the larger urban centres of the Union attended by full-time and part-time students. Some of these institutions also conduct correspondence courses for students who are unable to attend. The type of work done by the students may be roughly classified as follows : preparatory, technical, commercial, domestic science and miscellaneous. The work in these institutions is of a post-primary standard, though some of it is even post-secondary. The nature of the work is partly vocational and partly ancillary to vocational. The courses of instruction given in the technical colleges are also adapted to the needs of apprentices attending classes here in accordance with the requirements of the Apprenticeship Act.

A Junior Certificate, more or less about the level of Standard VIII, is attained in technical, commercial or domestic science subjects. The National Technical Certificate and a Commercial Senior Certificate may be taken two years later, and the standard is equivalent to that of the Matriculation Examination. There is also

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2. Report, Prov. Auditor (Ntl.) 1945/46 - p.89 - para.37.
3. Union Bulletin Edn1. Statistics, 1940 : p.13 - Sect.10 - the information given here has been taken substantially from this source.

a National Senior Certificate (Matriculation equivalent). There is a post-secondary course of purely technical and applied nature which is completed by taking the advanced National Technical Certificate. Finally, these institutions also prepare students for the Art, Technical, Commercial and Domestic Science Teachers' Certificates, and they are generally taken by students who have attained the Senior Certificate or Matriculation standards.

Besides these facilities there are continuation classes in various centres of the Union. They give part-time instruction in various subjects, and as a rule only pupils who have satisfied the requirements of compulsory school attendance are admitted.

There are a certain number of vocational schools giving instruction in trade and commercial subjects. They are residential state schools where most of the pupils receive free tuition as well as free accommodation. The eligibility for entrance to these schools is the completion of the primary school course. The commercial schools limit their entrance to those who have passed Standard VIII. The courses are essentially practical, lasting about three years. Some of the courses given in these vocational schools are : cabinet-making, carpentry, wagonmaking (including smithy work), tailoring, upholstery and leatherwork, commercial and office work, boot and shoemaking, housecraft and domestic science, seamstressing and laundry work. General subjects like English, Afrikaans, history, civics and arithmetic are also taught.

Another type of school is the industrial school. Some are state and a few are state-aided institutions. They differ from the vocational schools in respect of the type of pupils admitted rather than in the type of training offered. A number of the pupils are at

the primary level; some of the pupils have been committed there under the Children's Act, mostly on account of destitution and neglect, and a small percentage on account of minor delinquencies. Courses additional to those offered in the vocational schools are baking, bricklaying, painting, sign-writing, plumbing and metal work.

The Department of Agriculture undertakes the work of agricultural education, and provides the necessary theoretical and practical training courses for future farmers and agricultural experts. There are four schools of agriculture (distinct from the provincial agricultural schools). The faculties of Agriculture in the universities fall under the control of this department. In its extension work the Department holds short and intensive courses of three weeks to five months duration.

Then there are four teaching universities at Cape Town, Stellenbosch, Witwatersrand and Pretoria (4). The University of South Africa is an examining body, which embraces the following university colleges : Huguenot (Wellington, C.P.), Rhodes (Grahamstown), University College of O.F.S. (Bloemfontein), Potchefstroom; and, the South African Native College (Fort Hare, Alice, C.P.) which is partially a constituent College. The universities and university colleges are state-aided institutions, and fall under the control of the Union Education Department. The universities give degrees in arts and sciences, and have the usual professional faculties of education - commerce, law, engineering and so on. The Universities of Cape Town, Witwatersrand and Pretoria have faculties of medicine, Stellenbosch and Pretoria make a speciality of agriculture.

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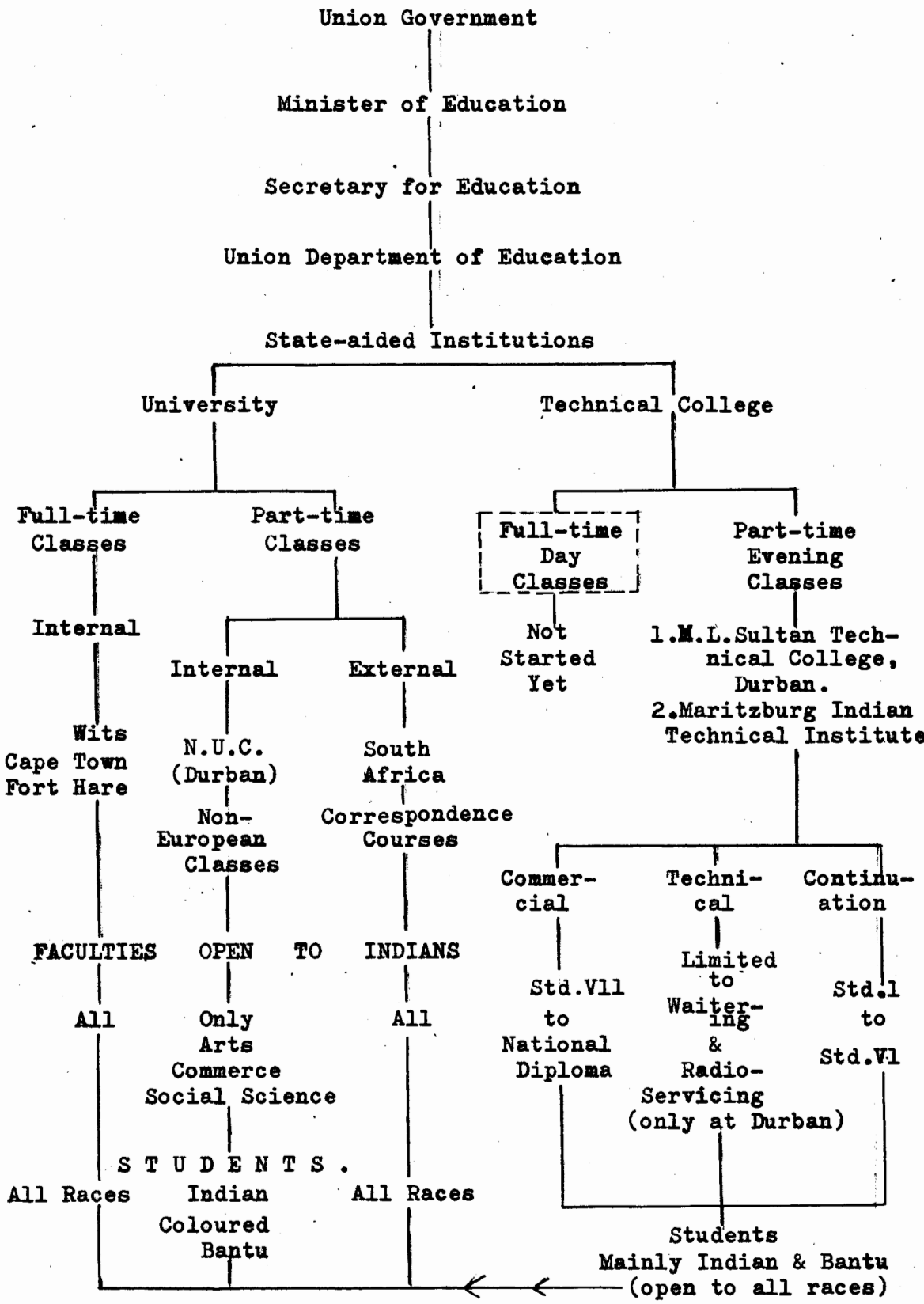
4. Union Bulletin Edn1. Statistics, 1940 - Section 11 - p.14.

DIAGRAM Vl.

UNIVERSITY AND TECHNICAL EDUCATION FACILITIES FOR INDIANS IN NATAL.
(1947)



Now the development of technical and vocational educational facilities for Indians in Natal had been stifled through the opposition of the Europeans towards the training of Indians and other non-Europeans in the skilled trades. The more highly paid field of skilled labour was considered to be the preserve of the European. Though the Apprenticeship Act did not debar an Indian from becoming apprenticed in any of the trades, he was nevertheless effectively debarred (a) by the preference of European employers to engage European apprentices, (b) by the exclusion of Indians from certain trades unions, and (c) the reluctance or unsuitability of the majority of Indian employers to engage apprentices (5). Where apprenticeship was available, the Indian was handicapped by lack of technical training facilities, for existing facilities were open only to European students (6). Under the system of educational segregation mixed classes were not approved. On the other hand there were far too few indentured Indians in the different trades to enable the establishment of separate training facilities. Therefore, throughout this period there were no facilities for full-time nor part-time technical and vocational education for Indians in Natal, in the strict sense of the term (7).

The demand for proper technical and vocational training has, however, been frequently made by the Indians themselves (8). From the time of the Cape Town

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5. Report, Committee to Enquire into the Present Facilities and Future Policy for Higher Education for Indians in Natal (Short title Hugo Committee), 1942 : para.11. (U.G.27-1942).
6. Report, S.A.Indian Congress - Jan.,1929 - re First Indian Trade Union Congress - Presidential Speech,p.4.
7. Ibid - para.1.
8. 1912 - Report, Supt. Edn.
   1921 - Memo. by Dbn.Dist.Ind.Edn1.Advsry.Ctee. and Govt.Sch.Ind.Teachers' Soc. to Edn.Inq.Ctee., (1921-1922)(Russell).
   1911 - "African Chronicle" - 21 Jan.,1911 - "Technical Education."

(contd. overleaf).

Agreement in 1927 more vigorous and positive steps appear to have been taken by the Indians. In 1928 the first Indian Trade Union Congress was held and the Union Government was requested to provide Technical education for Indian apprentices, or to exampt them from the educational requirements of the Apprenticeship Act (9). About the same time the South African Indian Congress requested the Government to provide Technical, Industrial and Agricultural education for Indians.

The first action taken by the Union Government dates from the year 1927. Prompted by Mr. Srinivasa Sastri in March, 1927, the Secretary for Education, Dr. Gie, wrote from Cape Town to the Principal of the Natal Technical College, Durban intimating that representations had been made to the Minister of Education (Dr. D. F. Malan) as to the necessity of providing facilities in technical education for Indian "children" in Natal (10). The Minister enquired if the Council of the Natal Technical College could see its way clear to meet the needs of the Indian community

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8 (contd.) 1928 : Minutes Evidence, Ind.Edn.Inq.Ctee.,1928
(a) Evidence by Supt. Edn.(2 Ap.,1928):
(b) Ntl. Ind. Teachers' Soc.
1944 : Memo. Ntl.Ind.Congress - to Ntl. Ind. Affairs Commsn.(1944).

9. Report, S.A.Ind. Congress - Jan.,1929 - etc. - p.6.

10. For this and subsequent information concerning the development of technical education for Indians in Durban I am indebted to (i) a paper read by Mr. B.M. Narbeth, B.Sc. (Principal Emeritus Ntl. Tech. College and Chairman, Indian Techn. Education Committee - + later the M.L.Sultan Technical College Council - Durban) before the Indian Economic Research Advisory Group(Chairman Prof. H.R.Burrows, Natal Univ. College) and (ii) Memorandum submitted by the Indian Technical Education Committee (10 Aug.,1942) to the departmental committee on University and Technical Education for Indians in Natal (U.G.27-1942) - shortly the Hugo Committee. Unless otherwise stated, or supplemented, all information concerning Indian Technical education in Durban has been taken from these papers, which were drawn up from sources not accessible to the public.
See also reference : Votes and Proceedings, Legisl. Assembly, Union Parliament, 1927 (29 Mar. - p.403) Questions by Mr. Nel (Ntl.) and replies by Hon. Minister.

on lines similar to those adopted in Cape Town for non-European (Coloured) pupils. The Cape Technical College, it was intimated, provided for this work by the establishment of a special section for such pupils by housing them in a separate building. A similar letter appears to have been sent to the Principal of the Pietermaritzburg Technical College (10). The Council of the Natal Technical College appears to have been willing to carry out any scheme of technical education for Indians that might be mutually agreed upon, provided that any such scheme would be financed quite separately from the current funds of the College. It was further stipulated that the work would have to be conducted in separate buildings apart from the College, in which the accommodation was stated to be fully occupied; and that adequate funds to meet all capital and recurrent expenditure would have to be provided. Following that letter the matter appears to have been left in abeyance by the Union Government for some time. There is no information available as to what was the reply of the Pietermaritzburg Council (11).

In October, 1927, Dr. C. T. Loram, who was a member of the Native Affairs Commission, wrote to the Natal Technical College in his private capacity from Cape Town to say that the Carnegie Corporation was interested in the establishment of a non-European Technical, School in Durban. The Corporation seemed inclined to make a grant of money for this purpose provided the Government approved and was willing to co-operate. There was a prospect (but not a guarantee) that the Government would have done so as it was already committed to the principle of non-European

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11. The replies were laid on the Table of the House, but I could not find copies of these replies in the Annexures to the Volume in Votes and Proceedings (1927).

technical education in Cape Town and Port Elizabeth. Mr. Srinavasa Sastri, the Agent for the Government of India, Dr. Loram intimated, approved of the idea but there was doubt about the willingness of the Coloured people in Durban to be associated with the other non-European elements. Dr. Loram foreshadowed evening classes for continuation work in general education and for commercial subjects. The Carnegie Corporation might have assisted in providing a building which ultimately might be used for day classes. It appears that in November, 1927, Mr. Sastri called on the Principal of the Natal Technical College (Mr. B. M. Narbeth) and in general supported the views expressed in Dr. Loram's letter, but suggested that the Technical Evening Classes might be accommodated at the proposed new Teachers'-Training College for Indians (i.e. Sastri College).

In December, 1927 an important though informal meeting was held at the Natal Technical College at which the members of the General Purposes Committee of the College Council, with Dr. Loram, Mr. Kichlu and Miss Gordon were present (a). The following points were made at this meeting :-

(1) some of the classrooms at the proposed Indian Training College could be made available for evening classes in Technical Education towards which the Carnegie Corporation would provide funds,

(2) the work should be controlled by the Council of Natal Technical College assisted by a Committee with Indian members,

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(a) Mr. Kichlu and Miss Gordon were the educational experts sent by the Government of India after the Cape Town Agreement to assist the Indian Education Inquiry Committee of 1928.

(3) the type of technical instruction given would be commercial subjects and continuation education up to Junior Certificate standard; trade instruction would be "difficult" (b);

(4) whether Coloureds would attend the same classes with the other non-Europeans was doubtful, but the scheme advocated at that stage definitely included all non-Europeans;

(5) the need for Domestic Science Classes for Indian girls was emphasised but it was thought that they would not be ready for that for some years to come.

The report of this meeting was noted by the College Council and it was decided to await the reply of the Minister of Education to the Council's earlier letter of April, 1927. Next year in April, 1928, the Secretary for Education sent the College Council a copy of the Resolution on Technical Education which had been passed at a recent meeting of the South African Indian Congress, but the year 1928 concluded without seeing any practical results, in the way of the commencement of technical classes.

The next step appears to have been taken by the Indians themselves. The Natal Indian Teachers' Society had applied to the Secretary for Education for permission to conduct classes for Indian workers, the subjects being confined to the Primary school curriculum and up to Standard VII. The Society was referred to the Natal Technical College, and so in May, 1929 a deputation consisting of some of the officials of the Teachers' Society and a representative of the Natal Indian Workers' Congress met

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(b) Word used by Mr. Narbeth - not clear whether because of equipment and workshop facilities or of current European attitude in this matter.

the Principal of the College. The deputation urged (12) that there was a need for Continuation Classes for Indians because

(1) the Apprenticeship Act required that Standard VI or VII shall be passed before an apprentice could be indentured;

(2) the majority of Indian youths had not passed these standards and were thus debarred from apprenticeship;

(3) the Indian youth should have the chance of technical instruction which they would gain as an apprentice.

The main object at this stage seems to have been to assist Indians to qualify for apprenticeship, by improving their general education. The Workers' Congress also desired to be represented on any body set up to control the classes.

The attitude of the Natal Technical College was that it would have to consider the financial aspect of the proposal, and hence required to know (1) the number of youths requiring instruction, their ages and standard reached, (2) the most suitable building for holding the classes and (3) what financial support, if any, would be given by the Indian community.

In order to gauge the demand for the classes the Natal Indian Teachers' Society and the Natal Indian Workers' Congress jointly started the first evening continuation classes in August, 1929, at the Hindu Tamil Institute Durban (13). Subsequently in November, 1929 afternoon classes also were started at the Mitchell Crescent Government Indian School for the benefit of the Indian hotel

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12. See also : "Indian Opinion" - 27 Dec.,1929 : "Natal Workers Congress"
- 6 June, 1930 : "Technical Education for Indians."

13. Ibid ibid ibid
This Indian paper does not make any reference to the Natal Indian Congress, but Mr. Narbeth stated that they were represented on the Working Committee controlling the early classes. Most probably some of the officials of the N. I. Congress were also officials or members of the Workers Congress.

employees (14). The classes were held three times a week, and were carried on with the help of Indian teachers who had volunteered to give their services free (14). The evening classes started with 40 students and by December had increased to 223, and the effective enrolment each evening was between 180 and 190, except on Fridays when it dropped to 150 (14). The students were drawn from all trades and industries in and around Durban, some coming from even the suburban district of Clairwood. The afternoon classes had an effective enrolment of about 30 to 40, attendance being affected by the fact that the hotels were just then in season. The ages of the students ranged from 14 to 45, and it was reported (14) that they were all keen on acquiring an education. When the Principal of the Natal Technical College visited the classes one day late in December he found eight classes at work, ranging from the Sub-standards to Standard VI.

The need for the Continuation Classes seems to have been amply demonstrated. Following on a Report of the Principal, the Council of the Natal Technical College reiterated their agreement to the principle of taking control of such classes subject to the Government providing the necessary funds and making suitable buildings available. This decision was conveyed to the Secretary for Education in a letter written in March, 1930, together with an estimate amounting to £712 to meet the cost of carrying on the classes for the year. The Minister of Education expressed his satisfaction at the attention the College Council had given to the matter but regretted

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14. "Indian Opinion" - 27 Dec.,1929 - "Natal Workers' Congress."

that the financial situation did not allow of his making immediate provision for the work. The College Council, therefore, would not undertake to run the classes but agreed to let the Principal of the College assist the Indian Committee unofficially, pending satisfactory financial arrangements being made with the Government. The Indian Committee was then re-organised as the Indian Technical Education Committee with the Principal of the Natal Technical College as chairman, and held its first meeting on 27 June, 1930 (15).

In September, 1930 the Union Education Department called for estimates for the year 1931 and the College Council sent up new estimates for Indian technical education which called for a Government grant of £650. In January, 1931, the Council was informed that the initial subsidy was fixed at £150 per annum. The Council replied that they could not undertake the work on that grant. A deputation from the Indian Technical Education Committee waited on the Minister of Education in Cape Town in January, 1931, and the result was that the Secretary for Education requested a Revised Estimate. The revised estimate sent up by the College Council was for the amount of £450, but ultimately the Government found that it could not increase the grant of £150.

As the College Council was not prepared to undertake the work on the basis of this grant, henceforward, the Indian Technical Education Committee assumed full responsibility for carrying on the work. It appears that on certain occasions the Technical College Council interested itself in the question of securing further funds in support

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15. See also "Natal Witness" - 9 May, 1932 - "Indian Technical Education."

of the Committee's work from the Union Government and the Durban Corporation. The chief points to be emphasised are

(1) from the beginning it was intended that the non-European students should be segregated from the European students, and, that separate facilities should be provided;

(2) carrying it a step further, the Natal Technical College wished the non-European classes to be financed separately from the European classes, and

(3) based its estimate on a standard which seemed to the Government to be too extravagant or too expensive, and

(4) the completely segregated classes were finally established under Indian control essentially because of the failure of the Government to finance the Indian classes adequately. [Para] If the Indian Committee was compelled to do on £150 what the College Council was unable to do on £450, it does not seem that the Union Government was very much anxious to promote technical and vocational education amongst Indians. In the circumstances the educational facilities provided by the Indian Technical Education Committee must have been very cheap, and inferior to that provided for Europeans. But the making of the grant itself was an important step forward for it meant Government recognition of the Indian demand for technical and vocational education, though the recognition was given after the classes had been conducted for eighteen months by a staff of voluntary Indian teachers. Howevermuch the kind of the educational facilities provided by the Indian Technical Education Committee might have been restricted and inferior because of lack of funds, it should be stated, however, that all future progress in this field of Indian education in Durban was solely due to the enterprise of this body. The original

membership of the Committee consisted of three representatives of the Natal Indian Congress, three of the Natal Workers' Congress, and three of the Teachers in the Continuation Classes. It is noteworthy that the Constitution adopted at the first meeting of the Committee provided that

> "until such time as the Council of the Natal Technical College assisted by Government Grants is able to assume control, the management of the Indian Preparatory and Technical classes shall vest in the Indian Technical Education Committee as re-constituted."

In the beginning the Committee, then, looked upon itself merely as a "caretaker" administration, until its work was taken over by the Natal Technical College, in the same manner as the Coloured work was undertaken by the Technical Colleges in the Cape Province.

In the course of time the Committee appears to have come to favour a policy of developing an independent institution. In accordance with the development of this policy during the first ten years of its existence, a revised Constitution was adopted in 1940 which provided for a broader representation of its membership. In 1941 there were 25 members, comprising Europeans and Indians, including representatives of the Durban City Council and the Natal Provincial Administration. The newly defined objects of the Committee were

> "(1) to promote, maintain and advance commercial, agricultural, technical and higher education generally for the benefit primarily and mainly of the Indian community;
> "(2) to provide continuation classes for the general education of adolescent and adult Indians whose education has been deficient or defective."

When the Indian Technical Education Committee took charge in June, 1930, the teaching consisted solely of the Continuation Classes at the Hindu Tamil Institute, the afternoon classes for waiters having ceased. There were eight classes ranging from the sub-standards to Standard VI. There were eight teachers and a headmaster

in charge. The number of pupils enrolled was 161, some of whom were elderly men but most were youths between 15 and 25. Early in 1931 owing to increased enrolment the classes were transferred to the Carlisle Street Government Indian School, where the Committee installed electric lighting. A branch was soon started at Clairwood (a densely populated Indian area about 5 miles from Durban central) with an enrolment of 75, but for various reasons was closed down after a few months. The continuation classes at Clairwood were subsequently re-opened in 1936 and has been in existence since then. From 1933 onwards there were two other continuation classes in existence, for men and women, at Depot Road, Durban, near the Durban Corporation Barracks for the Indian employees of the Durban Corporation. Then, in 1942, this branch of the work was extended to Mount Edgecombe, about 12 miles out of town, to cater for the employees on the sugar estates.

With certain exceptions enrolment and progress appear to have been fairly consistent in these classes. The following table sets out the growth in the average enrolment at the Continuation Classes (16):-

Year	Average Enrolment	Year	Av. Enrolment
1930	161	1942	326
- - - - - - - - - -		1943	235
1938	238	1944	423
1939	234	1945	925
1940	264	1946	933
1941	345		

The total average enrolment in all the branches of the work undertaken in 1946 was 2053, and the Continuation Section accounted for nearly half the enrolment. This would give an idea of the demand for classes in general education.

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16. From the various annual reports of the Chairman, I.T.E.C.

The general education class for Indian women at Depot Road does not appear to have been a success. In 1942 the enrolment was 10, and in 1946 it was out of existence.

It appears that a "considerable number" of the students managed to pass the National Standard VI Examination of the Union Education Department, and a few each year also succeeded in obtaining the Preliminary Commercial Certificate (Standard VII)(17). The class enrolment for 1946 in all the Continuation Branches was as follows (18):-

Sub-Standard	165
Standards I - III	208
" IV - VI	367
" VII	168
" VIII	193
Total	1101

The re-organised Indian Technical Education Committee extended its scope of activities by starting in November, 1930, part-time evening classes in Commercial subjects and afternoon classes in Domestic Science subjects at Sastri College, Durban (19). These classes were staffed by European teachers. Students were prepared for the National Commercial Examinations, and the following subjects were first offered : Bookkeeping, Business Methods, Commercial Correspondence, Commercial Arithmetic, Shorthand, Typewriting, English, Afrikaans and Salesmanship. These subjects with slight variations have been continued to this day. In recent years students began to be prepared to complete a National Junior or National Senior Certificate

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17. Memorandum I.T.E.C. to Hugo Committee, 1942 - p.7.
18. Report, Secretary-Registrar (M.L.Sultan Technical College) 1946: Table "B".
19. See also "Natal Witness" - 9 May, 1932 - "Indian Technical Education."

(Ordinary and Matriculation equivalent). The demand came from both industrial and commercial employees and teachers in employment. Consequently the curriculum at the Sastri College commercial classes was strengthened by the addition of a number of general educational subjects. In 1946 instruction was given from the Preliminary Commercial Certificate (Standard VII) level to the Diploma (post-Matriculation level) in different subjects, and facilities were extended to Clairwood and Mt. Edgecombe. In this year students enrolled for the following range of subjects (the number in brackets indicates the number of pupils in all grades from P. C. C. to Diploma)(20).

English (532), Afrikaans (497), Latin (72), Commerce(328 Bookkeeping (720), Mercantile Law (34), Economics (15), Commercial Arithmetic (142), Typewriting (200), Shorthand (107), Biology (89), Physiology and Hygiene (84), Mathematics (60), History (100), Geography (92).

The total subject enrolment in these subjects in 1946 was 3156 compared to 1875 in 1945.

The Committee appears to have always found difficulty in securing and maintaining the attendance of Indian women at their classes though separate classes under women teachers had been arranged (21). In 1946 the total number of women students in all sections of the work was 84 (22). For a short time a special class in the English language for Mohammedan women had been carried on; at about the same time through the energy and enthusiasm of the Kunwarani, the wife of the Agent-General for India, Kunwar Sir Maharajh Singh (1932-1935), a class

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20. Report, Secretary-Registrar (M.L.Sultan Tech.College) 1946 - Table C.
21. Memorandum I.T.E.C. to Hugo Committee, 1942 - p.16.
22. Report, Sec-Reg.(M.L.Sultan Tech.College)1946 - Table C (Summary).

of over 100 women met at the Depot Road (now Somtseu Road) Corporation Barracks. The wave of enthusiasm did not last; the accommodation provided was "most unsuitable"; interest waned, numbers dwindled, and, as noted already, in 1946 it was out of existence, after being carried on for some years with very small attendances. Furthermore, it appears that the Union Education Department was unwilling to finance continuation education for pupils under 16 who had not passed Standard IV (23).

From the beginning, however, the Committee had maintained a class in Domestic Science subjects for Indian women teachers, employed under the Natal Education Department, in order to prepare them for the Indian Teachers' Certificates. The subjects offered were Cookery, Needlework and Dressmaking. The enrolments ranged from 117 in 1931 to 30 in 1942. In 1945 an attempt was made to induce Indian housewives to attend the Domestic Science classes by the inauguration of a special intensive course in Housewifery of 12 weekly lessons and demonstrations held in the domestic science kitchen of the Albert Street Coloured Government School. About 20 women attended the course (24). In 1946 two new branches for Needlework and Sewing were started at Clairwood and Mount Edgecombe.(25) But it seems that there is need for more intensive propaganda to secure Indian women to attend classes in larger numbers, and, large financial problems may be encountered in setting up facilities for cookery and other branches of domestic science in the suburbs of Durban, unless Indian women could be induced to attend classes at a

23. Mr. Narbeth's Paper to Indian Economic Research Advisory Group, May, 1941.
Also Annual Report, Chairman I.T.E.C.,1940 - p.7. (printed)
24. Report, Sec-Reg.(Indian Technical Institute),1945.
25. Report, Sec-Reg.(M.L.Sultan Tech.College),1946.

central institution.

From the beginning the Committee had in view the starting of Agricultural classes for Market Gardeners, Sugar Planters, Horticulturists and so on. Several attempts appear to have been made to start the classes but without success. In 1941 arrangements were practically completed when the intending lecturer's services were commandeered for war work and the scheme had to be suspended (26).

The Committee also made attempts to start technical classes for apprentices and journeymen in the furniture trades (26). Arrangements for accommodation and equipment were already made in 1940, and instructors had been engaged provisionally, but the Minister of Education was unable to give his consent to the scheme, on the grounds that such courses should be confined to apprentices, of whom the numbers were then insufficient to justify the existence of the classes. In 1942 there were only 15 properly indentured in the furniture industry under the Apprenticeship Act, and these were distributed over four different trades (27). At the same time there were only two in the building industry and one in the printing industry (27).

In 1943, with the co-operation and financial assistance of the Industrial Council for the Catering Trade a part-time "School of Catering" was started (26). There were 50 students in 1945, and 40 in 1946. The Committee issued its own Certificates to those who

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26. Memp by Chairman, I.T.E.C. for incoming Council of the newly constituted M.L.Sultan Tech. College : Aug.1946 See also Annual Report, Chairman, I.T.E.C.,1940 - p.6 (printed).
27. Report, Hugo Committee on Higher Education for Indians, 1942 - para.11 (U.G.27/1942).

passed the short intensive courses in this field to (a) pages, and (b) waiters.

In 1945 a class in the Trade Theory of Radio work, of Standard VII level, was started, and in 1946 a further advance was made by starting on the first part of the Radio Servicing Course for the National Technical Certificate. The enrolment in 1946 was 44(28).

It will be observed, therefore, that the work of the Committee consisted mainly of providing continuation classes for general education of primary and post-primary standard, commercial education of post-primary standard, domestic science instruction of no fixed standard, and catering instruction on its own standards. There was no technical instruction in the proper sense. Another feature was the paucity of women students - a noticeable feature in Indian education.

Some idea of the growth of the individual enrolment in all the classes conducted by this Committee may be gauged from the following table (28):-

TABLE 2

Year	Indian Enrolment	Year	Indian Enrolment
1931	308	1939	419
1932	169	1940	470
1933	?	1941	463
1934	410	1942	518
1935	375	1943	513
1936	498	1944	919
1937	485	1945	1779
1938	390	1946	2053

On the financial side, the work of the Committee was always characterised by a lack of funds and inadequate Government support (29). In the Continuation Classes the Indian teachers served voluntarily for some years before they began to be paid at the

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28. Report, Sec-Regis.(M.L.Sultan Tech.College); 1946 Table F.
29. Report, Hugo Committee on Higher Education for Indians, 1942 - para.7.

rate of £3. 5. Od. per month for six hours work per week. When the Commercial Classes were started in November, 1930 at the Sastri College and prior to Government recognition the Indian members of the Committee volunteered to make up the difference between fee-income and expenditure on teachers' salaries (29). Subsequently, when the Government grant and fee-income together were insufficient to meet expenditure on the classes, odd sums amounting in the aggregate to hundreds of pounds were raised by subscription from the Indian community (29), though the wealthier members have not always been as generous to the cause of technical education as they might have been (30).

As stated earlier Government began to support the movement in 1931 by providing a grant of £150 and sending its Inspectors to examine the work done at the classes. From this year increased annual grants were made. The Union Government grant for 1946/1947 was £2,900 (31). From 1943 the Durban Corporation gave its support with an annual grant of £100, and which had been increased to £160 per annum from 1942 (31). In 1940 and 1941 only the Natal Provincial Administration gave a grant-in-aid of £80 per annum (32) towards classes at the Durban Corporation Barracks for pupils under 16, who had not passed Standard IV and were in employment. With discontinuation of the classes the grant-in-aid stopped after 1941. The fee-income from all the sections of the work increased from £515 in 1939 (33) to £3060 in 1946 (33). The main expenditure was on teachers'

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30. "Natal Advertiser" - 18 Aug.,1932 - "Re-opening of Classes."
Ibid ibid: editorial - "Indians & Technical Education."
31. Memo by Chairman, I.T.E.C. to Incoming Council (M.L. Sultan Tech.College) - Aug.,1946.
32. Annual Report, Chairman, I.T.E.C. gives a figure of £60 for 1940, but all other sources indicate £80.
33 Annual Report, Chairman I.T.E.C.,1939
Report, Sec-Regis.(M.L.Sultan Tech.College), 1946.

salaries because accommodation was free. The total annual expenditure incurred by the Committee over the past six years was as follows :-

Year	Amount.
1942.....	£1638
1943.....	£1854
1944.....	£2433
1945.....	£3452
1946.....	£4521
1947.....	£6737

The Carnegie Corporation of America donated in all £335 for the purchase of typewriters, and equipment for the domestic science classes (33a).

The supervision of the classes was vested in a part-time Organising Secretary as from 1936 (34). A step forward was taken in 1945 with the appointment of a full-time Indian administrative officer (35). The rapid increase in individual pupil enrolment, subject enrolment and fee-income and extension of facilities coincided with this appointment (35).

The classes of the Committee were accommodated free of charge in government and government-aided schools of the Province (36). When in 1937 the work of the Committee had become well established and the accommodation offered at Sastri College proved inadequate and unsuitable, the Committee began to seek a site on which to erect permanent buildings of its own.

There were definite limits to the amount of furniture and equipment that could be housed in school buildings already fully occupied as day schools. Further, it did not lend itself to the expansion of the classes

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33a. Report, Hugo Committee etc., 1942 - para.7.
34. Annual Report, Chairman I.T.E.C.,1944.
35. Ibid 1944, 1945.
Reports, Chairman, Council M.L.Sultan Tech.College,1946
36. Report, Hugo Committee Higher Edn. for Indians,1942 para.8.

in the direction of technical education proper which required laboratories and workshops as well as class rooms (37).

Another step forward in the development of technical and vocational educational facilities for Indians was taken in January, 1942, when an Indian merchant, Mr. M. L. Sultan, offered a sum of £17,500 for the purpose of building an Indian technical college and a science block, on condition that the Government granted an equal amount (38). It was Mr. Sultan's desire to have erected two separate buildings, viz. (a) a technical college comprising classrooms, library and so on at a cost of £25,000, and (b) a science block comprising lecture rooms and laboratories for the teaching of (i) such sciences as may be required for technical courses, and (ii) the pre-medical science courses (physics, chemistry, botany, zoology) at a cost of approximately £10,000.

As a result of negotiations by the Indian Technical Education Committee the Durban City Council donated a piece of land some three to four acres in extent for this purpose, situated in the centre of the city and close to other Indian educational institutions (39).

An application by the Committee to the Government for a building grant on a £ for £ basis resulted in a departmental committee of inquiry being appointed to investigate into the existing facilities in Natal for university and technical education for Indians, and to make recommendations as to future policy in the develop-

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37. Report, Hugo Committee on Higher Edn. for Indians, 1942 para.8.
38. Ibid para.14.
39. Ibid para.15.

ment of those facilities (40). This Committee made important recommendations concerning building grants, finance and status which the Government accepted (41).

Soon after the publication of the Report in October, 1942 the City Council rescinded its decision to allocate the original piece of land for the purpose required. This was done under the pressure of European agitation, which did not favour the erection of an Indian institution in that vicinity, though the area was almost entirely occupied by the Indians for residential purposes, for a recreation ground, and for educational schools and hospitals. The entire history of the subsequent negotiations for a site (42), and the partiality of the Durban City Council towards the European point of view, are illustrative of the disabilities arising from lack of municipal representation and racial antagonisms. Finally, in September 1945 a site of 6 acres in extent was definitely offered (carved out from the existing Indian Sports Ground, which was to be removed to another place provided by the City Council). The Indian Technical Education Committee accepted the offer, but up to this date the land has not been transferred in the name of the successors to the Committee, and building operations have not begun yet, though the Government had long made provision for a building grant.

Reverting to the Report of the Hugo Committee, the main recommendations in so far as they affected technical, vocational and continuation education were

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40. G.N.1511 - 31 July, 1942 - Report: U.G.27/1942)
41. Memo. by Chairman, I.T.E.C. to incoming Council, M.L. Sultan Tech. College, Aug., 1946.
42. For full account see Report, Chairman I.T.E.C: 1943, 1944, 1945.

as follows (43):-

(1) That the continuation classes for general subjects be continued on the present lines in Durban and Pietermaritzburg.

(3) (i) That the present facilities for instruction in domestic science and commercial subjects be continued in the new institution in Durban.
(ii) That technical classes be instituted in Durban for two types of students -
(a) apprentices who have indentured themselves after passing the standard required in the trade concerned;
(b) journeymen who have never been apprenticed but who have attained a degree of skill in their trade.

(4) That, in the first instance, provision be made for those engaged in the furniture, building and catering industries.

(5) That steps be taken to accept the generous offer of Mr. M. L. Sultan to donate -
(a) the sum of £12,500 for the purpose of building a technical college for Indians;
(b) the sum of £5,000 for the purpose of building a science block on the same site as the technical college.

(6) That the following conditions stipulated by Mr. Sultan be accepted -
(a) the science block to be separate from the technical college with the option of connecting it with the college by an administrative block;
(b) the science block shall be available for the following purposes:
(i) Instruction in the sciences required for the first year (pre-medical) course in medicine, viz., physics, chemistry, botany and zoology;
(ii) such instruction in these sciences, as may be required by the technical college;
(iii) instruction courses in these sciences, if required by candidates for a B.A. or B.Sc. degree.

(7) That the Union Government make a grant on the £ for £ basis, on the donation of Mr. Sultan.

(8) That the offer of a site by the City Council of Durban be accepted.

(9) That steps be taken to raise further funds by private subscription from the Indian community for the purposes of
(a) furnishing and equipping the Indian technical college and the science block;
(b) creating an endowment fund.

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43. Report, Hugo Committee on Higher Edn. for Indians, 1942 - p.5-6. Summary.

(10) That the control and management of the proposed Indian technical college be vested in an independent Council.

(11) That the Union Government subsidise the proposed Indian technical college on the same basis as other technical colleges.

(18) That be arrangement with the Indian technical college the part-time university classes be held in the new college.

(19) That the authorities of the Natal University College be asked to undertake the control of the pre-medical science classes in addition to the part-time classes in other subjects.

(20) That, before the erection of the science block and the instruction in science be proceeded with, steps be taken to ensure adequate financial provision for the whole scheme.

(21) That, in the event of the authorities of the Natal University College being unwilling to make themselves responsible for continuing and developing the present part-time university classes for non-Europeans or for the pre-medical science classes, the Council of the proposed Indian technical college be asked to undertake such responsibility.

The Natal University has since accepted full responsibility for the provision of university education for Indians on a new site, and so all reference in the above recommendations relating to the science block and university education have ceased to concern the Technical College governing body. The £5,000 donation for a science block would pass into the hands of the Natal University College.

Now from 1944 with a view to advancing the work of the Committee to Technical College status, the Committee had been engaged in drafting a scheme of Government under the provisions of the Higher Education Act, No. 30 of 1923. At the time of the 1942 Inquiry one section of the Indian community urged the incorporation of the existing classes into the Natal Technical College, though the classes might be held in separate buildings (44).

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44. Report, Hugo Committee on Higher Edn. for Indians, 1942 - p.19.

The majority view, however, favoured an independent institution controlled by its own Council. The Committee also favoured this development (44). ~~At last~~ Towards the end of 1945 a suitable Scheme of Government was drawn up, and the proposed technical college was named after the principal donor, Mr. M. L. Sultan. The Scheme of Government received Ministerial consent on 22 March, 1946, after formal publication in the Government Gazette, and the M. L. Sultan Technical College was declared a place of higher education in terms of the Higher Education Act of 1923.

Thus, after sixteen years of labour the Indian Technical Education Committee saw the fulfilment of its original plans by the establishment of the first Indian Technical College in South Africa, on the same basis as any other institution of its kind in the country. The last meeting of the Committee was held on 29th Aug., 1946. The first meeting of the new governing Council took place on ~~26~~th September, 1946, and the first Chairman to be elected was Mr. B. M. Narbeth, who had remained chairman of the Committee for the past 16 years, and through whose personal efforts technical education for Indians had been advanced to this stage. The first Council is composed of Europeans and Indians, including representatives of the Minister of Education, the Administrator of Natal, the Durban City Council, the Natal University College, the Natal Technical College, the Industrial Council for the Catering Trade, the Natal Indian Teachers' Society and the Natal Indian Canegrowers Association (45). The next important step was taken when a Principal was appointed, in addition to the full-time

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45. G.N.634/1946 - 22 March, 1946.

Secretary-Registrar, in 1947 (46). The first principal was a well-qualified European.

The M. L. Sultan Technical College then began in 1946 without its own accommodation, and conducted only part-time classes with over 2,000 students (Indians, Africans and Coloureds) on the roll (a) and 85 lecturers and teachers (European and Indian) in part-time employment, and an administrative staff of one full-time officer (Secretary-Registrar) and a part-time clerical assistant. The developments which the new Council had in view were as follows (47):-

I. The natural development of the present Part-time Classes.

(1) Extended provision of Continuation Classes for the large number of young Indians whose Primary Education has not been completed;

(2) the normal growth of the classes in Commercial and allied subjects;

(3) the provision of Technical classes for apprentices and older persons engaged in the furniture, building, printing and other trades.

(4) classes for women.

II. The introduction of Full-time Day Classes in the form of -

(1) A technical day school for boys intended for trades and business;

(2) a School of Catering;

(3) a School of Commerce;

(4) a School of Home Science for Girls.

III. General Adult Education under the division of Adult Education of the Union Education Department.

This account of the development of technical and vocational education for Indians in Natal would not be complete without a reference to similar work done in Pietermaritzburg. Evening continuation classes had been conducted since February, 1939, under the aegis of the

(a) In 1946 there were in all 45 Africans and 3 Coloureds; 17 were African women and 1 Coloured woman.

46. "Leader" - Oct.,1947.
"New Times" - Oct., 1947

47. First Annual Report Chairman, Council, M.L.Sultan Tech. College,1946.

Maritzburg Indian Technical Institute (48). The management Committee consisted of Indians, and the classes have been held at the premises of the Hindu Young Men's Association. From 1947 the classes were held at the newly built Nizamia Muslim School. The continuation work was similar to that being conducted at Durban. The enrolment for the first quarter of 1942 was 41 (49). In 1946 the average enrolment for Standards I - V was 23 (50). Commercial classes were also conducted at the Institute, and the individual enrolment in 1942 was 48 (51). The subject enrolment was 115 in 1945 and 168 in 1946 in the following subjects : Bookkeeping, Commerce, Typewriting, Shorthand and Afrikaans (50). The individual enrolment in all sections of the work was as follows for the June of each year (50):

1944.....120 pupils
1945.....108 "
1946.....137 "

The staff of the Commercial Classes were all Europeans. The classes at Maritzburg were not as well supported as in Durban in proportion to the adult population.

The fee income was as follows (50):

1944.....£63
1945.....£81
1946.....£110

The grant from the Government for 1946 was £340. The Pietermaritzburg City Council also made an annual grant of £25. At the end of 1946 the Treasurer showed a deficit on the year's working. The expenditure in 1946 was £513 (50), and the expenditure in 1947 was estimated to be £649.

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48. Report, Hugo Committee, etc.,1942 - paras.2,3. Also from information supplied to me by the Secretary of the Institute.
49. Report, Hugo Committee, etc.,1942 - para.2.
50. Annual Report, Secretary, Maritzburg Indian Tech. Inst. 1946.
51. Report, Hugo Committee, etc.,1942 - para.3.

There appears to have been a demand for more variety in the curriculum, but this was precluded by the smallness of the attendance. The fees varied with the subject and the standard. They were as follows (52):-

I.	Std.I - V.....	2/- per mensem.
	Std.VI.....	2/6 " "
	Std.VII - VIII.....	3/6 " "
II.	Commerce, Bookkeeping, Shorthand.....	2/6 " "
III.	Afrikaans & Typewriting....	5/- " "

The Committee of Inquiry in 1942 merely recommended that the work here should be continued and developed as far as possible to suit local needs (53). It should be noted that, as in Durban, the work of Indian technical and vocational education was developed apart from the existing Pietermaritzburg Technical College; that there was no technical and vocational education in the true sense of the term. The work was, further, conspicuous by the absence of Domestic Science classes for women. The opportunity for advancement for the Indian youth was even more restricted here than in Durban.

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52. According to a printed prospectus sent to me.
53. Report, Hugo Committee, 1942 - para.5.

CHAPTER XX

TECHNICAL; VOCATIONAL AND UNIVERSITY EDUCATION FOR INDIANS IN NATAL .(continued)

(1911 - 1947)

(ii) University Education

The Indian community of Natal took another step forward in its educational, social and cultural development when certain progressive and ambitious elements in it aspired to educational attainments higher than that provided in the secondary schools, and set out to acquire professional and academic qualifications of university standard. The beginnings of this movement may be traced to the period before Union (i.e. 1895 - 1910), when the Indian headmaster of an aided school sent his son to the University of Edinburgh in Scotland. When this youth graduated in 1903 with a medical degree, he had the distinction of being the first South African Indian youth to have had a complete university training (1). He was followed by two other Indian youths, one of whom qualified as a Barrister-at-Law in 1905 through one of the Inns of Court in London, and the other as a Bachelor of Arts of the University of Cambridge in the same year (2). In 1906 two other sons of the above

(1) Dr. William Godfrey, son of Mr.Subhan Godfrey. See also "S.A.Indian Who's Who", D.Bramdaw (edit.), p.67.
(2) Advocate Bernard Gabriel and Mr.J.Royeppen respectively. The latter also qualified for the Bar. Information furnished by Advocate Mr. J.W.Godfrey, their contemporary.

mentioned Indian teacher also qualified for the Bar in London (3). Incidentally it may be mentioned that these pioneers of higher education were drawn from the Christian Indian section of the community, which was by no means an economically prosperous group. Again, the preference shown to legal studies by four out of the five of these pioneering students, and by those who followed immediately after them in subsequent years until 1928 (4) is noticeable. The second Indian to qualify in Medicine graduated at Edinburgh in 1928 (5). It would appear that the parents and the youths themselves had been not a little inspired by the political leadership of Mr. M. K. Gandhi, who himself was a barrister-at-law.

Between 1903 and 1930 the Indian community had produced only nine individuals with professional and academ- qualifications of university standard: three doctors and six lawyers. Since 1930 there has been a slow but steady and regular accession to the community of men of high educational attainments. Until 1930, and for many years after that, one of the chief sources of supply of Indian graduates and professionals were the universities and professional institutions of Britain. This applied particularly to the medical, and to a lesser degree to the legal, professions. Until 1942 all the Indian lawyers were men who had obtained their training overseas. Similarly, until 1943 every non-European medical practitioner in South Africa had qualified overseas, generally in Britain (6). To this day the institutions of higher learning in the British Isles continue to attract a fair proportion of South African students, including Indians. A conservative estimate of Indian students in Great Britain, Eire, and

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3. Advocates Vincent Godfrey and James Godfrey- "S.A.I.Who's Who": p.66.
4. Advocates S.R.Pather & Albert Christopher - ibid:p.153,16
5. Dr.Maurice Peters
6. Report, Commtee.Inq. into Medical Training of Natives, 1928: para. 33 (U.G.35/1928)
   Report,Comtee.Inq.Medical Training S.A,1939: p.38 (U.G.25/1939)

and India during 1947 would be about forty, almost all of whom were studying for medicine and dentistry.

Until 1941 the flow of students to overseas institutions for the study of medicine and dentistry was occasioned by the lack of facilities for the full medical and dental training of non-Europeans within the country. Medical faculties appear to have been in existence at the universities of Cape Town and Witwatersrand from 1917 and 1919 respectively (7). Each institution provided a six year course. It is known that the University of Cape Town admitted Indian and Coloured medical students, and prior to 1943 provided instruction up to the end of the third year only, after which they had to go overseas to complete their course. It is not clear from what year even these partial facilities were extended to Indian and Coloured students. Now the University of Witwatersrand did not admit any non-European students into any part of the medical course until about the year 1939.

When the question of the medical training of Natives was made the subject of a Government inquiry in 1927/1928 these two universities passed certain resolutions indicating their policies (8). Referring to the prejudice of the Europeans in South Africa towards persons of colour, they stated that they were not prepared to admit Natives (and other non-Europeans) to existing medical classes attended by European students, but were prepared to undertake their complete instruction and training in separate and parallel classes if the Government provided the necessary buildings, additional finance and clinical facilities (in Non-European hospitals or wards). It should be mentioned that while Cape Town employed the term "Native"only, Witwatersrand left no ambiguity at all by referring to all

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7. Report,Comtee.Inq.Medical Training in S.Africa,1939: p.71 Table 111 (U.G.25/1939)
8. Report,Comtee.Inq.Medical Training of Natives,1928: paras. 54,55. (U.G. 35/1928)

"non-Europeans" generally.

Nothing appears to have come off that Inquiry. Another Inquiry held in 1939 into medical training generally in South Africa referred to the lack of adequate facilities for medical training for non-Europeans, and urged the development of such facilities (9). It would seem that this Report produced some results for Indian and other non-European students began to be admitted to Witwatersrand, and the first Indian graduated in 1943 (10). Strangely enough, Cape Town, which had been taking Indian and Coloured students up to the third year long before Witwatersrand, did not begin to give instruction in the fourth year of the course until 1943. The first Indian and Coloured doctors graduated from Cape Town in 1945. In the beginning non-European medical students at Cape Town had to sign a document acknowledging that there was no obligation on the part of the University authorities to provide instruction to the end of the sixth year, meaning that the University could suspend the course at any stage (11). Owing to the stimulus given by the Union Government in awarding a number of medical scholarships to Bantu students tenable at Witwatersrand (12), and the insecurity at Cape Town, have led to the more vigorous development of non-European medical education at Witwatersrand . A greater proportion of Indian medical students have been enrolled at Witwatersrand than at Cape Town.

It would appear then that both of these institutions have departed substantially from the conditions laid down in their resolutions of 1927. At the University of Cape Town Indian and Coloured students have been attending

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9. Report,Comtee.Inq.Medical Training in S.A.,1939: p.37ff
10. Dr. Tavaria
11. Direct acquaintance
12. See Fort Hare College Calendar, 1947: p.23.
    It seems that Bantu students are not encouraged to enrol at Cape Town, which it is intended to develop for Indians and Coloureds. Bantu students in other faculties have been admitted at Cape Town in recent years. This appears to be in accordance with the recommendation of the 1939 Committee of Inquiry (p.40 Section (d)).

the same classes as European medical students up to the end of the third year of the course. When the complete course was provided at both institutions European and non-Europan medical students continued to attend the same lectures under the same lecturers in the same buildings. But non-European students were provided with separate clinical facilities at non-European hospitals. The colour bar is also observed at post-mortems and clinical demonstrations when non-European students are excluded from attendance if the cadaver or patient under examination happens to be European(13).

According to the Report of the Committee of Inquiry into Medical Training in South Africa (1939), the obstruction to the medical training of non-Europeans had not been any any unwillingness on the part of the universities concerned to allow non-Europeans to register as studenets, but to the hospital authorities who had declined to accept them in hospital wards where they would have to obtain their clinical instruction (14). It was considered, by the Committee, that any attempt to bring them into contact with European patients would have imperilled the very existence of both hospital and medical school (14).

The chief obstacle to non-European medical education then was colour and race prejudice (a) on the part of European students at the universities, and (b) on the part of European patients at the hospitals. To meet these difficulties the 1928 and 1939 Committees of Inquiry believed that separate tuitional and clinical facilities for non-Europeans should be provided.(15). Both Committees recommended separate and parallel classes under the same teaching staff, as a non-European branch of the existing medical school. The latter Committee went further and thought that

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13. Information furnished by non-European medical students. In 1944 a non-European student at U.C.T. was suspended temporarily for breaking this rule.
14. Report, Commtee.Inq.Medical Training in S.A.,1939:p.38
15. Ibid
Report,Comtee.Inq.Medical Training Natives,1928:para. 56.

the establishment of a separate medical school for non-Europeans in the future should be envisaged, preferably at Durban. The Government appears to have accepted in principle, in 1947, the establishment of a medical school at Durban, primarily for non-Europeans, as a faculty of the proposed University of Natal (16). There are some misgivings in the minds of non-Europeans whether the establishment this medical school might not lead to their exclusion from the medical schools of Cape Town and Witwatersrand.

Returning to the point of university educational facilities open to, or availed of by, Indians, it is interesting to note that they did not make use of the facilities avaiable in India, to the same extent as the facilties of Britain. This was mainly due to the different matriculation requirements of Indian universities, and to the non-recognition in South Africa of degrees obtained in India. In recent years negotiations have been taking place for the recognition of the medical degrees awarded by Indian universities. In 1938 the medical degrees granted by certain Indian universities were given recognition (17), but some sort of hitch seems to have arisen for the recognition was later withdrawn. However, another announcement made in December, 1947 (18) recognises medical degrees granted by certain Indian universities to South African-born Indians. A small number of places is also reserved at the these Indian institutions for South African Indians. The pressure of accommodation at South African and British medical schools appears to have had something to do with this decision of the South African Medical Council. There are also two known instances of recent occurrence where the Bachelor of Arts degree of the Andhra University, Madras Province, was recognised by the University of South Africa as being an degree equivalent to its own Bachelor's degree.

16. "Natal Witness" — 6 Jan 1948: "Non-European Medical School" (Editorial)
17. "Natal Daily News" — 12 Mar 1938: "Indian Medical Degrees"
18. Ibid — 22 Dec 1947; "Medical Careers for Indians" (Editorial)
"Natal Mercury" — 20 Dec 1947: "S.A. Indian Doctors Recognised"
Union Govt. Gaz: G.N. 2196 — Oct, 1947.

Now in the Union of South Africa there were a number of universities and university colleges with facilities for training in Arts, Science, Law, Commerce, Music, Fine Arts, Engineering, Medicine, Architecture, Agriculture and Education. Until 1936 there were only three institutions to which non-Europeans were admitted at all, namely, the University of Cape Town, the University of Cap Witwatersrand, and the South African Native College at Fort Hare, Cape Province. All the other institutions did not admit non-White persons. The facilities offered by the first two institutions were not availed of by the Indians until about 1934/35. Since then there has been a slow but steady growth of Indians registered at these two institutions, the estimated number in 1947 being about sixty (19).

The South African Native College at Fort Hare was established in 1916 primarily for the higher education of the Bantu (20). Until 1937 this college catered for both pre-matriculation and post-matriculation students, but from this year pre-matriculation classes were abolished. For a number of years it offered a limited range of courses leading to the Bachelor of Arts degree only. From 1934 courses leading to the complete Bachelor of Science degree, in a limited number of courses, were offered. The college also offered an undergraduate diploma in education, until 1934 and from 1934 also a post-graduate diploma in Education. Indian students have been in attendance since 1917 in the pre-matriculation and post-matriculation classes. In contrast to the other two institutions, Indians were able to stay here in college residence and thereby enjoy a full collegiate life. The latest available figures of Indian students registered herewere as follows (21):-

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19. Figures of enrolment of Indian students year by year not available.
20. Fort Hare Calendar, 1947: Historical Sketch.
21. Ibid : p.82 - Table 3

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Year:	1916-1935	1936-1940	1941-1945	1946
Aver. Attend,	4	10.6	29.2	29 (attendance)

The enrolment of Indian students, however, was restricted to a quota of 15 per cent of the total student body in order not to destroy the predominantly Native and Christian character of the institution (22). The first Indian to graduate from a South African institution obtained his B.A. degree in 1930 (23) through this College, which prepared students as external candidates for the examinations of the University of South Africa, which itself was a federal examining body for a number of constituent colleges. Since 1930 many Indians have obtained their Arts and Science degrees, and Education Diplomas, and Pre-Medical instruction at Fort Hare.

It is noteworthy that the Cape Town Agreement of 1927 made specific reference to the utilisation of the facilities at Fort Hare for the higher education of Indians. The Agreement provided that the Union Government would consider providing suitable hostel accommodation for Indians (as all hostels at Fort Hare were erected by Christian denominations) and otherwise improving the attractiveness of the institution for Indians (24). The hostel mentioned in the Agreement was never erected. Instead a policy of distributing the Indian students amongst the African students in the denominational hostels was followed as being calculated to promote better racial understanding.

The facilities at Fort Hare, however, became less and less available to Indian students since 1943. In 1930 the Natal Education Department in pursuance of its policy to secure locally trained Indian graduates for secondary education instituted bursaries tenable at Fort Hare.

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22. Report, Hugo Comtee.on Higher Educn. for Indians,1942: para 36 (U.G.27/1942)
23. Mr.A.D.Lazarus. See Fort Hare Calendar,1947: p52.
24. "Sastri Speaks", Bramdaw & Naidoo (ed): p.204. Sect.2(b)

This scheme encouraged the flow of non-bursary holding Indian students to Fort Hare, which became an important centre for the university training of Indians. But in 1943 the College Council decided to reduce the original quota of 15 per cent by 1 per cent per annum until it reached 5 per cent of the total student body, when the matter would be re-considered. Even this rate of reduction of the number of places available for Indians was subject to all eligible Bantu applicants being first placed (25). Consequently, whereas there were 37 Indians out of a total student roll of 219 in 1942, there were in 1946 only 29 Indians out of a total student roll of 324 (26), which represented approximately 9 per cent of the total enrolment. The gradual exclusion of the Indian from Fort Hare appears to be due to the growing needs of the Bantu themselves for higher education.

The lower cost of university education at Fort Hare as compared with Cape Town and Witwatersrand was a great boon to the average Indian parent, and encouraged Indians to send their sons and daughters for a course of university education. In 1947 the fees for B.A. and B.Sc., were £55 per annum at Fort Hare. This included tuition and examination fees, laboratory and library fees, dining hall and hostel charges, laundry, medical attendance, subscription to College sports club and other societies, university registration and graduation fees (27). Thus between 1930 and 1945 some 70 Indians graduated in Arts and Science from Fort Hare (28). Now between 1930 and 1947 only 6 Indians graduated at Cape Town, and three of them were in the faculty of medicine (29). During the same period, some

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25. Memo by Bp.Ferguson-Davie, ex-Warden Anglican Hostel, Fort Hare, to Natal Ind.Affairs Commsn, 1944.
26. Ibid. for 1942 figures; 1947 Calendar for 1946 figures.
27. Fort Hare Calendar,1947 ; p.17.
28. Estimated cost at Cape Town £150-£180; Wits.£180-£200.
28. F.H.Calendar,1947: p.52-56 contains list of graduates. Figure obtained by counting Indian names or those known to be Indians.
29. No statistics available from U.C.T. Figure arrived at by counting persons known to the Indian community, and writer.

25 Indians graduated at Witwatersrand, ~~and~~ of whom 17 were in the medical faculty (29). Fort Hare, therefore, was the main source of supply of graduates for the teaching profession.

Since, 1936, however, certain facilities for university education were established in Durban, Natal, which have turned out to be now almost the main source of supply of university trained men and women for the Indian teaching profession. The Province of Natal had a university college situated at Pietermaritzburg and Durban; it was started at the former place in 1909 (30). It was a constituent college of the University of South Africa. This college was situated in a province where the bulk of the Indian population was concentrated, and therefore, geographically most easily accessible to them. But the Natal University College did not admit non-European students, and until the year 1935 does not appear to have taken any interest or steps to extend its facilities to the non-European group. It appears that the question of the desirability of making some provision for non-European students was first raised by Mrs. Mabel Palmer at a staff meeting at Howard College, Durban (branch of the Natal University College), in 1934 (31). The rest of the meeting did not agree with her proposal and so no action was taken.

Sometime later at a Senate meeting of the College, the Principal of the College, the late Dr.Bews, informed the Senate thathhe had been in communication with the Agent-General for India on the question of university facilities for Indians in Natal. The Senate appointed a Committee to consider whether anything could be done in the matter. Mrs. Palmer was appointed as Convener of the

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30. N.U.C.Calendar, 1946 : p.16.

31. Memo to Council and Senate of N.U.C. re-Non-European Classes of NU.C. at Durban by the Organiser of the Classes, Mrs.Mabel Palmer (10th July, 1944).
I have depended almost entirely upon this memo for this section of the chapter. It is an historical document in itself.

of the Committee. About the same time the Governing Council of the College also appointed a Committee on the subject with Mr. Maurice Webb as Convener. During the rest of 1934 and 1935 these Committees investigated the question, holding meetings with interested non-Europeans. Mrs. Palmer also investigated the position at the University of Cape Town, where Coloured students have been admitted in the past. A joint meeting of the Committees of the Council and Senate was held on 6th September, 1935, which decided to establish part-time classes for non-Europeans to be held under the control of the Natal University College (32). The conditions laid down were that the non-European students were to be segregated from the Europeans, and that, therefore, the classes were not to be held on the College premises. Furthermore, that only B.A. courses were to be offered in a limited number of subjects.

A Committee to carry out the plan for the development of university classes for non-European students was appointed by the Senate of the Natal University College on 8th Novemberm ,1935. This Committee which met for the first time on 19th November, 1935, consisted of the following persons: Professor Oldham (Chairman), Dr. Edgar Brookes (Principal, Adam's Mission College, Amanzimtoti), Mr.W.M. Buss (Principal, Sastri College),Mrs. Mabel Palmer, Professor Oxley and Professor Whittaker. The Committee started the classes in 1936 on the premises of an Indian secondary school in Durban, namely, Sastri College, with the consent of the Natal Education Department. Since 1938 an Indian was also co-opted on to this Committee. From 1940 the new title of the Committee was "Advisory Committee for Non-European Studies". There were now nine members, and a Bantu representative was also co-opted . Since 1943 the lecturers at these classes were also represented on the

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32. Memo by Dr.Denison, Principal N.U.C. to Hubgo Comtee on Higher Education for Indians in Natal,1942.

Committee. Then in 1944 the Senate appointed two heads of department as members of the Committee. Except for three co-opted members, whose term of office lasted for two years, the rest of the Committee was appointed annually by the Senate in November. The chairman was also a member of the Senate. This Committee usually met twice a year.

Prior to 1938 there was also established a "Loans Committee" to administer a scheme of loans to students. From 1938 its title was changed to the "Advisory Committee on Non-European Finance". This Committee was appointed each year by the Council of the College. The chairman of the Committee was a member of the Council. There was no non-European representative on the Finance Committee. The Committee used to meet to deal with loans to students, to receive the year's accounts and to prepare the estimates for the following year. The Finance Committee appointed a special Sub-Committee, on which were included representatives of the Indian and Bantu communities, to make recommendations with regard to the granting of loans to students. Both Indians and Europeans donated sums of money towards the Students' Loan Fund. In 1942 about one-third of the students in these classes were assisted with loans (33).

The finance of the part-time classes for non-Europeans was apart part of the general finance of the College, and separate accounts were kept for control purposes only; for the same purpose the fee-income of the classes had been credited with its pro rata share of the Union Government subsidy to universities (34). Though in the beginning the classes were run at a slight loss but as numbers increased they began to show an appreciable profit, which went into the general funds of the Natal University College (34).

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33. Report, Hugo Comtee.on Higher Education for Indians in Natal, 1942: para. 23 (U.G.27/1942)
34. Ibid. : para. 27

The part-time classes for non-Europeans were placed in charge of an Organiser, whose official title in the beginning was "Adviser to Non-European Students". The incumbent of the post has been from the beginning to the present day, Mrs. Mabel Palmer. The Adviser's duties were briefly (a) to interview and advise non-European students as to their courses, fees, and so on, (b) to advise as to loans to students, (c) to make arrangements for the Vacation School which was held every year in July, and to attend the same, and (d) to act as secretary at the meetings of the two advisory committees. This was a honorary post carrying a honorarium , which in 1942 was £100 (35). However, the chief administrative and executive officer of these classes was the Principal of the College, who was an ex-officio member of the two advisory committees. It appears that the Senate and the Council made their own decisions with regard to these classes, and the Organiser was not even regularly notified of their decisions (36). Furthermore, there does not appear to have been close collaboration between the Council, the Senate and the Advisory Committees (36).

From the very beginning, then, the Natal University College adopted a policy of racial segregation in the sphere of higher education. In This policy of keeping European and non-European students was strictly enforced. They were segregated in the examination rooms ; non-European students were not permitted to use the same library as the European students, nor were they even allowed to enter the European College buildings, except on special occasions, such as examinations (37). At graduation ceremonies the non-European students and their friends

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35. Report, Hugo Comtee. etc., 1942: para. 27
36. Mrs. Mabel Palmer's Memo to Council and Senate N.U.C., 10th July, 1944.
37. Report, Hugo Comtee. etc., 1942: para. 26

were provided with separate seating accommodation, and the Indian, Coloured and Bantu graduands were called up separately from the European graduands for the "capping" ceremony (38). In some years, Indian students graduated in absentia, as a mark of protest (38). Furthermore, non-European students were not permitted to wear the College blazers or colours (39).

Despite the segregatory measures the classes continued to grow both in point of enrolment, and the range of courses offered. Non-Europeans, ofcourse, had no other choice, if they wanted a modicum of university training. In the absence of full-time facilities for non-European students in Durban and Pietermaritzburg, sometimes full-time students have also registered at these part-time classes. The following table (40) sets out the growth of the part-time classes of the Natal University College for non-Europeans in Durban, which in the beginning were looked upon as being only in the nature of an experiment to test the demand for higher education amongst Indians and other non-Europeans in and around Durban :

TABLE 1

Gowth of Enrolment at the N.U.C. Non-European Section

Year	Indian	Bantu	Coloured	Chinese	Total	Ind.Women
1936	11	8	-	-	19	1
37	16	6	1	-	23	-
38	33	6	-	-	39	-
39	44	4	1	-	49	2
1940	49	7	2	-	58	3
41	63	11	5	1	80	3
42	70	14	5	1	90	3
43	120	12	4	-	136	4
44	118	22	8	1	149	5
1945	124	45	3	2	174	5
46	184	45	8	2	239	5
47	238	60	10	-	308	10

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38. "Leader", 8 May, 1943: "N.U.C.Graduation to be Boycotted".
39. ibid , 10 April, 1943 : "Varsity Authorities Responsible for Segregation".
40. Information supplied by Organiser, Non-European Classes.

Full-time students: 1938--six; 1940--ten; 1945--four; 1946--nine; 1947--nineteen.

It will be observed that the majority of the students at these classes were Indians. Secondly,it will be noticed that there was a big leap forward since 1942, which is accounted for by the absorption of aided school teachers into the service of the Education Department as employees of the Natal Provincial Administration from 1943, and the adoption of new salary scales for Indian teachers which gave material recognition to partial successes in the degree course. The contribution of these classes to the advancement of higher education amongst Indians may be judged by the fact that between 1936 and 1947 some 62 Indians (including 3 women) had obtained their B.A. degrees from this institution (41).

Regarding the courses offered here, it appears that in 1936 classes were held in Botany 1, Geography 1, English 1, Zulu 1, and Economics and Economic History 1 (42). In the following year Psychology 1, Politics 1, History 1, and Geography 11 were offered. In 1938 Latin 1, Mathematicsl and English 11 were offered; and, in 1939 three Law courses (Roman-Dutch Law, Roman Law 1, and S.A.Criminal Law) were added to cater for certain Indian candidate attorneys but these were subsequently discontinued for various reasons. Until quite recently the only degree offered at these classes was the B.A. degree. In 1947 students were enrolled for the degrees of B.A., B.Com., and B.A(Social Science). By this year the range of subjects and courses available had been appreciably extended. They were as follows:-

> Accounting (two courses), Economics (two courses), Elementary Theory of Finance and Statistics, Social Work (two courses), Economics and Economic History (one course),Economic Geography, Education (one course) English, History, Geography, Sociology, Latin (each three courses), Zulu, Politics, Psychology (each two courses), Special French, Social Anthropology (one course), and South African Criminal Law.

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41. Information supplied by Organiser, Non-European Classes Thirteen non-Indians also obtained the B.A. degree during this period.
42. Memo by Dr.Denison, Principal N.U.C.,to Hugo Comtee,1942.

It is also interesting to note that by 1947 part-time post-graduate classes had been started. In this year four students had been registered for M.A. in English, 2 two for M.A. in Psychology, and one for M.A. in Sociology. (43).

Another interesting development which took place in these classes was related to the lecturing staff. For many years the lectures were given by a part-time staff, some of whom also lectured at the Natal University College European full-time and part-time classes, and others who were teachers in the employ of the Natal Education Department. In 1947, however, there were 15 out of 26 lecturers, who were members of the full-time lecturing staff of the Natal University College (44). The full-time lecturers divided their time ~~amongst~~ between the European and non-European sections. In this way an attempt was being made to achieve common standards of instruction.

An important feature of the non-European part-time classes was that most of the lectures were crowded into the weekend in order to enable students employed at some distance from Durban to take advantage of the facilities offered here. So keen has been the demand for higher education amongst the Indians that many students have regularly travelled 50 to 60 miles every week-end to come to these classes (45). A growing number travel regularly from Pietermaritzburg to Durban, as similar classes do not exist in their home town.

Another interesting point about these classes was that most of the students were teachers in full-time employment desiring to improve their qualifications. Many of the students would not have been able to avail themselves of full-time facilities had they been provided because they

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43. Information supplied by Organiser, Non-European Section.
44. Report, March 1947: Organiser, Non-European Section.
45. Report, Hugo Comtee. etc., 1942: para. 22

were the sole bread-winners of their families; many were married men with family responsibilities. Others were just too poor to be able to afford a full-time university education. It is clear, therefore, that these classes were catering chiefly for a special class of student in Natal society. The fees charged at these classes were much lower than those paid by full-time European students. The reasons advanced for the concessions were:- (46)

(1) the economic condition of non-Europeans,

(2) the fact that they had not full student privileges due to the policy of segregation, and

(3) the fact that the classes were part-time, and the students did not, in general, receive quite the same number of lectures as full-time students.

The fees charged were £5 per annum for each ordinary course and £6 per annum for major courses, and for some science courses in which a larger number of hours per week was provided (46). A separate fee of £1:10:0 was charged for the Vacation School in July which all students were expected to attend. It should be mentioned that as from 1947 the Municipality of Durban awarded a few bursaries of £40 per annum to non-European students, tenable at the part-time classes (47). Similar bursaries, but of larger amounts, have for sometime past been awarded to European students. Municipal bursaries for non-Europeans is indicative of the beginnings of municipal interest in the higher education of non-Europeans.

In order to counter-act the lack of collegiate life, every year in July, to coincide with the winter school vacation, a Vacation School was held at the Adam's Mission College, Amanzimtoti, for a duration of twelve days. This arrangement was part of the course of studies, and it was

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46. Report, Hugo Comtee. etc.,1942: para. 23
Memo by Dr. Denison, Principal N.U.C. to above Comtee.
47. N. U. C. Calendar, 1948 : pp. 47–48

obligatory on the part of students to attend the School where the normal work of lecturing was continued, and the students were given a brief taste of residential collegiate life and study (48).

In 1942 the question of higher educational facilities for Indians in Natal was the subject of a Departmental Committee Inquiry by the Minister of Education. The matter was brought to a head by the offer of a donation of £5000 for a Science Block in which instruction in the four pre-medical sciences would be given (49). The Committee of Inquiry which was appointed to go into the matter (referred to as the Hugo Committee, after the chairman) drew attention to many defects in the existing part-time system of providing university education for Indians (50). There was in the true sense of the word no university education at all. What was offered was essentially tuition in university courses -----the minimum required for passing an examination. They represented the maximum facilities that Natal was prepared at the time to extend to its non-European citizens. The authorities of the Natal University College, however, admitted that they regarded the classes only as a temporary arrangement, and that they would welcome the erection of a completely separate Indian or Non-European College under its own Governing Council (51). The evidence of the Indian community, at the time, appeared to indicate that they looked forward to such a development on condition that a separate Indian College did not become an "Indian Fort Hare" (meaning thereby a Cinderella of the South African university system), but that it retained the affiliation of the students with the Natal University College (51). As long

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48. Report, Hugo Comtee. etc,1942: para. 23
49. Ibid : para. 35 (Donor Mr.M.L. Sultan,an Indian, who had offered £12,500 towards an Indian Technical College.)
51. Ibid : para.30
Also Dr.Denison's Memo to above Comtee.
50. Report, Hugo Comtee. etc., 1942 :para. 29

ago as 1928 the late Dr. Bews, Principal of the Natal University College, visualised the development of university education in Natal under a federal university of Natal in which there would be three constituent colleges, viz., one European (the present Natal University College), one Indian and one Bantu (52).

The Committee of Inquiry was unable to recommend the erection of a separate university college for Indians, partly owing to the lack of the large amount of funds that would be required for such a project, and partly for the lack of a sufficient number of full-time day students from the ranks of the Indian Community. It was also felt that owing to the general poverty of the Indian community the fees would have to be low, and consequently the fee-income supplemented by the usual Union Government subsidy would not be sufficient to employ a first class teaching staff and to meet other expenses. There was a suggestion that the lack of students might be made up by admitting Bantu, and, perhaps also, Coloureds. The Committee found that though the Indians had no objection to the admission of other non-Europeans, they were really thinking of admitting only a certain percentage of non-Indians on the analogy of Fort Hare (53). Furthermore, the Committee was not in favour of diverting Bantu students from Fort Hare, or of establishing an Indo-African College in Natal at the expense of providing Natal Bantu, at some future date, with a university college of their own (53).

The chief reasons for the lack of Indian students were found to be as follows (54):-

(1) owing to the undeveloped state of Indian primary education, wherein some 40 per cent of Indian children were not receiving schooling atall, and because of the rapid elimination in the primary standards, there were not enough matriculates produced in Indian schools to fill a separate university college;

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52. "Natal Witness" -- 19 November, 1928.
53. Report, Hugo Comtee. etc.,1942: para. 31
54 Ibid : para. 32

(2) the traditional objection of Indians to the education of girls, especially in mixed classes and under male teachers;

(3) the poverty of many Indians would make the expense of a university education even for one child prohibitive;

(4) some Indians might also be discouraged from entering upon a university career by the fact that the choice of careers and professions effectively open to Indian graduates is much more restricted than that open to European graduates.

It was, therefore, considered that these handicaps formed a serious obstacle to the foundation of a strong and vigorous Indian university college in the immediate future.

In the face of the unwillingness of the Natal University College to open its doors to non-European full-time students, like Cape Town and Witwatersrand, the Committee appears to have had no alternative but to recommend the continuation of the part-time classes as before (55). There was nothing in South African legislation by which a university or technical college could be compelled to admit non-Europeans, or provide separate but equal facilities. Now universities, university colleges and technical colleges in South Africa were all government-aided institutions, under the control of their own governing councils. They, therefore, possessed the right of such institutions to regulate the composition of their own student body. While none of the universities or university colleges in South Africa have an expressly stated colour bar clause in their constitutions (which always required the approval of Parliament), because the Higher Education Act did not confer any such power, yet they all expressly secured in their constitution the right to reserve admission to any student in the interests of the institution (56). This device was sufficient to exclude non-Europeans or even to impose a quota, in accordance with the policy of each institution.

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55. Report, Hugo Comtee. etc., 1942: para.33
56. See Natal University College Calendar,1948: p. 41

While the Union Government provided funds of considerable amounts to these institutions , yet it seems that their chief concern and responsibility for higher education ended with the financial contribution. There is nothing in the Higher Education legislation which made it obligatory on the part of the institutions receiving a grant-in-aid to provide university facilities in their own areas or regions for all those seeking or needing a university education, irrespective of race, colour or creed. The absence of such an obligation in the field of higher education, as a condition precedent to the receipt of a grant-in-aid, has enabled these institutions to pursue racially exclusive policies. Some such obligation seems to be necessary in view of the fact that the entire system of university and technical education in South Africa is a monopoly of privately and locally constituted bodies, whose chief income is , however, from Government revenue. The statutory recognition given to the governing bodies does not necessarily ~~confer~~ impose upon them the duty and obligation , and the sole responsibility for the provision and extension of university and technical educational facilities for all the citizens in their area or region.

The Union Government was, however, not without means or power to remedy and correct any social injustice that might have arisen from such racially exclusive policies. It would have been quite competent for the Government to rule that all institutions in receipt of a grant-in-aid from the Public Treasury should be open to all the citizens of the country, irrespective ~~to~~ of race, colour or creed. But that it did not do so can only be explained by the fact that university policy was not out of conformity with the general racial policies of the country itself. In the circumstances the provision or

extension of university educational facilities for non-European were left to the moral conscience of the respective university governing councils. The consequence to Indian and non-European university education in Natal, at least, has been already outlined. On the other hand, there is much to be said for continuing the independence of a university institution precisely along the lines of present arrangements. But owing to the social injustices that easily arise in such a racially sensitive country as South Africa, it would seem that there is need for university institutions established, supported and maintained entirely by the State, which would be open to all races, colours and creeds, and at a cost within the means of all those who would benefit by university education. This would ensure the equalization of educational opportunities for all the citizens of the country. The principle of State universities is not new in the world, nor even new in educational practice for such a principle is already being applied in the field of primary and secondary education. Semi-State institutions and private institutions may, perhaps, be permitted a certain degree of freedom to indulge their idiosyncracies for which they will no doubt have to bear a substantial part of the cost. Fully subsidised State Universities, equipped and staffed on the best standards may be relied upon to provide the necessary correctives and balance in South African society.

To return to the Hugo Committee and its recommendations, in the event of the Natal University College authorities deciding not to undertake the continuation and development of the existing part-time classes or the proposed pre-medical classes (for which the Committee was satisfied that there was a need), as an alternative control the Committee recommended that the Council of the proposed Indian Technical College (already dealt with in the previous

chapter) be asked to assume control of either or both these university facilities (57).

The Natal University College, however, appears to have been persuaded to continue the part-time classes, in spite of its clear desire, in evidence before the Committee, to give up the responsibility because of administrative and other difficulties. Subsequent to this inquiry various little improvements were made in these classes, such as, increasing the range of subjects and courses and degrees offered, lowering of the minimum number required to form a class, higher remuneration to the part-time lecturers,and so on. The responsibility for the conduct of the pre-medical classes also appear to have been accepted in principle, and since then has become absorbed in a scheme for a full-fledged Medical School for non-Europeans in Durban under the control of the proposed University of Natal. The growth of the part-time classes since 1942 have focussed attention upon the urgency and necessity of securing proper and independent accommodation for the non-European students. Temporary buildings have since been erected at the rear of Sastri College to house the library, students' commonroom, staff room, and the administrative offices.

In 1946 a new Principal (Dr. E.G.Malherbe) had been appointed , and since then a campaign has been carried on for raising the status of the Natal University College to that of a university (58). A Government Commission of Inquiry investigated the claims of the Natal University College for independent university status, and recommended that this should be granted (59). In January, 1948 the

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57. Report, Hugo Comtee. etc.,1942 : para. 41
58. N.U.C.Calendar, 1946 : pp.14 - 16
59. Report, Commission on University of South Africa,1947: para. 14 (U.G. 44/1947)

Natal University College sponsored a Private Bill in Parliament seeking a Charter to establish the "University of Natal" (60), which has since been passed by the House of Assembly (61), and awaits passage through the Senate. What is of interest is that it is now proposed to establish a separate Non-European College (i.e. Indians, Africans and Coloureds) as an integral part of the University of Natal. Indeed, approximately 50 acres of ground appear to have been acquired to set up a separate campus for the non-Europeans, some distance away from the European campus and college buildings.(62). The University of Natal seems to have definitely accepted responsibility for the development of university education for non-Europeans but on a basis of racial segregation. While keeping European and non-European students physically apart as two separate and distinct student bodies, even to the extent of separate Students' Representative Councils, it is being planned to secure common academic standards by having the same heads of departments and senior lecturers for both sections (63).

The perpetuation of racial segregation in university education under this scheme met with a certain amount of protest from sections of the Indian community(64), and other non-European groups (65). It was feared that this arrangement might be extended to the two other institutions where non-Europeans attended the same classes as Europeans. Those responsible for sponsoring this scheme, however, felt that this arrangement was mid-way between the "extremes" of mixing of Europeans and non-Europeans

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60. "Natal Mercury" --22Jany,1948 :Natal University Bill Introduced".
61. Ibid -- Feby,1948 :
62. "Natal Daily News"--7July,1947:"N.U.C. Gets Ground for Non-European College"
63. "Forum"--23 Aug, 1947 :"Temper Idealism with Realism" by E.G.Malherbe (explaining the scheme).
64. "Leader"-30 Aug, 1947: "N.I.C. States Its Fears on a Segregated University"
"Passive Resister"--11Sept,1947: Opposition to Malherbe Grows.
65. Ibid. -4Sept,1947: More Views on Non-European College

in the same institution and the complete separation of non-Europeans in a separate non-European federal university with its own charter. It was also urged that the existing racial antipathies in South Africa had to be faced realistically; that in the circumstances racial separation was an unavoidable feature of university life. It was further urged that while the Natal scheme did segregate the non-European from the European for academic and non-academic purposes, it had this to commend it in that common academic standards were maintained and thus saved the non-European from the stigma of an inferior or "nigger" university training in a completely separate institution.

As already mentioned the Natal University College has already acquired a site to carry on with these plans. The indications are that the new buildings will be initially erected and equipped from the general funds of the Natal University Fu Development Fund (66). Since there will be only one Governing Council , one Senate, and a predominantly common staff (66), with one Principal, the proposed non-European college or section of the Natal University will be administratively an integral part of the University. Actually it would be an annexe or branch of the University of Natal rather than a Constituent College in the usual sense. Eventually academic facilities equal to those provided for the European section of the University are being promised to the non-European section (67). There are no indications regarding the financial policy that would followed in the financing of the two sections. It is an accepted fact that non-Europeans would not be able to pay the same fees as the European students. It can

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65.(cont'd) "Forum" - 1 Nov, 1947: Replies to Dr.Malherbe's article by Prof.Z.K.Matthews, & Messrs. Edgar Maurice and Manilal Gandhi.

66. The Educational Journal (Cape Town)(Organ of the Teachers' League of S.Africa --Coloured Teachers):Sept,1947 -p.9 --Letter by Dr.E.G.Malherbe, Principal, N.U.C.

67. "Forum" - 23 Aug., 1947: Temper Idealism with Realism by E.G.Malherbe.

only be a matter of speculation whether or not the facilities that would actually be made available to the non-European section, or the rate at which they would be made available, would be determined by the revenue contributed by the poorer non-European section. The complete duplication of the faculties would certainly be an expensive undertaking. It will take a very long time before equality of opportunity, which also means freedom of choice of faculty and courses, can be achieved. In the sphere of primary and secondary education the general attitude of the European has been that the Indians were entitled to such facilities only in proportion to the revenue they contributed. It is difficult to see how a similar outlook can be prevented from creeping into the affairs of the Natal University. In spite of all that has been said here, it must be admitted that the proposed scheme of providing university education for Indians and other non-Europeans is definitely an advance for Natal.

This chapter may be concluded with some reference to the general progress made by Indians in the sphere of university education. The demand for university education was one of slow growth. It was retarded principally by the factors referred to earlier in connection with the insufficiency of students for a separate university college. The impetus to take up post-matriculation studies really came after the establishment of Sastri College in 1930, when Indian secondary education was really organised on a sound basis. Further stimulus was provided by the opening of part-time classes at Durban, which were particularly advantageous to teachers in employment desiring to improve their qualifications. The type of university education now in demand is more varied than in the early years when emphasis was placed on the study of Law. Indian students today are engaged in the study of Law, Medicine, Commerce, Education,

Social Science, Arts and Pure Science. They are conspicuously absent in the field of Engineering, Agriculture, and Architecture (x), because of the special difficulties which non-Europeans encounter in complying with the practical requirements of the courses, or of future prospects of employment (in view of the colour bar in industry and commerce), or just simply lack of facilities for study (as in the case of Agriculture, which is provided at the Afrikaaner universities of Stellenbosch and Pretoria, where the anti-colour feelings are pronounced).

The number of Indians undergoing university training has increased appreciably since the Cape Town Agreement of 1927. Whereas in 1927 there were 5 Indians from Natal at Fort Hare and overseas universities (being a ratio of one in every 28,400 of the Natal Indian population), the estimated number of students in 1947 (y) was 338, which gives a ratio of one in 650 of the Natal Indian population (z). For comparison it may be noted that in 1946 Natal had one in every 300 of its European population studying at any university; about 40 per cent of these students were registered at institutions outside Natal (68). The European ratio for the Orange Free State was one in 230 for the same year (68). In 1939 the ratio was one in every 191 of the total European population of the Union(69). An estimation for the Bantu gives less than 400 university students in 1947 against a population over 7 millions.

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68. N.U.C.Calendar, 1946 : p.15
69. Calculated on figures given on p. 46 of the Union Bulletin of Educational Statistics (1940), and 1936 Census.

x) There is now one Indian student at Wits.

y) Separate statistics for Indians not available from Wits or Cape Town. Fort Hare could only supply figures for 1946. My estimation: U.C.T. -14; Wits. -27; FortHare - 29 (1946 figures for all the provinces); Overseas- 30; N.U.C. -238. Total 338.

z) According to a report in "Natal Mercury" (4 Feb. 1947) - "Indian Education Rate Stressed", Dr.E.G.Malherbe quoted a ratio of 1 in every 800 Indians in the Union. Agai n, according to "Natal Daily News" (7 July,1947) --"N.U.C. Gets Ground etc" he quoted 1 in every 650 Indians in the Union received higher education.

The progress of Indians in this direction is further indicated by the entry of Indian women into the field of university education. TABLE 1 on a previous page* indicates the slow but gradual progress being made at the part-time classes in Durban alone. In 1947 there were 4 Indian women from Natal in British institutions; 1 at Cape Town; 2 at Fort Hare in 1946; 2 at Witwatersrand in 1946. In 1947 there were in all 12 Indian women of Natal with university degrees or diplomas, and five of them were qualified medical practitioners.

The advancement of the Indian community as a whole in Natal in the academic field since 1903 is shown in the number of university degrees held by members of the community. The following table will give some idea of the progress made by the desendants of the indentured labourers and petty traders (70):-

TABLE 2

Total Number of University Degrees held by Natal Indians (1903 - 1947)

FACULTY	UNIVERSITY		NUMBER	
Medicine & Dentistry	Overseas: Britain		23	
	India		3	
	S.Africa: U.C.T.		3	
	Wits		17	46
Law (L.L.B.)	S.Africa: Wits		4	
	: S.A. (External)		1	5
(Bar-at-Law)	London	(9)		
Commerce	S.Africa: S.A. "		2	2
Social Studies	Ditto		1	1
Arts	Overseas: Cambridge		1	
	U.S.A.		1	
	S.Africa: Wits (B.A.)		3	
	U.C.T. (M.A.)		2	
	Fort Hare (B.A.)		34	
	N.U.C. "		62	
	External "		7	110
Science	S.Africa: U.C.T. (B.Sc.)		1	
	Wits (B.Sc.Hons)		1	
	Fort Hare (B.Sc.)		35	
	(M.Sc.)		1	
	External (B.Sc)		2	40
Education	S.Africa: U.C.T. (M.Ed)		1	
	N.U.C. (")		1	2
		GRAND TOTAL		206

* p. 723

Amongst these graduates there were 13 individuals with second degrees.

By the end of this period, therefore, the Indian community appears to have reached an academic status which must be expected to increase it social prestige and assist in its further development. Though their academic attainments are not so widespread as amongst the European community, the point of historical interest is that in the course of eighty-seven years the Indian had managed, in spite of numerous disadvantages, to span the gap between a state of illiteracy and ignorance, on the one hand, and the highest academic attainments, on the other hand. While there have been many shortcomings in the education of the Indian in Natal, in the over all view of the history of their educational development progress must be recorded.

END

%0. (cont'd) The figures for Fort Hare were obtained from the 1947 Calendar, and the list of graduates is complete only up to 1945. More recent figures were not available. The figures for N.U.C are correct up to the end of 1947, and are as furnished by the Organiser, The figures for all other institutions are an estimate based upon the writer's personal acquaintance with the persons concerned. At best the Grand Total would be an underestimate.

C O N C L U S I O N.

From the foregoing study it would appear that there were three basic factors which determined the growth of Indian education, and, in a sense, may also be said to have been the foundations upon which the system of Indian education was built. These three factors were namely:-

(1) the question of the permanency of the Indian settlement in South Africa;

(2) the status of Indians, and other non-European groups in South Africa, in relation to the European group;

(3) the racial and cultural distinctiveness of the Indian people in the multi-racial and multi-cultural pattern of South African Society.

It has been held in this study that a settled way and habit of life are necessary pre-requirements in a community for the growth of a demand for education, and for the building of a sound and expanding system of education. The stability and security of the Indian settlement was constantly threatened by the repatriatory policies of the Government. Though the Indian community continued to grow in numbers by natural processes, and though they were employed in many of the industries and services of the country, statutory and official recognition of the permanent nature of their settlement was not given until the year 1946. In this year two things happened which may finally settle this issue, viz:

(1) the Asiatic Land Tenure and Indian Representation Act made certain provisions for the political representation of the Indian community in the Union Parliament and the Natal Provincial Council; (a).

(a) The provisions have not been acted upon as yet.

(2) the Prime Minister of South Africa, in the United Nations Assembly, countered a charge of racial discrimination against, and mal-treatment of, the Indians in South Africa by claiming that this was a matter of domestic jurisdiction because Indians were nationals of South Africa.

Previously uncertainty and doubt on the ultimate fate of the Indian settlement led to alternate repression of Indian education or the adoption of a laissez faire policy (1). Everything about the educational efforts of the past seem to be characterised by minimal standards. It is difficult to escape an impression of timidity, hesitancy and temporariness about the system of Indian education. That which has been achieved so far was due almost entirely to the forcefulness of the Indians themselves to secure a firmer establishment of their settlement. With the recognition that the Indians are here to stay and would, therefore, form an integral part of the permanent population of South Africa, it has become necessary to formulate a new Indian policy, reversing the old policy which sought to alienate the Indian community from the larger life of the community. The new policy must find a formula for integrating them into the general life of the country so that they may have opportunities to develop a full social and economic life, and participate as responsible citizens in the political life of the country. It must also be recognised that a new Indian Society has grown up from the foundations of the past, with a different background and a new outlook.

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(1) It is interesting to note that this very admission was made by the Natal Provincial Executive Committee. In a reply to a memorandum submitted by the Natal Indian Congress for improved educational facilities, the Executive Committee stated, inter alia, as follows:
"(c) This progress must be viewed from the angle that in the past Indians have been considered as a foreign element in the population and their return to India not only anticipated but expected" (Prov. Sec. Natal, No. 9/8898 25 Nov. 1947.)

It must be expected that in the interests of good government, the maintenance of law and order, and the promotion of the general welfare and prosperity of its inhabitants, the State will have to take a keen interest in and assume full responsibility for the proper education of the Indian community.

The new educational policy must find ways and means of inculcating into and evoking in the Indian a sense of loyalty and patriotism to South Africa. It must be able to fit him to take part in the wider and larger life of the nation. This is not going to be an easy task in view of the past history of the treatment of the Indian, and it will be futile to expect any good reaction if the glaring iniquities of the past are permitted to continue. However, this much might be said of the future as a result of the new status conferred upon the Indian community: Indian education is at the threshold of new developments and the possibilities are great. The new recognition has, at least, cleared away one of the serious difficulties of the past, and a step forward has been taken.

The second basic factor, mentioned above, is something which affects the entire mode of life in South Africa, and sets South Africa apart from most of the nations of the world. In general the social, political and economic status of the entire non-European population(i.e.African, Coloured and Indian) is as a matter of State policy kept inferior to that of the European population, who numbers approximately one-fifth of the total population of the country. The rights, privileges and opportunities enjoyed by the non-Europeans were subordinate and inferior to that of the Europeans, who as the ruling race, enjoyed a specially privileged position. The Indian, as a darker-skinned person and of non-White origin, was considered to

be a non- ..../ Page 742..

to be a non-European (the line of demarcation being whether one was European or not), and suffered from the common difficulties and disabilities of all non-Europeans. These, as shown in the case of Indians, included disfranchisement from local government to central government, economic restrictions upon employment and trade, restrictions upon movement and residence, and various social barriers. In short, Indians were excluded from the enjoyment of a common citizenship with the European section of the population, who alone might be said to have been in enjoyment of all the rights and privileges and the opportunities for the exercise of the responsibilities of democractic citizenship.

The inferior status of the Indians has been shown to have influenced their educational development in the following respects:-

(i) the general view of the legislative and administrative authorities appears to have been that the education of the Indian was not of the same consequence or urgency as that of the European

(a) because of the limited role assigned, and opportunities open to the Indian in the life of the country, and

(b) because the European, in order to maintain his leadership and supremacy over the non-European races, had to be physically and intellectually better equipped (2);

(ii) indeed, the general education of the Indian, and in particular their technical and professional training, were frequently viewed as a threat or menace to the economic security of the European;

(iii) consequently the State was reluctant to assume

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(2) See for instance, Report No.2 : Social and Economic Planning Council - p.94 - para. 109.(U.G.14 - 1944).

full responsi-.../Page 743.

full responsibility for the education of the Indian, and deliberately followed a laissez faire policy in which the initiative and chief burden of providing school accommodation and equipment fell upon the Indians themselves and other private agencies; and, therefore, the per caput expenditure on Indian education was considerably less than that on European education;

(iv) the lack of social, political and economic incentives to the Indian for education and self-improvement;

(v) the development of a dual system of education (b) in which educational opportunity was not the same for the underprivileged Indian group as for the privileged European group; in the two systems there was no parity of conditions with regard to buildings and equipment, size of classes, quality and status and payment of teachers, payment of tuition fees, availability of bursaries, boarding and hostel facilities, payment of indigency grants, care of health and physical well-being, proportion of children of school-going age brought under instruction, the length of time they were kept under instruction, and general standards of attainments. The system of education, in short, showed clear evidence of not only class distinctions but also of racial and colour discrimination;

(vi) inequality of educational opportunity was made easier of practice by a system of racial segregation whereby Indians (and other non-Europeans) were not permitted to attend any of the schools, colleges, or universities(3) attended by Europeans; and

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(b) A quadruple system, if the Coloureds and Africans are also considered, but the emphasis is on a distinction between Europeans and non-Europeans, and so the system is really dual.

(3) The exceptions were the Universities of Witwatersrand and Cape Town. The Natal University College conducted separate classes in separate buildings for non-Europeans in a limited number of courses in conformity with the prevailing custom of racial segregation.

(vii) exclusion../p.744...

(vii) exclusion of the Indian from all part in the central administration of Indian education.

The evidence of the foregoing study indicates that from the beginning all efforts to educate the Indian in Natal were hampered and handicapped no less by their general poverty (c) as by the racial attitudes and racial policies of the country. It is true that over a long period a system of schools has been organised, that pupil enrolment and government expenditure have progressively increased and that the educational status of the community as a whole has been appreciably advanced. But opnsidering the position at the end of 87 years of educational effort, in comparison with the advancement of the European section over the same period, and in the light of our modern educational standards, it is also true that the educational system had failed

(1) in its primary function of making the Indian people literate (d) ;

(2) in its important function of training the people in skills whereby they could earn a livelihood or increase their productivity, and so raise themselves from lower standards of living; and

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(c) Their poverty appears to have been due to many factors, including inadequate educational facilities, lack of adequate opportunities, large families, undernourishment (resulting in poor physique and lack of energy), unemployment and relatively little employment of women outside the home. (S.A.Journ. Economics, Sept.1947 - Prof. H.R.Burrows). Racial policies themselves have played no little part in contributing to the general poverty of the Indian.

(d) The Adult Education Inquiry Committee(1944) estimated that about 75 per cent of the Indian population was illiterate. This may be a close guess as in 1947 about 46 per cent of Indian children between 6-16 years were not in school, and owing to the absence of compulsory education about 66 per cent were eliminated before reaching standard VI.

(3) in its larger/ p. 745.

(3) in its larger function of promoting the fullest development of each individual as a human being, in preparing him for enlightened citizenship, and in cultivating interests which could be continued through life.

The failure of the educational system in these respects is, per-haps, attributable more to the social policies of the country from which it could hardly break itself away, than to any major defects of organisation within the system itself. Part of the failure is undoubtedly due to a weakness in the divided system of control and administration of education in South Africa as a whole. This point will be taken up later.

It may be that the failure in the larger function of education is more or less true of nearly all educational systems in the world today, including the system of education for Europeans in South Africa; and that these aims, though not entirely new in the history of educational thought, are nevertheless the expression of the most advanced trends in education today. It is well-known that present day plans for educational reconstruction give a prominent place to these larger aims of education. It is no less true of European education in South Africa. The failure of Indian education in its larger function has been emphasised to draw attention to the fact that whereas most modern educational systems are contemplating <u>reconstruction</u> of the existing edifice, but the very edifice of Indian education has yet to be <u>constructed</u>.

Indeed, there can be no proper basis for the construction of Indian education at all, let alone reconstruction, unless the social, political and economic foundations of Indian life are freed from the disabilities arising from their race and colour. It is inevitable that inequalities

in the.... /page 746.

in the social system will find their way into the educational system. Unless an educationist can commence with an environment which holds a reasonable degree of freedom and opportunity for the individual to grow and progress, it is futile to expect that an educational system could be established which would perform all the functions mentioned above fully and effectively. An enlightened educational policy can only be founded upon an enlightened and progressive social policy. A necessary basis for educational progress and reform is, therefore, the abolition of the South African dual standards of education, and the promotion of educational opportunity irrespective of race, colour, language, religion or sex. In the words of Professor I.L.Kandel(4) the principle of equality of educational opportunity means "the adoption of parity of conditions in all the aspects that make up a system of educational organisation - buildings and equipment, size of classes, quality and status of teachers, and the abolition of tuition fees with maintenance grants where needed. Parity of conditions means still more; it means the equalization of those conditions which make it possible for pupils and students of all social groups to profit best by the education which they receive - provision for the care of health and physical well-being and the adaptation of education and instruction to the abilities and aptitudes of the pupils."

It would not be out of place to refer here to the Preamble to the Constitution of UNESCO(United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation) which declares inter alia(5):

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(4) "Post-War Educational Reconstruction in the United Nations" p.xi - 21st Educational Year Book (1944) of the International Institute of Teachers' College, Columbia University:

(5) "The U.N.O. Handbook" by Andrew Boyd: p. 124 ff.

"....that..../page 747.

"....that since wars begin in the minds of men, it is in the minds of men that the defences of peace must be constructed;"

"That the great and terrible war which has now ended was a war made possible by the denial of the democratic principles of dignity, equality and mutual respect of men, and by the propagation in their place, through ignorance and prejudice, of the doctrine of inequality of men and races;"

The first article of the constitution states(5) that the purpose of UNESCO is "to contribute to peace and security by promoting collaboration amongst the nations through education, science and culture, in order to further universal respect for justice, for the rule of law, and for the human rights and fundamental freedoms which are affirmed for the peoples of the world, without distinction of race, sex, language or religion by the Charter of the United Nations."

With the granting of equal status to European and non-European differences of privileges would tend to disappear, and with it the vexed question of racial separation in educational institutions. So long as there are wide differences in privileges, status and cultural standards, especially between persons of a different race and colour, racial mixing is bound to produce friction and discord leading to a disturbance of peace. The political and economic servitude of the non-European is one of the chief causes of the social colour bar. Racial segregation in education cannot, therefore, be successfully eliminated without raising the general status of the non-European. In the meantime, protagonists of racial separation might well consider whether common loyalties and common patriotism can be built up when such stress is laid on racial separateness? Whether the segregation of intellectuals

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(5) "The U.N.O. Handbook" by Andrew Boyd: p. 124 ff.

at the ..../ page 748.

at the university level into European and non-European is not calculated to promote mistrust and discord between the two races and thus endanger the security and stability of the State? It might be well also to remember the following clauses from the Preamble to the Constitution of UNESCO(5):

"That ignorance of each others ways and lives has been a common cause, throughout the history of mankind, of that suspicion and mistrust between the peoples of the world through which their differences have all too often broken into war;

"That a peace based exclusively upon the political and economic arrangements of governments would not be a peace which could secure the unanimous, lasting and sincere support of the peoples of the world, and that the peace must therefore be founded, if it is not to fail, upon the intellectual and moral solidarity of mankind;"(my emphasis).

It is not sufficient to dismiss this as an ideal. Where the sine qua non of peace and progress in South Africa is a friendly and dignified co-operation of all the races, and when time is so few now, is not the ideal, perhaps, the most practical and wide solution in the long run?

The third basic factor which has determined, and will no doubt continue to determine for many years to come, the education of the Indian is the racial and cultural distinctiveness or cohesiveness of the Indian community in the multi-racial and multi-cultural pattern of South African society. Racially the Indian community has remained more or less pure, discouraging any tendency to intermarry with the European races or with the indigenous African races. There have been some cases of intermarriage with women of the Coloured races, but this is not a general tendency.

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(5) "The U.N.O.Handbook" by Andrew Boyd: p. 124 ff.

Culturally,.../page 749.

Culturally, however, the Indian community represents a fairly wide range of peoples. There are groups, particularly in the rural areas, which may be said to be still conservatively Indian in most of their habits, beliefs and customs. Indian women, as a whole, both in urban and rural areas, are still more Eastern than Western in their outlook on life. There are also groups, which especially in the urban areas, which are almost completely Western in their language, religion, dress, diet, and aesthetic tastes. But a considerable proportion of the younger generation is poised twixt the East and the West. They are persons whom Dr. De Vos, Professor of Sociology, Natal University College, described (6) as the "marginal man" in Indian society. In an over-all view it would, therefore, appear that while in some respects Indians have adopted Western ways of living but in others, particularly in respect of language, religion, diet, family life and aesthetic tastes they still adhere to their inherited traditions.

This dual adherence of Indian society showed itself (a) in the demand for an education on parity with the European, (b) in demands for the inclusion of Indian languages in the ordinary school curriculum, (c) in the establishment of private vernacular schools, (d) in their conservative attitude towards the education of girls, and (e) in the cultivation of their traditional musical forms and in the propagation of their religious beliefs.

The curriculum of State and State-aided Indian schools are the same as that of the European Schools. No provision has been made to integrate the Eastern Cultural background of the Indian community into the curriculum. The question is not without some difficulty. On the one hand, the

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(6) At the Regional Conference, S.A.Institute of Race Relations, Durban. July 14, 1947.

Indian community.../p.750.

Indian community is very sensitive to any suggestion of a modified curriculum for Indian schools. The fear is that a modified curriculum might be a disadvantage to them in the unavoidable competition with the European or the Coloured; that a modified curriculum might be interpreted as an inferior curriculum. The general conditions in the country, already referred to, lend some support to their fears. On the other hand, there are amongst them at least four major spoken languages(Tamil, Telegu, Hindi and Gujerati), three religions(Hinduism, Islam and Christianity), and two systems of music(North Indian and South Indian). Yet it would seem that a sound system of education cannot completely ignore the backgrounds and traditions of a people. The present system has the effect of uprooting them from their traditional/cultural background.

The problem is to find a way of preparing them for participation in a common South African citizenship and yet developing their national culture; in equipping them adequately to play an effective part in the political and economic life of the country as developed by the dominant European culture and yet finding spiritual and mental satisfaction in their own peculiar social and cultural pursuits. It needs no emphasis that democracy must allow for such variations. In a multi-racial and multi-cultural society the principle of "unity in diversity" is the only sound and practicable solution to mutual adjustment. Such variation should not, however, be considered as reason for restricting political and economic privileges and opportunities. To be explicit, that a man might wish to soothe himself with an Indian melody should not be a criterion whether he should exercise the vote or be employed on an engineering project. A little reflection will show that these two are not mutually incompatible elements.

One need ..../ Page 751.

One need only point to the ease and success with which the various nations of the world have been able to combine traditional national culture with technological skill and political responsibility;and, in maintaining their fellowship in the comity of nations without losing their own national individuality.

The formulation of a suitable curriculum and programme is a separate and major "study" itself. It can, however, be indicated that in the observed trend of shortened vocational training and lengthened general education in modern educational practice a working solution to this question might be found(7). This may not be possible under the existing attitude towards the financing of Indian and non-European education, or under the existing system of divided control of education between the Provincial and Central Government. The separation of general and vocational education, as a result of this divided control, does not adequately allow for the differentiation in the instruction given to pupils of diverse talents, varying intelligence(8) and cultural grouping. Divided control makes impossible the formulation and administration of a complete system of education by either the Provincial or Union Education Departments(9). However efficient and progressive the administration by the Central and Provincial Departments may be in respect to the kinds of education and schools which it is their function to provide, their efforts are still "co-ordinated. In a co-ordinated system which is based upon the principle that education is a life-long

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(7) See discussion on Report No.2, Social & Economic Planning Council(1944)- pp.95-96:para.118 - 127 (U.G.14 -1944).

(8) Ibid: p.95 - para. 113.

(9) Prof.W.F.Grant, Professor of Education, University of Cape Town in an article in "Post-War Reconstruction in the United Nations" - op.cit.-pp.302-303.

process..../ Page 752.

process, beginning in the nursery school and continuing through life, with adequate provision for full-time and part-time education, for formal and informal education, continuation and adult education, it should be possible to evolve an organic system which would aim at educating the whole man. Under such a unified system making provision for differentiated curriculum the question of the education of Indian girls would also solve itself. The immediate tasks which, in the meantime, have to be undertaken to complete the construction of the educational edifice for the Indian in Natal are as follows:

(1) the establishment of nursery schools, particularly in the slum areas and in the sub-economic housing schemes of the Municipalities, including the housing schemes for their own employees;

(2) compulsory measures to bring all children of school-going age (i.e.6-16 years) under instruction and keep them under instruction to the full age-limit, without any minimum educational qualification which will qualify them for exemption from further attendance(10), over a period of five years(11);

(3) free tuition and books and school requisites up to Matriculation in all schools and colleges(12) for full-time scholars;

(4) increased accommodation of the following kinds over a period of five years:-

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(10). The Social and Economic Planning Council (Report No.2) recommended compulsory education for all non-European children from the ages 7-14 as part of a 15-year programme. (para 111- p.95).

(11). It is estimated, on the 1946 Census population, and assuming the proportion of children in the group 6-16 has remained the same as at the 1936 Census, that in 1947 there were approximately 33,000 children in this age group not in school. About two-thirds of them are likely to be girls. About half the total number out of school is to be found in the Durban area alone.

(12). Keeping in mind the proposed Day Schools at the M.L. Sultan Technical College, Durban. Primary tuition up to Std.VI will be free from 1949.

(a) central.../p.753.

(a) central boarding schools from primary to secondary classes, especially for children in the rural areas;

(b) separate central boarding schools for boys and girls;

(c) hostels to be attached to Sastri College, Indian Girls' High Schools at Durban and Pietermaritzburg and Stanger Secondary School;

(d) infant schools at Durban, Clairwood and Pietermaritzburg;

(e) more primary schools exclusively for girls;

(f) taking over of smaller, badly built and ill-equipped Government-aided schools by the Administration;

(g) encouragement of the erection of State-aided schools by making increased building and equipment grants to local committees;

(h) reduction in the proportion of State-aided to State schools, by the establishment of more State schools;

(5) indigency, transport and maintenance grants for all those who need them(13);

(6) medical and dental inspection(14), and provision for mentally and physically handicapped children;

(7) immediate erection of a Normal College in Durban with hostel facilities for men and women;

(8) more generous bursaries, loans, transport and maintenance grants to student-teachers;

(9) abolition of racial discrimination in the salaries and pension privileges of European and Indian Teachers holding equivalent qualifications;

(10) a substantial block grant from the Central Government to the Provincial Government earmarked for expenditure

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(13) The only indigency grants for which Indians qualify are the general School Meals Service.

(14) There is no provision for this service in Indian Schools.

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on Indian education, in order to make up the leeway;

(11) opportunities for Indians to participate in the central direction and administration of Indian education as inspectors, organisers and supervisors;

(12) erection of technical colleges at Durban and Pietermaritzburg, with hostel facilities(15) ;

(13) establishment of vocational and trade schools in the large centres of Indian population, apart from Durban and Pietermaritzburg, adapted to the needs of the localities; in particular, homecraft schools for girls;

(14) extension of continuation classes, to serve the illiterate and semi-literate: to make up for their lack of general education;

(15) full-time and part-time university classes within the Province of Natal (16); full-time and part-time students to be admitted into all the faculties of Natal University College, both at Durban and Pietermaritzburg; the existing special week-end arrangement for teachers to continue;

(16) the appointment of organisers of adult education, the organisation and promotion of adult educational activities and services, and the immediate initiation of a campaign for eradicating adult illiteracy within five years (17).

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(15) The Durban Municipality might accelerate the release of land at Currie's Fountain, Durban, already allocated to the M.L.Sultan Technical College.

(16) While a compromise may be effected in the matter of residential separation of the races, including sporting activities because of extra-mural sporting arrangements, it is submitted that separation should stop there, and complete academic equality should prevail.

(17) A departmental committee of inquiry reported on various aspects of adults education in South Afrika ; and made certain recommendations with regard to Indians. Adult Education in South Africa is still in its infancy. See Report on Adult Education in South Africa(1945) (U.G.35/1945).

This historical .../p.755.

This historical study of the growth and development of Indian education in Natal may be fittingly brought to a close with pertinent and relevant quotations from four authoritative sources which bring out the importance of paying special attention to the educational needs of the Indian community.

"1. In the youth of the Nation we have the greatest national asset. Even on a basis of mere expediency, we cannot afford not to develop this asset to the greatest advantage." (18)

"2. The Union is doomed to a losing competitive struggle against the mentally-developed labour of the Western countries, against the awakening Eastern races and even against other parts of Africa unless the educational facilities for non-Europeans are improved." (19)

"3. In the interests both of social justice and European survival in this country we should not only allow, but insist that our non-Europeans be educated and encouraged and trained to become productive workers and earners and to contribute their full share to the common pool of goods and services. The basic problem of poverty cannot be remedied by devices which restrict productivity. Europeans in South Africa cannot afford to allow non-Europeans to remain poor, ignorant and unhealthy, thereby constituting a heavy drag on the whole economy of the country. In other words, social security for Europeans in South Africa depends mostly on the economic progress of our non-Europeans." (20)

"4. The Atlantic Charter, the Four Freedoms and many others, the Century of the Common Man, and the innumerable plan and proposals to save mankind will remain so many words unless the foundations for the acceptance of the principles for which they stand are laid through education." (21)

End.

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(18) English Board of Education: Report on Educational Reconstruction (1943) - cmd 6458: p.3 - Para 1.

(19) Social and Economic Planning Council (Report No.2) (1944): p.95 - para 111. (U.G. 14 - 1944).

(20) S.A.Journ.Economics: Sept.,1947, - Prof.H.R.Burrows, "An Approach to the Indian Problem in South Africa" - P. 172.

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

S U M M A R Y

1860 - 1947

SUMMARY.

Section 1.

(1860-1878)

The history of Indian education in Natal begins with the importation of Indian labourers from India in 1860 to work on the sugar and tea estates, and other industries and services. Special laws and regulations governed the importation and employment of these labourers. This period was essentially a period of experimentation with Indian labour. Natal appears to have found the Indian labourers satisfactory and indispensable to the agricultural and industrial development of the Colony, for after 1874 their importation was stepped up with the generous assistance of the Government.

From the point of view of educational development these early years were quite important for the nucleus of a permanent Indian settlement was established before 1878. Security of tenure and opportunities for growth are the foundations upon which educational systems are eventually built. Indian labourers were recruited to work under an indenture contract for five years for a certain specified sum laid down by law. After the expiry of the term of their indenture they were free to re-indenture or occupy themselves as they wished. At the end of the period of ten years residence they had the choice of returning to India at the cost of the Natal Government orof settling in Natal. Their permanent settlement was greatly desired by the European colonists at this time, and various methods were adopted to encourage the Indians to settle. After the long period of residence many Indians preferred to settle in Natal.

Family life in these early years was very unsatisfactory owing to the small ratio of women to men imported. The immigrants were drawn mainly from the Hindu agricultural classes, and most of them had no tradition of learning at all. In Natal too, as in the land of their origin, they formed an economically depressed class. Under indentured conditions of work and living there was little desire or opportunity for cultural pursuit and learning. Such desires were manifested by those who emancipated themselves from indenture. This latter class, which began to grow up side by side with the indentured class, being free to sell its labour, commanded a better wage and gradually improved its standard of living. Even in these early years the ex-indentured class showed unmistakeable signs of a desire for the benefit of education.

The ultimate responsibility for the education of the childrem of the Indian immigrant labourers rested with the Government of Natal. The Government of India expected the importing colonies to make provision for the education of the children of the indentured labourers and their descendants. During the entire period there was an absence of coordinated and willing effort on the part of the Government and employers of Indian labour to provide educational facilities for Indian children, who were being brought up in ignorance and superstition. This neglect of the education of the labouring class was in a measure a reflection of the social values of the time. It is not uncommon even today in certain countries and colonial dependencies, including South Africa.

The education of the European in Natal was equally neglected at this time. The educational provisions for the European child were, however, better than those for the Indian child, mainly owing to the effort of private agencies and the support they received from the more pros-

/perous European.....

perous European colonists. But the Superintendent of Education (a post which had already been created in 1859) was not tardy in drawing attention to the educational needs of Indian children. Native education was also badly neglected, and whatever facilities were available were mainly due to the efforts of Christian missions.

The existing system of education in Natal was based chiefly on a scheme of grants-in-aid by the State. The beginnings of a system of schools specially intended for and attended by Indians are already discernible in this period. But there was no definite policy for the education of the Indian as yet. The grant-in-aid system was merely extended to cover Indian education but the scale of grants do not appear to have been equally favourable to Indian schools as to European schools of the same category. The initiative for the establishment of the few Indian schools that had existed, during this period, came from Christian missionaries, Indians and a few broad minded planters. The first grant-in-aid for Indian education was made in 1869 when a sum of £25 was voted for a day and evening school in Durban conducted by the Rev. Ralph Stott, a Wesleyan missionary. At no time did State expenditure on Indian education exceed £70 in any one year. Voluntary contributions and fees by Indians to Stott's schools alone amounted to about £12. per annum. The most outstanding contribution to the promotion of Indian education during this period was made by the Rev. Ralph Stott. All missionary effort, of course, kept the proselytization motive in the forefront.

Other State-aided schools had been opened at different times at the Lower Umkomanzi, Sea Cow Lake, Merebank, Prospect Hall and Maritzburg, but they had had very short existences ; the life of these schools varied from one calendar quarter to four calendar quarters. Stott's Durban schools were the only exceptions in that they had a continuous existence for over ten years. The peak period of Indian educational development was 1872 when there were four state-aided schools along the coast, with a gross enrolment of 88 and an average attendance of 60 pupils. An Education Commission reporting in 1874 made several recommendations with regard to Indian education ; in 1875 Robert Russell, Associate Inspector of schools, also reported on the unsatisfactory state of affairs obtaining in Indian education, but no action was taken by Government until late in 1878. At the end of 1878 there were only two schools: Stott's day and evening schools at Durban with an average attendance of 31, and gross enrolment of 48. All tuition was free, and Government expenditure was £54. 5. 0. About one-third of the pupils were over 16 years of age. Tuition appears to have been given up to Standard IV.

SECTION II.

(1879 - 1894)

In order to provide for a proper system of primary and secondary education in the colony of Natal two laws were passed in 1877 (Laws 15 and 16). The responsibility for promoting education was vested in a Council of Education and a Superintending Inspector of Schools (i.e. the Superintendent of Education of former and latter periods). But it was not intended that these laws should also cover the education of the Indian child, nor that of the African (Native child). Hence, in September, 1878, a law was passed (Law 20) which specially provided for the education of the children of Indian immigrants. This law constituted a body known as the Indian Immigrants School Board, entirely separate from the

Council of Education and directly responsible to the Lieutenant- Governor of the Colony, which was charged with the responsibility of the promotion of Indian education.

The educational policy of Natal, then, created parallel systems of education for the Indian, the European and the African. There was, however, nothing in the laws of 1877 which was of a racially restrictive character, and legally there was no bar to an Indian child being admitted to the schools established by the Council of Education, But the establishment of parallel systems of education, in practice, brought about racial segregation in the system of education in Natal. Indeed, towards the end of the period the Council of Education moved a Resolution prohibiting all Indian children from attending any of its schools, until they had exhausted the resources of their own schools (i.e. the schools established by the Indian Immigrants School Board). The latter body was empowered to provide only primary schools, and, throughout the period Indian schools did not teach beyond Standard IV.

The original intention of the Lieutenant-Governor in initiating special educational legislation for the Indian appears to have been to adapt the educational system to the special needs of the Indian immigrants. The circumstances of the life of the Indian immigrant, particularly of the very large number under indenture, were not the same as those of the European community. Differences in language, religion, social customs, economic wealth and activities, and distribution, no less than racial prejudice, seemed to indicate the need for special provisions. The Law of 1878 then laid the foundations of a policy for the future development of Indian education.

The social, economic and political background of Indian education during this period was marked by growing friction between Indian and European, especially in their commercial relations. The Indian settlement continued to grow, augmented by mass importations of indentured immigrants, and immigrants of the trading and artisan class who followed in their wake. Indian society consisted of four classes, namely, the indentured, ex-indentured, un-indentured descendents of the former two classes born in the Colony, and the "Passenger" or trading class. The economic activities of the last three classes were viewed by the Europeans as a "menace" to their own security, and their agitation led to the appointment of a Commission of Inquiry, under the chairmanship of Mr. Justice Wragge, in 1885, which reported that the European's fears were not borne out by the facts. However, the year 1885 marks the turning point in the European attitude towards Indian immigration and settlement, and agitation for restriction of immigration and repatriation of the Indians continued to grow. The planting interests wanted the Indian to stay, but only as a source of cheap labour ; mercantile interests and artisan element wanted them all out of the country. Both interests, however, combined to restrict opportunities for Indian advancement, including that of education, though from different stand-points.

The generally depressed standard of living of the vast majority of Indians and the hardships of earning even a meagre livelihood, in the face of European opposition, tended to focus the attention of the Indian on earning rather than on learning. To this retarding effect of economic realities, were added their suspicion and opposition of Christian missionary efforts to establish schools, their own predilection for vernacular instruction and their backward notions regarding the education of girls.

Anti-Indianism led to the restriction of Government

/funds.....

funds for Indian education. The special provisions intended by Law 20 of 1878 ultimately turned out to be inferior provisions or minimum provisions. The system of schools and the quality of instruction provided by the Indian Immigrants School Board were, therefore, inadequate to the needs of the Indian community and inferior to that provided for the European Community.

A certain degree of expansion must be recorded in this period. The number of schools increased from 2 in 1879 to 26 in June 1894. For a while there were 3 Board (or Government) Schools, but in the last six years of the period there were only two - at Durban Central and Umgeni. The bulk of the schools in the system belonged to the aided-category. This was also true of the European system. To the State, aided schools were cheaper to erect and maintain than State schools. The excessive dependence upon a system of aided schools was an indication of the laissez faire policies of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. The total attendance of Indian pupils increased from 136 in 1879 to 2589 in 1893. The more reliable figures for average attendance were lower, viz. 295 in 1883 and 1191 in June 1894. The attendance of Indian girls was very poor. In 1893 girls comprised about one-third of the total (or gross) attendance. State expenditure on Indian education increased from £80 in 1879 to £1786 in 1893. The unit cost on Indian education, for all schools, dropped from £2.19.7. in 1883 to about £1.10.0. in 1893. In the last three years unit costs in State and State-aided schools were approximately equal, viz. £1.10.0. The scale of grants-in-aid adopted by the Board was lower than that of the Council of Education. Furthermore, such additional financial assistance given by the Council of Education to its own schools, as capitation grants for results, and the teaching of special subjects, were not available in the Indian system, owing to lack of funds.

Aided schools were established in widespread centres of Natal by the following Christian missions : Church of South Africa, Wesleyans and Roman Catholics. The Railway Department supported a school in Durban, and a few schools were also established by private individuals. There were some schools exclusively for girls established by the missions. The Rev.Dr. Booth of the Church of South Africa was easily the outstanding promoter of Indian education in this period. He even went to the extent of importing qualified teachers from India. Indian contribution to the schools was largely in the form of school fees. The fees in Indian schools were much lower than in European schools. The children of indentured parents paid lower fees than those of unindentured parents in the Government schools. Instruction for the first six months was also free in Government schools. While the Aided-schools were largely under clerical management, the supervision of the entire system was vested in an Inspector of Indian schools, appointed by the Board.

Most of the schools were concentrated in the coastal region where the Indian population was densest. A significant feature was that very few schools flourished on the estates. This was partly due to the indifference of employers or the apathy of Indians under indenture. The demand for education came from the other classes in Indian society. During this period a small number of Indians were educated at the Government European school in Durban. Evening classes for those employed in the day was another feature, but it was not fully exploited by the Board. The schools of this period showed greater stability and continuity than in the previous period, and some of them were in continuous existence for several years. Migration, epidemics, employment of child labour, distance, poverty and backwardness were some of the factors which influenced attendance.

/The.....

The curriculum of Indian schools was the same as that for European schools, except that in Indian schools there was one standard lower than the lowest standard in European schools. It was known as Standard 1 a and was a kind of Introductory class to meet the difficulties of Indian children. It was adopted from the system of Mauritius. The medium of instruction was English. There was no industrial education at all.

The growth of Indian education was greatly hampered by the lack of suitable teachers. A few came from India and Mauritius, but the bulk of them were locally recruited from the most advanced pupils of Indian schools. Teachers were trained at this time under the pupil-teacher system. The salaries of teachers and pupil-teachers were so low that only those with a missionary spirit, or the very mediocre, entered the profession. The highest standard in Indian schools was Standard IV. This was partly due to lack of suitably qualified teachers and partly to the view that Standard IV was quite sufficient for the Indian.

The administration of Indian education by the Indian Immigrant School Board lacked imagination, insight, ability, independence of action and the will necessary to advance education. Essentially it was a body which received funds from the State and "farmed" it out amongst the missions, leaving the initiative, problems of staffing and accommodation to private agencies. The Inspector and the Board were not always in agreement on policy. The system was ineffective in that it did not succeed in bringing in the greater proportion of children of school-going age into School, or keep them under instruction for a sufficiently long period to benefit by education. The state of literacy and ignorance of the Indian population was little better at the end of the period than at the beginning. However, the foundation of a system of schools for Indians was laid in this period.

SECTION III.

(1895-1910)

In 1893 Natal was granted Responsible Government. The general background of Indian education was characterised by a considerable amount of anti-Indian agitation and anti-Indian measures. In 1894 the government subsidy for the importation of Indian labourers was withdrawn. An Annual residential tax of £3. was imposed upon all new indentured labourers who came into the colony after 1895 and did not return to India after the expiry of their term of indenture. This was intended to discourage the settlement of Indians in Natal. Then in 1896 Indians were deprived of the parliamentary franchise.

This measure reduced the political status of those already entitled to remain in the Colony. In 1897 certain restrictions were also imposed upon " passenger " immigrants coming into the country. It was also made very difficult for Indians to obtain trading licences. An agitation was also conducted for the retrenchment of Indians in the employ of the railways and other government departments.

The general policy was to stop all immigration from India, and to bring pressure to bear upon those already settled in Natal to return to India. Indentured immigration to Natal was finally stopped by India in 1911 owing to the

/disabilities....

disabilities imposed upon the labourers after their term of indenture.

By 1911 the Indian settlement had grown to over 133,000. The "free" Indian class (i.e. the non-indentured or ex-indentured class) began to grow fast, and after the prohibition of indentured immigration it was inevitable that all Indians would eventually belong to this class. It was this class which manifested a desire for education and showed a spirit of enterprise and progress.

During this period there was in the Indian Community a considerable amount of intellectual, social and political activity. Anti-Indian measures made them more nationally and politically conscious, particularly under the leadership of Mr.M.K.Gandhi (later known as Mahatma Gandhi). They began agitating for equality of opportunity with the European, particularly in the field of education. European opinion, of course, was vehemently opposed to Indian aspirations.

Now in 1894 the Indian Immigrants School Board and the Council of Education were abolished and in their place an Education Department of the Government was established, responsible to a Minister of Education. The Education Department continued the policy of parallel systems of schools for the different races. During this period the complete exclusion of non-Europeans from schools attended by Europeans was completed. In order to meet the demands of the professional and merchant classes amongst the Indians for educational facilities equal to those provided for the Europeans, segregated schools known as Higher Grade Schools were established in Durban and Pietermaritzburg . With the establishment of these schools, which taught up to Standard VII, the process of racial segregation was completed.

The circumstances that led to the establishment of the Higher Grade Schools not only showed the existence of racial prejudice amongst Europeans, but also the existence of class distinctions within the Indian community itself. From another point of view, it also indicated a desire amongst the Indians for post-primary education. The leading figure in the negotiations for these educational facilities was Mr. H.Louis Paul, an Indian interpreter at the Magistrate's Court, Durban.

The education of the Indian masses was conducted mainly in three government schools, known as Elementary schools, and a number of government-aided schools. In 1895 there were in all 28 schools and in 1909/10 this number had increased to 36, of which 31 were aided schools. During this period the school system was extended to various centres in Northern Natal. The aided schools were, however, an essential feature of the system of Indian schools, chiefly because it was the cheapest way of providing education for the Indians; the number of pupils enrolled in schools also showed an increase. Whereas in 1895 the average attendance was 1362, in 1909/10 the figure was 2621. The average enrolment for the period 1900 to 1909/10 was 3394 and 3387 respectively, showing that there was little growth in the educational system. The paucity of girls attending schools continued to be another feature. Indian opposition to the proselytizing activities of Christian missionaries was more "national" and led to the founding of "national" schools managed by Indians. The bulk of the aided schools were, however, under missionary management. In 1909/10 the Church of South Africa had 22 out of 31 aided schools under its management. An Education Commission of 1909 reported that there were not enough schools, particularly government schools, for the needs of the "free" Indian population.

/Restrictions.....

Restrictions upon the growth of Indian education were imposed by reducing the maximum age limit to which an Indian pupil could remain in a government school to 14. Similar restrictions were not imposed upon European pupils. Once again the axe of European hostility fell upon the finances of Indian education. The State expenditure on Indian education however, showed an increase from £1812 in 1895 to £5781 in 1909/10. The major portion of the expenditure was incurred upon the two Higher Grade schools and the three elementary schools. Expenditure on Indian education was about one-twentieth of that on European education. A slight advance was effected in fixing an Annual grant-in-aid of 30/- per caput based on quarterly average attendance. The unit cost on Indian education in all schools, based on average attendance, increased from £1. 1. 6. in 1894/95 to £2. 0. 9½min 1909/10. The unit cost in government schools had increased from £1.14.6¼ in 1894/95 to £4. 14. 14¾ in 1909/10. A study of the per capita costs on the different races shows an hierarchical arrangement in which the European was first and the Indian third, being placed between the Coloured and Native. The unit cost on an Indian child was about one-quarter of that on a European child.

An important change took place when the post of Inspector of Indian schools was abolished, and the inspection of Indian schools was spread over the inspectors of European and Coloured shhools.

Another slight advance was recorded in that same period when Indian schools were given permission to teach beyond Standard IV up to Standard VI. This was probably due to improvements in teachers' qualifications. Generally the progress of Indian education was held up through want of suitable teachers. The chief educational advance of this period, besides the Higher Grade Schools, was in the certification and training of Indian teachers. Two grades of Indian Teachers' Certificates were instituted and examinations for them were conducted by the Education Department. Full time training was available at the Sydenham Training College, which was an aided institution under the St.Aidan's Mission. Part-time week-end classes were also conducted directly by the Education Department for teachers in employment. The two grades of teaching certificates and the system of part-time classes were carried on well into the succeeding period.

The chief weakness of the system was still its inability to reduce the extent of illiteracy prevailing amongst the Indian population. Thousands of children of school-going age went without any form of instruction. Elimination of pupils in the lowest standards was rapid as ever. State interest in Indian education amounted almost to apathy, but Indian interest was keener than ever before. The curriculum of Indian schools were the same as those of European primary schools ; and there was still no provision for industrial education. However, the standards of attainment of a few pupils marked an advance over the previous period in that a number of students passed standard VII at the Higher Grade Schools. There was no provision for Indians for an education beyond this stage. Educational segregation resulted in unequal educational opportunities for European and non-European children. The educational services for the Indian were much inferior to those provided for European children in respect of accommodation , equipment, quality of instruction, status and salaries of teachers, and so on.

SECTION IV.

(1911 - 1947)

With the formation of the Union of South Africa in 1910 the responsibility for the welfare and progress of the Indian community devolved upon the Union Government and the Natal Provincial Council.

During this period various factors in the social, political and economic background of Indian life in Natal affected the growth and development of Indian education.

(1) The high birth rate and "youthfulness" of the Indian population meant that educational planning had to make provision for more schools and recreation grounds for Indian children than for European children.

(2) European opinion would not accept the permanent nature of the Indian settlement in Natal, and so, after stopping all immigration from India attempts were made to reduce the Indian population already settled in Natal. Until the passing of the Asiatic Land Tenure and Indian Representation Act in 1946 hopes were held that practically all Indians would be repatriated. Such hopes led to the view that it was not urgent or necessary to provide educational facilities for Indian children, and, therefore, funds for Indian education were extremely limited and kept to the minimum.

(3) Certain anti-Indian measures proposed in 1926 to bring pressure upon the Indians to leave the country led to the conclusion of an agreement between India and South Africa known as the Cape Town Agreement. This provided for reduction of the Indian population by voluntary repatriation, on the one hand, and the "upliftment" of those who permanently remained behind, on the other hand. Europeans tended to emphasise the repatriative aspect and so continued to neglect Indian education. Indians looked upon the "uplift" Clause of the Agreement as a guarantee of security of tenure and promise of better treatment, and so took steps to help themselves to rise to Western standards of living, which was postulated in the Agreement as a necessary condition for more harmonious Indo-European relations. Their efforts were particularly noticeable in the field of education.

(4) In terms of the Cape Town Agreement India sent diplomatic representatives to South Africa to help in the carrying out of the Agreement. These representatives who were men of eminence, contributed much to the progress of Indian education by their official representations to the education authorities and by their exhortations of the Indian people to show more initiative and self-help, and to give up their prejudices with regard to the education of girls.

(5) The lack of political and civic representation not only placed Indian education at the mercy of hostile European element but also deprived Indians of a valuable incentive for education. To the loss of parliamentary franchise in 1896, was added the loss of provincial franchise in 1910, and of Municipal franchise in 1924.

(6) The existing disabilities in trade and employment were more emphasised in this period. The merchant and professional classes in the past gave generously to the school building funds, and their prosperity was important for Indian education, apart from the fact that wealth and leisure also stimulated the desire for cultural and educational pursuits. Occupational incentives are important for

educational development, but these were lacking for the Indians. Trade union organisation and the growth of opportunities in semi-skilled industrial occupation, however, led to higher wages and a rise in the Indians' general standard of living, which resulted in reducing their dependence upon childrens' earnings and in increasing their desire to see them educated.

(7) But the bulk of the Indian population has been living on a subsistence level and these could not afford to educate their children without a substantial rise in their income and assistance from the State.

(8) Indian society, having emerged from the indentured stage, developed a new outlook, new interests, new needs, and new ideals. They became South Africanised and Westernised. Owing to the stoppage of all immigration from India in 1913, about nine-tenths of them were born in the Union. Their appreciation of the benefits of education for themselves and for their children, was greater than in the previous generations. They demanded similarity and equality of educational opportunity with the European, on the grounds that they were South African citizens striving to live up to Western standards.

(9) Opposition to Christian proselytization activities was stronger during this period. It led to the establishment of state-aided schools under non-missionary or Indian management.

(10) Owing to their adherence to certain Eastern traditions there was also a demand for the inclusion of the Indian vernaculars in the curriculum and for the erection of special girls' schools.

(11) Intellectual, social and recreational activities showed greater keenness than ever before. These stimulated the desire for education. Political and social bodies showed great interest in the promotion of education.

(12) The social colour bar which separated Indian from European tended to deprive the Indian of valuable cultural contacts and amenities.

During this period four inquiries were held into the progress of Indian primary and secondary education, viz.,

(i) in 1928 by the Natal Provincial Council in accordance with the terms of the Cape Town Agreement. The chief point of issue in this and subsequent inquiries centred around the question of the Union Government subsidy to the Provinces, its purpose and adequacy, for Natal spent less than the subsidy earned on Indian education.

(ii) in 1936-1937 by the Natal Provincial Administration as part of a general inquiry into the education of all races in Natal and which demonstrated the fundamental weaknesses of the Indian system ;

(iii) in 1941 a Union Government Departmental Inquiry into provincial financial resources (known as the Corbett Committee), investigated the adequacy of the educational provisions made for all races. It pointed out the various respects in which the system of Indian education fell short of modern standards, and perhaps, unintentionally showed up the inequalities in the four educational systems in Natal.

(iv) in 1944 a Judicial Commission inquiry into Natal Indian Affairs, after the passage of the "Pegging Act" of 1943, investigated, inter alia, the condition of Indian education, but it did not complete its work, though it issued an Interim Report in which it thought that satisfactory

/progress.....

progress was being made in Indian education.

The outstanding features in the development of Indian education in this period were as follows :

(a) the widespread interest and initiative displayed by Indians in securing educational facilities for their children.

(b) the renewed interest and concern of the Government of India in the general and educational welfare of Indians in South Africa ;

(c) the relative decline of Christian missionary activity and the great increase in Hindu and Muslim activity in the establishment and management of aided schools ;

(d) the slow but steady growth of a changed attitude amongst sections of the European community with regard to the educational needs of the Indian community and the increasing assumption of State responsibility, shown in the extent of provincial contribution over and above the Union Government subsidy ;

(e) continued development of the system of racially segregated schools, and the practice of racial discrimination in the provision of educational facilities for Indian children shown particularly in the lower Union Government subsidy for Indian children as compared with European children, and in the lower capital and recurrent expenditure by the Province on Indian education as compared with European education.

(f) expansion in the number of schools, particularly aided schools, especially since 1927; the aided schools are an essential feature of the system of schools for Indian children chiefly because it was a cheaper system ;

(g) the adoption of a system of building and maintenance grants to aided schools since 1930 and general overhaul of the administration of aided schools since 1928 ;

(h) the growth and spread of facilities for post-primary education ;

(i) an increase in the enrolment of pupils brought under instruction, especially in the number of girls;

(j) the establishment of a state teacher-training college, and an advance in the standards of the teachers' general education and certification ;

(k) an improvement in the salaries and conditions of service of teachers, particularly by the absorption of all aided school teachers into the direct employ of the Natal Provincial Administration as from 1943 ; but there is racial discrimination in the salaries and status of European and Indian teachers.

(l) the introduction of a progressive system of free tuition in all primary schools as from 1942 ;

(m) the extension of indigency grants, post-primary and post-secondary bursaries, and a school meals service ;

(n) the creation of a sub-department of Indian education (as for Native Education) to deal especially with Indian education.

The outstanding shortcomings of the system at the end of the period were :

/ (1) lack.....

(1) lack of compulsory education;
(2) lack of hostels ;
(3) lack of medical and dental inspection ;
(4) lack of sufficient accommodation ;
(5) lack of adequate supply of trained teachers for all the needs of Indian education ;
(6) lack of co-ordination between the central and provincial education authorities, and the arbitrary division between them of education into vocational and non-vocational education.

The chief weakness of the system was, as in the previous periods of Indian education, its inability to bring under instruction all children of school-going age, and to keep them there long enough to benefit by instruction. Over 40 per cent of the children of school-going age are out of school ; most of these are girls. About two-thirds of those in school leave before reaching Standard IV, the bulk of them leave even before Standard II. The system was just able to keep pace with the normal increase in the Indian population and was totally unable to reduce the backlog of child illiteracy.

However, progress must be recorded over the previous period. The total number of State and State-Aided schools increased from 36 in 1911 to 150 in 1947. The number of State schools in 1947 were 26 against 5 in 1911 ; the corresponding figures for Aided schools were 124 and 31. The enrolment of pupils increased from 3658 in 1911 to 37,790 in 1947. State expenditure on Indian education increased from £5755 in 1910/11 to £401,207 in 1945/46. The estimated expenditure for 1946/47 was £441,555. The per capita cost in state schools increased from £5. 0. 5½ in 1911 to £16.18.8. in 1945/46 ; the corresponding figures for aided schools were £1. 12.0½ and £11.7.8. The total capital expenditure on Indian education between 1910/11 to 1945/46 was £107,827. The gap between European education and Indian education in terms of finance, was reduced from the ration 19 : 1 in 1910/11 to 2.7 : 1 in 1945/46.

Now with regard to technical and vocational education, there is as yet no such forms of education for the Indian, in the strict meaning of the term. Since 1930 evening commercial and continuation (in general education) classes were instituted in Durban and Pietermaritzburg. The former classes have now developed to the stage where they have been accorded the status of a technical college by the Union Government under the style of the M.L.Sultan Technical College, but the classes at both centres are still held in borrowed buildings. Indian students were not admitted to the classes provided for Europeans by the Durban and Pietermaritzburg technical colleges, and thus it became necessary to establish separate and parallel institutions for Indians. African and Coloured students have been admitted at the Indian institutions. The commencement of technical training in certain trades approved by a Union Government Committee of Inquiry in 1942, now only awaits the erection of a building in Durban upon land donated by the Durban Corporation. The rapid industrialisation of South Africa now taking place must inevitably stimulate the technical and vocational education of Indians and other non-Europeans. Technical and vocational education for Indians is, however, a matter for future development.

Similarly, the provision of university facilities for Indians within the province of Natal commenced in 1936, when the Natal University College established in

/Durban....

Durban as an experimental measure, parallel part-time classes in certain courses in borrowed buildings far removed from the University College buildings proper. In Natal the policy of racial seggegation has been adhered to strictly in university education too. Indians, Africans and Coloureds attend these part-time classes, from which a number have passed out as graduates. Owing to the success of these classes, which have established the demand for university education amongst Indians, and other non-Europeans, plans have been made to establish a separate residential non-European College and medical school as a constituent part of the newly formed University of Natal. It has been proposed to conduct parallel classes at which the same lecturers will be employed for European and non-European students. It is not clear whether all the faculties available to European students will also be made available to non-Europeans, immediately, or progressively, or at all.

From the historical point of view of this study it is worth noting that the descendants of the illiterate, and ecohomically and socially depressed indentured immigrants have in their social development now arrived at a stage when they are not only ready for university education, but a fair proportion of them have even acquired such an education from institutions within and outside South Africa.

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