A CRITICAL STUDY OF INDIAN EDUCATION IN NATAL 1860-1887.
HENRY DANIEL KANTO.
For my thesis, "A Critical Survey of Indian Education in Natal 1860-1937," I worked at various places, viz., the Archives and the library in Maritsburg, and the library and the office of the Protector of Indian Immigrants in Durban. In addition, I visited various centres of Indian population (the south coast, the north coast, and northern Natal), and had interviews with several Indians.

All this work I did myself, and I also typed the thesis myself. Nobody ever saw the thesis, except Mr. Burgan, the Principal of the Training College in Johannesburg.
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Sworn before me this 37 April, 1943
S. A. Darby
Com. of Ordinance

3rd April, 1943

At Kanonkop
31st March, 1943.
A CRITICAL SURVEY OF INDIAN EDUCATION IN NATAL
1860 - 1937.

BY

HENRY DANIEL KAMMEYER.
Natal presents an interesting field for the study of social relations. For while its social life from the earliest days had been moulded by a predominating non-European population, and its general population had become essentially cosmopolitan, successive Governments had never been influenced by the democratic principle of legislating for the good of all sections, and not merely for that of a privileged European section.

Thus the inter-relation of the interests of Europeans, Natives, Indians and Coloured people was overlooked, and only the interests of the Europeans were emphasised. And, since education appears to be one of the most important dynamic forces in the general social elevation of a race, it will also be in Indian education that we shall find the incentives to class legislation - prejudice and public opposition.

The question thus naturally arises, whether Indian education should in future develop in conjunction with the interests of the whole of this cosmopolitan population, or whether it should be confined within the narrow limits of a strictly class system of education and along purely Asiatic lines.

The aim of this treatise is, therefore, to study the development of the present system of Indian education in Natal, to deduce conclusions, and, finally, to advance certain suggestions for the formulation of a possible scheme of education that, in the light of past failures or successes, should go far towards
placing the education of the Indians in Natal on a sound footing, and more in conformity with the general principles of a modern democratic State.
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Ind. Indian.
L.A. Legislative Assembly.
L.C. Legislative Council.
Leg. Legislative.
Miscell. Miscellaneous.
Nat. Native.
N.B.B. Natal Blue Book(s).
N.P. Natal Province.
Ord. Ordinance.
Outg. Outgoing.
Outw. Outward.
Parl. Parliamentary.
Pres. Presented.
Prot. Protector.
Prov. Provincial.
Rel. Relative.
Res. Resolution(s).
S.A. South African.
S.C. Select Committee.
Sec. Secretary.
Sect. Section.
Sects. Sections.
Sess. Sessions.
Settlem. Settlement.
S.N.A. Secretary Native Affairs.
Supt. Superintendent, Superintending.
U.G. Union Government.
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PART I.

THE DESIRABLE COOLIE - THE LABOURER.
CHAPTER I.

-186 C THE LABOURER - THE INCENTIVE.

1. Social Background and the First Indian Immigrants.

With the beginning of the nineteenth century, there was ushered in one of the most important periods in the social development of Natal, when Chaka conquered and devastated the entire country, stretching from the Limpopo to the Cape Colony - a symbol of his power and authority. But established, as it was, with fissiparous elements, his State did not last long, for its very existence from its inception became threatened by disruption, both from within and from without. Nevertheless, he had entrenched barbarism.


and established a bulwark against European civilisation and progress.

Such was the condition of Native society in south-eastern Africa at this time. But changes soon became inevitable. For not only had contact been established between Native society in Natal and European society in the Cape Colony with the arrival of the first few British settlers soon afterwards, but also the first outpost of European civilisation. Moreover, a spirit of philanthropism seems to have pervaded this new settlement. The Europeans showed no racial snobbery; they had no colour prejudice. And then, too, the Natives, who had become docile and peaceful mainly through fear of the martial sway of Chaka and his successor Dingaan, welcomed the opportunity of finding an asylum among the Europeans. Thus, as if by a magnet, the centrifugal elements from this tribal State were attracted by the European settlement. Eventually, some of the Europeans became chiefs of tribes. They welcomed the first missionaries as a valuable accession to the European population of the district. And when the Trekkers arrived, they also received a warm welcome. Complete harmony appears to have prevailed among the people forming the European

   Proceedings of Commie. 1852-1853 Part III Evid. by D.C. Toohey p. 27.
But soon the hosts of Dingaan descended on the little European community. Then, after the murder of Retief, the British settlers with some of the Natives marched with the Trekkers against Dingaan, and thus a common danger was removed when Dingaan's power was broken. The social landsliide in the life of the Zulus had, however, gone further. Already with the murder of Chaka by Dingaan, the social life of the Zulus in Natal had begun to lose all cohesive power and gradually crumbled to pieces. Dingaan had made futile attempts to preserve the traditional features of the society established by Chaka, and so did Panda, but with the accession of Cetewayo in 1873, after years of internecine warfare and with his challenge in 1879 to what was then constituted authority in Natal and South Africa as a whole, there had gone the last pillar of the old Zulu tribal society, which to-day is belauded but by few of its would-be protagonists. But, in spite of this, barbarism was still as strongly entrenched as ever. And with this dead weight of barbarism against the European community, the hopes of European civilisation seem to have been faint indeed. The huge wave of savagery had retreated only to come back with redoubled force.

Then in the midst of this amorphous mass of savages,
the Trekkers formed a little republic of their own. But it was not quite so easy to settle after the commotion. Larger numbers of Native refugees had entered the district, fleeing from the tyranny of Panda, Dingaan's successor. No doubt, the Government that was to succeed in preserving peace and social harmony, in the face of such differences of sentiments and ideals as were later presented by the British settlers, the Trekkers, and the Natives themselves, had a difficult task. Where and how to live in peace with one's neighbours, and how to effect a compromise between the best in the one society with the best in the other became the great question. The outcome would be either racial harmony or disharmony. But the superiority of the Natives in numerical strength and the paucity of the European population really presented the first important problem that had to be solved. Thus there was the question of the distribution of land among the general population. In fact, upon this question everything hinged. The British settlers wanted land; the Trekkers wanted land; the missionaries wanted land; the Natives wanted land. In other words, every group wanted the right to live.

It was during this period of gestation that the Imperial Government annexed the district. The Trekker Republic was, therefore, thrust aside, abolished after a brief existence, and another form of government established. But the interests of the Colonists in the government of the Natives were ignored, and the interests of the Natives again became the plaything of party politics. Disharmony was thus increased. But the subsequent departure of the Trekkers deprived the district of a very important portion of its agricultural population, so that it became denuded, removing

at the same time one of the strongest barriers against the Natives, and driving out one of the greatest civilising forces in the district. And the departure of the Trekkers further, therefore, made necessary the arrival of new immigrants. But once such immigrants had arrived, the Natives were to be segregated in locations, no doubt, to protect them against the Europeans, to protect the Europeans against them, and to secure a better use of the Crown Lands for these immigrants. But the arrival of mere immigrants spelt the collapse of Mr. Theo. Shepstone's form of Native tribal Government in the locations that were eventually established, and the locations had thus failed in their original purpose.

The Natives in the locations, furthermore, had been removed from the civilising influences of the Europeans in the district and also from the missionaries in the locations. For that also the missionaries had failed in the locations is abundantly proved by the Mission Reserves Commission of 1886. But the missionaries had been an important factor in breaking up the social and retarding the economic life of the Natives in the locations, so that the whole location scheme really became the location of the missionaries instead of the Natives. Then also the growing hostility of the Colonists to the missionaries became synonymous with hostility to the progress of the Natives.

We can, therefore, see in what a parlous state Native interests soon were. In fact, at the background of the whole history of Natal, whether economic, social or political, we find Native interests. Racial animosity had reached its height within a few years. The result was that the


2) T. Shepstone to Sec. to Govt. 7th April, 1851 G.H. Miscell. Corresp. 1850-1851 Vol. 98.
Natives had been ostracised economically, socially and politically.

Thus in the locations the Natives were living immune from the benefits of the economic progress Natal was gradually making. Unemployment among them, whether they lived in the locations, on Crown Lands or on private lands, became endemic. They had consequently no conception of the value of labour, and there was little or no incentive to work. There grew up in their minds the idea, which we notice clearly to-day, that they were only tolerated and not wanted, and that they were being robbed and persecuted by all. This naturally encouraged suspicion against the Government and against Europeans generally. The Amakolwa, or Christian Natives, began to think, but they soon realised the futility of it all. A Native Press had meanwhile been fostered, but it was too much under the influence of missionaries and self-seeking and so-called Native leaders. The Natives gave vent to their feelings in open rebellion, especially later, in the case of Langalibalele in 1873 and Bambata in 1906; but the lessons they learnt were that their land and property could be confiscated and their tribes scattered. In this way, they were left as relics of the past, because they could not take part in the economic life of Natal, warlike, tenacious to old customs, unteachable, as it appeared, to wallow in the beastliness of barbarism. They had rattled back to their former barbarism, instead of becoming an asset to Natal.

Therefore, as the years passed, the nascent industries of Natal suffered because of the lack of labour, while the Natives were being mollycoddled by protective but retrogressive legislation. The conditions and circumstances created by a capitalistic regime had made it impossible for a subject race to expect a fair share of equal treatment in the social
life of Natal.

But the best evidence of the failure of the Government to elevate the Natives is to be found in its intention to introduce foreign labour. For the sake of the economic development of Natal, the Government had become momentarily vigorous: the introduction of labourers was the focal point of its policy. It was then decided to introduce Indians.

Some of the reasons given for the importation of Indian labourers were consequently the unreliability of Native labour, the difficulty of obtaining it, and the fact that the sugar industry was impossible without a permanent and reliable supply of labour. A further incentive to the introduction of Indians appears to have been that the Government of India was favourably inclined to the migration of Indians to Natal, for in this way an outlet would be afforded for its surplus population. Accordingly, by Law No. 14 of 1859 provision was made for the introduction of Indian labourers to Natal, and the first Indians landed thus in Natal on 17th November, 1860.

It can, therefore, be easily understood what the effect was on Natal of the introduction of another non-European race, and an element with different ideas and ambitions, different languages, different faiths, and the subjects of a foreign Government, into the social life described above. And when the Indians eventually became the very competitors that the Europeans had feared the Natives would become, all class hatreds welled against them, so that steps were immediately

taken for their repatriation.

Hence the arrival of this element marked a new era not only in the economic, social and political life of Natal, and showed the economic basis of anti-colour hostility, but stirred up causes for repression, coupled with racial friction between Europeans and non-Europeans - our unhappy legacy from those days of theorising and endless speculation.
1861-1878 SETTLEMENT AND PENETRATION - THE NEW ASPECT.


When the Imperial Government annexed Natal in 1843, and while the district was overrun with Native refugees, with the Trekkers leaving, and only a few missionaries arriving, it seemed as though the only outcome of the defeat of Dingaan was the formation of a purely Native settlement, governed by missionaries and officials under a form of Crown Colony Government. But the inauguration of a system of government in 1846, the granting of land to European colonists, the arrival of new colonists, and more missionaries removed this danger.

Now the introduction of Indians was something totally different from the introduction of European immigrants for the purpose of increasing the colonial population, the future citizens, for establishing a European front against a mass of intractable and uncivilised Natives, for supplying skilled artisans for nascent industries, and for introducing colonists with capital to foster new industries. The Indian immigrants were not colonists in this sense. The reasons for the introduction of Indians, and the way in which they had been
introduced gave to the whole undertaking the character of a number of unskilled labourers, imported to exploit the economic wealth of a sub-tropical settlement for the benefit of a few individuals. Thus, with the introduction of Indians, there was once more the danger of European interests being replaced by those of non-Europeans, and of Natal this time becoming an Asiatic settlement, a kind of plantation colony. Moreover, this time the danger existed for many years, and this helps to explain the bitterness of the racial strife between Europeans and Asiatics in Natal. In fact, it appears that it was only after Natal had ceased to be a Colony and had become a Province in 1910 that the tide began to turn against Asiatic ascendency.

But there is a further fact that seems to explain this anti-colour hostility. While there was an abundance of Indian labour, the European worker never really descended to the level of a mere labourer, so that the development of the resources of Natal came to depend on Native and especially Indian labour. When the Native and the Indian, however, began to show signs of rising above the level of ordinary manual labourers, they necessarily, from the European point of view, entered the domain of the Europeans, and it was then that the interests of Europeans and non-Europeans began to conflict. But it is to be noted that while the first Indians were introduced under a system of indenture that placed them on a par with the meanest plantation labourer, their economic, social and political position in Natal was as yet uncertain and their residence temporary.

Thus under this system of indenture, Indian immigrants continued to arrive in Natal after 1860. It was, however, not long before an abrupt stop was put to their further arrival. For political chaos and financial difficulties had begun to loom large, and thus the immigration of Indians
to Natal ceased on 14th July, 1866. The first setback to the steady and unhampered influx of Indians into Natal thus appeared within a few years of the introduction of the first immigrants. But economic interests were soon overriding other interests. Racial hostility and colour prejudice went for nothing in the face of such interests. In fact, the Indians were evidently welcome in Natal not as citizens, but for the labour they could supply. In other words, it appears to have been impossible to stop permanently a movement that had become such a boon to Natal, for it was clear that the industries of Natal could not exist without such imported Indian labour. The sugar industry, for example, had suffered severely. And between the years 1866 and 1874, Native labour had become more and more precarious, and the opening of the diamond fields had increased the demand for labour, for they attracted a large number of Indians from Natal. And then, too, the supply of labourers that had before the discovery of diamonds been obtained from Tongaland, Basutoland, and the Portuguese territories had failed completely. But if there is anything that proves conclusively that the labour supply had become very acute, then it is the fact that in 1874 the crops were rotting on the ground because no labour could be obtained. Thus during the first few years after 1866, there was thrown into relief the importance of Indian labour as the mainstay of the industries of Natal. But there was now an important difference. The Indians were no longer a benefit to the planters only, but also to the general

European population. Therefore, they had come to enjoy popularity, not because they were such admirable colonists, but because they were a public benefit. Public confidence in the indenture system had thus been fostered. Consequently, in order to meet the abnormal demand for labour, the popular voice pressed for immediate action, and as a result of this the importation of indentured Indian labourers was resumed in 1874.

If popular approval was a great incentive to the further arrival of Indians, other factors similarly tended to foster the indenture system. Thus, for example, Natal was pre-eminent for settlement of Asatics. The European population was still small, and there was not yet such competition on the part of the Indians as to place their interests above those of their employers. Thus what with the welcome the Indians had so far received, their future seems to have been very bright indeed. But it was just here that the tide of popular opinion began to turn against them.

The Indians soon refused to work for the Colonists, because they wanted to work for themselves. They were out-growing the old stage of being satisfied with occupying a position of economic dependence. Thus employers experienced great difficulty, because the Indians had contracted the habit of feigning sickness to enable them to attend to their own business. And so much had aversion to the indenture system taken hold of the Indians, that they had definitely begun to co-ordinate their efforts to secure their freedom. Thus many of them had availed themselves of the opportunity

of becoming free after the expiry of their term of indenture. The direct result of this was that few Indians re-indentured. Hence we have the rise of a Free Indian population.

Consequently, the next step should have been that those Indians who had refused to indenture should be repatriated, if we consider that the Indians had been introduced as indentured labourers and not as settlers. In actual fact, provision had been made by Laws Nos. 19 and 20 of 1874 for the return of Indian labourers to India after the expiry of ten years of residence. But this provision was not taken seriously; economic interests were again as important as in 1866. This is shown by the fact that not more than half of the Indians had eventually returned to India. And, as showing now definitely the attraction that Natal must have had for them, can be mentioned the further fact that several Indians who had previously been indentured had scurried back to Natal. Furthermore, by Law No. 14 of 1859, it had been stipulated that those who wished to commute their right to a free passage to India for its value in land could obtain a grant of land from the Government under this condition. This provision, however, seems to have created a precedent - the permanent settlement of the Indians in Natal. In fact, and what is more important, it was tantamount to a recognition of the domicile of the Indians in Natal, encouraged the pending collapse of the indenture system, and since it had not actually created locations, it countenanced the promiscuous settlement of the

3) Bulwer to Hicks Beach Desp. No. 75 of 7th May, 1878 Outg. Desps. Vol. 61 par. 2.
4) Law No. 14 of 1859 sect. 28.
Indians when it was applied half-heartedly, and thus aggra-
vated the problem created by Natives squatters already by 1855,
and introduced another called, euphemistically - Indian
penetration. But the possession of land had also in the
case of the Indians become a matter of primary importance.
They had acquired land at high rentals, and in some cases even
purchased land; and many of them had become squatters on
Crown Lands.

But it was not merely in the possession of land that the
Indians were bound to affect the interests of the Europeans
and, for that matter, also those of the Natives. Because
they were small landowners, they showed a special inclina-
tion to become market-gardeners. Thus in the vicinity of
Durban, they carried on a lucrative trade in the sale of vege-
tables and tobacco they had grown themselves, and nearly all
the market-gardening, and the hawking of fruit and vegetables
were in their hands. They had soon entered other spheres in
the economic life of Natal. A considerable number of them
were fishermen, and nearly all the fishing was in their hands.
An increasing number of shops was opened by them. There was
also a great demand for educated Indians as interpreters and

1) Ord. No. 2/1855 of 16th Febr., 1855.
2) Bulwer to Hicks Beach Deep. No. 132 of 7th Sept., 1878
3) Report Prot. Ind. Immigs. 1876 p. 4 par. 29.
4) H.C. Shepstone to Col. Sec. 7th April, 1869 S.N.A.
Vol. 1, No. 24.
6) Report Prot. Ind. Immigs. 1877 p. 6 par. XV.
8) Report Prot. ind. Immigs. 1877 p. 6 par. XV.
9) Ibid., 1878 p. 33 par. XI.
in other responsible positions. Thus the favourable circumstances the Indians found in Natal, coupled with their undoubted energy, perseverance and frugality, had lifted them from their economic dependence, for some of them had become prosperous and wealthy.

At first they had been employed in the coastal regions of Natal where sugar cane was most extensively cultivated, but they were naturally attracted by other prospects up-country where they were in great demand as servants. In fact, they were ultimately scattered even beyond the confines of Natal, for they had proceeded to the diamond fields because of their attraction, as we have already noticed.

Thus what had originally been merely a labour question had by this time already shown signs of becoming a problem, and a problem that was no longer local, but, as regards the future, seems to have been permanent and closely identified with Natal as a whole. At the end of this period, therefore, the total collapse of the indenture system was merely a matter of time.

Since the Indians had improved their position economically, we can expect also a further marked social improvement. Thus those of them who were born or reared in Natal had begun to reveal less of that servile attitude which had been so characteristic of their parents. But being still essentially an Asiatic race, they presented characteristics different from those of the Europeans and the

3) Report Prot. Ind. Immigs. 1876 p. 4 par. 27.
5) Brooks to Col. Sec. 18th Sept., 1872 C.S.O. Vol. 419 R 1735/1872.
a) See p. 22.
Natives. They had a homeland that was known for its ancient culture; mentally they were certainly not inferior to the Europeans and far superior to the Natives at this time; and they showed great attachment to their religions. The missionaries had already begun to work among them. But, as was to be expected, they had offered great resistance to all attempts to Christianise them. The importance of religion and racial affinity in the social cohesion of a race is clearly shown by the fact that they were becoming a distinct element in the already mixed population in Natal. Thus their foreign character was enhanced, and this, together with their religious and racial exclusiveness, was probably one of the reasons why they became ostracised from the non-Europeans in general, and aroused the hostility of the Europeans. But they were British subjects, and time-expired Indians at this time had the same rights and privileges as other sections of the population.

We can thus sum up by saying that the Indians had at the end of this period not only advanced beyond the Coolie stage, but had become an integral part of Natal. Yet, if economic and social improvement would eventually arouse the hostility of the Europeans, then it would be more so in the case of political

1) Natal Blue Book 1861 No. 12 p. 188.
Natal Almanac and Directory, 1864 p. 45 footnote.
Eveleigh, A Short History of South African Methodism p. 22.

2) Whiteside, History of the Wesleyan Methodist Church of South Africa p. 367.


4) Bulwer to Hicks Beach Desp. No. 132 of 7th Sept., 1878 Outg. Desps. Vol. 61 par. 11.
Report Prot. Ind. Immigs. 1877 p. 6 par. XV.
advancement and improvement. But we can hardly expect the Colonists to have given the Indians the political equality they denied the Natives, and for the further reason that they were themselves at this time struggling for constitutional freedom in what was still a Crown Colony. In proportion, therefore, as the demands of the Indians for political equality would increase, so the opposition of the Europeans would grow in volume. This then would mark the turning point in the former popularity the Indians had enjoyed as Indentured Indians. Thus at the end of this period the time had come, when the Government had to consider the Indians from a different angle, since their presence had assumed a totally different complexion. We have thus the beginning of that opposition to the Indians which becomes so important during the next period.

2. First Government Initiative in Education and Formation of an Indian School Board.

The condition of Indian education in Natal at this time was, no doubt, determined by at least three main considerations, viz.,

(1) The condition of the education of Indians in India before the arrival of Indians in Natal.

(11) The economic, social and political condition of the Indians in Natal.

(iii) The condition of education in Natal.

At the beginning of the nineteenth century, education in India was not permeated through the masses of the Indian
population for Western education had not yet been introduced, and the village schools could supply education to only a small fraction of the vast child population. The education of girls was almost non-existent. Add to this the fact that the Indians who had arrived first in Natal were merely labourers, and we cannot but conclude that at least during this period the Indians could not be considered as any but an illiterate class. Thus also the social position of the Indians at this time could hardly have aroused in them any great desire for education or an appreciation of the value of education. This also will explain the attitude of the Indians towards education in Natal.

But it stands to reason that the economic, social and political development of the Indians in Natal must necessarily have become deciding factors in their educational advancement, for they would naturally, in the course of time, have demanded a system of education in conformity with their new social status in Natal. Furthermore, once the Government had recognised their permanent residence in Natal, either by giving them land or allowing them to purchase land, the case for their education had been won. For then the duty fell on the Government itself to supply the necessary education.

But as yet the state of Native, and especially European education, during this and the next period militated against the formulation of any definite Government policy for the education of the Indians. For here again, as in other spheres in the social life of Natal, it was hardly to be expected that the Indians would receive what the Natives and the Europeans themselves did not yet possess.

As to education in Natal, it appears that the first

steps in European education were taken during 1849 and 1850, when the Government opened two schools - one in Pietermaritzburg, and the other in Durban. And in 1852 commenced the system of grants-in-aid to European schools from the public Treasury. Eventually, a Chief Central Board of Education was formed, composed of clerical and official elements. But this Board soon collapsed, and thus in June, 1859 Dr. R. J. Mann was appointed Superintendent of Education, and he then administered European education. Dr. Mann, however, resigned at the end of June, 1870. The appointment of Mr. T. W. Brooks as Superintendent of Education was eventually confirmed by the Secretary of State, but he died by his own hand early in 1876. Mr. Brooks was then succeeded by Mr. R. Russell, and a Council of Education was created in 1877. Meanwhile, the education of the Natives had been carried on mainly by missionaries. In April, 1844 the Rev. A. Grout of the American Mission was appointed


2) Govt. Notice No. 60/1858 of 2nd Oct., 1858.


4) Govt. Notice No. 95/1873 of 15th April, 1873.

    Witness 15th April, 1876 In Memory of (etc.).

    Times of Natal 15th April, 1876 In Memoriam (etc.).


    Law No. 15 of 1877 sect. 1.

6) Montagu to Grout 10th April, 1844 C.S.O. Vol. 1 No. 17.

Government missionary superintendent at a salary of £150 per annum. And then, according to the instructions of Earl Grey contained in his despatch of 10th March, 1847, further assistance was given by the Government towards Native education. But, meanwhile, there was great opposition among the Colonists to sectarianism in Native education, and especially to Ordinance No. 2 of 1856, which had provided for the education of the Natives. In 1884 Native education was placed under the Council of Education. It appears, therefore, that when the Indians arrived in 1860 there was hardly a systematised scheme of education for either the Europeans or the Natives. What scheme of education there actually was then in Natal was still in its infancy.

Let us now consider the steps that had, under these circumstances, been taken to provide some measure of education for the Indians. It was stated that when the Indians were brought to Natal, it was agreed between the Government of Natal and that of India that the children of Indian immigrants should be educated. But it appears that no provision had been made in

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3) Law No. 1 of 1884 sect. 1.


Ibid., 11th April, 1914. Indian Enquiry Commission (etc.).

a) Mr. Grout, however, soon resigned, and then laboured again as a missionary of the American Society.
the Indenture Laws of Natal for the education of the Indians. Furthermore, no Law, Government Notice or Proclamation before 1878 had announced such an agreement, and no mention seems to have been made of it in any of the educational reports of the Government.

Thus for many years after their arrival, the Indians had, as will be seen below, received some education especially from the missionaries, but an education that was characterised by its lack of system. The same procrastination and spate of suggestions that were so characteristic of Native education were also apparent in the case of Indian education. For example, the Coolie Commission of August, 1872 called the attention of the Government to the necessity of educating the Indians. And the Education Commission of 1874 recommended that the Government should assist the owners or managers of plantations to maintain schools on the plantations, and that the Corporation of Durban should co-operate with the Government in the immediate erection of schools in Durban. Then there was the question of Compulsory Education. Thus the Coolie Commission of August, 1872 suggested careful consideration of the question, whether the education of the Indians should be made compulsory; the Superintendent of Education also recommended that the attendance of Indian children on the plantations should be made compulsory; and the Education Commission of 1874 recommended that all Indian children within a reasonable distance should be compelled to attend under the

1) Polak, The Indians of South Africa p. 65.
direction and with the approval of the Protector of Indian Immigrants. What is clear is the vagueness of all these suggestions. Everything was tentative. Although a delay of nearly two years was caused, before the Education Commission of 1874 had issued its two voluminous reports which were practically identical in their recommendations, it had little to suggest for the education of the Indians, and what it did suggest was useless. What shows a decided lack of interest is the absence of educationists on the Commission; nor were missionaries represented. To have suggested Compulsory Education reveals a definite failure to understand conditions in Natal at that time, apart from the fact that it would have entailed an expenditure that Natal then could not, or most probably would not, bear. There was also the attitude of the Colonists and the Indians that had to be considered when suggesting Compulsory Education for Indians, besides the probable lack of teachers and suitable schools.

Then, too, Native education itself was not yet compulsory, and neither was European education.

There was, however, one suggestion made by this Education Commission of 1874 that had an important bearing on Indian education. The Commission had, for example, recommended that any scheme of education for Natal should operate without prejudice to sect, party or creed. And then, also, the attendance of non-European children at European schools was subsequently approved by Lt. Governor Keate, and on 27th August, 1875 it was stipulated that all schools in Natal aided by the Government


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were to be open to all classes. Consequently, we find a few Indians attending European schools. Thus it follows there was really no necessity for establishing separate schools for the Indians, and the provision of a separate vote for Indian education. But it is difficult to reconcile the provision of educational facilities for Indians at European schools with the suggestion that there should be Compulsory Education for Indians, although it cannot be assumed that such compulsion entailed attendance merely at European schools. For if we consider the fact that the number of Indian children in Natal was large and increasing, it becomes clear why the European schools would soon have been flooded with Indian children, and also with Native children for that matter, under any system of Compulsory Education. Besides, it must be clear, too, that there would have been violent opposition on the part of the Colonists to such a system of education. This provision for education at European schools could, therefore, be extended to only a few Indians.

Thus the inevitable result was that there had to be some definite system of education for Indians. But here the scattered nature of the Indian population was an important factor militating against the establishment of a sufficient number of schools. For while the Indians were still confined to the coastal regions, the inauguration of a system of education would not have been as difficult as when, for example, they had begun to spread all over Natal. But since they were still confined to the coast, it follows

1) *Brooks to Col. Sec. 18th Sept., 1872 C.S.O. Vol. 419 R 1735/1872.*
   Report Prot. Ind. Immigs. 1877 par. XIV.

that the schools that had been established for them would be mostly along the coast.

There were both Day Schools and Evening Schools. There was Mr. Earl's school at the Isipingo plantation which was attended by both Natives and Indians. On the Reunion Estate a hospital was converted into a schoolroom for Indian children on the estate. There was also Mr. Barker's school at Umzinto which was also attended by Natives and Indians.

There was a school at the Lower Umkomanzi for the Indian children on the sugar estates in the neighbourhood. And the Rev. Ralph Stott established a school for Indians in Durban.

These were the Day Schools. Mr. Barker's school at Umzinto was also an Evening School, and also Indians attended. There was an Evening School on the Umgeni Estate. And the Rev. Ralph Stott had an Evening School for adults in Durban.

By 1872 there were four schools for Indian children, but by 1876 there were only two schools for Indians, and both were in Durban - the first a Day School containing 34 scholars, and the second an Evening School containing 20 scholars. This appears to have been the only educational provision for

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6) Ibid., Brooks 30th April, 1869 S.N.A. Vol. 315 par. 59.
Indians at this time. Thus up to 1877 no systematic effort had been made for the education of Indian children, for it was only in 1878 that a law was passed making provision for a Board of Education, called the Indian Immigrant School Board.

The establishment of the Indian Immigrant School Board created a dual system of education for the Indians, while they were allowed to attend also European schools. Furthermore, while two members of the Council of Education were to be also members of this Board, and the secretary of the Council of Education was the secretary of the Board, Indian education was being closely identified with European education. The institution of the Board was nevertheless an important step in class education, and also in the decentralisation of education in Natal. In many ways, an improvement had been effected in Indian education. For whereas previously there had been merely fumbling and idle suggestions, now there was at least some system. It was also a further recognition of the permanency of the Indians in Natal.

1) Report Prot. Ind. Immigs. 1877 p. 5 par. XIV.
   Law No. 20 of 1878 sect. 3.
3) Ibid., sects. 1, 2.
   a) Cf. pp. 76, 166.
PART II.

THE UNDESIRABLE INDIAN - THE COMPETITOR.
CHAPTER III.

1879-1894 THE PUBLIC MENACE - RISE OF PUBLIC ANTAGONISM.


What strikes one most forcibly during this period, is the remarkable progress the Indians had made. The economic development of the previous period had become more pronounced, so that now they undoubtedly ranked as the foremost non-European race in Natal. And it will be seen that the intensity of public antagonism towards them was in direct proportion to the degree of progress they had made.

When we consider the factors that tended to increase public hostility, we notice further that the causes making for friction, which we have noticed during the previous period, had during this period become intensified as a result of greater competition by the Indians. First, there is now more convincing proof of the threatening collapse of the indenture system, as exemplified by the presence of a large Free Indian population.

Consider, therefore, the number of Indentured Indians in relation to the number of Free Indians as given in

a) See pp. 20, 21 et seqq.
   Ibid., 1890-1891 N.B.B. p. A 44.

Making allowances for the annual increase of the Indian population both by births and the arrival of new immigrants, we
see that, although the number of Indentured Indians had grown considerably, there was a phenomenal increase in the Free Indian population. Hence there was at this time a large and increasing number of Indians who belonged to a class that, having the same rights as Europeans, was thus placed in a position of direct competition with Europeans. And they all represented a potential source of inter-racial conflict. a)

During the previous period we have noticed that the Indians were beginning to leave the coastal districts and even Natal itself. This movement now seems to take place on a larger scale. They were attracted by those centres where employment and possibly better opportunities were offered, for there had been a growing demand for Indian labour in the up-country districts. Thus we find they proceeded, as before, to the diamond fields, to the Transvaal gold fields, and to the Cape Colony. The result of this migration was that, as far as Natal at least was concerned, they were soon so scattered that, apart from those employed along the coast from the Tugela to the Umsimbulo and from Durban inland to the Drakensberg, Indians were found everywhere in twos and threes. Thus the field of their activities had been appreciably extended.

As agriculturists the Indians had made even greater progress than previously. On the coast they were remarkably successful as farmers on small plots of land rented on short leases, and for many years the quantity of maize grown

1) Bulwer to Hicks Beach Desp. No. 135 of 8th July, 1879 Outg. Desps. Vol. 11 pp. 63, 64.
   Ibid., 1885 N.B.B. p. 20.
3) Report Ind. Schools 1885 N.B.B. par. 9.
a) See pp. 22, 26.
by them had been no mean factor in lowering the market-price of maize. And the Indians who had settled in the vicinity of Durban and Pietermaritzburg were almost entirely supplying the local markets with vegetables, and the competition by Free Indians had prejudiced the position of those Europeans who had previously had a monopoly of that trade. A large number of them were employed as monthly servants with contractors for railway extension; many were employed as house servants in towns and villages. In fact, they were now in practically every occupation throughout Natal as, for example, gangers and waiters; some were engaged in manufacture, engineering and carpentry; some worked in wheelwright shops and warehouses; others were office clerks, store-keepers, mechanics and policemen. As traders they had also made great progress. Thus while in 1865 not a single licence was held in the Borough of Durban by an Indian, in 1870 there were two Indians trading in the Borough on a retail shop licence; in 1875 there were 13 retail shop licence holders; and in 1880 there was a further increase, when 30 retail shop licences were issued to Indians and seven to Arabs. In Pietermaritzburg one Indian retail shop licence was issued in 1875; and in 1881 and 1885 there were issued 12 and 28 retail shop licences respectively. And then the desire to possess land, as seen during the previous period, had important results during this period, as shown by

1) Report Ind. Immigs. Commis. 1885-1887 p. 82 par. 20.

Ibid., p. 266 Evid. by R. Topham.
the amount of property owned by Indians and Arabs. Thus in
Durban in 1887 there were two lots owned by Arabs and valued
at £270; 17 lots were owned by 12 Indians and valued at
£3,685; and 50 Indian families owned or rented houses. In
1884 there were 40 properties owned by about four Arabs and
valued at £16,000, and 96 properties owned by about 78 Indians
and valued at £17,605. And in Pietermaritzburg in 1872,
there were five properties occupied by Indians of the freehold
value of £450; in 1875 there were seven properties rented by
Indians of the freehold value of £870; in 1880 there were ten
properties of the freehold value of £2,185; and in 1885 there
were 35 properties rented by Indians of the freehold value of
£7,000. And according to the Corporation Rate Rolls for
Durban and Pietermaritzburg, Indians who had originally arrived
in Natal as labourers were in 1886 owners of property of a
total value of £18,983 — in Durban £14,020 and in Pietermaritz-
burg £4,963.

Thus not only were the Indians making great progress
towards their final emancipation from indentured labour, but
they were fast becoming a capitalist class, if not among the
Europeans, then at least among the non-Europeans. In fact, they
had become a power in Natal, and were beginning to form a very
important portion of the community. From a European point of
view, the Indians and the Arabs had become a public menace, since
their interests had definitely begun to clash with those of the
Europeans.

During this period, therefore, the Europeans had begun

1) Report Ind. Immiga. Commie. 1885-1887 p. 149 Report by
R.C. Alexander.
Ibid., p. 286 Evid. by R. Topham.
2) Ibid., 1879 N.B.B. p. 3.
to take a serious view of the situation. The majority of them seemed strongly opposed to the presence of the Free Indians either as rivals or competitors in agriculture or commerce. Thus, for example, a petition dated 15th July, 1885, and presented by the Pietermaritzburg Chamber of Commerce to the Legislative Council, revealed the bitter feeling against Arab traders. In this petition, legislation was sought, prohibiting Arabs or Asiatics from living or trading in any part of the town, except in such areas as might be allocated by the Corporation or local authorities for the purpose. And then at the general election in 1893, the implacable hostility of the Colonists towards the Indians became evident.

There appears to have been three possible solutions to the problem, viz.,

(i) Permission to reside in Natal with full equality in every respect with the Europeans.

(ii) Permission to reside in Natal, but subject to class legislation.

(iii) Repatriation.

Undoubtedly, the tendency, according to the present development of the Indians, was towards equal rights with the Europeans as citizens. But this was the pivot around which the whole struggle turned, and consequently, in the racial struggle that we notice from now onwards, the last two solutions would still be tried with varying success.

Thus in December, 1893 a deputation, consisting of Mr. Birna and Mr. Mason, the Protector of Indian Immigrants,

2) Binns and Mason to Sir Edward Buck 1st Febr., 1894
a) Note the connection between politics and the development of Indian education. Cf. pp. 45 at seqq.,50, 126,145.
proceeded to India to confer with the Government of India on the subject of Indian immigration, and to obtain an alteration in the terms of indenture, so that the immigrants should return to India at the end of their indenture. But they were verbally informed that failure on the part of immigrants to return to India at the end of their term of indenture should not constitute a criminal offence. However, a further important step was subsequently taken towards the final collapse of the indenture system, when under Law No. 37 of 1894 provision was made for the cessation of the contribution by the revenue of Natal towards immigration, so that from that time onwards the expenditure in connection with the introduction of immigrants fell entirely upon the planters.

Once more, therefore, emphasis can be placed on the fact already mentioned that the Indians had become an integral part of Natal. It was expected they should not be repatriated when they did not wish to return to India or when the Government of India objected to such repatriation, and thus from now onwards Natal had to reckon with the Government of India as the protector of Indian interests in Natal. When negotiations failed, the only alternative left the Government of Natal was, under the pretext of toleration, to introduce repressive legislation.

We cannot, as a consequence, avoid the conclusion that at the end of this period, in spite of growing public opposition, all attempts to solve what had now become a

   Law No. 37 of 1894 sect. 1.
   a) Cf. pp. 157,158.
   b) See p. 27.
   c) Cf. p. 193.
problem had utterly failed. Further attempts at negotiation would be made, but with what results will become evident in subsequent chapters.

2. Increasing Effect of Economic Interests, Public Hostility and Colour Prejudice on Education.

In the economic development of the Indians, we have seen that during this period the hostility of the Europeans towards the Indians had already made itself felt, and that this hostility had also been voiced in the Legislative Council. The fact that the annual vote for Indian education was under the control of the Legislative Council explains why the Indian Immigrant School Board would be hampered by lack of funds. We see, therefore, the false position in which Indian education was placed by the vote for Indian education coming from a body that would influence all future legislation in connection with the Indians. It stands to reason, so long as that hostility existed in the Legislative Council and the Indian education vote originated in that Council, Indian education would fare badly, would consequently become a political cry and the members of the Legislative Council would have to carry out the wishes of the public. And that again, of course, would be reflected in the support the Government would give towards Indian education. The measure of progress that Indian education would make would, accordingly, depend

a) Cf. pp. 157,158 et seqq.,190,191 et seqq.,211,212 et seqq.
b) See p. 43.
on the degree of public hostility towards the Indians, which
we have already seen depended again on the economic, social
and political progress of the Indians. Consequently, it
follows that the Government would hardly adopt the same phi-
lanthropic attitude towards the Indians that it had adopted
towards the Natives, when we also consider the generally
more exalted social position of the Indians compared with
that of the Natives.

But there is another side to this economic, social and
political advancement of the Indians. As a result of the capi-
talistic system under which the Indians were living, we should
have had, as in the case of the Europeans, a distinct disinte-
gration of the Indian community into rich and poor, and this
was now already heralded by the presence of two classes - the
Indentured Indians and the Free Indians. This social disinte-
gregation was further enhanced by differences of religion and
language. And then, too, the favourable economic conditions
under which the Indians were living during this period, and
their general social make-up must have become more pronounced
in their effect on the prevailing attitude of both the Inden-
tured and the Free Indians towards education.

When we, therefore, consider the extent to which the Indian
Immigrant School Board was able to foster its system of Indian
education, we notice at once three important aspects in the
general development of Indian education, and these can be
classified under the following heads, viz.,

(i) Lack of variety in the system of education.
(ii) Obstructive and destructive tendencies.
(iii) An alternative - a dual system of education.

These aspects can again be further illustrated by means of the

a) See pp. 42,43 et seqq.
Thus we see the scope of the activities of the Indian Immigrant School Board in relation to those of others interested.
in Indian education. The system of schools was essentially that of missionaries; the only schools to the credit of the Board were the Board Schools, but Boarding Schools, Industrial Schools, and Training Schools show educational activities the Board had failed to embrace, and because of the general defects of the system of schools, we have the attendance of Indians at European schools and Native schools. And, finally, we see that the foundation of the whole system of schools rested on economic interests and class prejudice.

When we now consider the lack of variety in the system of schools, we must necessarily first consider the initial steps taken by the Board to lay the foundation of its system of schools.

1) Thus the first meeting of the Indian Immigrant School Board was held on 26th March, 1879 in the office of the Protector of Indian Immigrants in Durban. There were present the Protector of Indian Immigrants, the Rev. Ralph Stott, and Mr. Henry Binns, a planter. But already at this meeting not all the members of the Board were present. Besides, the meeting lasted only two hours. This was, therefore, a very poor start.

One of the first acts of the Board was to send a circular in February, 1879 to employers of Indian labourers, in which they were asked for their opinions in connection with the best methods of establishing and maintaining schools, and what support they would give towards the erection of schools on

1) Minutes Ind. Immig. School Board 26th March, 1879.
a) See table p. 128.
b) See table p. 128.
their estates. Only six replies were received. One stated that every employer of over 100 Indians should provide a schoolroom, quarters and rations for the teacher, but omitted to say whether he was willing to do so; one was prepared to give a house and rations for the teacher; one expressed his willingness to provide a shed, as a schoolroom, and rations for the teacher; one considered a child who received school education was dangerous to society; another believed the Indians when educated were neither fit for labour nor anything else; and the last thought it was madness to have sent out such a circular when all were on the brink of ruin. This attitude of the planters was one of the first setbacks the Board received in its attempts to formulate its scheme of education.

The next important step taken by the Board was a resolution that an inspector should be obtained from the Government of Madras. Although the Madras Government had already in September, 1879 been asked to elect an inspector, it was not until the end of 1881 that Mr. George Dunning, formerly Headmaster of the High School, Chitaldrug, Madras Presidency, was selected, and he arrived eventually on 9th September, 1881.

Three years had, therefore, practically elapsed since the passing of Law No. 20 of 1878, before there seemed to be any likelihood of starting the system of Indian education for which purpose the Board had been established. Meanwhile,

1) Minuter Ind. Immig. School Board 26th March, 1879 Res. 3.


the Protector of Indian Immigrants, Mr. Henry Binns, and the
Rev. W. Wynne were appointed a Committee to communicate
with Mr. Dunning to make a tour of inspection on the coast
to acquire full information in connection with the educa-
tional needs of the Indians, and also to ascertain how those
districts could be supplied with schools. He was then to
report to the Board on the subject. Mr. Dunning was thus
soon engaged in organising a scheme of education for the In-
dians and visited several of the estates. But it was not
long before the Board, because of the unsatisfactory nature
of his report, instructed him to prepare another report,
giving detailed information based on personal observation.
A Committee, consisting again of the Protector of Indian
Immigrants, Mr. Henry Binns, and the Rev. W. Wynne, was to
advise and supervise him during the preparation of his re-
port. On 26th November, 1881 Mr. Dunning reported again.
But this second report was by no means an improvement on
the first. Also the planters were dissatisfied. Thus on
5th April, 1882 the Victoria Planters' Association passed a
resolution that Mr. Dunning was devoting too much attention
to the education of the children of the Indentured Indians and

1) Minutes Ind. Immig. School Board 9th Febr., 1881 par. 7.
   Ibid., 15th Oct., 1881 par. 3.
3) Minutes Ind. Immig. School Board 15th Oct., 1881
   par. 6 Res.
did not look after the educational needs of the children of the Free Indians. Now this once more shows the opposition of the planters to the education of the children of the Indentured Indians; for it is scarcely possible to believe that they were interested in the education of the children of the Free Indians; but it is more likely that they were, on the contrary, afraid that the education of the children of the Indentured Indians would interfere with their supply of labour. The Board, therefore, regretted that there was not more evidence of a desire on the part of the planters to support its efforts to provide education for the children of the Indians employed by them. And, because of the unsatisfactory nature of Mr. Dunning's work, the Board gave him three months' notice of dismissal as from 1st August, 1882, and then Mr. F. Colepeper, Acting Protector of Indian Immigrants, was appointed Inspector of Indian Schools. From this unfortunate termination of Mr. Dunning's services, it appears that the Board was at the end of 1882 in the same position in which it had been in 1879. Valuable time was lost.

But the new appointment seems to have given an impetus to the work of the Board. Thus there was much activity during 1885 and 1886 on the part of the officials of the Board and Mr. Colepeper. Great progress was made. In

2) Ibid., par. 10.
   Ibid., 3rd Nov., 1882 par. 3.
1886 there was an increase in the number of scholars, the education of the children of the Indian immigrants was fairly well provided for in the large towns and also in the immediate neighbourhood, so that there appeared at the time to be no need for future educational facilities for Indians in Durban at least; but it was only in country places that more educational provision was needed. If we now remember that at this time many of the Indians were leaving for up-country districts, we cannot escape the impression that the coastal areas had been supplied with schools at the expense of the country districts, and that the activities of the Board were at this time still not elastic enough to embrace the whole of Natal. But then it could hardly have been otherwise, considering the physical features of the country, and the almost inaccessible places the Indians must have inhabited then, as they do at present, and that at a time when means of transport must have been slow.

We have seen during the previous period that the majority of the schools had apparently failed. During this period, with the establishment of some system of schools, we could have expected greater progress and greater variety in the schools; but in proportion as the Board's activities had increased in dimension, so also had its failures increased.

As can be seen from the above table, the Aided Schools

1) Minutes Ind. Immig. School Board 14th May, 1886 par. 5 Res.

a) See pp. 22, 26.

b) See p. 35.

c) See p. 47.
constituted the backbone of the Indian system of education; they were the schools that had to cater for the majority of the Indians in Natal; they were the pioneers, so to speak, of all educational endeavour; they were the schools that could most easily have been established in the most inaccessible spots; and what is more important, they were the schools that should have received the unstinted attention of the Board, since on their success or failure must have depended either the survival or collapse of the Board itself.

The attitude of the planters explains also why there were only a few schools even on the estates along the coast. In November, 1883 an Estate School was opened at Prospect Hall, and in 1884 another at Clare. Both these schools were Mission Schools. But the Clare Estate School, after sinking to a very low ebb in 1886, was closed the following year, and the Prospect Hall Estate School, after having done very well in 1887, was not mentioned again in the report of the Board for 1888, and had, therefore, presumably been closed that year. These were the only Estate Schools mentioned as such by Mr. Colepeper. In fact, Mr. Colepeper was hardly impressed with the value of the Estate Schools, for he stated in 1884 that the attendance at these schools was so small that it appeared to be labour lost to establish any more of them. The following year he still held the same opinion as to the futility of establishing any more Estate Schools.

Consider now the other Aided Schools controlled by the

1) Report Ind. Schools 1883 N.B.B. p. FF 69. 
2) Ibid., 1886 N.B.B. par. 23.
   Ibid., 1887 N.B.B. par. 19.
   Ibid., 1885 N.B.B. par. 19.
missionaries. In 1884 there was Dr. Booth's school in Durban, which was the leading school in point of numbers. It was under the constant supervision of Dr. Booth himself, and this, no doubt, accounts for its success. It had an actual working number on the roll of over 100 scholars. Another good school in Durban was that of the Rev. A. Baudry. It was well attended, and later its accommodation had to be increased. In Pietermaritzburg was the school of the Rev. J. Barrett which was also largely attended. Another good school was Pietermaritzburg No. 1 under Dean Green. It was well attended. Of the schools outside Pietermaritzburg and Durban, the Bridgeford School appears to have been the best; but it was closed in 1892. These were the only Mission Schools showing any stability. It appears that the Mission Schools were more successful in Durban and Pietermaritzburg; but away

   Ibid., 1888 N.B.B. par. 8(2).
   Ibid., 1891 N.B.B. p. U 68.
2) Ibid., 1883 N.B.B. par. 8(18).
   Ibid., 1889 N.B.B. par. 9(21).
3) Ibid., 1887 N.B.B. p. U 89.
   Ibid., 1890 N.B.B. par. 8(22).
4) Ibid., 1888 N.B.B. par. 8(11).
   Ibid., 1889 N.B.B. par. 9(13).
from these two towns the obstacles seem to have been insuperable, as in the case of the Estate Schools.

Then there was the Railway School - the only Departmental School. In 1883 the Railway Department was still unable to provide increased accommodation for this school which was overcrowded. It was attended mainly by the children of the Natal Government Railway employees. In 1887, however, it did not do well, and in 1890 when it was still unsatisfactory, Dr. Booth assumed the management of the school. In 1893 it once more suffered a setback, but it was still considered amongst the best schools.

We now come to the last of the Aided Schools - the Private Adventure Schools. In 1893 there appear to have been two Private Adventure Schools, namely, the Umgeni Private School and the Mount Moriah Private School. The following year we find Vinden's Private School in Pietermaritzburg. Vindent was an Indian. He laboured, however, under the disadvantage of not being supported by any missionary body. The school was closed in 1887. In 1888 there was Rock's Private Adventure School in Pietermaritzburg. Rock was also an Indian. This school felt the want of a manager's supervision. It was closed in

1) Report Ind. Schools 1883 N.B.B. p. F70.
   Ibid., 1890 N.B.B. par. 8(1).
2) Minutes Ind. Immig. School Board 21st June, 1883 Res. 6.
   Ibid., 1885 N.B.B. par. 3.
4) Ibid., 1885 N.B.B. p. A 70.
   Ibid., 1889 N.B.B. p. U 84.
In 1890 there appeared the Sea Cow Lake Private Adventure School, which was, however, closed the following year. As will be seen later, the existence of these schools marks the beginning of a movement that would eventually constitute an important aspect of the general system of Indian education.

Such were then the Aided Schools. Let us now consider what the Board itself had done to establish schools for the Indians.

By Law No. 20 of 1878 the Board had been empowered to establish its own schools. But it was only in October, 1883 that the first Board School was opened in Durban. Subsequently, two more Board Schools were established - one at Umgeni near Durban, and the other at Tongaat. It was proposed to establish a Board School in Pietermaritzburg, but because the Pietermaritzburg Corporation had refused to give a site for such a school, it was decided no further steps should in the meantime be taken in the establishment of that school. Later Mr. Colepeper recommended that a Board School should be established at the Point, but the funds at the disposal of the Board did not admit of the opening of such a school. Finally, in 1888 the Board intended to establish a Board School for girls in Durban, but it was eventually

1) Report Ind. Schools 1890 N.B.B. pp. U 86, U 87, U 90, U 95.
2) Ibid., 1883 N.B.B. pp. FF 69, FF 70.
   Ibid., 1884 N.B.B. p. U 49.
3) Minutes Ind. Immig. School Board 12th July, 1884 par. 6 Res.
   Ibid., 10th Dec., 1884 par. 3.
4) Ibid., 11th May, 1888 par. 4.
a) See pp. 76, 99, 184, 196, 197 et seqq.
decided that the establishment of the school should remain in dyanct. These Board Schools were the first Government Schools for Indians. But it can hardly be said that the Board had availed itself of its power under the above Law to establish its own schools.

The Board Schools were provided and maintained entirely at the Board's expense, and the fees collected at them were paid into the Colonial Treasury, forming part of the general revenue of Natal, instead of being used for the development of the system of Board Schools.

Consider next the expenses in connection with the Board Schools and the Aided Schools. Take the table below:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>YEAR</th>
<th>Expenditure three Board Schools</th>
<th>Expenditure Board and Aided Schools</th>
<th>Fees Board Schools</th>
<th>Number on Roll</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>£ s. d.</td>
<td>£ s. d.</td>
<td>£ s. d.</td>
<td>Board Schools</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1885</td>
<td>227.15.0</td>
<td>1,461.4.3</td>
<td>16.18.10</td>
<td>2.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1886</td>
<td>325.19.4</td>
<td>1,499.19.9</td>
<td>19.1.9</td>
<td>184</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1887</td>
<td>429.2.6</td>
<td>1,251.6.4</td>
<td>14.5.0</td>
<td>191</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1888</td>
<td>373.14.8</td>
<td>1,355.16.7</td>
<td>12.4.3</td>
<td>226</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

From these figures we can calculate the cost of educating each pupil at the Board Schools and the Aided Schools, as shown in

1) Minutes Ind. T. Mig. School Board 9th March, 1888 par. 6 Res.  
   Ibid., 22nd Feb., 1889 par. 4 Res.  
   Ibid., 1885 N.B.B. par. 57.  
3) Ibid., 1885 N.B.B. pars. 4,49,50.  
   Ibid., 1886 N.B.B. pars. 4,27,30.  
   Ibid., 1887 N.B.B. pars. 4,20,23.  
There was thus a great difference between educating a child at a Board School and at an Aided School.

Furthermore, if it was a question of getting value for
money, we might expect that the education given at these Board Schools was better and of a higher standard than that at the Aided Schools. But examine the following table, which compares the three Board Schools with what we consider were the three best Aided Schools - the Railway School, Durban (Dr. Booth) and Pietermaritzburg (Rev. J. Barret):—

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>YEAR</th>
<th>SCHOOLS</th>
<th>NUMBER EXAMINED</th>
<th>NUMEROF PASSES IN</th>
<th>NUMBER OF PASSES IN</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Highest Std.</td>
<td>Highest Std.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Reading</td>
<td>Writing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Three Board Schools</td>
<td>71</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1886</td>
<td>Three Aided Schools</td>
<td>85</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Three Board Schools</td>
<td>67</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1887</td>
<td>Three Aided Schools</td>
<td>74</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Three Board Schools</td>
<td>73</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1888</td>
<td>Three Aided Schools</td>
<td>74</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Now, taking these details, we get for the three years the following

The standard of education at the Board Schools was, therefore, higher than that at the Aided Schools, but like the Aided Schools the Board Schools were essentially Primary Schools. However, to have educated only 36 per cent of the pupils at the Board Schools up to Std. IV seems very poor, indeed.

Comparing the attendance at the Board Schools and the same three Aided Schools, we have the following table:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>YEAR</th>
<th>BOARD SCHOOLS</th>
<th>AIDED SCHOOLS</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Number on Roll</td>
<td>Average Daily Attendance for the Year</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1885</td>
<td>205</td>
<td>93</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1886</td>
<td>184</td>
<td>93</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1887</td>
<td>191</td>
<td>93</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1888</td>
<td>226</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

From this it will be seen that the attendance at the Board

   Ibid., 1886 N.B.B. pp. U 84 - U 85.
   Ibid., 1887 N.B.B. pp. U 82 - U 83.
Schools was better than that at the Aided Schools. But even then the attendance at the Board Schools was hardly satisfactory.

Under these circumstances, we cannot but conclude that the Board Schools were not better adapted than the Aided Schools for the education of Indian children. To show that Mr. Colepeper himself was not too sure of the ultimate success of the system of Board Schools, it must be emphasised that already in 1884 he had expressed his desire to see the Board Schools handed over to any denomination that would take charge of them. In fact, the Tongaat Board School, which had been established in the midst of a large population of Free Indians, was closed in 1889 since a properly-qualified teacher could not be found, and was then reopened as an Aided School under the management of Dr. Booth.

These were then the Day Schools. There were also a few Evening Schools. In 1883 Evening Schools for adults were held at the Durban Board School, the Railway School in Durban, the Point School, the Umgeni School and the Equefa School. But the following year the only Evening School that was well attended was the Railway School with from 15 to 20 on the register; nearly all the Evening Schools had been closed, since the men in country places were too tired after their day's work to attend an Evening School, and since those in the towns had been prevented by the nine o'clock bell from attending.

In 1885, however, Evening Schools were held at the Durban Board School, the Umgeni Board School, the Tongaat Board School, the

2) Ib. d., 1889 N.B.B. par. 3.
3) Ibid., 1883 N.B.B. p. FF 69.
5) Ibid., 1885 N.B.B. p. A 64.
Railway School, Verulam, Imapingo, Avoca, Umzinto, Durban (Rev. S.H. Stott) and Pietermaritzburg (Rev. J. Barret). It will be seen that, apart from the Evening School in Pietermaritzburg, all these Evening Schools were in or near Durban. In fact, the Evening Schools in 1886 of any importance were those in Durban held by the teachers of the Railway and the Sydenham Schools. But after 1886 no Evening Schools were held, though classes of young men and boys met in some of the Durban Schools.

This now constitutes the whole system of schools for Indians during this period, and the lack of variety we have noticed in the schools during the previous period is thus again evident, for apart from these schools there were, for example, no Colleges and no Industrial Schools. Nor were there any Boarding Schools, although the only school where boarders were accepted appears to have been the Durban Girls' School in 1889.

Let us now examine what we consider the obstructive and destructive tendencies in the system of Indian education.

First consider the pupils who attended these schools. What becomes evident, when we study the annual reports of the Board, is the wide range in the ages of the scholars. Many of them seem to have been infants. The next characteristic is that the majority of the scholars were boys.

Thus kindergarten was a feature of the Rev. A. Baudry's school in Durban, and also of that of the Rev. J. Barret in

1) Report Ind. Schools 1886 N.B.B. par. 43.
2) Ibid., 1887 N.B.B. par. 29.
   Ibid., 1889 N.B.B. par. 25.
3) Ibid., 1889 N.B.B. par. 9(3).

a) See p. 35. In fact, this appears to be a characteristic of Indian education even at the present time.
Pietermaritzburg. Also in other cases the scholars were chiefly beginners and below standard. Further evidence of the wide range in the ages of the scholars is the fact that provision was made also for adults, as we have seen above in the case of the Evening Schools. Apart from this, there was in 1884 the Wentworth School, which had been opened for the benefit of fishermen and farmers. But this school was closed in 1888.

To find girls at school seems to have been the exception. For it is here that we can notice the most striking example of the opposition of Indian parents to the system of education, as seen in their apathy towards the attendance of girls. But there were some schools where girls attended with boys as, for example, at the Rev. A. Baudry's school in Durban, the Railway School in Durban, the Pietermaritzburg School No. 1 under Dean Green, and the Rev. J. Barret's school in Pietermaritzburg. We find, however, that by 1884 the number of girls who had attended the schools had increased but little, and that the few who were to be found in almost all

1) Report Ind. Schools 1890 N.B.B. par. 8(20,22).
   Ibid., 1891 N.B.B. p. U 70.
2) Ibid., 1890 N.B.B. par. 8(13).
   Ibid., 1891 N.B.B. par. 9.
   Ibid., 1888 N.B.B. par. 8(11,18,20).
   Ibid., 1889 N.B.B. par. 9(21,23).
   Ibid., 1890 N.B.B. par. 8(22).
the schools were generally Christians. In fact, although 1,371 boys and girls attended the schools during 1884, and the estimated number of Indian children in Natal was 6,632, of the remaining 5,261, it was computed, one-third were girls.

Mr. Colepeper was, however, of the opinion that if schools were established in Durban and Pietermaritzburg under European ladies, numbers of girls would be obtained, and he stated that such schools would have been opened already, if it had not been for the fact that they could not be made self-supporting. Now in 1885 the Board had considered the question of the introduction of ladies from the Zenana Missions in India for the purpose of educating Indian girls in Durban and Pietermaritzburg. It does not appear that anything was done in this direction, for in 1886 Mr. Colepeper still held the view that it would be worth while trying the erection of a school under European ladies. In the same year, however, he was confident of the establishment of a girls' school in Durban under the Roman Catholic Mission, but the scheme was postponed, since the Board was unable to give assistance. Meanwhile, classes for Indian women and girls were held in Durban by two English ladies in connection with the Church of South Africa; and a similar class was held in connection with the Wesleyan Mission. After this dilly-dallying, we find the first few schools for girls being established. Thus in April, 1888 a girls' school was opened in Durban under the

4) Minutes Ind. Immig. School Board 11th July, 1885 par. 8.
5) Report Ind. Schools 1885 N.B.B. par. 28.
6) Ibid., 1886 N.B.B. par. 12.
7) Ibid., 1885 N.B.B. par. 29.
management of Dr. Booth. In 1892 another school for girls, also under the management of Dr. Booth, was opened in Durban, and also the Umbilo Girls' school in Durban. We have already noticed that the Board had in 1889 decided not to open a Board School for girls in Durban. The only schools for girls in Durban were, therefore, clearly Mission Schools. But in 1889 a new school for girls was opened in Pietermaritzburg under the Rev. Swabey. Thus in 1894 there were four schools for girls - two in Durban, one at Umbilo, and one in Pietermaritzburg. And it appeared that the presence of female teachers, and also schools where needlework was taught, attracted girls.

Apart from the difficulty of obtaining girls for the schools, there were also other factors that obstructed the system of Indian schools during this period. The extent to which the Indian parents had put a different interpretation on the value of the education that their children received, can be seen from the fact that their apathy was described as also due to their fear that, if their children were educated, they would later be unfit to earn a living by labour, and thus, perhaps, become bad characters. This was, of course, a direct condemnation of the worthlessness of the education imparted at the schools, and the truth in that opinion will

3) Ibid., 1889 N.B.B. p. U 80 - U 81 and par. 9(13).
5) Report Ind. Schools 1887 N.B.P. par. 13.
6) Ibid., 1883 N.B.B. p. FF 71.
a) See pp. 56,57.
become evident later. Furthermore, the early age at which Indian children could earn a living constituted a great loss to the schools of the more advanced pupils. This, no doubt, must have been one of the reasons for the youth of the pupils. Then, too, there was hardly a boy or girl of seven years of age whose earnings did not contribute towards the parents' earnings, or for whom employment as domestic servants in European families could not be obtained if desired. This can be easily seen in the case of the Point School, where the boys were too much in demand in the neighbourhood to be able to attend school. Also at other schools the more advanced boys had left. And in 1887 it was stated that several of the more advanced boys, who had left that year, had obtained employment in offices and stores. Boys were also often kept away from school, because their parents needed their assistance; they had to hawk fruit and vegetables, work in gardens, or assist generally.

There was, consequently, great competition to obtain pupils for schools that would otherwise have collapsed. Thus

1) Report Ind. Schools 1883 N.B.B. p. PP 68.
3) Ibid., 1888 N.B.B. par. 8(7).
4) Ibid., 1886 N.B.B. par. 22.
   Ibid., 1888 N.B.B. par. 8(2).
   Ibid., 1890 N.B.B. par. 8(2).
5) Ibid., 1887 N.B.B. par. 15.

Mr. Colepeper considered that the only way to obtain the attendance of Indian children at school was by means of missionaries and persons interested in them. Now this again, as in the case of his suggestion that the Board Schools should be handed over to missionaries, was a direct reflection on the Board’s ability to educate the Indians without the assistance of the missionaries. Furthermore, the parents refused to allow their children to go any distance from home by themselves even where facilities for travelling by rail were available; and in vain Mr. Colepeper had offered to arrange for the children being taken at the nominal rate. For it was only, when teachers would undertake to fetch the pupils and see them home again, that the parents would trust their children out of their sight. Thus the teachers had to be active and energetic, if they wished to collect a large number of pupils, and keep them fairly regular in their attendance. In other words, everything had to be done by a species of canvassing, and the most active and enterprising teachers received most pupils.

And what were the actual results of this competition? The Rev. Barret’s school in Pietermaritzburg fell off considerably since competition for pupils had grown keen; the Umzinto school suffered through the setting up of a rival school in the village by an ex-pupil, who had been dismissed for misconduct; the Tonga school faced severe competition; and in the neighbourhood of the

2) Ibid., 1885 N.B.B. par. 9.
3) Ibid., 1886 N.B.B. par. 7.
4) Ibid., 1890 N.B.B. par. 8(11).
a) See p. 61.
Rev. Stott's school in Durban were three other schools.

There were also obstacles in connection with the teachers. For example, there was great difficulty in obtaining competent teachers. There was also the constant change of teachers so that the schools naturally suffered. Then the loss of the teacher of the Umzinto school in 1892 was followed by the almost total collapse of the school; the illness of the teacher of the Sydenham school caused it to fall off very much; and the Umbilo school suffered in 1890 during its teacher's absence on leave. And then schools also suffered because of the misconduct of teachers, who had consequently been dismissed.

For lack of support some schools were closed. Thus it appeared that the Indians had necessarily first to pass through the indenture stage, before there could be any hope

1) Report Ind. Schools 1890 N.B.B. par. 8(16).
2) Ibid., 1888 N.B.B. par. 5.
   Ibid., 1889 N.B.B. par. 6, 9(5).
   Ibid., 1890 N.B.B. par. 5.
3) Ibid., 1886 N.B.B. par. 22.
   Ibid., 1888 N.B.B. par. 8(14).
   Ibid., 1889 N.B.B. par. 9(10).
6) Ibid., 1890 N.B.B. par. 8(9).
   Ibid., 1889 N.B.B. par. 8(24).
of their learning to appreciate the effort made to educate their children and take greater interest in education, for the Indians, while they were still at the Coolie stage, were, as Indentured Indians, utterly indifferent to the education of their children.

The last important impediment we wish to consider in the development of the system of Indian schools is the migration of the parents and the children. Some of the pupils proceeded, for example, from one school to another, as often as not, to avoid the payment of fees. Furthermore, the Indians, who had left Natal in 1887 and in 1889, were just the men who had begun to appreciate the value of education for their children, and these children formed a large number of the pupils who had acquired, what might be called, the school habit. Of course, the effect of this on the schools was serious. Then also, because the Indians in some cases had migrated elsewhere, the attendance of the schools fell off, and sometimes schools had to be closed.

We have already seen how the Indians had settled throughout Natal from the coast inland. In many cases, however, they

   Ibid., 1885 N.B.B. par. 19.
2) Ibid., 1885 N.B.B. par. 67.
3) Ibid., 1887 N.B.B. par. 15.
   Ibid., 1889 N.B.B. par. 9.
4) Ibid., 1885 N.B.B. par. 43.
   Ibid., 1888 N.B.B. par. 8(15).
   Ibid., 1890 N.B.B. par. 8(5,6).
   Ibid., 1891 N.B.B. p. U 70.
b) See p. 40.
were too few in number to support a school. To what extent, therefore, schools had been provided for Indian children during this period will be seen from the following table:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>TOWNS (CITIES) AND COUNTIES</th>
<th>NUMBER OF SCHOOLS AND SCHOLARS</th>
<th>YEAR</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>No. of Schools</td>
<td>No. of Scholars</td>
<td>1888</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DURBAN</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>650</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DURBAN COUNTY</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>439</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VICTORIA COUNTY</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>323</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ALEXANDRA COUNTY</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>62</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PIETERMARITZBURG</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>417</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NEWCASTLE</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LADYSMITH</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

We thus see it was only in 1890 that the first school had been established in the northern districts of Natal. Indian education

1) Report Ind. Schools 1885 N.B.B. par. 9.
was, therefore, still localised along the coast.

When we now consider the time spent by Indian children at school, it is found that they did not stay long enough, and that the bigger boys did not generally remain more than two years. Furthermore, since in 1888, for example, there were only 1,891 Indian children at school while the estimated number of children of school-age was between 3,000 and 4,000, it follows that at least 50 per cent. of Indian children were not at school in that year.

Let us now examine the last aspect - a dual system of education. Whereas in the case of the attendance of girls, for example, we have noticed the antagonism of the Indians themselves, in this case we notice the antagonism of the Europeans towards the Indians in their striving for an education that the Indian schools had failed to give them.

Consider first the following facts. The want of sufficient and suitable accommodation was greatly felt in many of the Indian schools, and several of them were mere huts. The furniture and appliances were also very defective. Consequently, the schools were deficient in comfort and also attractiveness. And then also the opposition of the Indians to the education of their children was meanwhile decreasing. It follows, therefore, that the better class of Indians would be encouraged to make further use of the privilege we have seen

1) Report Ind. Schools 1886 N.B.B. par. 13.
   Ibid., 1888 N.B.B. par. 13.
2) Ibid., 1888 N.B.B. para. 10,13.
3) Ibid., 1885 N.B.B. par. 24.
   Ibid., 1886 N.B.B. par. 40.
4) Ibid., 1886 N.B.B. par. 7.
45) See pp. 33,34.
Indians had of sending their children to European schools.  

Furthermore, Law No. 20 of 1878 clearly reiterated this privilege when it stated:

'It shall be lawful for the Board, subject to the provisions of this Law, to take such measures as it may deem expedient for promoting the education of the children of Indian parents in the Colony, by means of the schools established under the provisions of the Education Laws of 1877, or by means of schools established or to be established for the special instruction of such children.'

And in 1882, in reply to an enquiry from the Headmaster of the Newcastle School, it was stated that Government Schools and Aided Schools were open to all classes of the community; in 1884, in reply to the inspector whether he had power to refuse free instruction to Indian children at the Government Schools in Durban, it was similarly stated that Aided Schools were open to all classes; again, in 1885 the Headmaster of the Greytown Primary School was informed that a certain Indian child could not be refused admission because of her nationality; and, finally, in 1891 we have Mr. Russell's assurance that this provision was still in force.

Let us, therefore, consider the extent to which this policy had been applied during this period. Now in 1879 Indian boys competed with European children at European Elementary Schools; in 1880 about 60 Indian children attended

1) Law No. 20 of 1878 sect. 2.
2) Minutes Council of Education 2nd Nov., 1882 par. 3.
3) Ibid., 30th Jan., 1884 par. 15.
4) Ibid., 30th Dec., 1885 par. 8.
European schools in Natal; the following year, out of 123 children above the age of 15 at the Government Schools, 37 were Indians; and at the end of this period, there were still Indians at European Government Schools. As before, this policy was still applied also to non-European schools. For at the Bridgeford Indian school, the Clairmont Indian school, the Rev. Barrett’s Indian school in Pietermaritzburg, and the Umbilo Indian Girls’ school not all the pupils were Indians. In other words, a few Mauritius and St. Helena half-castes, Zanzibaris, and Natives had attended Indian schools. And Indians had attended also the St. Francis Xavier Native school.

But this attendance of Indians at European schools ran counter to the desires of the Europeans; public opinion was gravely disquieted; opposition grew in severity. In short,

3) Minutes Council of Education 26th April, 1894 Report Administrative Comtes. p. 251 par. k.
5) Ibid., 1885 N.B.B. par. 70.
   Ibid., 1889 N.B.B. par. 27.
   Ibid., 1890 N.B.B. par. 26.
   Ibid., 1891 N.B.B. par. 25.
a) See p. 35.
there existed among the Europeans a strong aversion to the intermingling at European schools of European children with Natives and Indians. Thus there was considerable discussion at a meeting of the Council of Education as to the free admission of Indian children to the Government Schools. For example, Mr. Jameson thought that the sooner the Coolie element was eliminated from the European Primary Schools altogether the better, and that they were exceedingly objectionable both socially and otherwise. He pointed out that the Government School opened in Durban for Indians was languishing, because the Indians were seeking admission to the European Primary Schools. But, in reply to a question by Mr. van Rooyen in the Legislative Council, the Colonial Secretary stated that the Government did not intend to alter its regulations in connection with the attendance of non-European children at European schools. Then again Mr. Roberts drew attention to the fact in 1891 that there was nothing in the Model Primary Education Law that non-European children should be admitted to European schools. And then, too, it is noteworthy that after the passing of this Law in 1877, Bulwer had come to doubt whether the Education Laws of 1877 would meet the requirements of Indian children, and considered that special provision would be needed in their case. As a matter of fact,

1) Times of Natal 2nd Febr., 1886 Letter For The Mail.
2) Mercantile Advertiser 4th Febr., 1884 Leader.
3) Votes and Proceedings Leg. C. 7th Aug., 1888 p. 120.
5) Bulwer to Hicks Beach Desp. No. 75 of 7th May, 1878 Outg. Desps. Vol. 61 par. 9.

a) Apparently, the Durban Board School. See p. 56.
b) Law No. 15 of 1877.
c) Laws Nos. 15 of 1877 and 16 of 1877.
he had definitely stated that the Law of 1877 had no bearing upon, and did not intend to provide for, the education of Indian children. We have seen already that Law No. 20 of 1878 had made provision for the education of Indian children, and also for their attendance at European schools. But the question was not left at that, for the attendance of Indians at European schools became a popular subject of discussion in the Legislative Assembly. Thus in May, 1894 Mr. Yonge stated he trusted that the time had arrived, when it would be no longer possible to see -

... the Indian child, the Kafir umf*an, and the white cherub walking hand-in-hand down our streets to partake of instruction at the same school.

And eventually on 22nd February, 1894, Mr. Jameson, seconded by Mr. Johnson, moved in the Council of Education the following motion:

That in any neighbourhood where an Indian or Native school is established, children of these nationalities be not admitted to the Government School as free pupils.

But Mr. Broome, seconded by Mr. Tucker, moved as an amendment -

That the matter be referred to the Superintending Inspector of Schools to enquire into the circumstances of the case.

This amendment was put but not carried, and the original motion was then put and carried. Then in April, 1894 the Council of

3) Minutes Council of Education 22nd Febr., 1894 pars. 47,48.
4) Ibid., 26th April, 1894 Res. 15(a).

a) Law No. 15 of 1877.
Education resolved -

That in the opinion of this Council it is desirable:—That where Native and Indian children claim to be admitted to Government Schools, in places where other existing facilities for their Education are provided, they should be admitted only after they have exhausted the resources of their own schools, subsidised on their behalf by Government, and are capable of taking a place in an advanced class in the school in which they seek to be admitted.

The Government approved of the suggestion of the Council of Education, desiring that effect should be given to it, and a circular minute, embodying the terms of this resolution, was sent to the Headmasters of all Government Schools.

This resolution was, therefore, an important step, leading towards the abolition of the system of dual education for Indians, as far as education for Indians at both Indian and European schools was concerned. But the tendency towards class education, as fostered during this period, remained, for apart from the dual system of administration, already apparent in the missionary and Government control of Indian education, a new factor in Indian education was already revealed during this period by the existence of the Private Adventure Schools. In fact, the Private Adventure Schools initiated a movement that would eventually be encouraged also by a demand for greater stability and uniformity in Indian education to conform to economic life in Natal. For the reason for this would be that, while economic conditions during the present period demanded from the Indians generally a very low standard of education or nothing at all, the system of education during this period was out of alignment with the economic needs of the


a) See pp. 36, 166. But compare the status of Government Schools and Aided Schools later. See p. 276.

b) Cf. pp. 55, 56, 99, 125, 126.
In diana. While this would tend to be exaggerated later, it follows that the standard of education would ultimately have to be raised, when the Indians had emerged from the indenture stage and occupied a higher level in the economic life of Natal, but with the entry of the Natives into the labour market on a larger scale than before 1910, taking their place to a great extent as unskilled labourers.


We have now seen that various schools had been established by the missionaries, and we have noticed their precarious existence. Let us further consider how they were aided by the Indian Immigrant School Board.

By Law No. 20 of 1878 the Board had been empowered to assist any Primary Schools, established or conducted by private persons for the education of Indian children. Thus it was resolved on 26th March, 1879 that aid should be given to schools established or conducted by private persons for the special instruction of Indian children, at rates that were to be determined by the Board, provided satisfactory reports were received from the inspector. But there were no meetings of the Board during 1880, and thus it appears it was only after Mr. Dunning had been appointed that any specific scale of grants had been

1) Law No. 20 of 1878 sect. 5.
2) Minutes Ind. Immig. School Board 26th March, 1879 Res. 6.
   b) See p. 128.
formulated, when the Board resolved on 26th November, 1881 that he should immediately establish schools between Durban and Verulam, and laid down the following scale of grants and fees, viz.,

1. Aid to be given at £2 per month to schools with an attendance of between 20 and 30 pupils.
   At £2.10.0 per month to schools with an attendance of between 30 and 40 pupils.
   At £3 per month to schools with an attendance of between 40 and 50 pupils.
   At £4 per month to schools with an attendance of between 50 and 60 pupils.

5. The school fees to be retained by the teacher and to be at the rate of 3d. a month for the children of Indentured Indians and 6d. a month for others.

But Mr. Dunning found it impossible to secure teachers at this scale, and, therefore, the Board resolved that the following grants should be substituted for that scale, viz.,

   Attendance 20-30 with a grant of £3 per month.
   Attendance 30-40 with a grant of £3.10.0 per month.
   Attendance over 40 with a grant of £4 per month.

Even then it does not appear that the Board had succeeded in securing sufficient teachers, and thus these grants, undoubtedly, did not have the desired effect. This can, of course, be explained by the other and better attractions offered the Indians at this time, and the fact that the probable advantages of these salaries and grants would have been minimised

1) Minutes Ind. Immig. School Board 26th Nov., 1881 par. 10.
2) Ibid., 16th Jan., 1882 par. 7.
   a) See pp. 92, 93 et seqq.
   b) See p. 94.
by the precarious state of the schools, as already described, on account of the irregular attendance of the pupils.

In 1884, while Mr. Colepeper was inspector, we find the following scale of grants:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>£ s. d.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>WESLEYAN:</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Durban</td>
<td>50. 0.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bridgeford</td>
<td>40. 0.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Umbilo</td>
<td>40. 0.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Springfield</td>
<td>40. 0.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Point</td>
<td>27. 1.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Clare</td>
<td>32.10.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CHURCH OF SOUTH AFRICA:</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Durban</td>
<td>50. 0.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pietermaritzburg</td>
<td>40. 0.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Umsinto</td>
<td>40. 0.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ikweefa</td>
<td>40. 0.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ROMAN CATHOLIC:</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pietermaritzburg</td>
<td>50. 0.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Railway, Durban</td>
<td>40. 0.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Avoca</td>
<td>33.15.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Queen's Bridge</td>
<td>9. 0.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sydenham</td>
<td>32.10.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Prospect Hall</td>
<td>18.10.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vindens, Pietermaritzburg</td>
<td>36.13.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wentworth</td>
<td>6. 5.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

It will be seen that the total amount given in 1884 as grants was £626 5s. 0d. The grants to Indian education had, therefore, increased considerably during this period, if we consider the fact that by October, 1874 the amount spent in this connection had been only £68.

Apart from the grants, some schools had their finances

a) See pp. 65, 66 et seqq.
b) Also spelt Iquefa.
augmented by fees. But while the fees were so small and so difficult to collect that the maintenance of the schools depended on the grants, the capital represented by all the schools was not more than sufficient for the equipment of a single good school. For since these grants were merely for the maintenance of the schools, only a very small sum was left for the upkeep of the schools, after the salaries of the teachers, assistants and pupil teachers had been paid.

That the policy enunciated on 26th November, 1881 that the teachers should retain the fees had been adopted, appears evident from the annual reports of the Board. But since the salaries remained poor, as appears further below, although the teachers retained the fees, there would naturally have been temptation on the part of the teachers to obtain as many fee-paying pupils as possible, and this, in certain cases at least, would eventually have clashed with any policy of Free Education the Board might have introduced, unless the salaries of the teachers had been increased. Note, therefore, the competition for pupils described above. The salaries of pupil teachers were also poor. It appears that pupil teachers were paid a salary ranging from 5/- to 10/- per month.

Watters became worse, when the Board was compelled to

2) Ibid., 1885 N.B.B. par. 24.
3) Ibid., 1889 N.B.B. par. 22.
4) Ibid., 1886 N.B.B. par. 29.
      Ibid., 1888 N.B.B. par. 21.
      Ibid., 1899 N.B.B. par. 20.
5) Ibid., 1885 N.B.B. par. 44.
      Ibid., 1886 N.B.B. par. 38.
6) See p. 104.
7) See p. 82.
8) See pp. 66, 67.
Thus when it had to retrench in 1886, it found itself unable to entertain applications for new grants. And again in 1887, while several applications for grants were refused, because of the inadequacy of the grant, the reduction of the grants was 25 per cent., and this reduction had been necessitated by a reduced vote for Indian education, with the result that some teachers resigned, and others were dismissed because they had become careless.

Consider now the following table which shows the grants for 1891:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Location</th>
<th>Manager</th>
<th>Grant</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Railway</td>
<td>Rev. Canon Booth</td>
<td>£36</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Durban</td>
<td></td>
<td>£108</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Durban Girls</td>
<td></td>
<td>£54</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Sydenham</td>
<td></td>
<td>£42</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Avoca</td>
<td></td>
<td>£33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>Cornubia</td>
<td></td>
<td>£36</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>Tongaat</td>
<td></td>
<td>£42</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>Point</td>
<td></td>
<td>£50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>Embilo</td>
<td></td>
<td>£42</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>Tshipingo</td>
<td></td>
<td>£36</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>Umzinto</td>
<td>Rev. G. E. Fennington</td>
<td>£48</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>Equfa</td>
<td></td>
<td>£30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>Pietermaritzburg No. 1</td>
<td>Rev. Canon Swaby</td>
<td>£60</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>Pietermaritzburg No. 2</td>
<td></td>
<td>£30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td>Pietermaritzburg Girls'</td>
<td></td>
<td>£30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16</td>
<td>Newcastle</td>
<td>Rev. W. Clark</td>
<td>£40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17</td>
<td>Durban</td>
<td>Rev. S. H. Stott</td>
<td>£30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18</td>
<td>Bridgford</td>
<td></td>
<td>£25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19</td>
<td>Verulam</td>
<td></td>
<td>£50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20</td>
<td>Umsuleni</td>
<td></td>
<td>£</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21</td>
<td>Durban</td>
<td>Rev. A. Baudry</td>
<td>£66</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22</td>
<td>Clairmont</td>
<td></td>
<td>£30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>23</td>
<td>Pietermaritzburg</td>
<td>Rev. J. Barrett</td>
<td>£48</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>24</td>
<td>Sea Cow Lake</td>
<td>Private Adventure</td>
<td>£18</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

This scale constituted, no doubt, an improvement on the scale

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1) Minutes Ind. Immig. School Board 9th July, 1886 par. 5.
2) Report Ind. Schools 1887 N.B.B. par. 5.
3) Ibid., 1886 N.B.B. par. 36.
4) Ibid., 1887 N.B.B. par. 11.
5) Ibid., 1891 N.B.B. par. 22.
for 1884. We have the following analysis:

1 school received £108.
1 " " £66.
1 " " £60.
1 " " £54.
2 schools received £50 each.
2 " " £48 each.
3 " " £42 each.
1 school received £40.
3 schools received £36 each.
1 school received £33.
5 schools received £30 each.
1 school received £25.
1 " " £18.

Therefore, out of 23 schools, at 11 schools at least, the salaries were poor, not exceeding possibly £3 per month.

Take now the salary scales at the Board Schools. In the case of the Durban Board School, for example, we have the following scale:

Teacher (R. Hoover) ........ £84 p.a. and quarters.
First assistant ........... £36 p.a. and quarters.
Second assistant .......... £30 p.a.
Pupil teacher ............. £6 p.a.
Pupil teacher ............. £3 p.a.

Thus even in the case of the Board Schools, the salaries were not very satisfactory, for we can safely assume that the b) salaries at the remaining Board School were not better.

Although the Board had, therefore, eventually evolved some system of grants and salaries, it had failed to introduce a system that could place Indian education beyond the level of mediocrity that characterised it before the inauguration of

1) Minutes Ind. Immig. School Board 12th F br., 1892 per. 10 Res.

a) Note the grant for the Umhlozi school is not given. The fees could hardly have made much difference. See p. 80.

b) In other words, the Umgeni Board School, the Tongaat Board School having been closed, as we have seen, in 1889. See pp. 56, 61.
system of Indian education. It could not, of course, carry all blame for this, because it appears to have been hamstrung by the vote for Indian education being granted by the Legislative Council. Since it seemingly did not have excessive funds at its disposal, and since the vote for Indian education could at any time be curtailed by the Legislative Council, it follows that it had to be very careful in the allocation of the grants. But if there is anything for which it should naturally have taken all blame and responsibility, then it is the way it administered the grants. There was, for example, a decided lack of a clear-cut policy.

Because of the rate of the grants, and the fact that the salaries of the teachers were, no doubt, an important item in the allocation of the grants, the schools were consequently in great need of assistance in the purchase of furniture and for the upkeep of buildings, as we have already noticed in the previous section of this chapter.

Now in July, 1862 the Board decided it was not expedient to give grants for furniture, but in July, 1886 at least one-half of the expenditure, recommended by Mr. Colepeper for furniture for two schools at Umzinto and Equafe, was sanctioned. At first it did not intend giving school books, but a few months later it sanctioned a supply of school books.

1) Minutes Ind. Immig. School Board 29th July, 1862 par. 5 Res.
2) Ibid., 9th July, 1886 par. 10 Res.
3) Ibid., 15th Oct., 1881 par. 7.
Ibid., 26th Nov., 1881 par. 11 Res.
Report Ind. Schools 1885 N.B.B. par. 55.
Ibid., 1886 N.B.B. par. 45.
4) See p. 71 and also p. 80.
tates, etc., not exceeding £3 in value, to each school that had been successfully established, and thus each Aided School eventually received, in its first year, this grant of £3 and subsequently £1 per annum for the same purpose. Also in July, 1882 the Board had considered it inexpedient to give grants for buildings. But in 1890 it was able to approve the allocation of building grants, for example, of £10 and £5 respectively to the Avoca school (Dr. Booth) and the Umbilo school (Rev. S.H. Stott). Subsequently, in the case of the Rev. Swaby, the Board was unable to entertain his application for a building grant, since there were no funds at its disposal for building grants. And then again at a meeting in October, 1892, after a refusal to entertain an application from Dr. Booth for a building grant, a building grant of £10 was sanctioned to a school opened on the Springfield Flat.

We have a similar case. On 9th December, 1892 the Board was unable to sanction a building grant applied for by the Rev. S.H. Stott, after it had already paid £15 for a school building which was, however, to become its property. To cap all this, we have the statement in April, 1894 that it was against the custom of the Board to vote money for building grants. Of course, it can be accepted that a custom had not been made of giving building grants, but the question still remains why - and this applies also to the grants for furniture -

1) Minutes Ind. Immig. School Board 29th July, 1882 par. 5 Res.
2) Ibid., 10th Oct., 1890 par. 7 Res.
3) Ibid., 10th June, 1892 par. 13 Res.
4) Ibid., 14th Oct., 1892 par. 9 Res. and par. 14 Res.
5) Ibid., 9th Dec., 1892 pars. 3, 11 Res.
6) Ibid., 20th April, 1894 par. 5(a) Res.
precedents should first be created, and why such grants had been given, if it was not the intention of the Board to make them.

In the annual reports of the Board from 1886 onwards, Mr. Colepeper had on several occasions recommended the adoption of a system of industrial grants, but to no avail. In 1886 the Board had also refused to approve of his recommendation of a system of capitation grants, so that the grants to Indian schools remained, as before, purely maintenance grants.

Also the conditions under which these grants were allocated show the defects in the system of grants. Now among the conditions under which Mr. Dunning had to establish schools were the following:

1) A schoolroom, master's house and school furniture were to be provided.
2) A competent teacher was to be appointed.
3) The school was to be conducted to the satisfaction of the inspector.

It was thus clearly the intention of the Board to encourage initiative on the part of the missionaries and the Indians. But when we remember that only a few missionary bodies had interested themselves during this period in Indian education, and that the initiative of the Indians themselves was as yet very limited, we see the expectations of the Board in this connection had hardly been realised. Furthermore, the

1) Minutes Ind. Immig. School Board 14th May, 1886, par. 8(3) Res.
2) Report Ind. Schools 1889 N.B.B. par. 22.
3) Minutes Ind. Immig. School Board 26th Nov., 1881, par. 10.
4) See pp. 109, 110.
appointment of teachers, let alone competent teachers, as will appear evident in a subsequent section of this chapter, is by no means an easy task. And then, considering the condition of the schools as to accommodation, comfort, furniture and buildings, already emphasised, it appears the Board had to be satisfied with little. Matters were, however, considerably eased when the Board sanctioned provisional grants.

The payment of grants was to be subject to the recipients rendering a quarterly account, showing the manner in which the grants had been disbursed. The grants were withdrawn if the attendance was too small. In 1889 the Board decided that grants should for the future be made monthly instead of quarterly. This was an improvement. But it refused to sanction a grant to any but a purely Indian school. Finally, we have also noticed the rivalry in Indian education by the opening of other schools in the neighbourhood of established

1) Minutes Ind. Immig. School Board 9th Febr., 1881 par. 3 Res.
   Ibid., 26th Nov., 1881 par. 5 Res.
2) Ibid., 9th July, 1886 par. 9 Res.
3) Ibid., 11th May, 1888 par. 8 Res.
4) Ibid., 12th April, 1889 par. 6 Res.
   Ibid., 13th Febr., 1891 par. 14 Res.
5) Ibid., 11th May, 1888 par. 17 Res.
   a) Sect. 5 pp. 92, 93 et seqq.
   b) Remember also the attraction of other sources of employment, and the poor salaries offered by the Board. See pp. 40, 41, 78, 79 et seqq.
   c) See pp. 71, 80.

4) This is paradoxical, considering the fact that the Government allowed Indians to attend European Government Schools.

   a) See pp. 66, 67 et seqq.
schools. In this connection the Board had determined not to aid schools in close proximity. This was evidently intended to check overlapping of missionary and private initiative in Indian education.

The inspector reported on all schools applying for aid, and he recommended the grants to the schools. But the payment of the grants was left to the secretary of the Board.

If we now refer to the table of grants above, we notice that:

Dr. Booth had 10 schools out of the 24 schools aided by the Board under his control, and received £479 in grants.

The Rev. Swabey received for three schools £120.

The Rev. Stott received for three schools £105.

The Rev. Baudry received for two schools £96.

In other words, four missionaries received for 18 schools the sum of £800. Thus not only were the majority of the schools under the control of four missionaries, but a very large portion of the annual grants fell into the hands of these four missionaries.

But this decided laxity in the allocation of the grants

1) Minutes Ind. Immig. School Board 10th Dec., 1884 par. 5 Res.
2) Ibid., 26th Nov., 1881 pars. 4, 6.
   Ibid., 20th March, 1883 par. 6.
   Ibid., 9th Dec., 1887 par. 9 Res.
   Ibid., 13th Dec., 1889 par. 7.
3) Ibid., 10th Dec., 1886 par. 5.
   Ibid., 9th July, 1886 par. 8 Res.

a) This is surprising, considering the great need of schools for Indians at this time. We can hardly find a better example of sectarian jealousy.

b) See p. 81.

c) A more even distribution of the grants was necessary, so that also poorer schools could be assisted.
during this period was but due to the general lack of administrative ability shown by the Board. Making allowances for the want of funds, it is, nevertheless, hardly possible to have expected the Board, even with the funds at its disposal, to reveal greater initiative and a more definite policy in the case of the Aided Schools than it showed in the case of its own Board Schools.

4. Institution of a System of Bonuses, Prizes and Scholarships.

So far we have noticed two definite weaknesses in the activities of the Board, viz.:

(i) The superficiality of its attempts at ascertaining and supplying the educational needs of Indian children.

(ii) Its failure, under financial stress, to provide the proper means of supporting schools already established and of remunerating the teachers.

And now follows a system of bonuses, prizes and scholarships that apparently had to supplement this defective system of grants and salaries. In this we notice an attempt:

(i) To satisfy the teachers and to allay dissatisfaction among them by means of bonuses.

(ii) To encourage the children by means of prizes.

(iii) To assist both pupils and prospective teachers by means of scholarships.

Thus in May, 1886 the Board approved of bonuses to certain

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a) See pp. 126,127 et seqq.
Aided Schools. But, because of its inability to grant the teachers such a bonus during 1886, they were greatly disappointed, for they had been incited to increased efforts at the prospect of the bonus. When, however, as we have seen above, the grants for 1887 had been reduced by 25 per cent., a bonus was granted at the end of that year of about £30, and divided among certain teachers. In 1888 a bonus of £25 was distributed, and during the following five years a bonus of £50 was allocated each year. These bonuses were given to those teachers whose conduct had been satisfactory, and to Aided Schools that had been conducted to the satisfaction of both the inspector and the manager. Now during 1887 and 1890 the bonuses were distributed among 13 and 17 teachers respectively, but during these two years there were

1) Minutes Ind. Immig. School Board 14th May, 1886 par. 8(4) Res.
2) Report Ind. Schools 1886 N.B.B. par. 36.
4) Ibid., 1888 N.B.B. par. 12.
5) Ibid., 1889 N.B.B. par. 23.
6) Ibid., 1890 N.B.B. par. 23.
7) Ibid., 1891 N.B.B. par. 22 A.
8) Ibid., 1892 N.B.B. par. 19.
10) Minutes Ind. Immig. School Board 14th May, 1886 par. 8(4) Res.
11) Report Ind. Schools 1887 N.B.B. par. 11.
12) Ibid., 1889 N.B.B. par. 23.
13) Ibid., 1890 N.B.B. par. 23.
14) Ibid., 1891 N.B.B. par. 22 A.
15) Ibid., 1892 N.B.B. par. 19.
17) Ibid., 1887 N.B.B. par. 11.
18) Ibid., 1890 N.B.B. par. 23.

a) See p. 81.
25 and 33 teachers respectively; during 1888 and 1889 the bonuses were distributed among 12 and 16 schools respectively, but in 1888 there were 22 Aided Schools and in 1889 there were 25. This was indeed a very poor form of compensation. To give some teachers financial assistance and not others is always bad policy, and bound to cause dissatisfaction.

As we have seen, one of the many characteristic defects in Indian education was poor attendance at school. Therefore, the pupils had to be encouraged to attend. Provision for prizes had been made by Law No. 20 of 1878 in order to encourage Indian children to attend school. Thus during 1884 the sum of £13 12s. 9d. was spent on prizes, and for each year, during the period 1885 to 1893, prizes were given, the amount

1) Report Ind. Schools 1887 N.B.B. par. 25.
   Ibid., 1890 N.B.B. par. 20.
2) Ibid., 1888 N.B.B. par. 12.
   Ibid., 1889 N.B.B. par. 23.
3) Ibid., 1888 N.B.B. par. 23.
   Ibid., 1889 N.B.B. par. 22.
4) Law No. 20 of 1878 Sect. 7.
6) Ibid., 1885 N.B.B. par. 71.
   Report Ind. Schools 1886 N.B.B. par. 46.
   Minutes Ind. Immig. School Board 14th Oct., 1887 par. 7 Res.
   Report Ind. Schools 1887 N.B.E. par. 28 and p U 91.
   Ibid., 1888 N.B.B. par. 24.
   Ibid., 1889 N.B.B. par. 24.
   Ibid., 1890 N.B.B. par. 24.
   Ibid., 1891 N.B.B. par. 23.
   Ibid., 1892 N.B.B. par. 20.
   Ibid., 1893 N.B.B. par. 15.
5) See p. 64.
varying from £15 to £36. These prizes were awarded more for regularity of attendance and general good conduct than for proficiency. But already in 1884 Mr. Colepeper did not appear to be too sure about the ultimate success of the system of prizes, for he could not say whether the prizes for that year had any definite effect, and this in spite of the encouragement to the teachers and the eagerness with which the pupils had received the presents.

We now come to the system of scholarships. In 1883 Mr. Colepeper recommended scholarships for the attendance of Indian children at European Government Schools, and in 1885 he again drew the attention of the Board to the desirability of instituting such a system of scholarships. There is no evidence that this course was adopted by the Board. But out of the 123 pupils above the age of 15 at European Government Schools, 37 were Indians and there was the probability that one or two of them might obtain bursaries. And later it appeared that Asians, attending European Government Schools, were taking prizes and bursaries, and competed for exhibitions; and an Indian had qualified for an exhibition.

But it was the Board's financial position that had made impossible any success in its system of bonuses, prizes and scholarships. And while the difficulty of obtaining teachers

1) Report Ind. Schools 1885 N.B.B. par. 71.
   Ibid., 1885 N.B.B. par. 71.
4) Ibid., 1883 N.B.B. p. FF 70.
remained, irregular attendance retained its present proportions, and European opposition to the attendance of Indians at European schools resulted in the prohibition of such attendance, as we have seen above was already the case. Any schemes in these directions could not but be tentative and a palliative.

5. Supply of Teachers - Lack of System.

Since we have now shown the economic position of the Indians in Natal, the financial prospects of Indian teachers, and the limited scope of the Board's activities, let us examine the extent to which the Board had been successful in obtaining not only capable and trustworthy teachers for its schools, but retaining their services.

The Board was left with three alternatives, viz.,

(i) To obtain teachers from India or elsewhere overseas.

(ii) To obtain teachers from among the Indians already in Natal.

(iii) To train its own teachers.

The first, superficially, seems to have been the easiest and cheapest way of solving what appeared to be a difficult problem. Thus we see that the Board immediately looked to India to supply the teachers it needed. Soon after it had been instituted, it communicated with the authorities in the Madras Presidency and tried to procure

a) See pp. 75, 76.
1) a) teachers. But we have seen above that the Board had failed to secure teachers at the scale of grants of November, 1881, and had, therefore, formulated a new scale of grants in January, 1882. And then again in July, 1882 it resolved to obtain from Madras three Indentured Indians to give instruction in ordinary English subjects. But since the salaries offered for such teachers from Madras were insufficient, it increased the amount per month it was prepared to pay. Nevertheless, the Board's attempts to obtain teachers from India remained futile. And when six years later the question of obtaining trained teachers from India was mooted in Mr. Colepeper's recommendations to the Board, the Board was unable to undertake the financial responsibility of obtaining teachers from India for the Aided Schools. Thus, so far, India, as a reliable source for the supply of teachers, was a disappointment. Of the teachers in Natal, there appear to have been only a few who had come from India.

Then there was Mauritius, another likely source for the supply of teachers. Up to 1884 most of the teachers who were employed in Natal had come from Mauritius. But also here there was the question of finance, for it appeared that, although suitable teachers could perhaps be

2) Minutes Ind. Immig. School Board 29th July, 1882 par. 9 Res.
3) Ibid., 2nd Febr., 1883 Res. 6.
5) Ibid., 1889 N.B.B. par. 5.

a) See p. 78.
b) See p. 73.
obtained from Mauritius, the cost would be considerable.  

Thus the Board's chances of obtaining teachers from overseas were few. This failure seemed to indicate more attention to what supply there might be in Natal itself.

In Natal, it stands to reason, it was difficult to obtain teachers. For the scale of grants of 1882 had also failed to attract teachers in Natal on account of the high wages given by the Railway authorities and other employers of Indians. Moreover, there was hardly a single teacher to whom the Transvaal gold fields did not offer a good opening. And the amount of 5/- per month for pupil teachers had at first been sufficient, but it had been no inducement to Indian boys to qualify as teachers, and besides they could get more money by going out to work, which they were continually encouraged to do by their friends and relatives. The favourable economic position of the Indians in Natal had thus affected the youth—the very class of Indians to whom the teaching profession should have offered attraction. Add to this the effect of economic conditions on the attendance of children at school, and the prejudice against the attendance of girls, and we have at once the main reasons for the deplorable lack of teachers.

And then, too, Mr. Colepeper had suggested that Native teachers should be obtained for Indian schools, but the Board

1) Report Ind. Schools 1885 N.B.B. par. 41.
3) Report Ind. Schools 1888 N.B.B. par. 5.
4) Ind., 1885 N.B.B. par. 44.
5) Minutes Ind. Immig. School Board 10th Dec., 1886 par. 4.
a) See pp. 65, 66.
b) See pp. 63, 64.
refused to accept this recommendation. This refusal, however, clearly conflicted with the Government's policy that there should be no class distinction in the education aided by it.

We now come to the third and last alternative - the training of teachers in Natal itself. So far, there had been no systematic training of teachers undertaken by the Board. To foster such a system, there were the following possibilities:

(i) Under a centralised system in Natal without class distinction.

(ii) Under the present system of class education.

But it appears that another difficulty in the supply of Indian teachers was the lack of co-ordination in education in Natal - the hiatus between European and non-European education, as a result of the system of class education.

Now, at this time, there existed a good number of well-established Native Training Colleges, like Amanzimtoti, Inanda and Edendale. Here again, according to the policy that there should be no class distinction in schools aided by the Government, it follows that Indians could have been trained at such colleges, but once again class interests would have been paramount.

As to the training of prospective Indian teachers at
European Government Schools, it is to be noted that the

scholarships Mr. Colepeper had recommended in 1883 were to

be held out as inducements to Indian boys who wished to be-

come teachers. And when he subsequently again suggested

such scholarships, he believed they would be a great incentive to teachers, and that there would be provided an effi-

cient body of teachers for the future. But, as we have

seen, these suggestions apparently never materialised.

Another recommendation Mr. Colepeper had made was that a few

of the boys who had passed in Stds. III and IV should for
two or three years be sent to the European Model Primary

Schools to become teachers. A sum to ensure conformity

with European ideas and defray the cost of books, etc.
would be needed in some cases, but he considered this would
be an inexpensive method of training teachers. Also this
recommendation did not meet with the approval of the Board,
for it considered that the training of teachers at these
schools was not advisable to adopt. No doubt, the reasons
were here again lack of finance and possible class friction.

When we now consider the last two possibilities, what
do we find? Already in 1883 Mr. Colepeper had suggested
the establishment of a Training College for teachers in con-
nection with the Durban Board School, but he did not antici-
pate any satisfactory results. Also Mr. Hoover, the Indian

2) Ibid., 1885 N.B.B. p. U 54.
3) Ibid., 1885 N.B.B. par. 80.
4) Minutes Ind. Immig. School Board 14th May, 1886
par. 8(o) Res.
   a) See p. 91.
   b) See p. 91.
   c) See p. 91.
Headmaster of the Durban Board School, subsequently recommended the establishment of a Training College, but still no action was taken by the Board, since it was considered premature.

Finally, in 1887 the only means the Board itself saw for overcoming the difficulty of obtaining teachers was the institution of such a Training College, but the establishment of a Training College was to remain for many years still a great need in Indian education. Thus the only alternative left the Board was the training of teachers in the local schools. Already in 1883 there had been a system of pupil teacher training, and since Mr. Colepeper, as we have seen above, did not anticipate any satisfactory results in the event of a Training College being established, he recommended that for the time being this system of pupil teachers should serve the purpose. Thus by 1889 Indian lads were still being trained in the local schools as teachers, and it was considered that this might in some measure solve the difficulty of obtaining suitable teachers. Eventually in 1890, the want of suitable teachers was to some extent overcome by the training of pupil teachers. It, therefore, seems that this was the most reliable source from which the Board could obtain the teachers it desired. However, as long as the Board failed to establish its own Training College, it

   Report Ind. Schools 1885 N.B.B. p. A 68.
3) Ibid., 1883 N.B.B. p. FF 70.
4) Ibid., 1889 N.B.B. par. 21.
   Ibid., 1890 N.B.B. par. 29.
5) Ibid., 1890 N.B.B. par. 27.
6) a) See p. 82.
had to content itself with this makeshift system of teacher training, which would naturally affect the whole educational system, and remain one of its many weaknesses.

Let us now consider the class of teachers employed by the Board. And at once we notice the lack of a European teaching force. Thus we find that the Equefa school was the only school with a European teacher. The Board employed also time-expired soldiers as teachers. During later years, there seems to have been an increase in the number of Europeans employed as teachers. Thus during 1878 several European lady teachers were employed. And, at the end of 1890, of the 55 teachers of all grades, 9 were European ladies; at the end of 1892, of the 63 teachers of all grades, 7 were European ladies. But the number of European female teachers was still comparatively small, and, apart from the time-expired soldiers, hardly a European male teachers seem to have been employed. At the 25 schools working in 1885, including the three Board schools, there were employed 27 Indians, 5 Eurasians, and 1 European.

As we have seen above, Mr. Hoover, Headmaster of the Durban Board School, was an Indian; and the Headmasters of the Umgani Board School and the Tongaat Board School were also Indians. As a result of parental apathy to the education of

1) Report Ind. Schools 1883 N.B.B. p. FF 70.
3) Ibid., 1888 N.B.B. par. 22.
4) Ibid., 1890 N.B.B. par. 20.
5) Ibid., 1892 N.B.B. par. 12.
6) Ibid., 1895 N.B.B. par. 47.
7) Ibid., 1895 N.B.B. p. A 68.
8) See p. 96.
girls and the consequent poor attendance of girls, we notice
the absence of Indian female teachers – another characteristic
of Indian education up to the present day. Indian schools
were, therefore, practically in the hands of Indians, apart
from their actual administration.

A characteristic of Indian teachers was their youth.
The reasons for this were, undoubtedly, the short time Indian
children spent at school, the lack of teachers, and the low
educational qualifications consequently required for the post
of teacher. Thus a boy was given charge of the Point
1) school; in 1889, in some cases, the teachers were mere lads;
and, at the end of 1890, of the 55 teachers of all grades em-
ployed, 8 were lads trained in the local schools. And pupil
teachers were employed at the three Board Schools, one at
each, and also at some of the Aided Schools; at the end of
1885, of the total of 38 teachers of all grades, there were
13 pupil teachers employed, the Board having authorised the
appointment of one to each school with an average attendance
of 25 pupils; and in 1892 pupil teachers were still employ-
ed. That these lads were not all that could have been

2) Ibid., 1889 N.B.B. pp. U 82(4,7), U 83(9,10,11,17,19).
3) Ibid., 1890 N.B.B. par. 20.
5) Ibid., 1885 N.B.B. pars. 32, 43.
6) Ibid., 1892 N.B.B. par. 12.
a) Cf. pp. 55, 56, 76, 126 note a. This is in conformity
with the general economic, social and political de-
velopment of the Indians. It marks also a determina-
tion on the part of the Indians to maintain their
identity, and in this they had, no doubt, been assist-
ed by the indifference of the Europeans generally in
the past and their antagonism subsequently.
b) See p. 71.
c) See pp. 92, 93 cf seqq.
d) See pp. 96, 100, 101, 102.
expected, is seen by the fact that, in connection with the Durban Board School, the substitution of men for lads as teachers, was attended with good results.

If we now compare the educational qualifications of the teachers, we have further evidence as to the quality of the teachers employed by the Board. The following table shows the places where some of the teachers had been educated and trained:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>INDIA</th>
<th>MAURITIUS</th>
<th>NATAL</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Matriculated Second Class, Madras University.</td>
<td>Government Orphan Asylum, Mauritius (Industrial School).</td>
<td>Boys' Model Primary School, Durban.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Presidency College, Madras.</td>
<td></td>
<td>Durban Board School.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>St. Mary's Seminary, Madras.</td>
<td></td>
<td>Umgeni Board School.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S.P.G. High School, Trichinopoly.</td>
<td></td>
<td>Durban (Dr. Booth's).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Bridgeford.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Now the reports of the Board are generally silent as to the educational qualifications of the teachers. Nevertheless, it may be stated that the highest standard at the Durban Model

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2) Ibid., 1885 N.B.B. par. 47.
Ibid., 1888 N.B.B. par. 8(5,16).
Ibid., 1889 N.B.B. par. 9(4,7,9,10,11,17).
Primary School was Std. VII, but only one teacher was definitely mentioned in 1885 as having attended that school, and since Indian teachers were not generally trained there, we can safely assume that not many teachers - probably, none - had reached that standard. The highest standard at the Board and the Aided Schools, as seen above, was only Std. IV. As to the teachers, educated and trained outside Natal, only one was definitely stated as having passed Matriculation. And the 13 pupil teachers employed by the Board during 1885 had passed as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>STANDARD</th>
<th>SUBJECTS</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>READING</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>II</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>III</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

We cannot, therefore, but conclude that the education of the teachers was generally poor. As a matter of fact, it was stated that the education of the teachers was often superficial, and this, undoubtedly, applied especially to the Aided Schools, since the majority of the teachers must have been employed at the Aided Schools, for there were at that time 22 Aided Schools and only 3 Board Schools. Furthermore, that the majority of

2) Report Ind. Schools 1885 N.B.B. par. 33.
3) Ibid., 1885 par. 43.
4) Ibid., 1884 p. U 53.
a) Cf. pp. 73, 96, 100.
b) See p. 59.
c) See p. 143.
the teachers employed by the Board were professionally untrained,
can be seen from the fact that in 1881 there were only two
or three qualified; and that in 1885, out of 38 teachers, three
had the Class IV Mauritius Certificate, the rest having no cer-
tificate. The probable value of these certificates issued in
Mauritius can be gauged from the fact that Class I, II, III and
IV Certificates of Competence were issued, that the lowest was
granted under very moderate requirements, and that in the First
Grade Government Schools there an assistant teacher was not re-
cognised, unless he held at least a Class III Certificate. It
thus appears that the standard of the certificates of Indian
teachers in Natal was very low.

The teachers were, therefore, hardly satisfactory. But
it can safely be assumed that the teachers at the Board Schools
were better than those at the Aided Schools, for, referring to
the Board Schools, Mr. Colepeper stated that the passes gained
showed the efficiency of the teachers; and, referring to the
teachers generally, the majority of whom, as already concluded
above, must have been employed in the Aided Schools, he stated
that their defects were reproduced in an exaggerated manner in
the pupils. The scheme of employing time-expired soldiers as
teachers proved a failure. These soldiers had been regimental
schoolmasters, and having served in India, had acquired suffi-
cient knowledge of one or other of the Indian languages, but
they were dismissed, because of their conduct not being such as

No. 91/1882 par. 5.

Report Ind. Schools 1885 N.B.B. pars. 32,47.

2) Ibid., 1885 N.B.B. par. 41.

3) Ibid., 1885 N.B.B. par. 16.

to gain the respect of the Indians. The difficulty was, therefore, to obtain reliable teachers.

Hence, once more, as, for example, in the case of the Board's failure to establish more than three Board Schools, and the defects of the system of grants and salaries, we see the definite failure of the Board to strengthen the foundations of the system of education it had to build up, for any system of education without a copious supply of well-educated and well-trained teachers must inevitably be a failure. And, when there seems to have been an utter lack of system and initiative, the chances of success were, indeed, remote. Although economic and financial difficulties, and European and Indian prejudice were factors that could not be ignored, the impression still grows, as will appear more evident in a subsequent section, that the Board was not the victim of unavoidable circumstances.

6. Inauguration of a Scale of Fees and Provision for Free Education.

c) In the sections dealing with the economic development of the Indians, we have tried to show that at least a certain

a) See pp. 77,78 et seqq.
b) See sect. 8 pp. 123,124 et seqq.
c) Chap. I sect. 1 pp. 12,13 et seqq.
Chap. II sect. 1 pp. 20,21 et seqq.
Chap. III sect. 1 pp. 38,39 et seqq.
portion of the Indian population had acquired great wealth and affluence. But that the Board had made a distinction between the poorer and wealthy Indians is clearly shown by the fact that it had before the arrival of Mr. Dunning, as it had been

1) empowered under Law No. 20 of 1878, instituted a scale of fees, namely, 1s. each per month for the children of Free Indians, but free instruction for the children of Indentured Indians. It could not, however, uphold a policy of Free Education for the children of Indentured Indians alone, for in November, 1881, as we have seen above, the fees were to be at the rate of 3d. per month for the children of Indentured Indians, and 6d. per month for others. Subsequently, there were further variations in the rate of fees, for from 1885 to 1891 the fees at the Board Schools were from 3d. to 6d. per month, but from 1892 onwards they were from 3d. to 1/3 per month; and in the case of the Aided Schools, they were 3d. to 1/6 per month from 1885 to 1886, 3d. to 2/3 per month in 1887, 3d. to 2/- per month from 1888 to 1889, but 3d. to 5/-

1) Law No. 20 of 1878 sect. 6
3) Ibid., 26th Nov., 1881 par. 10(5).
   Ibid., 1886 N.B.B. pp. U 84 - U 85 and par. 28.
   Ibid., 1892 N.B.B. pp. U 34 - U 35 and pars. 10,11.

a) See p. 78.
per month from 1890 onwards. There was no uniformity in the
scale of Aided School fees. The fees at the Board Schools
were clearly lower than those at the Aided Schools. The
maximum fees at the Aided Schools compared favourably with the
fees at European Model Government Primary School's, and we have
seen above a few Indians attended European schools. This
difference in the scale of fees at the Board Schools and the
Aided Schools was naturally due to the Aided Schools being
controlled by different missionary bodies, and financial con-
siderations, especially in connection with teachers' salaries.
But, as we have seen, the fees were difficult to collect. Be-
sides, there were always arrears. As already noticed, in the
case of the Aided Schools, the fees were as a rule retained by
the teachers, but, in the case of the Board Schools, they were
paid into the Colonial Treasury.

Now Law No. 20 of 1878 had made provision also for Free
Education, which, as we have seen above, the Board had already
provided in 1881. There were two Aided Schools, namely, Equifa
and Umsinto, where no fees were paid. The other schools, both
Board Schools and Aided Schools, were only partially free. The
proportion of pupils on the register to the number of free
pupils at two Board Schools, and what appears to have been four of the best Aided Schools becomes clear from the table below:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>SCHOOL</th>
<th>ON ROLL</th>
<th>1889</th>
<th>1890</th>
<th>1891</th>
<th>1892</th>
<th>1893</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Durban Board</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No. of Scholars</td>
<td>96</td>
<td>135</td>
<td>158</td>
<td>262</td>
<td>227</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No. of Free Scholars</td>
<td>47</td>
<td>71</td>
<td>76</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>27</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Umgeni Board</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No. of Scholars</td>
<td>83</td>
<td>99</td>
<td>135</td>
<td>118</td>
<td>113</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No. of Free Scholars</td>
<td>41</td>
<td>61</td>
<td>98</td>
<td>58</td>
<td>61</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Railway</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No. of Scholars</td>
<td>107</td>
<td>108</td>
<td>103</td>
<td>244</td>
<td>163</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No. of Free Scholars</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>90</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>80</td>
<td>50</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Durban (Dr. Booth)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No. of Scholars</td>
<td>227</td>
<td>168</td>
<td>174</td>
<td>177</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No. of Free Scholars</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>33</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Umtinto (Rev. Barker)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No. of Scholars</td>
<td>68</td>
<td>69</td>
<td>65</td>
<td>60</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No. of Free Scholars</td>
<td>46</td>
<td>58</td>
<td>65</td>
<td>34</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pistermaritzburg (Rev. Barret)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No. of Scholars</td>
<td>101</td>
<td>109</td>
<td>131</td>
<td>163</td>
<td>173</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No. of Free Scholars</td>
<td>90</td>
<td>109</td>
<td>125</td>
<td>149</td>
<td>165</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

From this table we can calculate the percentage of free scholars.

   Ibid., 1892 N.B.B. pp. U 54 - U 35.
as follows:—

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>SCHOOL</th>
<th>APPROXIMATE PERCENTAGE</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1889</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Durban Board</td>
<td>49</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Umgeni Board</td>
<td>49</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Railway</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Durban (Dr. Booth)</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Umzinto (Rev. Barker)</td>
<td>68</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pietermaritzburg (Rev. Barret)</td>
<td>89</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

...The notice that there was generally a marked increase in the percentage of free scholars. But in 1890 and 1891 Mr. Colepeper drew the attention of the Board to the fact that some of the schools had too many free scholars, and among the schools mentioned by him we find also Umzinto (Rev. Barker) and Pietermaritzburg (Rev. Barret) named. And this presumably accounted for the decrease in the percentage of free scholars after 1891. Evidently, this system of Free Education had reached its limits, and that in the face of the generally high rate of fees. And coupled with the customary financial straits of the Board, there had been...

1) Report Ind. Schools 1890 N.B.R. pp. U 89 - U 90.
limits beyond which neither the Board nor the missionaries could go.

We can, therefore, conclude that the fees were generally high, and that there had been in certain cases ample provision for Free Education, but that the absence of a general system of Free Education for Europeans and Natives, the probable uproar the provision of Free Education for all Indian children under these circumstances would have aroused, and also financial reasons must have been important deterrents to the introduction of any system of complete Free Education for Indian children during this period.

7. Formulation of a Curriculum and Inauguration of a System of Standards.

We have already described the chequered life of the schools, and the marked characteristics revealed by the teachers and their pupils. Logically, it follows we should now examine the kind of education imparted, and determine the criteria by which it can be assessed.

But if Indian education had so far shown itself as being extraordinarily at variance with the essentials of a sound system of education, adopted especially for the elevation of a subject race, the sameness and utter lack of diversity and enterprise in connection with the subjects, as in the case of the schools, were most striking. Thus reading, writing and arithmetic, with a little grammar, geography and history in the larger schools, formed the list of subjects from which the choice had to be

made. To this by no means inspiring list, a few other subjects 1) can be added. Thus there were drawing classes in Durban at Dr. Booth's school, and at the Rev. Baudry's school. But few of the teachers were competent to teach singing. Nevertheless, it was taught in Durban at the Rev. Baudry's school, and in Pietermaritzburg at the Rev. Barrett's school. Finally, at the Rev. Barrett's school much attention was paid to physical training. These subjects are essentially Primary School subjects - in conformity with the stage where Indian education was at this time.

So far there seems to have been a marked tendency towards a purely academic education. Nevertheless, the Indian Immigrants Commission of 1885-1887, though very vague and non-committal, recommended that "strenuous efforts" should be made so as to give to Indian children an education that possessed "the most advantages" for them. And Mr. Colepeper, as we have seen, had repeatedly advocated the inclusion of some kind of industrial training in Indian schools. He was in favour of converting all the schools into Industrial Schools. In 1883 he recommended that the Board should offer apprenticeships as an equivalent for the scholarships and bursaries of other schools. The following

   a) See p. 35.
1) year he again suggested supplementing the education given to Indian children by the adoption either of a system of scholarships, as we have already noticed, or with training in some trade or handicraft, preferably both, and openings by the Government Railway and Engineering Departments, if private individuals were unwilling to accept Indian apprentices. While he was not of the opinion that it was feasible for the Board to establish immediately Industrial Schools for Indians, he recommended in 1885 again a special grant to schools where industrial training was given, for he considered that the character of Indian education was such that it was not only futile but harmful, since it produced half-educated Indians, and that the whole system was inherently defective. In 1886 he still hoped the time would come, when it would be possible to offer special grants for industrial training, but the Board was unable to give grants for Industrial Education and to select apprentices for industrial training.

We have thus at once a clear-cut condemnation of the system of education fostered by the Board, and one that has already been confirmed by the general defects emphasised so far. But this apparent apathy was still nothing compared to what was really the underlying and main cause, apart from finances — increasing public antagonism towards Indians. The background of the opposition to Industrial Education for non-Europeans is Native Industrial Education. For towards the end of this

2) Ibid., 1885 N.B.B. pars. 26,73,78.
3) Ibid., 1886 N.B.B. par. 47.
4) Minutes Ind. Immig. School Board 14th May, 1886 par. 8(8) Res.

a) See p. 91.
b) No doubt, the uselessness of the education provided condemns a system of education immediately. Compare also p. 65.
period there was great public opposition to such industrial
training at Native schools. The main idea behind this opposition appears to have been that the Natives were being brought into competition with the Europeans; and this applied also to the sale of articles produced at Native institutions. This fact and the general antagonism towards Indians, therefore, clearly explain the prospects of any system of Industrial Education for Indians. Mr. Colepeper, consequently, seems to have been more like the proverbial voice crying in the wilderness than an educationist, who knew what he wanted, and also knew he would get what he wanted. Judged by the atmosphere that pervaded Indian education at this time, he was too idealistic, and he should have known himself that finances and the stagnant environment in which Indian education had become enmeshed had made all such suggestions a pious hope.

Yet something had been done - by a few missionaries.  
Thus some decorative designing was taught at Dr. Booth's school in Durban, but the class suffered a setback later owing to the absence of the drawing teacher. Industrial work, especially for girls, was more successful. Thus at the Rev. Baudry's

Ibid., 22nd Aug., 1893 Leader.
Report Brother Nivard Board of Education Special Reports Vol. i A C. 2379 p. 286.
Debates Leg. Assem. 30th May, 1894 pp. 324, 325.

2) Report Ind. Schools 1888 N.B.B. par. 8(2).
Ibid., 1889 N.B.B. par. 9(2).
Ibid., 1890 N.B.B. par. 8(2).
Ibid., 1891 N.B.B. par. 9.
school in Durban a large quantity of needlework had been done during 1890. The children showed particular aptitude for needlework, and special attention was paid to the more serviceable branch of the work. The result was that the girls who had left the school were rendering themselves useful in their homes, to the delight and pride of their mothers. Here then we have one of the rare cases in Indian education, where a school was definitely of some social and economic value, and meeting with the approval of both parents and pupils. Other schools, like the Durban Girls’ school, the Umbilo Girls’ school, the Rev. Barret’s school in Pietermaritzburg, and the Pietermaritzburg Girls’ school showed skill in needlework. But this kind of work had a further economic value. Thus at the Durban Girls’ school, clothing was sold or otherwise turned to account, and sales were held three or four times a year. And at the Pietermaritzburg Girls’ school, the parents were often glad to buy the work at cost price.

Although this was merely touching the surface, it was a) the preliminary step in the industrialisation of Indian education. Nevertheless, if we consider what had been done to teach Indian children something that would be of use in their daily lives, we find practically nothing.

Such then were the contents of Indian education. The next question is: how was this education graded? The work

1) Report Ind. Schools 1890 N.B.1. par. 8(20).  
   Ibid., 1891 N.B.B. pp. U 68, U 69, U 70.  
3) Ibid., 1890 N.E.B. par. 8(3,14).  
   Ibid., 1891 N.B.B. p. U 68.  
   Cf. pp. 243,244 et seqq.
of the schools was tested for the first time by an examination held in November and December, 1885. At first only three standards were examined. The lowest was Std. I, and the highest Std. III. The following was the schedule of standards used:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>STD.</th>
<th>ENGLISH</th>
<th>WRITING</th>
<th>ARITHMETIC</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>I.</td>
<td>Read from Standard I Reading Book. Learn by heart 20 lines of simple verse, and know their meaning.</td>
<td>Write 10 easy words from Dictation. Show Copy Books (large hand).</td>
<td>Notation and denomination up to 1,000. Simple Addition and Subtraction, Multiplication Table up to 6 times 12.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>II.</td>
<td>Read from Standard II Reading Book. Learn by heart 40 lines of Poetry, and know their meaning. Point out Nouns and Verbs. Geographical terms simply explained. Point out Continents and Oceans.</td>
<td>Write three lines dictated from Standard Reader. Show Copy Books (large and half text).</td>
<td>Notation and denomination up to 100,000. The four simple Rules. Multiplication Table. Pence Table to £1.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The next year two other standards, IA and IV, were added to this.

1) Report Ind. Schools 1885 N.B.B. paras. 10,12.

Ibid., 1885 N.B.B. paras. 10,12 Notes.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>STD.</th>
<th>ENGLISH</th>
<th>WRITING</th>
<th>ARITHMETIC</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>IA.</td>
<td>Read a few sentences from Standard Bock I, or other similar Reader, distinctly and accurately pronounced.</td>
<td>Form on slate or paper from Dictation words of one syllable spelt by the Inspector.</td>
<td>Form on slate from Dictation figures up to 20. Add and subtract figures up to 20 orally.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IV.</td>
<td>Read from Standard IV Reading Book, or History of England. Recite 80 lines of Poetry, and explain the words and allusions. Parse simple sentences and illustrate the use of the parts of speech. Detail physical and political geography.</td>
<td>Write to Dictation passage from Reader. Show Copy Books (improved small hand).</td>
<td>Division of Money, Reduction of Money and of Weights and Measures.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

When criticising this curriculum, we have to consider first —

1) The teachers.

2) The position of the scholars in the social life of Natal.

3) The medium used.

We have already seen that the teachers were poorly educated.

It has also been shown that there was no connection between the schools, and the life of the scholars at home and in society.

And, as to the medium of instruction, we must remember that the

1) Report Ind. Schools 1885 N.R.B. par. 15.


a) See pp. 100,101 et seqq.

b) Cf. pp. 63,64 et seqq.
home language of Indian children was not English. Thus it must have taken the average child at least from a year to eighteen months, before he could have understood enough English to follow his teacher. Then we cannot be too sure of the English of even the teachers. Hence we have probably the reason for the institution of the introductory Std. IA.

Difficulty can be found with some sections of the schedules. The number of lines of poetry for each standard was excessive; about half the number of lines would have been ample. For Stds. II and III the pointing out of nouns, verbs, etc., must have been too difficult. And for Std. IV Parts of Speech probably constituted a serious obstacle. In the case of geography in Std. III, to study the chief countries and towns must have been too difficult, unless only a few examples were taken. Detailed physical geography in Std. IV was too wide in scope; physical geography alone would have been sufficient. Notation and numeration up to 1,000 in Std. I was certainly demanding too much from infants, for it would have taken at least two years to reach that stage. Up to 10 only would have served the purpose. The same criticism applies to notation and numeration for Std. II. For Std. III long division was too difficult; a child should be at school at least four years before this can be successfully attempted. Addition and subtraction, etc., of money in the same standard could have been understood only when very simple examples were chosen. The same applies to division and reduction of money, and weights and measures in Std. IV.

Generally, therefore, the curriculum was too wide in scope and too difficult, and these defects must have been accentuated by the pupils being taught in what to them and their teachers was a foreign language.

We are now in a position to consider the success of the pupils at the examinations held throughout this period. And
for this purpose, we have the following table:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>YEAR</th>
<th>NUMBERS AND PERCENTAGE</th>
<th>ON ROLL</th>
<th>TO BE EXAMINED</th>
<th>NOT EXAMINED</th>
<th>PRESENT DURING EXAMINATION</th>
<th>EXAMINED</th>
<th>a) PASSES</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1885</td>
<td>Number Pct.</td>
<td>1,480</td>
<td>704</td>
<td>776</td>
<td>607</td>
<td>261</td>
<td>253</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>48</td>
<td>52</td>
<td>86</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>97</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1886</td>
<td>Number Pct.</td>
<td>1,702</td>
<td>797</td>
<td>905</td>
<td>670</td>
<td>330</td>
<td>305</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>47</td>
<td>53</td>
<td>84</td>
<td>41</td>
<td>92</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1887</td>
<td>Number Pct.</td>
<td>1,591</td>
<td>818</td>
<td>773</td>
<td>671</td>
<td>321</td>
<td>272</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>51</td>
<td>49</td>
<td>82</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>85</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1888</td>
<td>Number Pct.</td>
<td>1,891</td>
<td>1,006</td>
<td>885</td>
<td>857</td>
<td>333</td>
<td>262</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>53</td>
<td>47</td>
<td>85</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>79</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1889</td>
<td>Number Pct.</td>
<td>2,007</td>
<td>1,012</td>
<td>995</td>
<td>842</td>
<td>339</td>
<td>271</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>50</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>83</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>80</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1890</td>
<td>Number Pct.</td>
<td>2,141</td>
<td>1,219</td>
<td>922</td>
<td>1,060</td>
<td>413</td>
<td>356</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>57</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>87</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>86</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1891</td>
<td>Number Pct.</td>
<td>2,270</td>
<td>1,378</td>
<td>892</td>
<td>1,140</td>
<td>430</td>
<td>434</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>61</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>83</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>89</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1892</td>
<td>Number Pct.</td>
<td>2,706</td>
<td>1,478</td>
<td>1,228</td>
<td>1,241</td>
<td>555</td>
<td>443</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>55</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>84</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>86</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1893</td>
<td>Number Pct.</td>
<td>2,589</td>
<td>1,593</td>
<td>906</td>
<td>1,363</td>
<td>653</td>
<td>576</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>62</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>86</td>
<td>41</td>
<td>88</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

But before examining this table, let us take the following table,


Ibid., 1886 N.B.B. pp. U 88 - U 89.


Ibid., 1890 N.B.B. pp. U 92 - U 93.


a) i.e. Reading, writing, arithmetic.
which gives an analysis of the number of passes for each standard:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>YEAR</th>
<th>SUBJECTS</th>
<th>IA</th>
<th>PER</th>
<th>IA</th>
<th>PER</th>
<th>IA</th>
<th>PER</th>
<th>IA</th>
<th>PER</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>NO.</td>
<td>CENT.</td>
<td>NO.</td>
<td>CENT.</td>
<td>NO.</td>
<td>CENT.</td>
<td>NO.</td>
<td>CENT.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1885</td>
<td>R.W.A.</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>358</td>
<td>52</td>
<td>193</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>133</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1886</td>
<td>R.W.A.</td>
<td>205</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>241</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>214</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>128</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1887</td>
<td>R.W.A.</td>
<td>166</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>296</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>140</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>101</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1888</td>
<td>R.W.A.</td>
<td>224</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>213</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>173</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>123</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1889</td>
<td>R.W.A.</td>
<td>330</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>220</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>126</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>105</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1890</td>
<td>R.W.A.</td>
<td>458</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>324</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>162</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>72</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1891</td>
<td>R.W.A.</td>
<td>541</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>382</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>207</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>117</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1892</td>
<td>R.W.A.</td>
<td>902</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>412</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>281</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>154</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1893</td>
<td>R.W.A.</td>
<td>675</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>503</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>307</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>178</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

These two tables reveal the following outstanding facts, viz.:

(i) The low percentage of pupils actually examined.

(ii) The high percentage of passes.

b) After the first examination - that of 1885 - had taken place, 1) Mr. Colepaor noticed that the general result, as appears clearly from the tables, except for the percentage of passes gained, was not as good as expected, since the number examined - a mere

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b) Same as those for previous table.

b) See p. 113.
7 per cent. of that intended to be examined - was too small. For this the reasons were -

(i) The excessive irregularity of attendance. Many of the pupils who had been entered on the schedules were not present on the days fixed for the examination.

(ii) There had been too much straining after the higher standards.

(iii) The teachers' over-caution in holding back pupils, who were not considered capable of passing in the three subjects - reading, writing and arithmetic - but who might have passed in one or more of them.

That many of the pupils were absent from the examinations is not at all strange, if we consider the general apathy of both parents and pupils. The second reason is also characteristic of Indian education, as will appear evident later. It can, perhaps, be explained as follows. By concentrating on the pupils in the higher standards, there might be created a reason for additional standards to the schools, and for retaining some of the pupils, who left the schools, after completing the short course offered. And since the teachers of the Aided Schools retained the fees, such an increase in the number of standards would benefit them financially. Furthermore, it would to a certain extent meet the wishes of those Indians who desired a higher standard of education, especially when they were being prohibited from attending European schools. As we have seen, a Std. IV was added in 1866. But it is to be noted that while 7 per cent. of the pupils in Std. IV had passed in 1866, there was subsequently a decrease in the percentage of passes in that standard. Evidently, Mr. Colepeper's warning against too much

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a) But note that the actual number of pupils on the roll was much larger than the number of pupils to be examined. Hundreds of pupils were, therefore, never taken into consideration each year.

b) Cf. pp. 63, 64 et seqq.

c) See p. 241.
concentration on the higher standards at the expense of the lower standards had some effect. The last reason can also be explained as of financial benefit to the teachers, and more so than in the case of the second, for we have to remember the competition for pupils, and the fact that otherwise many more schools would continually have been running the risk of having too few pupils and, consequently, of losing their grant. But this introduces another characteristic of Indian education, namely, retardation, which must, on the contrary, have been a financial loss to the Board and a waste of public money. For from the first table we deduce the following facts:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>YEAR</th>
<th>PUPILS NOT EXAMINED</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1885</td>
<td>63 per cent. i.e. 443 pupils.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1886</td>
<td>59 &quot; &quot; 467 &quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1887</td>
<td>61 &quot; &quot; 497 &quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1888</td>
<td>67 &quot; &quot; 673 &quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1889</td>
<td>67 &quot; &quot; 673 &quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1890</td>
<td>66 &quot; &quot; 806 &quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1891</td>
<td>64 &quot; &quot; 888 &quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1892</td>
<td>62 &quot; &quot; 923 &quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1893</td>
<td>59 &quot; &quot; 940 &quot;</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

From this table we see that 6,310 pupils must have been retarded during the nine years, and this meant, apart from a financial


a) See pp. 66,67 et seqq.

b) Of course, the financial loss would appear to have been much greater, if account is taken of the number of pupils on the roll instead of the number actually examined. There is also the number of failures that can be considered in this connection.
loss, also a loss of time and energy, as far as both teachers and pupils were concerned. Next, take the following table, showing the cost of educating each pupil at all the schools—Board Schools and Aided Schools:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>YEAR</th>
<th>NUMBER ON ROLL</th>
<th>EXPENDITURE</th>
<th>FEES BOARD SCHOOLS</th>
<th>COST PER HEAD</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>£ s. d.</td>
<td>£ s. d.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1885</td>
<td>1,480</td>
<td>1,461 4 3</td>
<td>26 18 10</td>
<td>19s. 5d.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1886</td>
<td>1,702</td>
<td>1,499 19 9</td>
<td>19 1 9</td>
<td>17s. 8d.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1887</td>
<td>1,551</td>
<td>1,251 6 4</td>
<td>14 5 0</td>
<td>15s. 7d.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1888</td>
<td>1,891</td>
<td>1,355 16 7</td>
<td>12 4 3</td>
<td>14s. 4d.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1889</td>
<td>2,007</td>
<td>1,588 4 45</td>
<td>12 13 0</td>
<td>15s. 9d.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1890</td>
<td>2,141</td>
<td>1,616 17 3</td>
<td>14 12 0</td>
<td>15s. 1d.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1891</td>
<td>2,270</td>
<td>1,549 3 11</td>
<td>17 5 0</td>
<td>13s. 7d.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1892</td>
<td>2,706</td>
<td>1,734 13 0</td>
<td>31 3 6</td>
<td>12s. 9d.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1893</td>
<td>2,589</td>
<td>1,816 0 1</td>
<td>30 6 0</td>
<td>14s. 0d.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

From this and the previous table, we have these calculations:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{1885} & : 19s. 5d. \times 443 = 43017s. 10d. \\
\text{1886} & : 17s. 8d. \times 447 = 38710s. 4d. \\
\text{1887} & : 15s. 7d. \times 497 = 38710s. 4d. \\
\text{1888} & : 14s. 4d. \times 673 = 60717s. 2d. \\
\text{1889} & : 15s. 9d. \times 806 = 60717s. 2d. \\
\text{1890} & : 15s. 1d. \times 888 = 60320d. \\
\text{1891} & : 13s. 7d. \times 923 = 59311d. \\
\text{1892} & : 12s. 9d. \times 940 = 69619s. \\
\text{1893} & : 14s. 0d. \times 640 = 69619s.
\end{align*}
\]

a) The total financial loss to the Board was thus £4,704 4s. 3d.,

1) Report Ind. Schools 1893 N.B.B. p. 3 60.

a) This does not, however, take into consideration that pupils might have been retarded for more than one year.
and this amounted to much more than the annual expenditure for any of these years.

There now remains the last fact to consider in connection with the examinations held during this period - the high percentage of passes. The great increase in 1886 in the total number of passes was due to the adoption of Std. IA, and the addition for the first time of Std. IV. In view of the poor quality of the teachers, the irregular attendance, and the fact that the curriculum was not easy, it seems very strange that the percentage of passes should have been so high. The only reason we can advance for this is that the pupils must have been readily promoted in order not to discourage them.

Since we have thus examined the kind of education given at the Indian schools, and have seen how it had been graded, we are now in a position to assess the value of this education. The best plan seems to be to study the education of the pupils who had left school.

We have already noticed that the bigger boys did not generally remain longer than two years at school, and that hardly anything had been done to give Indian children some form of industrial training. Consequently, the pupils had completed their course, when they could read and write fairly well, and had some knowledge of arithmetic.

Let us thus examine the following table, which shows the number of pupils who had left school, and their

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1) Report Ind. Schools 1886 N.B.B. pp. U 88 - U 89, and par. 16.
2) Ibid., 1885 N.B.B. par. 68.
a) See p. 71.
b) Cf. pp. 109,110 et seqq.
1) Educational qualifications:

| YEAR | BOARD SCHOOLS | | | | | AIDED SCHOOLS | | | |
|------|---------------|----------------|----------------|----------------|----------------|----------------|----------------|----------------|
| 1885 | 39           | 17 | 14   | 18    | 339       | 104  | 108  | 89    |
| 1886 | 45           | 19 | 14   | 9     | 561       | 131  | 78   | 69    |
| 1887 | 42           | 10 | 16   | 14    | 468       | 79   | 58   | 62    |
| 1888 | 43           | 21 | 15   | 21    | 612       | 122  | 61   | 62    |
| 1889 | 30           | 7  | 5    | 7     | 702       | 108  | 51   | 43    |
| 1891 | 67           | 12 | 12   | 7     | 603       | 122  | 58   | 46    |
| 1891 | 91           | 16 | 9    | 13    | 579       | 128  | 59   | 37    |
| 1892 | 102          | 41 | 21   | 22    | 711       | 140  | 120  | 46    |
|      | 459          | 143 | 106 | 111   | 4,507     | 931  | 593  | 454   |

From this table we have the following calculations:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>BEGINNERS</th>
<th>R</th>
<th>R.W.</th>
<th>R.W.A.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>i.e., Alphabet and Primer.</td>
<td>i.e., Read First Royal Reader and write on slates.</td>
<td>i.e., Read Second Royal Reader, write dictation, and work at least the first four rules of arithmetic.</td>
<td>i.e.,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LEFT</td>
<td></td>
<td>4,966</td>
<td>1,074</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL NUMBER</td>
<td>68</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

We are thus forced to the conclusion that over 90 per cent. of...

1) Report Ind. Schools 1885 N.B.B. par. 66.
Ibid., 1886 N.B.B. par. 13.
Ibid., 1887 N.B.B. par. 14.
Ibid., 1888 N.B.B. par. 15.
Ibid., 1889 N.B.B. par. 13.
Ibid., 1890 N.B.B. par. 13.
Ibid., 1892 N.B.B. par. 18.
the pupils who had left school during this period were, in effect, illiterate, and consequently unfit for anything but unskilled labour later. But that even this smattering of education was utterly worthless, is seen by the fact that practically none of the 107 boys, who could read, write and do a little arithmetic, and had obtained employment after leaving school in 1885, would not have been equally eligible for such employment without any education at all.


c) We have already stated that the institution of the Indian Immigrant School Board marked an improvement in the general condition of Indian education. We cannot but emphasize, however, what has so far become our firm conviction, namely, that the constitution of this Board was a great mistake, and one of the great drawbacks in the steady development of a special type of class education that needed greater initiative and energy than that revealed by the Board. Therefore, since we have now examined the schools, and the teachers, pupils, and contents and standard of Indian education, let us further examine how the Board had administered this system of Indian education.

Consider first the following sketch, which shows the

1) Report Ind. Schools 1885 N.B.B. par. 75.
a) Compare, therefore, the kind of employment actually obtained by Indian children. See p. 66.
b) Cf. p. 110 note b).
c) Cf. p. 36.
system of administration during this period:

We see thus that the whole system of Indian education was, so
to speak, firmly wedged in between two great bodies - the colonial Parliament, and the general European and Indian public. The funds for Indian education emanated from the colonial Parliament, a hotbed of racial prejudice; and amongst the European public, we have racial antagonism towards Indians. Between these two groups, the whole system of Indian education must necessarily have become cramped, so that it could not function normally. And the Indian Immigrant School Board, as will be seen below, appears to have been an appendage of the Council of Education, which again was closely connected with the colonial Parliament. We can, therefore, just imagine the kind of spirit that must have prevailed in the Indian Immigrant School Board itself, as far as the interests of Indian education were concerned. Then, also, the Europeans were closely connected with the colonial Parliament through their representatives, and also with the Council of Education. On the other hand, the Indian public had no connection with the colonial Parliament, nor with the Indian Immigrant School Board, which was therefore a misnomer. There was contact between the Indian Immigrant School Board and its Board Schools, and the teachers and pupils of these schools by means of its committees and inspector; but there seems to have been little or no contact between it and the managers of the Aided Schools, and the teachers and pupils of the Aided Schools, since contact between the Board and the system of Indian education appears to have ended with the Board Schools. Thus there was a wide gulf between the Board Schools and the Aided Schools, as far as school administration was concerned. It, therefore, seems that the hold the Indian Immigrant School Board had on the whole system of Indian education was not too firm, and thus, in this respect, an important development will be noticed

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a) Note how far this difference had been perpetuated between Government Schools and Aided Schools. Compare pp. 275, 276.
later in connection with the Aided Schools.

As regards the constitution of the Board itself, we notice that under Law No. 20 of 1878 the Lt. Governor had been empowered to appoint five persons, one of whom was to be the Protector of Indian Immigrants, and two other members of the Council of Education, and they were to constitute the members of the Board. The Lt. Governor was to fill any vacancies, but the members were not to be appointed for a longer period than two years, except in the case of the Protector of Indian Immigrants. And the secretary of the Council of Education was also the secretary to the Board. Now take, for example, the meeting of the Board held on 15th October, 1881 when the following members were present:

The Colonial Secretary (Chairman).
The Colonial Treasurer.
The Protector of Indian Immigrants.
Mr. Henry Binns.
The Rev. W. Wynne.

It will thus be seen, as appears evident also from other meetings of the Board, that the official element on the Board was very strong. This appears, from a perusal of the minutes of the Council of Education, to have been also a defect in the case of the Council of Education. Because of the presence on the Board of such an official element, including two members of the Council of Education, the Board would tend to become a replica, if not also a sub-department, of the Council of Education, with similar defects generally as those of the Council of Education. In fact, that this was so, becomes apparent, when

1) Law No. 20 of 1878 sect. 1.


b) It would appear that the Board soon tended to lose much of its identity, and thus to nullify the reasons that prompted its institution. Of course, a Board could become a sub-department of another body and yet justify its existence. Compare p. 271.
we compare the minutes of the Board with those of the Council. If the Lt. Governor filled the vacancies, his influence on the Board must have been supreme. That the Lt. Governor, in this case Sir Henry Bulwer, had originally intended that his authority in the Board should be unquestioned in the deliberations of the Board, seems to appear from the fact that, after the Bill, proposing a system of Indian education and the establishment of a Board, had become law, he considered it better to leave the details of the proposed system very much to the discretion of the Board than to lay down any positive course by legislative enactment. Furthermore, there appear to have been only three missionaries on the Board throughout the whole period, viz., the Rev. R. Stott, the Rev. W. Wynne, and the Rev. S.H. Stott. But no missionaries appeared on the Board after 10th December, 1884. Now by Law No. 1 of 1884, instead of a separate Board for Native education, a Native Committee was formed and incorporated with the Council of Education. This Native Committee consisted of two members who were not missionaries; and there were also, it would appear, no missionaries on the Council of Education. In fact, Bulwer was averse to appointing missionaries on this Native Committee. This, no doubt, explains the absence of missionaries on the Board during later years. There appear also to have been no Indians on the Board, although, presumably the Protector of Indian Immigrants had to represent the Indians. But there is no convincing evidence


   Law No. 1 of 1884 sect. 3.
   Witness 25th Jan., 1889 Leader.

3) Minute Bulwer to S.N.A., 24th July, 1884 G.H. Records Vol. 251 Encl. with Address No. 76/1883.
that any of the members of the Board, including Mr. Colepeper, but with the possible exception of the three missionaries mentioned above and Mr. Dunning, had the necessary qualifications to act as educationists. Indian education was thus apparently administered by amateurs.

A direct reflection on the seriousness of the Board in the cause of Indian education can be found in the way its meetings were held. The following table shows the Board's meetings during the whole period of its existence:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>YEAR</th>
<th>NO. OF MEETINGS</th>
<th>DATE OF MEETING</th>
<th>DURATION OF EACH MEETING</th>
<th>NO. OF MEMBERS PRESENT</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1872</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>26th March.</td>
<td>2 hrs. 45 mins.</td>
<td>3</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>10th October.</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(adjourned sine die).</td>
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<tr>
<td>1880</td>
<td>None</td>
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<tr>
<td>1881</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>9th February.</td>
<td>1 hr. 50 mins.</td>
<td>4</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>15th October.</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>26th November.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>1882</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>16th January.</td>
<td>1 hr. 15 mins.</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>29th July.</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>3rd November.</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>6th November.</td>
<td>unspecified</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1883</td>
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<td>2nd February.</td>
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<td>20th March.</td>
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<td>21st June.</td>
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<td>13th November.</td>
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<tr>
<td>1884</td>
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<td>13th February.</td>
<td>1 hr. 30 mins.</td>
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<td>12th July.</td>
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<td>10th December.</td>
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<td>4</td>
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<td>1885</td>
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<td>14th February.</td>
<td>1 hr. 30 mins.</td>
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<td>7th March.</td>
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<td>9th May.</td>
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<td>11th July.</td>
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<td>8th August.</td>
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<td>23rd September.</td>
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<td>14th November.</td>
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<td>YEAR</td>
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<td>DATE OF MEETINGS</td>
<td>DURATION OF EACH MEETING</td>
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<td>13th February.</td>
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<td>10th April.</td>
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<td>14th May.</td>
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<td>10th December.</td>
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<td>1892</td>
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<td>YEAR</td>
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<td>1893</td>
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<td>1894</td>
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<td></td>
<td>20th April.</td>
<td>unspecified</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

What strikes one is the fact that from October, 1879 onwards the Board held no meetings for 15 months, the whole of the year 1880 passing without any meetings at all. And for the years 1879, 1881, 1882 and 1884, there were long intervals between the meetings. It would appear that nothing of importance had attracted the attention of the Board during these years. Thus the Board had soon lapsed into a comatose state. It will be noticed that after 1885 the number of meetings increased, and the meetings became more regular. In this connection, it must be remembered that the first definite achievement of the Board was the establishment of the Durban Board School in November, 1883. The table also shows at least two outstanding defects in the constitution of the Board. It reveals, without doubt, the indifference of the members of the Board to the deliberations of the Board, and their absolute lack of interest in the future of Indian education in Natal. And as to the defects of the Board, we notice here one of the great

1) Minutes Ind. Immig. School Board 26th March, 1879 to 20th April, 1894.

2) See p. 56.
similarities between the Board and the Council of Education, a)
as already emphasised above. For an examination of the
minutes of the Council of Education will clearly show that
the members of the Council were just as indifferent to the
meetings of the Council, as the members of the Board were to
the meetings of the Board. Thus omitting those meetings
for which the necessary details are unspecified, we notice
that out of a total of 78 meetings for the whole period -

16 times there were 5 members present, i.e., at
21 per cent. of the meetings.

27 times there were 4 members present, i.e., at
35 per cent. of the meetings.

23 times there were 3 members present, i.e., at
29 per cent. of the meetings.

12 times there were 2 members present, i.e., at
15 per cent. of the meetings.

Thus at approximately 56 per cent. of the meetings, there
were sufficient members present - i.e., five and four members -
to conduct the deliberations of the Board to any extent with
satisfaction. The meetings were, therefore, very poorly
attended. Finally, the table shows the short time occupied
in the discussions of the Board. We notice that the shortest
meeting was that of 30 minutes held on 10th October, 1885.
There was only one meeting of 2 hours 20 minutes, namely, that
of 8th June, 1888 - the longest.

Let us now examine how the members of the Board had dis-
cussed matters coming up for consideration. And take the
first meeting again, because it should have been one at which
we could have expected much discussion and preparation for the
proposed system of schools, and one at which the members should
have revealed great initiative and enterprise, if they were at
all interested in their work. We notice this meeting lasted

a) See pp. 125,126 and also p. 149.
b) And another on 11th March, 1892.
two hours, but with only three members present. During these two hours, the secretary reported on the circular that had been sent to the planters, and their replies; a note by Frere on Law No. 20 of 1878 was read, and resolutions were passed, thanking the Lt. Governor for Frere's recommendations; resolutions were also passed, suggesting the selection of an inspector in Madras; a resolution was passed that aid should be given to schools conducted by private persons; grants to certain schools were approved; a resolution was passed that the Lt. Governor should be requested to insert the sum of £1,000 for the following year in the estimates for Indian education; that the secretary should act as inspector, pending the arrival of the inspector from India; and then, also, that travelling expenses should be allowed to the members of the Board at 25p. each per day. It cannot be denied that many of these measures were important, and had an important bearing on the future of Indian education, e.g., the circular, the question of obtaining an inspector, aid to schools conducted by private persons, the insertion of the sum of £1,000 in the estimates for 1880, and also travelling allowances to members of the Board. Two hours is rather a short time to discuss all these matters thoroughly. This was followed by a resolution that the next meeting of the Board should be held, when the secretary was of the opinion there was sufficient business to lay before the Board. During the following meeting – that of 10th October, 1879 – there was little discussion. As can be seen from the table, it lasted only 45 minutes, and was adjourned sine die. At the meeting held on 3rd November, 1882, no fewer than 29 applications for the post of inspector were read and considered. It will be remembered that Mr. Dunning had by that time already been dismissed. After the long delay, occasioned by the non-arrival of

a) See p. 51.
the inspector, and the disappointment experienced, when he did arrive but failed to please the Board, one would have expected that the Board would have discussed this matter properly, but the minutes of the Board do not refer to any such discussion. At the meeting of 20th March, 1883, the report of a Building Committee was read, and the matter under discussion was the proposed erection of a schoolroom, etc., at a cost not exceeding £200. This school was to be the future Durban Board School. If we now consider the annual vote received from the Legislative Council - which was £2,000 and the expenditure of the Board £1,476 3s. 3d. for 1884 - it becomes evident that the sum of £200 was not a small amount - actually, one-tenth in this case - and yet, there does not appear to have been much discussion of the matter by the four members present. We see this meeting lasted only 10 minutes. The same criticism can be made of the meeting of 13th February, 1884, when the future Umgeni Board School, later erected at a cost of £160, was brought up for discussion, and while the meeting lasted only one hour.

There was only one matter that was thoroughly discussed, and that concerned the position of Mr. Colepeper. Thus at the meeting held on 7th March, 1885, and which lasted one hour and fifteen minutes, Mr. Jameson brought forward a notice for the dismissal of Mr. Colepeper. After "due discussion" a resolution was passed on the question of retaining his services. And again, at the meeting of 9th May, 1885, a letter from Mr. Colepeper

1) Minutes Ind. Immig. School Board 20th March, 1883 pars. 3,4.
2) Report Ind. Schools 1893 N.S.B. p. 60.
3) Ibid., Immig. School Board 13th Febr., 1884 par. 4.
4) Ibid., 7th March, 1885 par. 7.
5) Ibid., 9th May, 1885 par. 3.
was considered, and there was "sound discussion." The question of Mr. Colepeper's dismissal and of his status received further attention at subsequent meetings. But the hostility between the Board and Mr. Colepeper, as described below, made the Board alternate between two extremes. Thus it wasted much time discussing matters of less importance, as, for example, his annual reports. In March, 1881, a special meeting was even held to discuss his annual report.

Such were then the subjects considered by the Board, and the manner in which it discussed them. But all this was done behind closed doors. If it shows anything, it shows the autocracy and pettiness of the Board, and, perhaps, an attempt to shield from a critical public its own incompetence. Thus the Press was not allowed to attend the meetings of the Board. But at the meeting held on 26th November, 1881, it was resolved that the secretary should notify in the Durban papers that the inspector was engaged in assisting planters and others concerned to establish schools for the children of the Indians. Eventually, in January, 1886, the secretary was instructed to furnish the local Press with a synopsis of the proceedings of each monthly

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1) Minutes Ind. Immig. School Board 11th March, 1887.
   Ibid., 6th April, 1887.
   Ibid., 12th Febr., 1892.
   Ibid., 22nd April, 1892.
   Ibid., 10th June, 1892.
   Ibid., 14th Oct., 1892.

2) Ibid., 13th March, 1886.
   Ibid., 14th May, 1886.

3) Ibid., 13th Febr., 1891. par. 11.
   Ibid., 6th March, 1891

4) Ibid., 26th Nov., 1881 Res. 12.

a) See pp. 146, 147.
1) a) 2)

meeting of the Board. Such information appeared in the Press.
but that was as far as the Board could go to make known its
discussions and decisions, for its deliberations still took
place behind closed doors.

The next question to consider is the way the Board performed
its work. On 20th March, 1883, the Board resolved that
Messrs. Mason, S.H. Stott, Binns and Jameson should be appointed
a Standing Committee to receive reports from, and to consult
with, Mr. Colepeper on all matters coming under his care, to
call the meetings of the Board, and, in other respects, to facili-
(3) tate the work of the Board as far as practicable. Now it is
to be noted that at this meeting there were present -

Mr. Henry Binns.
The Acting Protector of Indian Immigrants.
The Rev. S.H. Stott.
Mr. R. Jameson.

Mr. Mason was the Acting Protector of Indian Immigrants at this
time. These members had thus appointed themselves a Standing
Committee. At the next meeting, on 21st June, 1883, for
the first time, mention was made of an Administrative Com-
mittee. This was evidently the new name for the Standing

1) Minutes Ind. Immig. School Board 16th Jan., 1886 par. 6.
2) Mercury 18th Jan., 1886 p. 3.
   Ibid., 15th Febr., 1886 p. 3.
   Ibid., 15th March, 1886 p. 3.
   Ibid., 1883 p. C 92.

a) It would appear that in each case the "synopsis" did not
err by furnishing too many details.

b) There is no evidence, at least not in the minutes of the
Board, that the Press had ever been permitted to attend
the meetings of the Board. Even Mr. Colepeper, who should
have been the trusted friend of the Board, had been denied
the privilege of attending. See p. 147.
Committee. The functions allocated to the Administrative Committee will be better understood if we give some details. Thus at this meeting of 21st June, 1883, the Administrative Committee reported that the new Government School in Durban had been completed. It was also resolved that the Committee and Mr. Colepeper should report on the suitability of the locality for the proposed Umgeni Government School. Then in February, 1884, the Committee was directed to purchase furniture for the Umgeni Government School, and it was also empowered to make a grant of £15 per year to the Rev. S.H. Stott's Evening School at the Point, provided it was found in a satisfactory condition. This shows that the Administrative Committee was the body that was to carry out the general administrative duties of the Board. But even a careful study of the minutes of the Board fails to find any further trace of this Committee after 13th February, 1884 when it was last mentioned. Now also smaller committees were established after this date, but not before, and some of them were the following. Thus at the meeting of 11th March, 1887, Mr. Robarts and Mr. Jameson were appointed a Committee to visit and report on the Durban Board School as to the accommodation at the school, and improvements to the building. And at the meeting of 11th March, 1892, the Protector of Indian Immigrants, Mr. Mason, and the secretary to the Board were appointed a Committee to prepare the annual

1) Minutes Ind. Immig. School Board 21st June, 1883 Res. 3, 4.
Ibid., 13th Febr., 1884 par. 4 Res., par. 6 Res.

Ibid., 1883 p. C 92.

3) Minutes Ind. Immig. School Board 11th March, 1887 par. 7 Res.
Ibid., 8th Febr., 1888 par. 12(1) Res.
Ibid., 11th March, 1892 par. 4 Res.
report of the Board. A comparison of the functions of these smaller Committees with those of the Administrative Committee will show that the functions of the smaller Committees were just the functions that the Administrative Committee had been given. Thus we can safely conclude that the Administrative Committee had disappeared, and that the smaller Committees had taken its place. Since, as we have shown above, the largest number of members present at the meetings of the Board was usually four, it follows that, by having four members on the Administrative Committee, the Committee would, in most cases, have to sanction its own actions. This was, probably, the reason why smaller Committees were substituted for the Administrative Committee. Furthermore, it will be noticed that Mr. Roberts and Mr. Jameson were members of the Administrative Committee, and if the Administrative Committee had not been abolished, there seems to have been no reason for forming smaller Committees with the same members, or some of them, to perform duties that fell really within the province of the Administrative Committee.

The way the actions of these Committees had been approved is peculiar. Consider first the extent to which the Administrative Committee had to approve of its own actions. Now when the Administrative Committee had reported the completion of the new Government School in Durban, it was resolved at the meeting held on 21st June, 1883 that the Committee in conjunction with Mr. Colepiper should take such steps as they might "deem desirable" for the opening of the school. Then, at the meeting held on 13th November, 1883, it was

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1) Minutes Ind. Immig. School Board 21st June, 1883 Res. 3.
2) Ibid., 13th Nov., 1883 Res. 3.
3) See p. 131.
resolved that the action taken by the Administrative Committee, in appointing Mr. Hoover temporarily Headmaster of the Durban Government School, should be approved. The report issued as a result of the investigation, noted above, into the locality for the proposed Umgeni Government School was read at the meeting of 13th November, 1883, when it was resolved that the Administrative Committee should be empowered to purchase the site suggested, and to take steps to have a suitable building erected and a school established. But what happened? Take the meetings held on 21st June, 1883, 13th November, 1883 and 13th February, 1884, when the following members were present:—

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>MEETING ON 21ST JUNE, 1883</th>
<th>MEETING ON 13TH NOVEMBER, 1883</th>
<th>MEETING ON 13TH FEBRUARY, 1884</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Acting Colonial Secretary (Chairman).</td>
<td>Colonial Secretary (Chairman).</td>
<td>Colonial Secretary (Chairman).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mr. Henry Binns.</td>
<td>Mr. R. Jameson.</td>
<td>Mr. Henry Binns.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

From this table we see that there was only one extra member - the Acting Colonial Secretary - present on 21st June, 1883, when the Administrative Committee was authorised to take such steps as they might "seem desirable." In other words, 75 per cent. of the members present had, therefore, given instructions to themselves, since the Acting Protector of Indian Immigrants,

1) Minutes Ind. Immig. School Board 13th Nov., 1883 par. 4.

a) See p. 136.

b) Note there were only three members of the Administrative Committee present at the first two meetings.
Mr. Henry Binns, and the Rev. S.H. Stott were members of the Committee. In connection with the approval of the appointment of Mr. Hoover, and the resolution as to the site, building, and teacher of the Umgeni Government School, once more 75 per cent. of the members present had given approval to their own action, and had given themselves certain instructions. Furthermore, in the case of the power the Administrative Committee had obtained at the meeting held on 13th February, 1884, as seen already, to purchase furniture for the Umgeni Government School, and to give a grant of £15 per year to the Rev. S.H. Stott for his Evening School at the Point, we notice that 100 per cent. of the members present had given themselves certain important instructions.

Then, also, we have an absurd position created by the presence of the Rev. S.H. Stott himself. Apart from his grant of £15 per annum to his Evening School at the Point, at the same meeting a grant of £25 per year was made to his Day School at the Point, and in addition £25 and £15 per year respectively to his Day and Evening School at Clare Estate, the latter school to be in a satisfactory condition. The Rev. Stott had thus the opportunity to influence the voting of the Board, so that he received £80 as grants to his four schools. Thus whatever the Administrative Committee had recommended and performed could not be rejected or censured. It was, therefore, an autocratic Board that controlled Indian education. But when the smaller Committees were appointed, there was hardly any improvement in this respect. Thus the Committee appointed on 11th March, 1887 to visit and report on the Durban Board School had been appointed, when there were only three members present - i.e., Mr. Robarts and Mr. Jameson, members of the

1) Minutes Ind. Immig. School Board 13th Febr., 1884, pars. 6, 7.

a) See p. 136.
Committee, and Mr. Henry Binns, the chairman. Thus also, as in the case of the Administrative Committee, there had hardly been sufficient members present to appoint this Committee.

But there was improvement in this respect. When Mr. Roberts and Mr. Jameson were appointed a Committee at the meeting held on 8th February, 1888 in connection with the Durban Board School, there were five members present, viz., these two members, together with Mr. Binns, Mr. Saunders, and the Protector of Indian Immigrants; and when the Committee, consisting of the Protector of Indian Immigrants and the Secretary, was appointed on 11th March, 1892 to prepare the annual report of the Board, there were again five members present. There is thus no fault to be found with the appointment of these two Committees. Apparently, therefore, because of the poor attendance of the members, it seemed expedient to appoint these Committees of two members rather than a Standing Committee of four members.

There still remains the secretary to the Board. As seen above, he had also been appointed on a Committee. We have already noticed his functions in connection with the allocation of grants to the schools. Now take the following two cases. At the meeting held on 3rd November, 1882, he reported that, in order to allow Mr. Dunning to return to India, he had by authority of the chairman paid him £75, being salary for September and October, and £25 as passage money. By resolution of the Board

1) Minutes Ind. Immig. School Board 11th March, 1887.
2) Ibid., 8th Febr., 1888.
3) Ibid., 11th March, 1892.
4) Ibid., 3rd Nov., 1882 par. 4.
a) See p. 87.
b) Remember, the Board had meanwhile dispensed with Mr. Dunning's services. See p. 51.
at this meeting, the action of the chairman and the secretary was approved. Now at this meeting and the previous one - held on 29th July, 1882 - the Colonial Secretary was the chairman. But at the meeting of 3rd November, 1882, there were present only four members, namely, the Acting Protector of Indian Immigrants, Mr. Henry Binns, the Rev. W. Wynne, and the Colonial Secretary. This means that for the expenditure of £100 the permission of 80 per cent. of the members had been obtained; but there does not appear to have been any discussion of the matter. There is, finally, the case of a smaller amount. Thus at the meeting held on 11th May, 1888, the secretary reported he had paid £2 for drawing material presented to Dr. Booth's school in Durban, and the Board confirmed his action without any discussion. And at this meeting, there were only two members present. Only 40 per cent. of the members had, therefore, given their approval. Thus, also in the case of the secretary, approval of actions was easily obtained.

So much for the Indian Immigrant School Board - its constitution and general functioning. And now, on the other hand, there remains the wide gulf between the inspector, and the managers of the various Aided Schools. Let us now examine how this gulf had developed, and what, if any, attempt had been made to bring about closer co-ordination between the Board and the rest of the educational system.

Considering the relationship between the Board and the

1) Minutes Ind. Immig. School Board 3rd Nov., 1882 par. 4.

2) Ibid., 11th May, 1888 par. 9.

a) The chairman, however, approved of his own action.

b) Compare the gulf between Government Schools and Aided Schools during a later period. See, for example, pp. 221, 241, 247 et seq., 267 et seq.
inspector, we must first examine the inspector's duties. Now Mr. Dunning, as resolved by the Board on 26th November, 1881, had to send to the secretary of the Board on the first of every month a satisfactory record of his daily work. Mr. Colepeper again had to report to each meeting of the Board. And this, together with the record of daily work desired of Mr. Dunning, and the Committees appointed to supervise his work, shows conclusively how much the Board had intended to keep control of the activities of its inspectors. But further proof of this is given by other information the Board requested. Thus Mr. Colepeper had to submit a return of attendance at each of the Aided Schools; he had to submit a monthly report which was to be sent to the Lt. Governor; and there were also his half-yearly, and annual reports. Like the enquiring mind Mr. Dunning had to reveal, Mr. Colepeper was also expected to ascertain the educational requirements of certain districts, and, as far as the Tongaat district was concerned, he had to report on its suitability for a Government School, and to begin the Tongaat Government School. Furthermore, the establishment

1) Minutes Ind. Immig. School Board 26th Nov., 1881 par. 8.
2) Ibid., 7th March, 1885 par. 6 Res.
3) Ibid., 14th May, 1886 par. 8(1) Res.
4) Ibid., par. 2.
   Ibid., 8th June, 1888 par. 9.
5) Ibid., 29th July, 1882 par. 4.
6) Ibid., 14th May, 1886 par. 7 Res.
   Ibid., 13th Nov., 1883 Res. 9.
   Ibid., 13th Febr., 1884 par. 10 Res.

a) See p. 50.

b) Cf. pp. 50, 51.
and resuscitation of schools, improved accommodation and applications for grants, in addition to his duties in connection with a) grants noticed above, also required his attention. As to his visits to schools, consider the following table, showing the number of visits to each school during 1885, and the distance from the Durban Railway Station, both ways:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>NO.</th>
<th>SCHOOLS</th>
<th>NO. OF VISITS</th>
<th>DISTANCE - MILES</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>Durban Board School</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>Umgeni Board School</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>Tongaat Board School</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>54</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.</td>
<td>Railway</td>
<td>25</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.</td>
<td>Durban (Dr. Booth)</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.</td>
<td>Sydenham</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7.</td>
<td>Prospect Hall</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8.</td>
<td>Avoca</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9.</td>
<td>Blackburn</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10.</td>
<td>Verulam</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11.</td>
<td>Wentworth</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12.</td>
<td>Umbilo</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13.</td>
<td>Isipingo (Rev. Barker)</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14.</td>
<td>Umzinto (Rev. Green)</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>106</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15.</td>
<td>Equefa</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>120</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16.</td>
<td>Pietermaritzburg (Dean Green)</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>146</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17.</td>
<td>Durban (Rev. S.H. Stott)</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18.</td>
<td>Point</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19.</td>
<td>Clare</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20.</td>
<td>Springfield</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21.</td>
<td>Bridgeford</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22.</td>
<td>Embilo</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>23.</td>
<td>Pietermaritzburg (Rev. J. Bar.)</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>146</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>24.</td>
<td>Salisbury Island</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25.</td>
<td>Pietermaritzburg (Vinden's)</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>146</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Now some of the schools required a good deal of "nursing" and

1) Minutes Ind. Immig. School Board 9th March, 1888 par. 4 Res.
2) Ibid., par. 5 Res.
3) Ibid., 20th March, 1883 par. 6.
   Ibid., 9th May, 1885 par. 7.
4) Report Ind. Schools 1885 M.B.R. par. 21.
a) See p. 87.
they needed particular attention in outlying districts, and more constant supervision than they had already received. This becomes clear from the table. Furthermore, out of a total of 363 visits, 76 or 21 per cent. were paid to the three Board Schools. Of course, these Board Schools were nearer than most of the Aided Schools, but add to this the visits by the members of the Board, and we see how much "nursing" even the Board Schools required. The Aided Schools received thus 79 per cent. of the visits, or an average of 4 per cent. per school, in comparison with the 7 per cent. per Board School. The Board Schools were, therefore, visited more often than the Aided Schools. The schools in Pietermaritzburg were visited less than once a month. And from one year's and to another, the Aided Schools generally were entered by no one, but Mr. Colepeper and the manager when there was one. Thus Mr. Colepeper thought that it would have a good effect, if the members of the Board visited these schools occasionally, when they happened to be in the neighbourhood. From this it appears that the members of the Board had left it entirely to Mr. Colepeper to visit the Aided Schools.

It naturally follows that Mr. Colepeper was the only official of the Board, who could have appreciated the difficulties of Indian education in general, and of Indian schools in particular. Hence he was in a position to make valuable recommendations for the improvement of the schools, and the development of the whole system of education. In actual fact, the Board had suggested such recommendations by him. But there is not much

1) Report Ind. Schools 1885 N.B.B. par. 20.
2) Ibid., 1885 N.B.B. par. 72.
3) Minutes Ind. Immig. School Board 13th Febr., 1886 par. 13 Res.
   Ibid., 14th May, 1886 par. 8(1,2,3 et seqq.).
4) But compare p. 135 note b).
evidence that his recommendations had always been accepted, for it is difficult to discover from the minutes of the Board or its annual reports many instances of important recommendations made by him being accepted by the Board. Thus there were the recommendations, already noticed, for example, for a system of
a) scholarships at European schools, the recruitment of Native
b) teachers for Indian schools, the establishment of a Training
c) College for Indian teachers, and a system of industrial train-
d) ing and apprentices. Admittedly, finance was an important
consideration, but we have also to remember how easily the
Board was satisfied with the decisions of its own members.

Such was the system of central administration. But mean-
while, there were coming into prominence two important aspects
of this system of administration.

We have already referred to the close connection between
e) politics and the general social development of the Indians.
There was similarly a close connection between politics and
the whole system of Indian education in Natal. In the mean-
time, political developments in Natal tended towards uniformity
and the scrapping of superfluous and cumbersome decentralising
bodies. For Natal a great constitutional development was immi-
ment, and Responsible Government was in the offering. Thus also
in education there was a movement that was to lead towards
greater uniformity and centralisation. This was the first
aspect. The second aspect was the relationship between the

a) See p. 91.
b) See p. 94.
c) See p. 96.
d) See p. 109.
e) Cf. p. 28.
f) See p. 43 note a).
Board and Mr. Colepeper. These two aspects were closely related. Although, as we have seen, Mr. Colepeper had been appointed after Mr. Dunning's dismissal, a Select Committee in 1883 expressed the opinion that it would be of advantage if the Superintending Inspector of European schools, in other words, Mr. Russell, reported each year on European, Native and Indian education. This recommendation, of course, meant the dismissal of Mr. Colepeper. Nothing was done in this respect, but in 1885 Mr. Jameson brought forward a motion in the Board, namely, that the services of the present Inspector be dispensed with, and that His Excellency be requested to allow the Board to engage the services of the Superintendent Inspector as Inspector of Indian Schools.

Mr. Colepeper had, seemingly, acted at variance with the wishes of the Board, and laid himself open to their criticism. Since Mr. Jameson had no intention of pressing his motion, it was resolved that Mr. Colepeper should be informed that the Board was dissatisfied with the way in which he had performed his duties, that it noticed a lack of zeal and energy on his part, and that this, in the opinion of the Board, led to "a stagnation detrimental to the cause of Indian Education in the Colony." It is difficult to find a better condemnation of the Board itself, as the history of Indian education in Natal so far shows. In fact, we can reiterate here that it was this very stagnation in the Board itself that was the greatest obstacle in the development of Indian education. At the next meeting of the Board, a letter was read from Mr. Colepeper protesting against this.


2) Minutes Ind. Immig. School Board 7th March, 1885 par. 7.

3) See p. 51.
resolution of censure. He was then permitted to appear before the Board "not in virtue of any right but as an act of courtesy."

But when he declared he was ready to answer any question, but had no statement to make, he was informed, in that case, he was at liberty to withdraw. The Board could at least have stretched its "courtesy" a little further, and confronted him with its accusations. For the next two years again, it had to console itself with this "stagnation" in Mr. Colepeper's department.

Mr. Colepeper's supposed incompetence was not the only reason why the Board desired to dispense with his services; there were financial difficulties. Thus the Board found it imperative either to dispense with his services or to reduce the grant to Indian education still further. But this latter course seemed to it "inexpedient." It appears, however, that by reducing the grant, the Board would have run the risk of reducing itself to futility. Moreover, the Lt. Governor refused to sanction any excess expenditure, and, therefore, the Board considered itself left with no other alternative than to dispense with Mr. Colepeper's services. It consequently resolved that he should be given three months' notice of the termination of his engagement. But Mr. Colepeper was not dismissed.

Thus the squabbles between the Board and Mr. Colepeper continued. There was also the question of the annual reports on Indian schools. The Board had, meanwhile, been giving careful attention to these reports, and had instructed Mr. Colepeper to expunge certain of his statements to which it had taken

1) Minutes Ind. Immig. School Board 9th May, 1887 par. 3.
2) Ibid., 11th March, 1887 par. 3(3) Res.
3) Ibid., 6th April, 1887 par. 3(1,2) Res.
a) We have already concluded that the Board was an autocratic Board. See p. 134.
exception. Thus in 1889 Mr. Colepeper remonstrated over the use made by the Board of these reports, and asserted his claim to have them forwarded to the Government under his own signature, and intact. But he was informed they were the property of the Board, and that it was the duty of the Board alone under section 8 of Law No. 20 of 1878 to forward them to the Lt. Governor. In 1892 Mr. Colepeper was informed that the Government could not interfere between him and the Board in connection with his complaint concerning his reports.

The following year Mr. Colepeper was again allowed to appear before the Board, for he had been "called in to attend" a certain meeting of the Board. His attention was then drawn to the small attendance at two of the schools aided by the Board. Subsequently, he was informed that he had not complied with the Board's instructions as to rendering his statistical report to the secretary of the Board at least seven days previous to the meeting of the Board. In 1894 the Board recorded its disapproval of the neglect shown by him in not informing the secretary of the closing of a certain school, while the grant to it had been paid for three months after it had

1) Minutes Ind. Immig. School Board 7th March, 1885 par. 3 Res.
2) Ibid., 14th Febr., 1885 par. 8.
3) Ibid., 13th March, 1886 par. 7.
4) Ibid., 12th April, 1889 par. 4.
5) Ibid., 14th Oct., 1892 par. 6.
6) Ibid., 11th Aug., 1893 par. 4.
7) Ibid., par. 8.
Meanwhile, the Board had been showing glaring defects. It was too self-centred, so that its interests did not spread beyond its immediate surroundings - Durban and environs - but were confined to the Board room itself. It was too self-complacent. It was not much better than a village debating society, with poorly-kept and incomplete minutes, and with not much evidence of any guiding rules and regulations. It administered by means of resolutions, so that it became irresponsible, a ridiculous side-show of Bulwer's, a poor imitation of its contemporary, the Council of Education - in short, a freak Board. It was hopelessly over-administered, and consequently showed a decided lack of efficiency, and an overlapping of authority that seems to have brought it nowhere. And, since the Board had no contact, and was out of sympathy with the inspector, the missionaries, and the schools generally, there was no co-ordination in the whole system. Therefore, it was slow and clumsy. Simplicity was needed. And, though it was poorly financed, it did not study economy. But in this respect, it ran true to type, for it is a characteristic of all such small administrative bodies to be continually hamstrung by lack of the requisite funds. Consequently, it was reduced to redundancy. It was clearly a failure. It represented a system that was pre-eminent suited for confining Indian education within its former, narrow limits. But once Indian education had become extended in scope, the whole system would have revealed its inherent defects, so that a drastic change would become imperative. Unfortunately for the Board, but fortunately for Indian education, that stage had now been reached.

Now in 1883 it had already become clear that the whole system of education in Natal was defective, for the principle

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a) In fact, not only had the Board failed to supply the education Indian children needed, but it had become antiquated. Times had changed, but not the Board.
of placing education under one central body was then voiced in the Legislative Council by both Mr. Escombe and Mr. Robinson. And then, while the Education Committee of that year had recommended, as we have seen above, one inspector for European, Native, and Indian education, it had also recommended the Council of Education should be reconstructed with an increased number of members, and with increased powers, especially as regards the appointment of sub-committees, which were to deal with local requirements in class education; and the proposed sub-committees were then to function under central Board. Eventually, the principle of placing all education in Natal under one controlling body was adopted by the Legislative Council itself. But, as we have seen, only Native education had been placed directly under the Council of Education in 1884, and the principle of centralisation was thus not fully applied at that time. The Council of Education itself later failed. Thus the movement towards uniformity in education had meanwhile made great progress. In 1884, therefore, by Act No. 5 of 1894, the whole of Law No. 20 of 1878 was repealed, both the Indian Immigrant School Board and the Council of Education were abolished, and a Department of Education was created, under which all education - European, Native, and Indian - was placed. This

a) See p. 146.
b) See p. 31.
Department was constituted as follows:

Minister of Education ... Sir John Robinson.
Superintendent Inspector of Schools ...... Mr. R. Russell, as Chief Executive Officer.
Assistant Inspector ...... Mr. C.J. Mudie.
Assistant Inspector ...... Mr. J.H. Kleinschmidt.
Inspector of Native Education ............... Mr. R. Plant.
Inspector of Indian Education ............. Mr. F. Colepeper.
Secretary ............... Major Herbert.

Hence in 1894 definite provision was made for class education as before, but under a more centralised system. And the outcome of the struggle between the Board and Mr. Colepeper was that the board was dismissed instead of Mr. Colepeper. But the uncertainty of Mr. Colepeper's position, no doubt, explains why he had not yet received a letter of appointment nor been gazetted as Inspector of Indian education by December, 1888. It was only in June, 1892 that such a letter of appointment was sent him.

The Lt. Governor was, however, unable to recognise his claim to be considered a permanent civil servant, and as such to be entitled to a pension when he retired. He retired in 1903, but it was only in 1910 that he was recognised as a civil servant and entitled to a pension.

But, of course, even centralisation would have its

1) Natal Almanac, Directory and Register, 1895 p. 524.
2) Minutes Ind. Immig. School Board 14th Dec., 1888 par.8 Res.
   Ibid., 10th June, 1892 par. 3.
3) Ibid., Minute Col. Sec. to Chairman Ind. Immig. School Board 2nd May, 1892.
4) Act No. 3 of 1910.
limitations, as, for example, when after the elapse of many years, European, Native, and Indian education would assume such dimensions that the Education Department itself would tend to become unwieldy. The movement would then be again, as will be seen later, towards decentralisation and the formation of sub-departments. In fact, that such a tendency had been envisaged by the Prime Minister already in 1894 is seen, when he stated that the Government was centralising the system of education in 1894 only to decentralise later.

1) Statement Prime Minister 7th May, 1894 Debates Leg. Assem. p. 102.
a) Cf. p. 163.
b) Cf. pp. 271, 276, 277.
CHAPTER IV.

1895-1910 HEIGHT OF PUBLIC ANTAGONISM - ATTEMPTS AT REPATRIATION.

1. Increased Public Hostility to Immigration - the Climax.

We have seen in the previous chapter that the Indians could not be dispensed with, since Indian labour had become so identified with the economic life of Natal. And during this period, we notice, as before, two important phases of the relationship between Europeans and Indians - the further arrival of Indians, with marked influence on economic life, and public opposition. These phases had, however, now such an increased impetus that there was consequently a greater tendency towards a climax.

When we now come to consider this relationship, we see it naturally divides itself into the following heads:

- Number and classification of Indians.
- Demand for Indians.
- Wealth of Indians.
- Repressive legislation.
- Public antagonism

Let us, therefore, first examine the economic position of the Indians during this period, as a direct result of their position
not only during previous periods, but also as a result of factors, during this period, contributing towards that position.

1) Consider the number of Indians in Natal, as shown in the following table:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>YEAR</th>
<th>NO. OF INDIANS - MEN, WOMEN AND CHILDREN</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>TOTAL FREE INDIANS</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1895</td>
<td>30,303</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1910</td>
<td>65,917</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

From this it follows that the total Indian population had increased 135 per cent., the Free Indians 118 per cent., and the Indentured Indians 167 per cent. during these fifteen years. But in 1895 and 1910, the Free Indians formed respectively 65 per cent. and 61 per cent. of the total Indian population, and the Indentured Indians 35 per cent. and 39 per cent. The Free Indians were thus still maintaining their position as an important factor among the Indians numerically.

The increase in the percentage of Indentured Indians conclusively shows that there was still a great demand for indentured Indian labour. This is further shown by the following facts. In 1895 the demand for labour was greater than the supply; in 1896 there was again a great demand for Indian labourers, owing to increased activity in sugar cultivation and

   Ibid., 1910 N.B.B. p. 8.
2) Ibid., 1895 N.B.B. p. 5.
3) Ibid., 1896 N.B.B. p. 4.
agriculture, the extension of railways, and improvements in all branches of business. In 1897 not only was labour scarce again, but the employment of Indians was becoming popular in coal mining districts. The demand for labour was in 1901 greater than ever, and employers had begun to realise that they could do nothing without Indian labour. The number of applications for Indian labourers received by the Protector of Indian Immigrants amounted to over 18,000 men during the early part of 1902, but an unsupplied balance of about 17,500 men was left at the end of the year, and, apart from the fact that there was a demand for Indians and Natives in adjoining Colonies, the sugar crop was exceptionally large. In 1906 the labour market was abundantly supplied, and in 1908 there was a depression in Natal, so that, in many cases, Indians who had occupied fairly good positions found themselves supplanted by Europeans. The following year, when Native labour was very restricted because of the gold mines, there was once more a shortage of labour, although there was some relief, owing to the smaller number of Indian tenant farmers. But in 1910 the sugar crop was the largest on record, and wages was on the increase. Nevertheless, the prospect of meeting the demands for labour appeared by no means bright. It is, therefore, clear that Indian labour was as important as ever.

In connection with the financial position of the Indians,

3) Ibid., 1902 N.B.B. p. 15.
6) Ibid., 1909 N.B.B. pp. 6, 14.
the following table is important:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>YEAR</th>
<th>REMITTED TO INDIA</th>
<th>SAVINGS OF RETURNED INDIANS</th>
<th>DEPOSITED IN GOVERNMENT SAVINGS' BANK</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>AMOUNT</td>
<td>AMOUNT</td>
<td>AMOUNT</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>£ s. d.</td>
<td>£ s. d.</td>
<td>£ s. d.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1896</td>
<td>813 18.0</td>
<td>2,627 10.0</td>
<td>16,880 0.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1897</td>
<td>1,233 15.0</td>
<td>4,367 10.0</td>
<td>19,711 0.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1898</td>
<td>1,565 0.0</td>
<td>1,826 0.0</td>
<td>17,671 7.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1899</td>
<td>1,739 0.0</td>
<td>5,820 0.0</td>
<td>15,402 3.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1900</td>
<td>1,874 2.0</td>
<td>7,069 0.0</td>
<td>23,362 11.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1901</td>
<td>2,060 0.0</td>
<td>10,857 0.0</td>
<td>34,108 15.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1902</td>
<td>2,676 12.0</td>
<td>21,331 5.0</td>
<td>46,309 1.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1903</td>
<td>2,149 0.0</td>
<td>24,630 0.0</td>
<td>48,085 4.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1904</td>
<td>1,974 18.0</td>
<td>30,077 6.0</td>
<td>43,291 5.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1905</td>
<td>1,694 13.0</td>
<td>18,297 10.0</td>
<td>41,268 19.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1906</td>
<td>1,596 6.0</td>
<td>43,179 0.0</td>
<td>40,204 15.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1907</td>
<td>2,033 11.0</td>
<td>22,597 10.0</td>
<td>36,975 0.11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1908</td>
<td>2,353 5.0</td>
<td>30,713 14.0</td>
<td>41,769 5.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1909</td>
<td>1,387 3.0</td>
<td>25,346 0.0</td>
<td>46,168 3.11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1910</td>
<td>1,187 10.8</td>
<td>31,284 0.0</td>
<td>56,144 14.5</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

|      | 26,288 14.2       | 280,082 15.0                | 527,323 7.10                        |

From these figures again, we can calculate the gross total as

   Ibid., 1901 N.B.B. pp. 15,22,23.
   Ibid., 1902 N.B.B. pp. 11,17.
   Ibid., 1903 N.B.B. pp. 11,15,16.
   Ibid., 1904 N.B.B. pp. 10,16.
   Ibid., 1905 N.B.B. pp. 9,14.
   Ibid., 1906 N.B.B. pp. 10,15,16.
   Ibid., 1907 N.B.B. pp. 9,15.
   Ibid., 1908 N.B.B. pp. 13,15.
   Ibid., 1910 N.B.B. pp. 17,19.
The first two items represent a definite loss to Natal. We can consider them as money the Indians had not required for domestic purposes, and, therefore, they were also savings. Thus during the fifteen years, the Indians had saved approximately £800,000. We can imagine the large amount they must have saved since their arrival in 1860. Adding to this their wealth invested in property, as seen during the previous period, we cannot but conclude that at the end of this period, as previously, they must have represented a very wealthy section of the general population and, decidedly, the most wealthy of the non-Europeans. And, although it cannot be assumed from this that there was no poverty among the Indians, yet, financially, they generally remained a factor of great importance.

Again, therefore, during this period, as during the previous period, we notice an incentive to European hostility, but now greatly intensified. It can thus be understood why public hostility had meanwhile increased in severity.

The direct result of such hostility was repressive legislation. We have seen that Messrs. Binns and Mason, the Protector of Indian Immigrants, had during the previous period proceeded as a deputation to India. In their report they considered that provision should be made to meet the case of labourers, who had

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a) See pp. 41, 42.
b) Cf. p. 43.
c) See pp. 43, 44.
failed to return to India at the end of their indentures, and, therefore, they recommended a residence tax. The result of their report was the passing of Act No. 17 of 1895. But this Act was not promulgated until 18th August, 1896; it had, furthermore, no retrospective effect, since it applied only to Indians whose indentures commenced after that date. The Act provided for the tax suggested by the deputation, namely, a f3 tax. But under the Act not only ex-indentured Indians who had taken out a licence, but also those who had not obtained a licence could remain in Natal, and could for that reason not be deported. And while no sanction was given by the Act for the provision of a penalty upon such Indians as had failed to take out the f3 licence, the right of defaulters to remain in Natal was clearly recognised. And, in this connection, we have to remember that we have already noticed that the settlement of the Indians in Natal had tended to become permanent, that the Indians were becoming an integral part of Natal, and that it had been stipulated that remaining in Natal was not to constitute a criminal offence. Hence it would appear that those who had taken out the licence were in a worse position than those who had failed to obtain it. And when it is considered that the object of the licence was to bring pressure to bear on the Indians to leave Natal, it was not likely that it would have much effect.

But the true index to the force behind this invocation of repressive legislation is seen clearly by the flood of public


Act No. 17 of 1895 sect. 6.

a) See p. 36.
b) See p. 27.
c) See p. 44.
hostility that came to a head in 1896-1897, when the people of Durban prevented by force the landing of certain Indian labourers, until a Bill was introduced that ultimately became the Licensing and Immigration Restriction Laws of 1897. It was on that occasion that Mr. Escombe, then Prime Minister, stated:

that unless an arrestation was put upon the introduction of immigrants from India, the whole of the body politic of this country would be disturbed.... having regard to the character of the people who were coming into the country - deck passengers as a rule, who paid only £2 or so for their passage, and who, therefore, seemingly in no very flourishing condition of life - it was easy for the whole of the population of this country to be, as it were, submerged by the new arrivals entailing a competition which was simply impossible as far as Europeans were concerned, whether in trade or agriculture, on account of the different habits of life.

Not only were the people of Durban thus reduced to what seems to have been desperation, but even their representatives in Parliament appear to have been seized by a fear that amounted to almost panic, as is shown by the following telegram, sent on 15th October, 1896 to Sir John Robinson by his colleagues in Natal, while he was in England:

Five hundred free Indians arrived last week. Inrush must be stopped, or all lower branches of trade and farming will pass into Indian hands. Explain to Mr. Chamberlain we must follow New South Wales.

What influenced the Government was the fact that the government of Natal was already sufficiently difficult, because of a large unenfranchised Native population, and an Indian population nearly equal in number to the Europeans. And it was considered

   Statement Escombe 25th March, 1897 Debates Leg. Assem. p. 64.

2) Ibid., Prime Minister moving second reading Immigration Restriction Bill No. 3 of 1897 Sess. Papers 1897 p. 28.
that a large addition to the Indian population would create a difficulty, as regards competition, and also as regards future political conditions in Natal.

Now the collection of the £3 licence was not strictly enforced from 1901 to 1903, so that many Indians remained who would otherwise have returned to India. But further legislation followed in 1905, prohibiting persons, with certain reservations, from employing Indians liable to take out a licence. It appears, however, to have been only later that Act No. 17 of 1895 had some effect, for out of 7,735 Indians, who had come out of their first or subsequent indentures in 1908, the number who returned to India was 3,989, and of those who reindentured 3,304. This means that the number returning to India was only 52 per cent. of the number coming out of indenture. What further effect the Act might still have had must certainly have been minimised by the fact that by Act No. 19 of 1910 magistrates had received authority to relieve deserving Indian women of the £3 licence, and when both men and women reindentured their arrear licences were suspended, and on their return to India their suspended arrears were cancelled ipso facto.

It was thus, while it appeared to be impossible for repressive legislation to obtain an appreciable increase in the number of Indians returning to India, that the Government of India in 1908 decided to prohibit further emigration of Indentured Indians.


Act No. 19 of 1910 sects. 1,3.


to Natal, and the Government of Natal the same year introduced a Bill, which made provision for the cessation of Indian immigration at the end of three years, and the appointment of a Commission to inquire into the question. Such a Commission was appointed on 25th November, 1908, but it could not in the interests of Natal recommend that the importation of indentured Indian labour should be discontinued.

Nevertheless, the first important step had been taken, which would lead to the final abolition of a system that had at least one ill effect - the intensification of the colour prejudice that had existed in Natal before 1860. And, although repressive legislation had to a great extent failed, public feeling eventually reached the climax to which it had been working up since the previous period.

2. Direct Results of Public Antagonism to Indian Education.

We can now clearly see that the general development of Indian education had been, and would be, affected by the economic position of the Indians and which again had, and would have, the following results, viz., firstly, hostility towards Indians in the economic life of Natal; secondly, public opposition to the education of the Indians, since education would tend to enhance that economic position, and indifference on the part of Indians to that brand of education, because it did not fit them for that economic life; thirdly, a greater desire among some Indians for education at

European schools instead, and the consequent steps to prohibit such attendance; and fourthly, the resultant tendency among Indians themselves to establish schools at which their children could be taught what they would have found at European schools. These tendencies can be suitably illustrated by means of the following sketch:

Remarkable economic advancement.

Public opposition to Indians in the economic life of Natal.

Attendance of Indians at European schools and public opposition; further application of the POLICY OF SEGREGATING NON-EUROPEANS.

Apparent necessity for providing at Indian schools the education Indians sought at European Government Schools. Therefore, further establishment of INDIAN GOVERNMENT SCHOOLS and HIGHER GRADE INDIAN GOVERNMENT PRIMARY SCHOOLS.

Non-segregation at Indian schools.

Segregation at Indian schools.

Public opposition to the educational advancement of Indians; further application of the POLICY OF RESTRICTION.

Higher Education in Natal.

Higher Education outside Natal.

INDIAN COLLEGE?

These steps were the direct and logical results of the advanced economic position of the Indians. And the final result would
be greater emphasis on the class education that had existed previously, leading towards that decentralisation envisaged by the Prime Minister in 1894.

We have seen in the previous section that the economic opposition of the Europeans to the Indians had reached a climax, so that steps were taken to stop Indian immigration. This opposition we now find again in Indian education, as during the previous period. And also in education, a climax was reached. Let us, therefore, first consider, as before, the opinions held by politicians in connection with the education of the Indians, and also the attitude of the planters.

Now on 5th June, 1899 in the Legislative Assembly, Mr. Yonge agreed that it was beyond the feelings of Natal that the expansion of Indian education should go on. In fact, according to another member, Mr. Palmer, there existed great difference of public opinion on the question of Indian education. He considered educating the Indians meant educating them to take the place of European children. And Mr. Payn could not see why the Indians should be educated to compete against European children. Thus not only did the same antagonism to Indian education exist in the Legislative Assembly, as before in the Legislative Council, but competition was now definitely mentioned. And, if hostility existed inside the Legislative Assembly, outside it, there was a frigid indifference to the education of the Indians. Thus the planters refused to pay anything towards the education of the Indians. Even in subsequent years, they did little or

1) Statements Yonge, Palmer and Payn 5th June, 1899

Ibid., 1909 p. 10.

a) See p. 152.

b) Cf. p. 43 note a) and pp. 73, 74 et seqq.
nothing towards Indian education.

In 1909 there appeared an Education Commission. If we take the annual reports of the Education Department and the findings of this Commission as a guide for judging the state of Indian education after 1894, we get some idea of the progress made since the abolition of the Indian Immigrant School Board.

Consider the annual report of the Education Department, for example, for 1906. In that report it was stated that over 3,000 Indian children were being educated in five Government Schools and 27 Aided Schools; but that of these, 26 were situated on the coast, five at Pietermaritzburg, and one in Greytown. Next, take the report of the Commission. It considered that the provision for education in towns was sufficient, but that in the country Primary Schools should be provided. The Commission, therefore, merely emphasised the fact already mentioned in the report of the Education Department, namely, that Indian education was, as late as the end of this period, still centralised in the towns, and that the country districts were neglected. It is thus obvious that there had been little or no improvement in this respect since the previous period.

The significance of this failure was enhanced by the Commission stressing the disabilities under which the Indians were placed as regards educational provision, and also by its recommendation, rather feeble at this time because of its frequent repetition in vain in the case of other Commissions during the last fifty years, that attention should be given to the educational claims of the Indians. In fact, far too much attention had so

3) Ibid., pp. 13, 14.
a) Cf. pp. 52, 70.
b) The italics are the writer's.
far been given to the educational claims of the Indians - but
with a definite bias detrimental to the real advancement of In-
dian education. Another old recommendation made by the Com-
mission was that education should be made compulsory on the
owners of estates of 20 or more children of Indentured Indians
to give them Elementary Education at the employers' cost. But
this recommendation prompts the question of the sincerity of
the Commission, and its cognisance of factors like governmental
hostility and consequent lack of funds, and the apathy of the
planters generally - in fact, the whole past history of Indian
education; it also makes one doubt the competence of the members
of the Commission to report on the education of the Indians; and,
finally, there is also the suspicion, whether this was not really
an attempt to give the Indian Government a false and distorted
impression of the present serious intentions of the Natal Govern-
ment towards planters towards Indian education, especially that
of the Indentured Indians, and thus to influence it to cancel its
decision to stop the further emigration of Indian labourers to
Natal. We have already noticed the fact that the Commission of
1872 had similarly recommended Compulsory Education, while nothing
had happened - at a time, when the absolute indispensability of
Indian labourers had become so apparent that Indian immigration
had to be resumed. And it is because of this previous recommend-
dation, coupled with that now made under more or less similar
circumstances, that one can doubt also the honesty of the Commiss-
on as regards Compulsory Education for Indians.

But the state of Indian education described above is cer-
tainly no criterion of the great need of the Indians for education
during this period, and the healthier attitude many of them now


a) See p. 32.

b) i.e., in 1874. Cf. pp. 22, 23.
adopted towards the education of their children. In fact, we get the impression, strengthened especially from this period onwards, that the more governmental hostility increased, the more the Indians' desire for education increased; and the more the Indians now began to agitate for education, the more the Government's hostility increased, so that it amounted often to sheer obstinacy on the part of the Government. There, then, we have the essence of the old economic struggle now pervading also Indian education as before; but now the struggle would be fiercer, so that some sort of compromise would have to be effected later, bearing a great similarity to that effected in the case of Indian immigration.

We have earlier taken note of the formation of a dual system of education for Indians by their attendance at European schools, and the uproar in Parliament against such attendance. This dual system of education must now be described in greater detail, because it forms an important aspect of Indian education during this period and the next.

During the previous period, we have seen that the Council of Education had by its resolution of 26th April, 1894 tried to prohibit the attendance of Indians at European schools. This resolution had, however, not completely prevented such attendance. The question had, therefore, remained unsettled. The result was that during this period the Indians claimed they had the right to have their children educated at the same schools as European children; and they contended that the Indian Aided Schools did not provide sufficient educational facilities. But opposition to this claim was meanwhile increasing.

Let us return to the Legislative Assembly. Now in


a) See pp. 36, 76.

b) See pp. 75, 76.
April, 1897 Mr. Baynes requested the Government to take steps
to discontinue the admission of European and non-European
children to the same European Government School, and the Prime
Minister replied that in a few exceptional cases non-European
children, who had conformed to European habits and had exhaust-
ed the resources of their own schools, had been admitted to
European Government Primary Schools. Now this was the limita-
tion imposed by the Council of Education. The Prime Minister,
however, further stated that there existed great difficulty in
defining colour, but that the Government would keep the sepa-
rate races in separate schools as far as possible. Further-
more, in June, 1899 in reply to Mr. Wylie, the Attorney-General
said that the Government had issued instructions not to have
Indian children educated in the same school with European
children, and that, in the case of every application for the
admission of non-European children, there had to be special
reference to himself, and that at that time Indians were not
admitted to European schools. This, therefore, ended the dual
system of education.

Now the schools that had been established and aided by the
Indian Immigrant School Board had catered especially for the
poorer class of Indians, and the children of Indian immigrants.
But, since facilities for education at the European schools were
superior, it was naturally the children of better class and re-
spectable Indians who had attended European schools. These

1) Statement Prime Minister 8th April, 1897 Votes and

2) Ibid., Attorney-Gen. 21st June, 1899 Debates
Leg. Assem. p. 316.

3) African Chronicle 28th Nov., 1908 Education Problem.

Ibid., 6th March, 1909 Education Commission

a) See p. 76.
Indian pupils included both boys and girls. Thus there had to be introduced a system of schools that would be a compensation for the loss the Indians had suffered by the expulsion of their children from European schools. Consequently, when Minister of Education, Sir Henry Bale, in order to carry out the segregation policy of the Government, inaugurated a system of separate schools for such Indian children. These were the so-called Higher Grade Indian Government Schools that were established, not merely because of the exclusion of Indians from European schools, but also to meet the demand of the Indians for Higher Education. They were intended for Indian boys only, and it is to be noted that Sir Albert Hime, Sir Henry Bale, and also Mr. Robert Russell had given them solely for the benefit of the Indians.

Now in 1897 there were only two Government Schools for Indians - that at Durban and at Umgeni. But in accordance with

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2) Ibid., 7th Nov., 1908 Government and Higher Grade Indian Schools.
5) Indian Opinion 19th Aug., 1905 Indian Education.
this segregation policy, the first Higher Grade School was established in Durban under Act No. 7 of 1899. It was opened in February, 1899 in a room in Alice Street. At first the Indians did not consent to the proposal to establish a Higher Grade School in Durban, but they eventually patronised the school, in order not to embarrass the Government by demanding the admission of their children to European schools. Thus there were 38 boys on the register when the school opened. Pupils from all parts of Natal attended, and the school was a success. But the Government was very slow in opening another Higher Grade School, for it was only after repeated representations by the Indians of Pietermaritzburg that a Higher Grade School was opened there in October, 1902. Additional Higher Grade Schools were not established, and although the Education Commission of 1909 had recommended the establishment of Government Primary Schools for Free Indian children in districts where they were most congested, there is no evidence that this recommendation had been adopted, since in 1910 there were only five Government Schools, and they were confined to Durban and

   Colonial Indian News 26th June, 1901 Durban Indian Higher Grade School (etc.).
   African Chronicle 26th June, 1909 Higher Grade Indian School (etc.).
   Ibid., 7th Nov., 1908 Government and Higher Grade Indian Schools.

2) Colonial Indian News 7th Nov., 1901 Indian City High School.


Pietermaritzburg - four in Durban and one in Pietermaritzburg.

These Higher Grade Schools were conducted by Europeans in the same way as European schools for boys, the fees, staff, curriculum, and discipline being the same as at such European schools. In other words, they were run on the same lines as the Model and Primary Schools for Europeans. They were, however, superior to the other Indian schools.

Since we have now seen the result of the segregation policy as applied to European schools, it seems necessary to consider the extent of its application in the case of the Indian Higher Grade Schools and the Indian Government Schools in general. The way these schools were administered by the Government cannot be better illustrated than by the series of restrictions it applied to them, especially after Mr. Mudie had become Superintendent of Education on 18th October, 1904.

Now, because these Higher Grade Schools were intended for Indian children only, it is to be noted that, according to that provision, the Durban Higher Grade School was attended in 1899 usually by such children. Furthermore, in 1904 it was stated that no grant was to be paid to Native children attending In-


Colonial Indian News 28th June, 1901 Durban Indian Higher Grade School (etc.).

African Chronicle 7th Nov., 1908 Government and Higher Grade Indian Schools.


Govt. Notice No. 98/1904 of 8th Feb., 1904.
Aided Schools. In this way, therefore, the status of these schools was meanwhile being maintained.

Now it was only to Indian boys that the Government had in 1899 refused admission to European schools; Indian infants and girls were still attending them. But ultimately in August, 1905, Mr. Mudie dismissed also Indian infants and girls from European schools, and made provision for them at the Higher Grade Schools. The parents objected, however, to the girls studying in company with grown-up boys, and thus the Education Department allowed the infants and girls to be taught separately from the boys. The Durban Higher Grade School was meanwhile showing marked progress, for in June, 1901, there were 131 boys on the register, and in 1905 there were about 31 infants and about 30 girls attending the school. But it is clear that the presence of infants and girls at the school was a direct infringement of the conditions under which it had been established.

While these infants and girls were still attending the Durban Higher Grade School, the Education Department attempted to use the building intended for this school exclusively for

1) African Chronicle 7th Nov., 1908 Government and Higher Grade Indian Schools.
Ibid., 29th May, 1909 Pruning Knife (etc.).

Ibid., 7th Nov., 1908 Government and Higher Grade Indian Schools.
Ibid., 29th May, 1909 Pruning Knife (etc.).
Indian Opinion 27th Jan., 1906 Education of Indian Girls.

3) Colonial Indian Views 28th June, 1901 Durban Indian Higher Grade School (etc.).
African Chronicle 29th May, 1909 Pruning Knife (etc.).
Indian and Coloured children. For on 4th September, 1905, the school was opened in other premises near the race course, and became known as the Carlisle Street School for "the better class Indians and respectable Coloured youth." In the case of these children, it was said they would thus be able to maintain their self-respect, and be no longer subject to the ostracism they had to endure in European schools. And referring to the exclusion of non-Europeans from European schools, Mr. Mudie stated in August, 1905 that in this way the problem of colour in the Durban schools would be on a fair way to solution, that it had already been solved in Pietermaritzburg, and that in a few months there would be no further trouble in Ladysmith. But at the same time, he added that:

It was not the intention of the Government to provide separate schools for every colour and every gradation of colour; and those who are hyper-sensitive on the point are at liberty to erect and maintain schools of their own.

Here now emerge five considerations. Firstly, the Government was not too sure of its policy of providing separate schools for the separate races. Secondly, Mr. Mudie was, without doubt, exaggerating, when he stated that the question of colour was nearly solved. A visit to European schools at the present time would conclusively prove that it has not yet been solved in European schools. Thirdly, these words were in direct conflict

1) African Chronicle, 7th Nov., 1906 Government and Higher Grade Indian Schools.
   Govt. Notice No. 463/1905 of 10th July, 1905.
   Witness 4th Aug., 1905 School Extension (etc.).
4) See p. 167.
with the segregation policy, even if they did not apply to Europeans, but only to non-Europeans. For if they applied also to non-Europeans, as we can safely assume they mainly did, then they were beside the mark and very much out of place. Fourthly, it is a fact that to a great extent both European and non-European education had in the past been fostered by people who were "hyper-sensitive" not only to colour, but also to religion, language and general racial sentiments. Thus Mr. Mudie seems to have been groping in the dark when he uttered this warning. And, fifthly, be failed to recognise, or concealed the fact that he did, that these "hyper-sensitive" people he evidently had in mind were inspired by nothing, if not by a growing non-European nationalism in education. Further, from an Indian point of view, it was not at all a question of hyper-sensitiveness, but merely a matter of an understanding between the Government and the Indians. And it was said that the Education Department had shirked the issue, when it contended that the Indian community wished to draw a class distinction, for it did nothing of the sort. Nevertheless, we cannot but subscribe to this contention of the Education Department, for such a tendency towards class distinction in education had so far become only too apparent among the Indians themselves - as witness the attendance of the better class Indians at European schools instead of at the Indian Government Schools, apart from any desire they might have had to obtain better education than that available at the ordinary Indian schools, and their aversion to attending the same schools as other non-Europeans.

Opposition to the proposed attendance of Coloured children at the Durban Higher Grade School was consequently found in a

1) Indian Opinion 19th Aug., 1905 Indian Education.
2) Ibid., 9th March, 1907 Indian Education in this Colony.
3) Cf. p. 74 - the support given to the Durban Board School. See also pp. 180, 230, 242, 276.
petition bearing 100 signatures to the Minister of Education, in which it was stated that the decision to open the school for Coloured children was unjust to the Indian community, and a departure from the assurances already given by Sir Albert Hime, Sir Henry Bale, and Mr. Robert Russell that the school would be reserved for Indian children only. Also the Coloured community opposed the scheme. Consequently, the attempt to convert the school into a school for both Indian and Coloured children failed, and thus the Government decided to provide a separate school for the Coloured children, and to maintain the original status of the Durban Higher Grade School. Special steps were also taken to provide more or less adequate instruction for the infants and the girls at the Durban Higher Grade School. The Government, therefore, satisfied both the Indians and the Coloured people.

But the Government had by no means amended its policy of repression. For about the end of 1905, the infants and the girls at the Durban Higher Grade School were dismissed. The Indian community naturally protested, with the result that these pupils were readmitted on 2nd February, 1906 and taught separately as before from the senior boys by a lady teacher. This continued until August, 1906, when there were 250 pupils at the school. A notice was then received for the dismissal of all the infants, and that the boys and the girls should be taught together. The

2) Ibid., 27th Jan., 1906 Education for Indian Girls.
3) African Chronicle 7th Nov., 1906 Government and Higher Grade Indian Schools.
   Indian Opinion 27th Jan., 1906 Education for Indian Girls.
   Ibid., 14th July, 1906 Indian Education in Natal.
4) African Chronicle 7th Nov., 1906 Government and Higher Grade Indian Schools.
   a) See p. 168.
Indians again protested, and the notice to dismiss the infants was withdrawn, but the girls and the boys were still taught together, although repeated protests were made. The result was that the number of girls was reduced to six infants. Subsequently, in August, 1907, the infants' class and Std. I were abolished, and the school started from Std. II. The parents then removed most of their children from the school. In a petition, dated 24th July, 1908, the Indians protested against the abolition of the infants' class and Std. I, but the Government could not entertain the petition. In April, 1909 it was stipulated that no pupils under Std. II were to be admitted.

The next restriction we have to consider is that affecting the age of the pupils attending the Durban Higher Grade School. Soon after this last petition, the vote for the school was reduced by £679, and the £150 that had previously been allowed for the training of Indian teachers was deleted. But at the same time there was an increase of £1,000 for Native education, and the provision of £270 for the Edendale and Indaleni Native Training Institutions. The age limit at both the Higher Grade Schools was then reduced from 17 to 14, and, therefore, instructions were issued to the Headmaster of the Durban Higher Grade School.

1) African Chronicle 24th Oct., 1908 Public Meetings Indian Women's Association (etc.).

Ibid., 7th Nov., 1908 Government and Higher Grade Indian Schools.

Ibid., 28th Nov., 1908 Education Problem.

Govt. Notice No. 671/1906 par. 4.

2) Ibid., No. 201/1909 of 23rd April, 1909 sect. 37.


Ibid., 7th Nov., 1908 Government and Higher Grade Indian Schools.

Mercury 11th Sept., 1908 Legislative Assembly (etc.).

Statement Col. Sec. 23rd Sept., 1908 Debates Leg. Assam. p. 448.
School to dismiss all pupils over 14. It was further stated that no pupil at the age of 12 could either remain in or be admitted to Std. II, which, as we have seen above, was the lowest standard at the school. This restriction of the age limit, the Indians were informed, had been necessitated by the direct vote of the majority of the members of the Legislative Assembly.

Consider the probable effect of these stipulations. About 40 to 50 children would have been deprived of education at the end of October, 1908, and there would have been no other school for them, where they could continue their studies. Furthermore, since the children of Mohammedan parents were usually first instructed at home in religious matters, they did not go to school between eight and ten years of age. On such children also a great hardship would have been created. Now in 1902 a Std. VII had been commenced at the Durban Higher Grade School, but in the face of this age limit, it appeared impossible for the average pupil to pass Std. VII, if he entered school, for example, at six years of age.

As soon as the instruction reducing the age limit to 14 had

   Ibid., 7th Nov., 1908 Government and Higher Grade Indian Schools.
   Ibid., 28th Nov., 1908 Education Problem.

2) African Chronicle 31st Oct., 1908 Education Department.

3) Ibid., 7th Nov., 1908 Government and Higher Grade Indian Schools.


5) Colonial Indian News 28th June, 1901 Durban Indian Higher Grade School (etc.).
   Ibid., 4th July, 1902 Higher Grade Indian.


7) Remember the opposition to Indian education. See pp. 166,167.
became known, meetings were held by different representative Committees, and resolutions were passed, suggesting that the restrictions be withdrawn, and that the status of the Durban Higher Grade School be restored as had originally been intended. But the Government remained adamant. Application was then made to the Minister of Education to receive a deputation of Indian representatives, but this was refused. The Government also refused to accede to a request by the Indian community that, pending further inquiry, the notice of dismissal should be suspended. As the time was approaching for children over 14 to be expelled from the school, the Indians decided to appeal to the Supreme Court to interdict the Government from dismissing them. When the application came before the Supreme Court on 29th October, 1908, the Court desired that notice of appeal should first be given to the Government, because the application consisted of ex parte statements. But, meantime, the Government had withdrawn the restriction and given the Headmaster of the school instructions on 30th October to request the boys to return to school. The Indians, therefore,

1) African Chronicle 17th Oct., 1908 Indian Education.
    Ibid., 17th Oct., 1908 Protest Against Age Restrictions (etc.).
    Ibid., 24th Oct., 1908 Indian Education Hindu Young Men's Society.
    Ibid., 24th Oct., 1908 Public Meetings Indian Women's Association (etc.).
    Ibid., 24th Oct., 1908 Will Pay no Taxes.
    Ibid., 31st Oct., 1908 Public Meeting Pruning Knife on Education.
    Ibid., 7th Nov., 1908 Government and Higher Grade Indian Schools.

2) Ibid., 31st Oct., 1908 Government and Higher Grade Indian Schools' Welcome Announcement.
    Ibid., 7th Nov., 1908 Government and Higher Grade Indian Schools.
decided not to proceed further with the application, but to wait and see what the Government's next move would be. Then, however, on 23rd December, 1908, the notice was reissued, stating that from 1st February, 1909 no pupil under 5 or over 14 years of age was to be admitted to Government Schools for Indians. Fresh notice was consequently given for the dismissal of the children after the end of the year. The notice was repeated in April, 1909. In a petition, dated 15th May, 1909, the Indians protested against the age restrictions, but relief was again refused. Then an Arab trader, whose son had been excluded from attendance at the school, brought an action before the Supreme Court to test the legality of the age restrictions. Judgment was delivered on 17th December, 1909, but the action failed. Nevertheless, according to the opinion of the judges in this case, it was apparent that an Indian child could claim admission to any of Government Schools in Natal. Thus, since certain Indian children had been refused admission to the Higher Grade Schools

1) African Chronicle 14th Nov., 1909 Indian Education.


Govt. Notice No. 720/1908 of 18th Dec., 1908.

Ibid., No. 201/1909 of 23rd April, 1909 sect. 36.


Ibid., 13th Nov., 1909 Interesting Appeal Case (etc.).

Ibid., 25th Dec., 1909 Indian Education (etc.).

Ibid., 1st Jan., 1910 The New Year.

4) Ibid., 13th Nov., 1909 Interesting Appeal Case (etc.).

Ibid., 25th Dec., 1909 Indian Education (etc.).

Ibid., 19th Febr., 1910 Appeal to Privy Council.
on account of the age restrictions, the Indian community decided to seek admission for their children to European schools, and also to appeal to the Privy Council. But in March, 1910, the restriction named above was again withdrawn, and, therefore, they decided to withdraw their contemplated appeal to the Privy Council, and also their claim for the admission of their children to schools attended by Europeans.

There were also restrictions in connection with Free Education. Provision had been made for the free admission of pupils to Government Schools. But it was pointed out in the petition of 15th May, 1909 that at Indian schools children were denied the benefits of Free Education. Certain concessions were, however, eventually made in this respect.

We have already noticed that Higher Grade Schools were not established after 1902. Note, therefore, a further divergence in the policy of establishing such schools. It appears that in 1909 the Government Schools were divided into two classes - the two Higher Grade Schools at Durban and Pietermaritzburg, and three other Government Schools called Elementary Schools, viz., the Durban Elementary School, the Umgeni Elementary School, and the Railway Elementary School. Moreover, in 1909 the high-sounding title Higher Grade Schools was abolished, and the name

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1) African Chronicle 15th Febr., 1910 Age Restrictions Withdrawn.

2) Ibid., No. 201/1909 of 23rd April, 1909 sect. 36.


a) See pp. 204, 205.

b) See p. 169.
"Indian Schools under the charge of European teachers" adopted. These Elementary Schools did not appear to have an important status. For in them the standards ranged merely from infants to Std. IV; especially the children of immigrants and of poorer parents attended them; and they were not run on the lines of the ordinary Government Schools as regards, for example, efficiency, fees and teachers. The well-to-do Indians, including the merchant class, refused to patronise them, because of their being attended by such children. Thus the petition of 15th May, 1909 strongly protested against the establishment of these Elementary Schools, stating that they were in direct conflict with the promise made by the Government in 1899 that the teaching, equipment, accommodation and discipline of Indian and European Government Schools would be the same, and that —

the Elementary Indian Schools are nothing but the old indentured schools under another name and another authority, and that they are old, badly-built, badly-ventilated, badly-situated buildings, affording entirely insufficient accommodation, incompletely equipped, with unqualified teaching staffs, and lacking in effective discipline, and that these defects are fatal to the welfare of the Indian children of tender years whom it is sought to send to these institutions.

But, because of the restrictions at the former Higher Grade Schools, many pupils would naturally have been forced to attend these Elementary Schools. Even on pupils at Elementary Schools, a restriction was imposed in April, 1909, namely, that no pupil who had passed Std. IV would be allowed to remain at an Elementary School.

Another restriction was that which in 1909 stated that no

2) Ibid., 22nd May, 1909. Application.
3) Govt. Notice No. 201/1909 of 23rd April, 1909.
Native, Indian or Coloured children were to be admitted to schools other than those provided for them. From this it follows, for example, that there would be no educational provision for Indian children in a locality, when they were too few in number to support a school, although a Native or Coloured school was situated in the neighbourhood. In connection with this restriction, the petition of 15th May, 1909 stated:

... whilst the act of Grace performed by the community in 1899 was carried out in order, so far as was possible to bring about a modification of race and colour prejudice on the part of the white Colonists, its good faith has been presumed upon, and advantage has been taken of its moderation to impose, by indirect means, a legal disability, on account of race and colour, upon Indian children.

But this objection seems clearly another contradiction, in addition to that already mentioned, that the Indians were not wishing to draw a class distinction. If we now take this petition to represent the views of the better class of Indians, which we are inclined to believe it did, then we see that, although such Indians had been averse to the attendance of Coloured children at the Durban Higher Grade School, and were now opposed to the attendance of their own children at the Elementary Schools, they apparently had no objection to the attendance of the poorer class of Indian children at the other non-European schools. It seems, however, that the better class of Indians were hardly concerned with the interests of the poorer Indians, but rather with supporting the educational

1) Govt. Notice No. 201/1909 of 23rd April, 1909 sect. 3.

a) See p. 173.
b) See pp. 173, 174.
c) See p. 180.
of their own children, and the further impression is conveyed that their idea was that what was good for the Europeans was also good for them, but that what was good for the poorer class of Indians was not necessarily good for them.

The last restriction that needs our attention is that affecting the subjects taught at Indian schools. Thus in April, 1909 there appeared the stipulation that no subject, not included in the standard syllabus of Primary Schools, might be taught during ordinary school hours in Indian schools in charge of European teachers. This was, presumably, meant to prevent the teaching of vernaculars or other subjects to foster Indian religions.

It is, therefore, evident that the focus of the Government's attacks on Indian education had shifted after Indian children had been prohibited from attending European schools - from European schools at which Indians attended to Indian schools, especially the Higher Grade Schools. In fact, all these restrictions were definitely in line with the policy of starving Indian education. They had, therefore, certain important effects of which the following need emphasis. Firstly, since the age limit had been imposed in 1908 in the Higher Grade Schools, the attendance at these schools had decreased considerably. The fluctuations in the attendance at the Durban Higher Grade School we have already noticed. Naturally, also the Pietermaritzburg Higher Grade School suffered, for the influx to it from the Aided Schools remained very small. In actual fact, not only had the system of

3) Ibid., 1909 p. 10.
a) i.e., the Higher Grade Schools. See p. 180.
b) See pp. 174, 175.
Government Schools in general been studiously undermined before it
had acquired any momentum, but, as a consequence, the whole system
of Indian education as fostered by the Government, was threatened
with collapse, as during the previous period. Secondly, any hope
of a system of Higher Education for Indians developing in the
future was smothered. For, although, as we have seen, a Std. VII
had been provided in 1902 at the Durban Higher Grade School, the
alteration of the age limit from 17 to 14 brought the standard of
education at the Higher Grade Schools down to practically Primary
Education. And even the teachers had not enjoyed a sufficiently
high standard of education. For there were only two classes of
certificates - the Junior Certificate and the Senior Certificate -
and of these the Junior Certificate was based on the Std. VI
syllabus used in the Government Primary Schools, while the Senior
Certificate could scarcely have been of a higher standard than
Std. VII, since Std. VII appears to have been the highest standard
during this period. And then, too, even this privilege was en-
joyed by only a few teachers, as can be deduced from the fact that
at the Teachers' Examinations held in 1909 there were not more
than thirty candidates for the Junior Certificate and only eight
for the Senior Certificate. We cannot, therefore, but conclude
that there had been no compensation for the expulsion of Indian
children from the European schools. Thirdly, because Indian
children could neither at the European schools nor at their own
schools receive the education they needed, there were three

1) Statement Col. Sec. 3rd Sept., 1907 Debates Leg. Assem.
p. 255.
Ibid., Col. Sec. 10th Sept., 1908 Debates Leg. Assem.
p. 232.
a) See p. 176.
b) See p. 175.
alternatives the Indians had to consider. The first alternative was that they had to establish schools themselves, for it would appear to be only at such schools, unsaid by the Government, that they would be able to foster a system of Higher Education without the restrictions that we have noticed in the case of the Government Schools for Indians. The second alternative was that they would have to proceed beyond the borders of Natal for Higher Education. Thus some of them did go overseas, and returned as professional men, like doctors and lawyers. But even in this there were difficulties. For it follows that from a financial point of view it would not have been possible for the Indians generally to send their sons and daughters to overseas universities; the measure of social equality they would have been allowed there would have been denied them on their return to South Africa; and there might possibly also have been an objection on the part of parents to send their children so far away from their homes. The third alternative was the following.

If Indians could not be admitted to European schools for Higher Education without any racial discrimination, then a College had to be established for them, providing the Higher Education they demanded. But now also, as previously, the establishment of such a College seems to have been inopportune for financial reasons.

Thus the progress made by Indian education during this period, though small in comparison with that made from 1878 to 1894, not only focuses our attention on the fact that in future any progress would depend on the Indians establishing their own schools, and on the establishment of an Indian College for Higher Education, but it marks clearly a period of transition

a) Cf. p. 67.
b) See pp. 96, 97.
from the comparative inertia of the Indian community during the previous period, first, to the present period with a premeditated policy of obstruction, and, secondly, to the next - a period of probably unprecedented development.

3. Formation of the Union of South Africa and Administration of Education by the Education Department and an Executive of the Provincial Council.

Having now studied the condition of Indian education under the system of centralisation substituted in 1894 for the system of decentralisation consisting of a Council of Education and an Indian Immigrant School Board, we are in a position to view the whole system of Indian education during the last two periods in its true perspective. And a brief comparison of the progress, or otherwise, of Indian education during these two periods will form the background that we of necessity need, in order to understand the future development of Indian education during the next period.

Once more there came a change in educational administration, as a direct result of a change in the political constitution of Natal. The end of this period marks the end of Natal as a Colony: it became a Province. Thus under the South Africa Act provision was made for the Provincial Councils established under this Act to make ordinances in connection with education other than Higher Education, for which the Union Government was responsible for a period of five years and longer, until the Union Parliament made other provision. At the end of this period,

1) South Africa Act 1909 sect. 85(iii).
therefore, the position that Indian education would occupy in relation to the education of Europeans, Natives and Coloured people can be shown by the following sketch:

We notice, firstly, a strong financial, central body in the Union Government, and, secondly, a tendency once more towards decentralisation. There was the Executive Committee of the Provincial Council, which formed a direct link with the Education Department. The latter again was subdivided into what would eventually become

four, more or less, distinct systems of education - for Europeans, Natives, Indians and Coloured people.

This was the system that had to foster and develop education in Natal after 1910. The inclusion of the Union Government in this system of education could possibly have been welcomed as an improvement on the systems of 1878 and 1894. But this was only effected by a sacrifice somewhere, namely, the substitution for the old Natal Government introduced after 1893 of a comparatively weaker body - the Natal Provincial Council.

And since the Natal Provincial Administration was also to administer the funds for Indian education, and the Indians were not represented on the Provincial Council, we can expect a perpetuation of the old bugbears of Indian education - financial stringency and racial antagonism, with the resultant evil of cramping the progress of Indian education. In fact, there appears to have been still too great a similarity between the system of 1916 and the systems of 1878 and 1894.

The next chapter will show that this new change had, for many years still, hardly been in the interests of Indian education.

a) No doubt, at least up to 1927 with the coming into force of the Cape Town Agreement. See pp. 192, 211.
PART III.

THE UNDESIRABLE ALIEN - THE USURPER.
CHAPTER V.

1911-1937 THE CAPE TOWN AGREEMENT.
RIGHT OF DOMICILE ACKNOWLEDGED - EXPANSION.

1. The New Indian Society.

When we now come to consider the social position of the Indians during this period, two outstanding facts are brought into focus, viz.,

(i) The general social position of the Indians after about eighty years' residence in Natal.

(ii) Further legislation in conformity with that social position allocating to Indians a new social position.

An examination of the social position of the Indians at this time shows that, while over 50 per cent. of the Indians of the indentured class resident in Natal were born in South Africa, 90 per cent. of the Indians in Natal generally stood outside Christianity. The racial consciousness and racial unity that had meanwhile arisen among them were well exemplified by the existence of various associations. Thus there


Mercury 1st Sept., 1925 The Asiatic Bill (etc.).
were, for example, the Natal Hindoo League, the Natal Indian Association, the Natal Indian Congress, and the Colonial-born Indian Association. But the existence of so many associations can, of course, also show a definite lack of co-operation. Thus, for example, there were constant bickerings among different sections of the Durban Indians, and the so-called leaders were causing great strife because of their jealousy and hatred. Furthermore, although the Indians had to a great extent acquired a South African outlook by adopting, in certain cases, the habits and language of the Europeans, they still retained some typically Asiatic characteristics, apart from their religions and vernaculars. We have seen that long ago they had begun to lose the former servile habits of their ancestors. As exemplified by the various petitions by Indians, there eventually appeared a certain aggressiveness among Indians, and a strong tendency to demand rights, and to fight for those rights. And in this social development, we cannot mistake a definite desire on the part of especially the wealthy Indians to be placed in the same social position as the Europeans.

Consider how the Indians had been successful in achieving a definite improvement in their social position by acquiring a new social status.

We have seen during the previous period that opposition to Indians had reached such a height that repressive legislation to check their influx had been followed by the decision to stop their further emigration to Natal. Then on 3rd January, 1911 the Indian Government finally notified its decision to disallow the further emigration of Indians to Natal after 30th June, 1911.

1) African Chronicle 1st June, 1912 Technical Education.
and, consequently, the last ship with immigrants came to Natal on 19th June, 1911, and Indian immigration to Natal ceased from
1st July, 1911. This, therefore, marks an important step, which,
beginning with the rise of the Free Indian population, would in-
vitably lead to the final emancipation of the Indians from the
indenture system. And there were further important changes in
the social life of the Indians. The authorities had eventually
in practice ceased to collect the £3 licence from Indian women.
Furthermore, the Indian Enquiry Commission of 1914 unanimously
decided in favour of the repeal of the Laws requiring the payment
of an annual licence by those Indians who did not reindenture or
return to India. Consequently, as a result of this Commission's
report, the Indian Relief Act No. 22 of 1914 was passed, so that
Indians who had been introduced under the provisions of
Act No. 17 of 1895 secured the following benefits:-

(i) Repeal of the annual licence.

(ii) The extension of the right to claim a free
passage from one month to twelve months.

(iii) The right of domicile in Natal of Free Indians
after the completion of three years' residence.

(iv) The right to claim a free Discharge Certificate
on the completion of indenture.

Although the scheme under the Relief Act for the repatriation of
Indians had for a time worked well, the number of applicants
eventually decreased considerably. When the Union Government,
therefore, decided to pass certain Bills with the deliberate in-
tention of forcing the Indians to leave the country, the Indian

1) Official Year Book 1910-1916 p. 188.
3) Ibid., pp. 26-29.
4) Indian Relief Act No. 22 of 1914 of 2nd July, 1914.
5) Naidoo and Bramdaw, Sastri Speaks pp. 67,68.
Government opposed them, and decided to make an agreement with the Union Government. Thus a deputation from India visited this country, and another from the Union Government proceeded to India, and, as a result of the investigations of these two deputations, the Governments of the Union and of India agreed to the meeting of a further delegation from India in South Africa in connection with the Indian question. This meeting took place in Cape Town on 17th December, 1926, and at the close of the session which lasted till 11th January, 1927, certain articles were approved by the two Governments as a basis of agreement. The following were some of the points agreed upon:

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 recognize 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 organize a scheme of assisted emigration to India or other countries where Western standards are not required. Union domicile will be lost after three years' continuous absence from the Union in agreement with the proposed revision of the law relating to domicile, which will be of general application. Emigrants under the Assisted Emigration Scheme, who desire to return to the Union within the three years, will be allowed to do so only on refund to the Union Government of the cost of the assistance received by them.

7. The two Governments have agreed to watch the working of the agreement now reached and to exchange views from time to time as to any changes that experience may suggest.

8. The Government of the Union of South Africa have requested the Government of India to appoint an agent in the Union in order to secure continuous and effective co-operation between the two Governments.

The Agreement came into operation on 15th August, 1927, and the

exercise of control over the entry of undesirable immigrants was recognized. The Hon. Srinivasa Sastri was appointed Agent-General for the Government of India in the Union, and on his retirement early in 1929 he was succeeded by Sir Venkata Reddi.

Thus not only have we during this period the final step of elevating the Indians above their former Coolie stage, but now by the Relief Act of 1914 and the Cape Town Agreement the domicile of the Indians was also recognised. And it was also clearly recognised that they should not be repatriated against their will. But the Cape Town Agreement was by no means a one-sided agreement. Dr. Malan, Minister of the Interior and of Education at that time, explained that the Agreement was very largely an experiment, and that the results achieved were not a diplomatic victory in any particular aspect for either side, but revealed a common purpose, which was carried out in friendly collaboration. It was more an honourable and friendly understanding than a rigid and binding treaty. The Union Government had, moreover, not surrendered its freedom to deal legislatively with the Indian problem, whenever it might deem such legislation necessary and just. Both Governments had agreed to give the Agreement a fair and reasonable trial. But the welcome the Agent-General received in South Africa did not manifest a complete change of attitude towards the Indian problem. In some directions, on the

1) Naidoo and Bramdaw, Sastri Speaks p. 214.
2) Ibid., p. 894.
3) Ibid., pp. 209, 213, 217.
4) Ibid., pp. 235, 239.
c) Cf. p. 44.
contrary, feeling against the Indians appeared to be hardened. The Agreement made no mention of the franchise or of any threat to the political supremacy of European institutions, but the Europeans, it was considered, had evidently to be prepared for an extension of certain rights and privileges that would fit the Indians to take their place as citizens of the Union of South Africa. The future will, however, show whether there is any likelihood of the Indians ever reaching this final stage in their social development.

This thus brings us to the next aspect of the Agreement - the educational - to be discussed in the following section, when it will be seen to what extent the Agreement was of advantage to the Indians, apart from its political aspect.

2. Increased Indian and Government Initiative in Education.

In the development of Indian education during this period, we notice the following aspects:

(i) The general state of education in India.
(ii) The extent of Indian initiative in Indian education.
(iii) The extent of Government initiative in Indian education.
(iv) The Cape Town Agreement and Indian education.

1) Now in India itself, the percentage of literacy among Indian Christians, according to the census of 1911, was only 16.3,

and in some provinces it showed a decline compared with that of 1901. The missionaries were among the pioneers of education for the illiterates, and their work among women and children, and some of the depressed classes was of special significance. But it was obvious that great changes lay before missionary education in India, one of the chief reasons being the following:

In the years to come missionary education is likely to have a much smaller proportionate place than in the past. Government agencies are extending their work so rapidly, that non-Christian faiths are also putting so much more effort into schools, that it seems inevitable that the proportion of missionary education must become much smaller, even if the actual quantity of work increases.

In order to show further the general trend of education in India at this time, we cannot resist quoting the following:

Edication as it is going on in British India, is nothing but the superimposition of a foreign culture upon our own culture. I want you to guard against that. Culture is the same all over the world; and I want you to approach the question in no narrow spirit. If European culture must be possessed by our people, see that our people possess it; see that European culture does not possess our people. Of all conquests, cultural conquest is the worst. The principle of nationality is to keep your culture intact and to develop it and hold it before the whole world.

The Indian educated class presents a feature which must be regarded as unique. For here is a body of men, educated, working, and, in many instances, thinking in an alien Western language, imbuing with that education the principles and traditions of a Western civilisation and polity, and yet keenly conscious of its unity with the mass of the Indian people whose minds are set in the immemorial traditions of the East.

From what we have already said concerning the development of Indian

1) Report Indian Statutory Commission 1930 Vol. 1 par. 45.

education, and from our further discussion in this connection, there appears at once a great similarity between educational development in India and in Natal. We have here the same drift away from missionary influence in Indian education. Remember the schools under Vinden and Rock, our conclusions that Indian schools were falling into the hands of Indians, that there was a distinct development of nationalism in Indian education already during the previous period, that the Indians would have to establish their own schools, and the fact that, during this period, 90 per cent. of Natal Indians still stood outside Christianity.

There was, no doubt, as will be seen below, greater initiative on the part of the Indian community in Natal, although there seems to have been proportionately less activity on the part of the Government. In both cases, the condition of education was very serious.

As to the second aspect – the extent of Indian initiative – consider first the relationship between the Indians and Christian missionaries. There appeared to be great hostility between Indian Christian missionaries and their compatriots in Pietermaritzburg, for the former severely condemned the followers of Hinduism, and their criticism took the aspect of arrogant fanaticism and virulent abuse, thus causing serious ill-feeling. This must have aggravated the hostility towards missionaries in general. For the Indians did not look with favour upon missionaries. And thus emphasis was placed on the danger that overshadowed the Indian community, and came from the Christian missionary propaganda in

1) Colonial Indian News 7th Febr., 1902 City Schools.
2) Ibid., 7th May, 1915 Education Grievance.
   a) See p. 55.
   b) See p. 99.
   c) See p. 173.
   d) See p. 184.
   e) See p. 189.
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 conduce to make pernicious inroads on 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 to the same objective but not to the same extent as it is not obsessed with the Christian missionary zeal.

In fact, owing to the deep-seated ill-feeling amongst the Hindus, for example, against the proselytising propaganda of missionary teachers, the Hindus had resolved not to send their children to schools established under missionary control. Thus they established a school in Pietermaritzburg.

Another incentive to Indian initiative in education can be found in the Government’s restrictions on Government Schools for Indians. Thus the Durban Anjuman Islam School was opened, then a section of the Indian Press had called on the Indian unity to establish their own schools for the purpose of giving

1) Dharma Vir 27th July, 1917 Education.
2) Colonial Indian News 7th Febr., 1902 City Schools.
3) Ibid., 14th Febr., 1902 A New Hindu School.
4) African Chronicle 12th Febr., 1910 Durban Anjuman Islam School (etc.).
5) Ibid., 15th July, 1911 Indian Education.

a) In the 3rd line from above national is spelt nationol.
   " 6th "  " the original has disruptions.
   " 11th "  " there is no comma after political.
   " 15th "  " Schools is given as schools.

b) See pp. 170, 171 et seqq.
free Compulsory Education to Indian children without State assistance, and maintained that without even such assistance the Indians could so efficiently organise their own schools as to compel the Government to extend Compulsory Education to Indian children.

The neglect of the Indian vernaculars in the Government and the Aided Schools also formed a reason for the establishment of separate schools by Indians, viz., the Durban Anjuman Tamil School, the Hindu Tamil School in Pietermaritzburg, the Hindu National Indian School on the South Coast, and a National School at Greenwood Park near Durban.

Finally, because of the lack of facilities for Higher Education, the Indians established schools to impart Higher Education to their children. Such schools were the Private High School in Pietermaritzburg, and the Indian Educational Institute in Durban.

Although there is no evidence that compulsion had been used to obtain the attendance of children at these schools, yet Free

1) African Chronicle 12th Febr., 1910 Durban Anjuman Islam School (etc.).
Ibid., 29th May, 1909 Correspondence (etc.).
Ibid., 12th Nov., 1910 Natal Hindu Association A School Opened.
Ibid., 15th July, 1911 Indian Education.
Ibid., 23rd March, 1912 Education for the Masses.
Ibid., 15th July, 1911 Indian Education.
Ibid., 19th July, 1913 Greenwood Park School.

2) Ibid., 23rd Oct., 1909 Maritzburg Private Indian High School (etc.).
Indian Opinion 24th March, 1916 Indian Educational Institute, Durban.

3) African Chronicle 29th May, 1909 Correspondence (etc.).
Ibid., 2nd April, 1910 Ladysmith Indian College.
Ibid., 23rd March, 1912 Education for the Masses.

a) See further pp. 226, 227 et seqq.
Education was provided, as, for example, in the case of the Tamil School in Pietermaritzburg, the National School on the South Coast, and a school established in Ladysmith and called the Lady-smith Indian College.

Thus the Indian community seemed bent on providing the necessary educational facilities for their children, and the keen feeling for education was manifested by the number of new schools that were established in various outlying districts. And these nationalistic tendencies in Indian education in Natal were, therefore, similar to those in India. They also show why Indian education in Natal from now onwards became a force that could hardly be confined within the narrow limits of a purely missionary activity.

Coming now to an examination of the third aspect - the extent of Government initiative in Indian education - we must emphasise the fact that the nationalistic tendencies in Indian education did not find favour with the Government. For, no doubt, nationalism in Indian education tended towards Free and Vernacular Education, which are opposed to the cheaper Government system of missionary education. Furthermore, the limitations imposed on the education of the Indians, as far as the teaching of the vernaculars was concerned, were an important step in the gradual anglicisation of the Indians. But since nationalism in education has also a political aspect, it follows that it would naturally enhance the political character of Indian education, and consequently give a great impetus to the restrictive policy in Indian education.

When we consider the extent to which the restrictive policy of the Government towards Indian education had been applied during

1) African Chronicle 1st Jan., 1910 The New Year.
2) Ibid., 25th Nov., 1911 Isipingo New Indian School.
this period, it seems necessary to examine the -

(i) Development of the general scope of Indian education.
(ii) Demand for Vernacular Education.
(iii) Provision for Free Education.
(iv) Financial aspect of Indian education.

Indian education was still to a great extent confined to Aided Schools. From 1918 onwards, however, there appears to have been a marked increase in the number of Government Schools for all classes of the school-going population in Natal. Thus there was an increase in the demand from the Indians for an extension of the system of Government Schools. Up to March, 1919, however, it had not been possible for the Education Department to increase the number of Government Schools for Indians. Thus up to 1917, the demands for Primary Education had been met, but the Education Department was educating only one-fifth of the Indian school-going population. And, subsequently, it was admitted that little or no extension of educational facilities for the Indian population had taken place, and that there was a large and increasing Indian school-going population entirely unprovided for and totally neglected.

It is, therefore, evident that the Government's policy of restriction towards Indian education had by no means decreased in severity. But the position is clarified by the table given

2) Speech Administrator Prov. Notice No. 70/1918 of 20th March, 1918.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>YEAR</th>
<th>AVERAGE NO. OF PUPILS ENROLLED</th>
<th>NO. OF GOVERNMENT SCHOOLS</th>
<th>NO. OF AIDED SCHOOLS</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1911</td>
<td>3,658</td>
<td></td>
<td>31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1912</td>
<td>4,096</td>
<td></td>
<td>34</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1913</td>
<td>4,693</td>
<td></td>
<td>35</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1914</td>
<td>4,950</td>
<td></td>
<td>34</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1915</td>
<td>5,189</td>
<td></td>
<td>34</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1916</td>
<td>5,739</td>
<td></td>
<td>39</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1917</td>
<td>6,390</td>
<td></td>
<td>39</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1918</td>
<td>6,482</td>
<td></td>
<td>40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1919</td>
<td>5,592</td>
<td></td>
<td>38</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1920</td>
<td>6,948</td>
<td></td>
<td>40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1921</td>
<td>7,295</td>
<td></td>
<td>42</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1922</td>
<td>8,256</td>
<td></td>
<td>42</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1923</td>
<td>8,306</td>
<td></td>
<td>43</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1924</td>
<td>8,446</td>
<td></td>
<td>43</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1925</td>
<td>9,706</td>
<td></td>
<td>43</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1926</td>
<td>9,102</td>
<td></td>
<td>43</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

These figures can again be further illustrated by the following:

   Ibid., 1912 pp. 1,3.
   Ibid., 1913 p. 2.
   Ibid., 1914 pp. 1,3.
   Ibid., 1915 p. 7.
   Ibid., 1916 pp. 4,38.
   Ibid., 1917 pp. 3,79.
   Ibid., 1918 pp. 87,93.
   Ibid., 1919 pp. 100,105.
   Ibid., 1920 pp. 68,74.
   Ibid., 1921 pp. 59,68.
   Ibid., 1923 pp. 17,51,57.
   Ibid., 1924 pp. 67,74.
   Ibid., 1925 pp. 66,74.
   Ibid., 1926 pp. 64,75.
   Ibid., 1930 p. 74.
Now from the table it will be seen that from 1911 to 1926 the number of pupils on the roll in average attendance had increased by 5,444, in other words, by 149 per cent., and the number of Government Schools and Aided Schools by 4 and 12, in other words, by 80 and 39 per cent. respectively. In 1925, for example, the average number of pupils was 8,706; and in that year the number of children of school-going age was 31,599. This means that in


a) Compare the graph on p. 220.
1925 approximately 27.6 per cent. of the Indian children in Natal were at school. The graph clearly shows a decided increase in the number of pupils, an increase in the number of Government Schools that was still insignificant, and a steady increase in the number of Aided Schools, but with marked fluctuations in 1914 and 1919. Now, if we compare these figures with those quoted already for the previous period, we see that, while the number of Indian children must naturally have increased, the educational provision made by the Education Department had not kept pace with that increase, so that there had hardly been any appreciable progress, and that the mass of illiteracy remained.

Take now the question of Vernacular Education. Because of the marked improved social position of the Indians during this period, and their undoubted desire for a national system of education to maintain their identity in Natal and their own culture, it follows that they would demand the inclusion of their vernaculars in the school curriculum. But, as would appear now self-evident, the attitude of the authorities would be by no means compromising. Thus the Education Committee of April, 1922 considered it not the duty of the State to give instruction through the medium of a language that was foreign to the country, and, furthermore, mentioned the fact of there being nine different languages in one small school, and that the number of languages asked for was three or four. In fact, it appeared that there were at least five media spoken in Natal, and, since the majority of Indian teachers were born in Natal, Hindustani, Tamil and Gujarati were becoming more and more unknown to them. It was

a) See p. 164.
thought, if vernacular instruction were introduced, all five vernaculars would be necessary in most Indian schools. But competent teachers were not available to teach them, and the organisation of the schools could, under such conditions, not be far from chaos. It was also difficult to choose a common medium, and since political issues might arise, the Education Department was not in a position to give advice on the matter. Subsequently in 1926, a Select Committee announced its inability to make any recommendation in connection with Vernacular Education, owing to the number of dialects and the impossibility of securing teachers to give instruction in the vernacular. The policy of anglicisation, therefore, remained.

We have noticed that during the days of the Indian Immigrant School Board there had been some form of Free Education, and that during the previous period the Indians had, for example, in the petition of 15th May, 1909 stressed the absence of facilities for Free Education for Indian children. Some progress had since been made. Thus in 1915 there were 382 children in Indian schools, who received free tuition and books, or either the one or the other. In connection with the Government Schools, children who could not pay received Free Education. In fact, provision was made for the attendance of free pupils at all Government schools, who received free tuition and books, or either the one or the other.


a) See pp. 105,106 at seqq.
b) See p. 179.
Schools, when a certificate was submitted by the parents or guardians that they were unable to pay fees. But children, who had completed their sixteenth year of age, could not, unless with the approval of the Executive Committee of the Provincial Council, be admitted to or remain in a Government School as free pupils, provided they were candidate teachers. Since the majority of Indian pupils were at the Aided Schools, it follows that the effect of any policy the Government might have had of giving Indian children also some measure of Free Education was practically nullified. Total Free Education was, therefore, still an unrealised ideal in Indian education.

The restrictive policy can be clearly seen in the almost perennial lack of funds. Thus in 1920 the lack of money was felt; by 1922, although the capital vote had been increased by about 50 per cent., it was considered financial necessity would in the near future enforce economy in education in Natal. Thus in 1924 the Education Department economised to the extent of £543 on Indian education. In 1926 financial difficulties were felt; and in 1927 the crucial question was said to be finance. But this does not really show the true financial position of Indian education. Let us, therefore, examine the position in further

1) Prov. Notice No. 97/1921 of 20th April, 1921 par. 22.
    Ibid., No. 26/1925 of 11th Feb., 1925 par. 21.
4) Ibid., Minority Report by Dyson.
6) Ibid., 1926 p. 22.
Take the following table:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>YEAR</th>
<th>AMOUNT EXPENDED ON INDIAN EDUCATION</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1872</td>
<td>£ 68 0 0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1879</td>
<td>£ 80 0 0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1884</td>
<td>£1,476 3 3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1896</td>
<td>£1,825 0 0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1917</td>
<td>£10,372 1 11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1925</td>
<td>£27,918 0 6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1926</td>
<td>£28,430 5 1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1927</td>
<td>£35,981 16 6</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

It will be seen that there was thus a phenomenal increase in financial provision for Indian education since 1872. The increase from 1884 onwards was due to the system of education inaugurated by the Indian Immigrant School Board, and the establishment of the first Government Schools in 1883. That the amounts expended subsequently were far from sufficient will be seen, when we consider also the small percentage of Indian

6) Ibid., 1925 p. 98.
7) Ibid., 1926 p. 95.
8) Ibid., 1927 p. 99.

a) See p. 56.
b) See pp. 202, 203.
children at school during this period. Consider also the following table:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>School Type</th>
<th>Gross Cost</th>
<th>Units</th>
<th>Revenue per Unit</th>
<th>Average Expenditure per Unit</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1925-1926</td>
<td>Coloured</td>
<td>£20,320-12-10</td>
<td>1,117</td>
<td>10/4</td>
<td>£13-2-2 as against a subsidy of £5-5-0 per pupil.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Aided</td>
<td>£3,471-17-11</td>
<td>654</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Indian</td>
<td>£14,431-18-7</td>
<td>1,752</td>
<td>15/9</td>
<td>£4-0-4 as against a subsidy of £5-5-0 per pupil.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Aided</td>
<td>£16,526-19-10</td>
<td>5,610</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1926-1927</td>
<td>Coloured</td>
<td>£20,351-0-0</td>
<td>1,077</td>
<td>10/10</td>
<td>£13-3-3 as against a subsidy of £5-5-0 per pupil.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Aided</td>
<td>£3,584-0-0</td>
<td>697</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Indian</td>
<td>£14,687-0-0</td>
<td>1,829</td>
<td>15/1</td>
<td>£3-16-10 as against a subsidy of £5-5-0 per pupil.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Aided</td>
<td>£17,320-0-0</td>
<td>6,140</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

From this table it appears that the Provincial Administration had,

Ibid., 1926-1927 N.P. No. 5/1927 p. 54.
in the case of Coloured education, spent more than the subsidy received, but, in the case of Indian education, a considerable saving had been affected. If the corresponding figures for European education were given, it would be seen that also in the case of European education more had been spent than the subsidy allowed.

Let us now examine the following table for the same period, so that we can calculate the actual amount saved on Indian education:-

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>NO. OF COLOURED AND INDIAN PUPILS</th>
<th>SUBSIDY RECEIVED</th>
<th>UNITS</th>
<th>AVERAGE SUBSIDY PER UNIT</th>
<th>DETAILS OF SUBSIDY</th>
<th>ACTUAL EXPENDITURE</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1925-26</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8,549 in year 1924</td>
<td>8,549 X £5-5-0</td>
<td>Coloured 1,771</td>
<td>£8,703-4-3</td>
<td>Coloured £20,278-3-7</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Indians 7,362</td>
<td>£36,179-0-5</td>
<td>Indians £27,918-0-6</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>£44,882-5-0</td>
<td>Total 9,133</td>
<td>£44,882-5-0</td>
<td>Total £48,196-4-1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1926-27</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a) 9,097 in year 1925</td>
<td>9,097 X £5-5-0</td>
<td>Coloured 1,774</td>
<td>£8,678-15-4</td>
<td>Coloured £20,069-2-1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Indians 7,969</td>
<td>£38,985-19-8</td>
<td>Indians £28,429-5-1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>£47,664-15-0</td>
<td>Total 9,743</td>
<td>£47,664-15-0</td>
<td>Total £48,478-7-2</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Thus we see that during these two years not only had the whole subsidy, in the case of Coloured education, been spent, but in

2) Ibid., N.P. No. 5/1927 pp. 21,36,54.
3) As given in the Auditor's report, but presumably an error. It should evidently be 9,079.
addition to this, the Provincial Administration had spent on Colour education £11,574 19s. 4d. and £11,390 6s. 9d. respectively, making a total of £22,965 6s. 1d. The saving, in the case of Indian education, in the first year amounted to £8,261 0s. 3d., and in the second year to £10,556 4s. 7d., making a total of £18,817 4s. 10d. It, therefore, follows that the saving effected on Indian education would have accumulated every year, unless the Provincial Administration decided to spend also on Indian education the full amount of the subsidy allowed.

As seen from the above table, subsidies were based on the average attendance of the previous year. Now if the number of pupils on the roll increased, which was only natural, the effective subsidy would have been considerably reduced. Furthermore, no subsidy was earned by pupils under seven years of age. The only alternative under the circumstances seems to have been to exclude all pupils below seven years of age to obtain accommodation for others not at school, but eligible for a subsidy. This, however, would have been disastrous and therefore unwise, for, as seen already, infants were handicapped in the initial stages of their education to the extent of about a year to eighteen months, and there was no Compulsory Education for Indian children. And then, also, a pupil in a Government School cost the Provincial Administration far more than a pupil in an Aided School - at this time about £7. If, therefore, the number of Government Schools had to be increased, the subsidy earned at this time would have

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2) Naidoo and Bramdaw, Sastri Speaks p. 226.
a) Similarly, the educational expenditure for 1929 had to be paid out of a subsidy based on the average attendance of 1928 - Report Supt. Educ. 1929 p. 15.
c) See p. 115.
been insufficient.

Such was the restrictive policy of the Provincial Administration. It was boldly admitted that the Provincial Council had faithfully carried out the restrictive policy of the old Natal Government, and that in doing so the Council had been interpreting the views of the general community. Thus the policy of preventing the educational development of the Indians beyond a certain stage had been maintained, until the time came, when the whole question was in "the melting pot." For the Provincial Council considered that the time was not ripe for it to take a forward move in the education of the Indians, because it feared, if it spent additional sums of money in providing additional schools for the Indians, those schools might have been found to be situated in places where they would not otherwise have been established, if the Union Government had adopted a policy of segregation. It was, however, emphasised there had been no intention to save money, and that the basis of subsidy had nothing to do with the attitude of the Provincial Administration towards Indian education. But when in this way the onus was being thrown on the Union Government for the defects in the Provincial Subsidies Act of 1925, there was no convincing evidence as to the reason for the saving on Indian education described above, and while thus the attempt to explain away all suspicion does not convince us, the impression still remains that the restrictive policy of the Provincial Administration had a direct bearing on the financial starvation of Indian education.

We now come to the final aspect of Indian education during

1) Report Educ. Enquiry Comtee. 16th May, 1928
   Prov. Notice No. 174/1928 par. 7.

   Witness 9th June, 1928 Education For Indians (etc.).
   Naidoo and Bramdaw, Sastri Speaks p. 226.
this period - the Cape Town Agreement and its effect on Indian education.

Now it follows that in the same way as the Cape Town Agreement was the direct result of the restrictive policy in the general social life of the Indians, so it was also the direct result of the restrictive policy in Indian education.

The part of the Cape Town Agreement that dealt with Indian education was the so-called 'Upliftment' Clause, from which it seems necessary to quote the following:

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 remain part of the permanent population should not be allowed to lag behind other sections of the people.

Here, then, we have the ideal envisaged. And the first step that was to be taken for the realisation of that ideal was the proposed appointment of an Education Committee to inquire into the state of Indian education.

But, meanwhile, as far as the 'Upliftment' portion of the Cape Town Agreement was concerned, nothing had been done. It stands to reason that circumstances were by no means favourable.

Thus on 10th May, 1927, a resolution was passed in the Provincial

1) Naidoo and Bramdaw, Sastrl Speaks pp. 25,26.
2) Ibid., pp. 86,238.


a) Compare pp. 193,194. Of course, this was nothing new, for, as we have seen throughout the development of Indian education, suggestions for the advancement of Indian education were never favourably received or accepted whole-heartedly. And now that the development of Indian education was again closely connected with the general social development of the Indians, we cannot but expect the old antagonism to Indian education.
Council. This resolution viewed with misgivings the conditions of the Agreement. It stated the Provincial Council deplored the fact that Natal, since it was more seriously affected than any other part of the Union, had not been consulted through its Provincial Council on the contemplated provision for increased educational facilities for the Indians. The Council also considered that this involved a definite Provincial policy and also considerable financial obligations. It, therefore, urged that any contemplated action in this direction should be deferred, until it had been afforded the fullest opportunity to represent its views on the subject. But the President of the Union Senate and the Speaker of the House of Assembly refused to lay the resolution before the Senate or the House of Assembly.

Nevertheless, in November, 1927 the Executive Committee of the Provincial Council undertook to appoint a Committee on Education, and this Committee was eventually appointed in terms of Provincial Notice No. 82 of 1928, published in the Natal Provincial Gazette of 15th March, 1928.

This Committee showed two very important defects. The first was the fact that the appointment of the personnel of the Committee had been within the discretion of the Executive Committee of the Provincial Council itself. Thus there was no member of the Education Department, no missionary, nor an Indian included among the members of the Committee. In fact, the Committee consisted merely of the four elected members of the

1) Naidoo and Bramdew, Sastra Speaks p. 238.
Executive Committee, of whom Mr. Dyson presided and three other members of the Provincial Council. Since the Union Government had initiated the Cape Town Agreement, one could have expected that at least one of its members would have been represented on the Committee. It was, therefore, simply a Committee of the provincial Executive Committee that had to investigate Indian education. And what is also important is the fact that the Executive Committee had appointed men, who were the opponents of the new policy of the Union Government. The second defect is that it was left to the Provincial Council to decide in how far the recommendations of the Committee were to be carried out. It follows thus that only such recommendations would be made as could be accepted within the limits of the subsidy received by the Provincial Council from the Union Government.

It is small wonder, therefore, that the decision of the Administration to appoint a purely parliamentary Committee came as a disappointment to the Indian community, who had hoped for the constitution of an independent body that could approach the problem of Indian education on its merits, and that would not be influenced by future financial responsibility.

Now the services of two educational experts were placed at the disposal of the Committee, namely, Mr. Kailas P. Kichlu M.A., Deputy Director of Public Instruction, United Provinces of Agra and Oudh, Vice Chancellor of the University of Agra, and Miss C. Gordon B. Educ., Professor Teachers' Training College,

1) Witness 9th June, 1928 Education For Indians (etc.).
2) Reply Administrator to Wedley Minutes Prov. C. 25th May, 1928 p. 41.
3) Naadoo and Bramdaw, Sastri Speaks p. 274.

a) It would appear, therefore, that in the case of the 'Upliftment!' Clause, at least, the Cape Town Agreement was not what could have been expected.
Saidapet, Madras. Therefore, the presence of these two educational experts, and the interest shown by the Education Department and Mr. Sastrl must have livened up the Committee somewhat, and prevented what would otherwise probably have been a very superficial investigation into the difficulties presented by Indian education at this time.

Meanwhile, Mr. Sastrl was very active. Between the date of his arrival and the end of the year, he spent 110 out of 187 days in Natal visiting practically all the centres where Indians resided in considerable numbers. Mr. Kichlu and Miss Gordon arrived in the Union during the last week of November, 1927. After interviews with the Governor-General and Dr. Malan, the Minister of Education, they took up their residence in Natal, where they studied the problem of Indian education with the help of the Education Department, and the teachers and leaders of the local Indian community. They also toured much of Natal. But a change in the Administratorship of Natal had meantime delayed the commencement of the Committee's work. Once, however, the investigation had commenced, the Committee itself took voluminous evidence from Indian witnesses, and was further furnished with a review of the state of Indian education which had been compiled by Mr. Kichlu. Besides, the presence of Mr. Sastrl had aroused considerable interest in Indian education, and, as a result also of the incentive given by the Cape Town Agreement,

1) Naidoo and Bramdaw, Sastrl Speaks p. 239.
2) Ibid., p. 240.
4) Naidoo and Bramdaw, Sastrl Speaks p. 240.
    Ibid., 1929 p. 15.
    Ibid., 1931 p. 9.
the Indians had made greater efforts to send their children to school. Thus abnormal demands for education had arisen, and the Indians had put forward demands for a far-reaching system of education, based upon the educational facilities enjoyed by the Europeans at this time.

The report ultimately presented by the Committee reflected, however, in contrast with the general fervour aroused among the Indians, in its contents and its omissions the defects inherent in the constitution of the Committee. This was, of course, to be expected. But, although the report was generally disappointing, it marked one of the most important investigations into Indian education.

When investigating the existing educational facilities for Indians in towns and country places, the Committee concluded that little was left to be desired in the Government Schools, but that the existing facilities in town and country places were inadequate for the educational needs of the Indians. Therefore, the Committee stressed the necessity of extending educational facilities for Indian children, and considered that a speedy improvement could be found by an extension of Aided Schools throughout Natal, together with the provision of Government Schools in the large centres of Indian population, when the funds were sufficient, but that there should be no alteration in the system of voluntary attendance. If we take for granted the Committee's assurance that conditions in the existing Government Schools were satisfactory, there must then have been great improvement in the status of the Government Schools since the last period. That there was generally a lack of educational facilities for Indians throughout Natal, naturally follows from the fact, as seen above, that the existing schools provided education

2) Ibid., paras. 6(a, b), 8(a).

a) See pp. 202, 203.
by 1925 for only 27.6 per cent. of the Indian children. Of course, when the future provision for funds that did not exist was made a condition for any suggestion as to the extension of educational facilities, then such a suggestion became futile. This was also the case when the Committee could not suggest a system of Compulsory Education. Thus the Committee was faced with the inevitable question of funds, as had been the case with all previous bodies, when making recommendations for the improvement of Indian education.

Now as far as the financial aspect of Indian education was concerned, we notice the following in the terms of reference of the Committee:

1. The present system of Provincial grants-in-aid and any change which may be considered to be necessary;
2. 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.

We thus see a definite limitation imposed on the future financial provision for any suggestions the Committee might make. And then, too, in its attempts to solve this financial difficulty, the Committee found it impossible to tax the Indians for educational purposes, since it was opposed to any increase in the general taxation of the Province for the proposed educational expansion. No specific reasons were advanced by the Committee for its aversion to a general system of educational taxation, though we might safely assume that one reason was the fact that Europeans were not taxed for the education of their children. Generally, therefore, the Province was left with the alternative of either increasing the vote for Indian education from its straitened financial resources or

2) Of course, taxation being a political question always tends to make a governing body unpopular.
obtaining an increased amount for Indian education from the Union government. But as regards the continuance of the subsidy of £5 5s. Od., the Committee considered that it would have no funds for any extension of educational facilities for the Indians. Moreover, it was quite rightly of the opinion that a large increase in the attendance could be anticipated, and that in that case a financial problem would be created, since the Provincial Subsidies Act had provided that the subsidy was to be paid only on the attendance figures of the previous year. For this reason, the Committee recommended that the Union Government should meet the financial obligations by providing that the subsidy for this increased attendance should be granted on the basis of the current year's increased attendance, and for such a period as the annual abnormal increase would continue, and that the total amount of the funds thus given should be allocated to the provision of Indian education. But the Committee was aware that, even if the whole of the £5 5s. Od. subsidy were devoted to Indian education, there would still be insufficient funds for any proposed extension.

Eventually, the Provincial Administration decided to devote to Indian education the whole of the subsidy earned by Indian children, for immediately after the publication of the Committee's report, it placed the item of £9,000 on the estimates for the expansion of Indian education in the Province. This extra vote, representing the sum necessary to bring the estimate for Indian education up to the level of the subsidy calculated on the attendance figure for 1927, was passed by the Provincial Council.

   Naidoo and Ramdas, Bafter Speaks p. 275.
   Witness 9th June, 1928 Education For Indians (etc.).
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Naidoo and Bramdaw, Saatri Speaks p. 275.
Witness 9th June, 1928 Education For Indians (etc.).

But although the Union Government must have realised, when it entered into the Cape Town Agreement and requested the Provincial Council to investigate Indian education, that a greater rate of expenditure would be involved if the terms of the Agreement were to be implemented, no increase in the rate of subsidy had been made by 1927, nor had the suggested improvement in the method of payment of that subsidy been adopted by that time. Thus insufficient funds still remained the greatest impediment in the development of Indian education.

Let us, therefore, consider how far these financial difficulties had cramped the general expansion of Indian education after 1927.

When we examine the financial recommendations, the actual financial provision made as a result of the Cape Town Agreement, and also the general expansion envisaged, we see the disparity between what was expected to be done and what was done.

It was proposed to add 20,000 Indian pupils in the space of five years, and that meant the provision of 100 additional teachers each year for the five years, and also the annual establishment during that period of from 30 to 40 schools.

Now it is to be noted that, although there were 300 teachers in 1927, in 1937 there were only 640 teachers, in other words, an increase of 340 teachers, or 113 per cent. during these ten years. Thus the supply of teachers for the proposed expansion had not been obtained.

Next, take the expenditure in connection with school buildings. It was stated in 1930 that the Department had been unable,

3) Ibid., 1927 p. 66.
4) Ibid., 1930 pp. 8, 14, 15, 20.
owing to financial restrictions, to satisfy all educational demands, and that many applications for new schools and new extensions had to stand down until the beginning of the financial year. It was further stated that the Indians would have to find the money for erecting school buildings, and that, in order that the salaries of teachers should not suffer, the policy should be to encourage the Indians to build the necessary schools, while the Provincial Administration should provide for the salaries of the teachers. That the Indian community had already spent large sums of money on school buildings is seen from the fact that, in comparison with the £50,000 spent by the Indians on Aided Schools and Private Schools, the Government had spent from 1910 to 1928 on Government and Aided School buildings only £22,843. But the Government could hardly rely solely on the Indians to establish schools. Thus the policy of assisting towards the erection of school buildings was continued. But even then the position did not appear at all satisfactory. Although the Government School buildings were generally suitably designed and well provided as regards equipment and furniture, many Aided Schools were poorly equipped with the usual school apparatus and furniture, and some of the buildings left a good deal to be desired, for they had originally been built for other purposes, while others were old

1) Kichlu Memorandum paras. 26, 28.
   Ibid., No. 453/1934 of 20th Dec., 1934 par. 1(c).
   Ibid., 1933 p. 12.
   Ibid., 1934 p. 18.
   Ibid., 1934 p. 18.
and in a state of disrepair bordering on dilapidation. Now consider the following graph, which shows the number of Government and Aided Schools opened since 1927.

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<th>Year</th>
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<tr>
<td>1937</td>
<td>88</td>
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<td>1929</td>
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<td>1928</td>
<td>61</td>
<td>10</td>
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<tr>
<td>1927</td>
<td>48</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
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Thus we see that during these eleven years the number of Aided

   Ibid., 1928 pp. 71, 72.
   Ibid., 1929 pp. 4, 75.
   Ibid., 1930 p. 73.
   Ibid., 1931 p. 59.
   Ibid., 1932 p. 12.
   Ibid., 1933 p. 12.
   Ibid., 1934 p. 16.
   Ibid., 1936 pp. 12, 61.

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