

Schools had increased by 40, and the number of Government Schools by 8, in other words, by 83 per cent. and 89 per cent. respectively. The graph shows clearly the marked difference in the number of Aided Schools and Government Schools. Compared with the table and graph given above, this graph shows an appreciable increase in the number of schools after 1927; but it will be seen that the number was still far below the number it was proposed to establish.

Finally, we have to consider the attendance of Indian children at school. And here we have to emphasise the exception again - the attendance of girls.¹⁾ In 1932 only 22.5 per cent. of the pupils were girls. In 1933 it was 23.6 per cent., and in 1934 it was 24.4 per cent. In 1935 the percentage rose to 26.1, but in 1936 it was 26.7, and in 1937 it was 27.8. The improvement was, therefore, decidedly small, and this in spite of the excellent facilities provided for post-Primary Education for girls in Durban, and the fact that the Provincial Administration had encouraged attendance by reducing fees, and provided instruction in domestic science and home crafts, as well as an academic Matriculation course.²⁾ But if we consider the attendance of all classes of pupils during the same eleven years as above, we notice at once a phenomenal increase in the attendance of

1) Report Supt. Educ. 1932 p. 12.

Ibid., 1933 p. 12.

Ibid., 1934 p. 16.

Ibid., 1935 p. 14.

Ibid., 1936 p. 14.

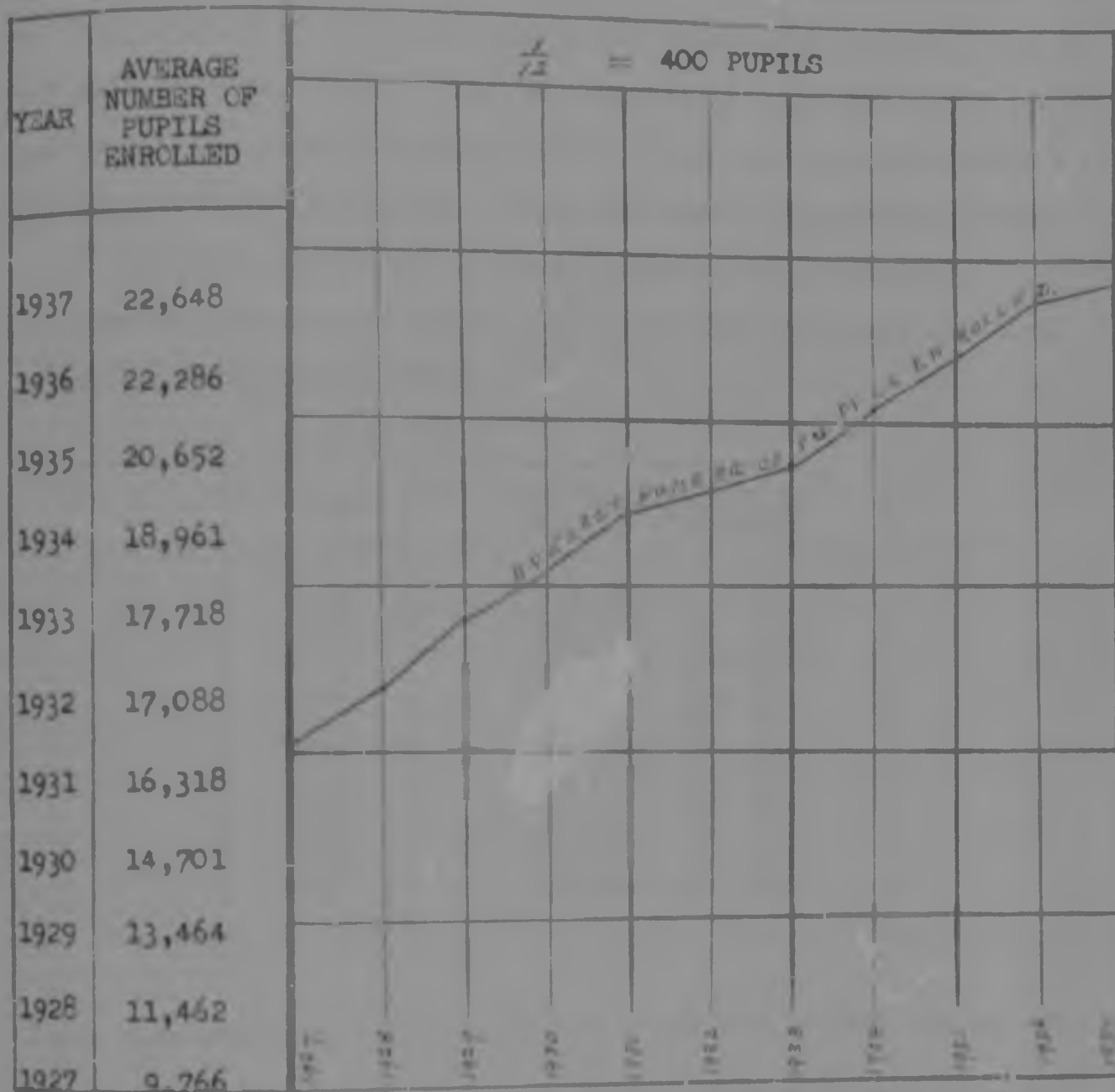
Ibid., 1937 p. 14.

2) Ibid., 1932 p. 12.

Report Educ. Commis. 1937 par. 461.

a) See pp. 201, 202.

Indian children. 1) Take the following graph:-



The school population had thus increased by 12,882 pupils, in other

1) Report Supt. Educ. 1927 pp. 60,61.

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., 1935 p. 14.

Ibid., 1936 pp. 12,61.

Ibid., 1937 p. 14.

words, by 132 per cent., and this increase is clearly shown in the graph. But consider the fact that in 1932 only 20.6 per cent. of the total number of pupils attended the Government Schools, and in 1937 only 21.9 per cent.¹⁾ This was hardly an improvement in the case of the Government Schools, considering that the attendance in 1927 was merely 20 per cent. Thus the ideal of providing education for an additional 20,000 pupils had not been realised.

²⁾
Examine now the following table, showing the money spent on Indian education since 1927:-

YEAR	AMOUNT EXPENDED ON INDIAN EDUCATION
1927	£35,981 16s. 6d.
1928	£34,581 1s. 6d.
1929	£47,814 2s. 1d.
1930	£68,814 6s. 9d.
1931	£59,094 17s. 5d.
1932	£62,317 8s. 9d.
1933	£67,650 0s. 8d.
1934	£72,151 6s. 9d.
1935	£93,031 3s. 4d.
1936	£99,557 3s. 4d.
1937	£96,095 0s. 0d.

We see thus that the expenditure had increased by £60,113 3s. 6d.,

1) Report Supt. Educ. 1932 p. 12.

Ibid., 1937 p. 14.

2) Ibid., 1927 p. 99.

Ibid., 1928 p. 86.

Ibid., 1929 p. 90.

Ibid., 1930 p. 82.

Ibid., 1931 p. 63.

Ibid., 1932 p. 71.

Ibid., 1933 p. 72.

Ibid., 1934 p. 81.

Ibid., 1935 p. 91.

Ibid., 1936 p. 79.

Ibid., 1937 p. 92.

in other words, by 167 per cent. This was, no doubt, a marked improvement, but, nevertheless, far below the amount that would have been necessary to carry out the extensions proposed.

The final position of Indian education at the end of this period is thus clear. From 1928 to 1933 the attendance at the schools had increased by only 6,256, instead of by 20,000. And in 1935 it appeared that, in order to equalize the boys and the girls in the existing schools, it would require approximately still another 10,000 school places.¹⁾ Furthermore, the findings of the Education Commission of 1937 show that at the end of this period the position was far from satisfactory. We have seen that the Education Committee of 1928 had not recommended Compulsory Education.^{a)} But this Commission of 1937 agreed that Free and Compulsory Education should be the ultimate aim in implementing the 'Upliftment' Clause of the Cape Town Agreement, but it was of the opinion that this must take a considerable time, and that education could not be made compulsory, until the necessary accommodation and facilities for education had been provided. Now by 1937 there were only 50 per cent. of Indian children of school-age at school.³⁾ It was, therefore, stated that, in order to provide education for the rest of the pupils, by 1937 still about 20,000 additional school places had to be found, entailing the erection of at least another 100 schools and the recruitment of more than 500 new teachers. This, the Commission rightly stressed, meant not only a change in the attitude of Indian parents towards the education of girls, so that a sufficient number of women teachers could be obtained, but also an increase in the rate of training of Indian teachers, and a considerable increase in

1) Report Supt. Educ. 1935 p. 14.

2) Report Educ. Commis. 1937 par. 446.

3) Ibid., par. 416.

4) Ibid., par. 446.

a) See p. 215.

b) Cf. pp. 71, 202, 203.

Training College facilities.

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Thus it appears that in spite of all the extension and progress that had been made so far in Indian education, what had been achieved was not adequate or satisfactory, and that, if the Indian community was to advance in the manner contemplated by the Cape Town Agreement, its educational system was to be more liberally supported, and be made a more fitting instrument for this purpose. Therefore, the Education Commission of 1937 recognised the necessity of increasing the subsidy for Indian education, and recommended that the whole position should be put before the Union Government with an urgent request for a considerable increase in the subsidy of £5 5s. Od.

The Cape Town Agreement had thus not revealed its full effect, as far as education was concerned, at the end of this period, in other words, ten years after it had come into force. In spite of the great interest taken by the Indians, and the undoubted expectations aroused by the Agreement, Indian education still showed two main defects, as during the days of the Indian Immigrant School Board - lack of finance and general superficiality. And the effect on Indian education generally of these two defects will be further revealed in subsequent sections of this chapter.^{a)}

3. Growth of Higher Education and Opening of Sastri College.

The intensification of the demand by the Indians for Higher Education during this period was, undoubtedly, the direct result

1) Report Educ. Commis. 1937 pars. 413, 447, 475, 476.

a) Compare, for example, pp. 225, 226 et seqq., 243, 244 et seqq., 247, 248 et seqq.

of the exclusion of Indian children from European schools, of the restrictions applied to the Higher Grade Schools, and of the consequent failure of the Higher Grade Schools.

Now the Indian newspaper, the African Chronicle, had on many occasions drawn the attention of the Indian community to the importance and advantage of acquiring Higher Education, and the urgent need for it. Also remember our conclusions during the previous period that, because the Indians could neither at European schools nor at Indian Government Schools and Aided Schools receive the education they needed, they had either to establish their own schools, proceed beyond the borders of Natal for education, or that a College should be erected. Let us, therefore, keeping these three alternatives in mind, examine the development of Higher Education during this period in the light of the interest engendered by the Cape Town Agreement in Indian education.

We have already noticed that the Indians had established several schools of their own, including two schools for Higher Education. Consider, first, these two schools in greater detail.

It was at a meeting held at Pietermaritzburg in July, 1909 that it was unanimously decided that a Private High School should be opened at Pietermaritzburg for those children, who had been refused admission to the Government Higher Grade Schools by the age limit of 14 years, and because of the neglect of the

1) African Chronicle 21st Jan., 1911 Technical Education.

Ibid., 18th Jan., 1913 A Resume of Indian Education.

2) Ibid., 7th Aug., 1909 A New Higher Grade School (etc.).

Ibid., 23rd Oct., 1909 Maritzburg Private Indian High School (etc.).

Ibid., 29th Jan., 1910 Appeal to the Indian Public.

a) See p. 184.

b) See pp. 197, 198, and also p. 219.

Government to provide facilities for Higher Education for Indians.

This school was consequently opened there on 1st August, 1909 to
meet the requirements of the Indian community in connection with
Higher Education, and to supply the long-felt want in preparing
Indian boys for University examinations. It was under the con-
trol of a Committee of five members, who received financial
support from the Indian public. The fees were fixed at 5/- per
boy, and 1/- for children of one and the same family. By
October, 1909 about 13 children had taken advantage of the
school; six boys were being trained for the Cape Junior Univer-
sity Examination, and the remainder for the Cape Elementary
Examination. By January, 1910 there were two students at the
school preparing for the Cape Junior University Certificate, and,
while the school was at this time the only one of its kind for

1) African Chronicle 23rd Oct., 1909 Maritzburg Private Indian High School (etc.).

Ibid., 29th Jan., 1910 Appeal to the Indian Public.

2) Ibid., 7th Aug., 1909 A New Higher Grade School (etc.).

Ibid., 23rd Oct., 1909 Maritzburg Private Indian High School (etc.).

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

Ibid., 15th Jan., 1910 Indian High School.

Ibid., 29th Jan., 1910 Appeal to the Indian Public.

3) Ibid., 23rd Oct., 1909 Maritzburg Private Indian High School (etc.).

Ibid., 15th Jan., 1910 Indian High School.

Ibid., 29th Jan., 1910 Appeal to the Indian Public.

Ibid., 2nd April, 1910 Notes on Current Topics (etc.)
National High School.

Ibid., 7th May, 1910 City Indian School.

4) Ibid., 23rd Oct., 1909 Maritzburg Private Indian High School (etc.).

5) Ibid., 29th Jan., 1910 Appeal to the Indian Public.

Indians, even people in country districts had decided to send their children, so that some of the scholars came even from Durban and Ladysmith. In January, 1910 the school had a credit balance of only £8 18s. 6d.¹⁾ The total receipts from private subscriptions, donations and school fees amounted to £47 12s. Od., and expenses to £38 18s. 6d. This fact and the small number of pupils clearly show that it must have been only a small school. Then, too, the rate of fees must have made it impossible for any but well-to-do Indians to send their children to this school. By September, 1911²⁾ it still existed, but was presumably closed that year. The support given by the public was evidently very poor.

The Indian Educational Institute³⁾ was opened in Durban on 1st September, 1911 by private initiative.⁴⁾ The leading Indians had identified themselves with the school.⁵⁾ It was first stated⁶⁾

1) African Chronicle 15th Jan., 1910 Indian High School.

2) Ibid., 30th Sept., 1911 Letter by "Donor."

3) Ibid., 2nd Sept., 1911 Indian Educational Institute.

Ibid., 9th Sept., 1911 Indian Educational Institute.

Ibid., 12th July, 1913 Indian Educational Institute.

Indian Opinion 24th March, 1916 Indian Educational Institute, Durban.

4) African Chronicle 19th Aug., 1911 The Goal in Sight.

5) Ibid., 2nd Sept., 1911 Indian Educational Institute.

6) Ibid., 19th Aug., 1911 The Goal in Sight.

Ibid., 2nd Sept., 1911 Indian Educational Institute.

Ibid., 6th Jan., 1912 School Vacation (sic H.D.K.) Indian Educational Institute (etc.).

Ibid., 11th Jan., 1913 Indian Education Institute.

Ibid., 12th July, 1913 Indian Educational Institute.

Ibid., 26th July, 1913 Advert. Indian Educational Institute.

Indian Opinion 24th March, 1916 Indian Educational Institute, Durban.

in August, 1911 that it would provide both Higher Education and Technical Education, but in January, 1912 it was said that it was intended for Higher Education only. Technical Education was evidently too expensive. The institute was at first intended¹⁾ for day scholars only, but after some delay an Evening Class was²⁾ provided. Arrangements were also made for the provision of board and lodging for up-country scholars.³⁾

The Evening Class made provision for tuition in Indian languages and commercial subjects. And subjects like mathematics, Latin, French, Hindi, Gujarati, Urdu, shorthand, typewriting, and bookkeeping were offered.⁴⁾ The number of scholars increased from⁵⁾ 23 in January, 1912 to 30 in March, 1916. For the four years up to 31st August, 1915, the work of the school was considered

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- 1) African Chronicle 2nd Sept., 1911 Indian Educational Institute.
 - 2) Ibid., 1st March, 1913 Indian Education Institute.
Ibid., 8th March, 1913 Indian Institute.
Ibid., 29th March, 1913 Indian Educational Institute.
Ibid., 28th June, 1913 Indian Education Institute.
 - 3) Ibid., 28th June, 1913 Indian Education Institute.
Ibid., 26th July, 1913 Advert. Indian Educational Institute.
 - 4) Ibid., 6th Jan., 1912 School Vaation (sic H.D.K.)
Indi Indian Educational Institute (etc.).
Ibid., 1st March, 1913 Indian Educational Institute.
Ibid., 8th March, 1913 Indian Institute.
Ibid., 28th March, 1913 Indian Education Institute.
 - 5) Ibid., 9th Sept., 1911 Indian Educational Institute.
Ibid., 6th Jan., 1912 School Vaation (sic H.D.K.)
Indian Educational Institute (etc.).
Ibid., 28th June, 1913 Indian Education Institute.
Indian Opinion 24th March, 1916 Indian Educational Institute, Durban.

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to have been a distinct advantage to the Indian community. Several pupils were prepared for the Cape University Examination; and the total number of pupils admitted was 108, and they came not only from Durban and its environs, but also from different parts of the Union.
2)
It was further considered that excellent work had been done, and that progress had been "tremendous."

But the small increase in the number of pupils does not show that the school had generally been satisfactory. The fees were fairly high - £1 ls. Od. per pupil per month - and it was anticipated that it would not, therefore, interfere with the existing Government Schools and Aided Schools.
3)
This, undoubtedly, accounted for the paucity of pupils, and conveys the impression that it was intended only for the select few.
4)
In fact, the opinion was expressed that this fee was prohibitive to any other parents than the wealthy, and was nothing more than an impost to exclude the children of poorer parents. Furthermore, Mr. Gandhi publicly denounced the "meaningless and ruinous" possibilities of the school.
5)
There were also frequent changes of Headmasters. The school was

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- 1) African Chronicle 3rd June, 1916 Durban Indian Institute.
Indian Opinion 24th March, 1916 Indian Educational Institute, Durban.
Indian Views 7th Jan., 1916 The Indian Education Institute.
Ibid., 25th Jan., 1918 Higher Education.
 - 2) African Chronicle 8th Jan., 1916 Indian Educational Institute (etc.).
Ibid., 3rd June, 1916 Indian National Educational Institute.
 - 3) Ibid., 19th Aug., 1911 The Goal in Sight.
Ibid., 2nd Sept., 1911 Indian Educational Institute.
 - 4) Ibid., 13th July, 1912 Current Events (etc.).
 - 5) Ibid., 6th Jan., 1912 School Vaation (sic H.D.K.)
Indian Education Institute (etc.).
Ibid., 11th Jan., 1913 Indian Education Institute.
Ibid., 1st March, 1913 Indian Education Institute.
Ibid., 28th June, 1913 Indian Education Institute.

1)
first managed by a Committee composed of the foundation members,
but in January, 1916 it was reorganised and an Executive Committee
2)
of some 20 members was appointed to administer its affairs.
This Executive Committee had been called together subsequently
3)
on about eight occasions, but very few of the members attended.
There was thus a definite lack of interest in the welfare of
4)
the school, and, furthermore, very little, if any, assistance
was given by the Indian community. Consequently, a circular
5)
letter was issued appealing for support, failing which, there
was a danger of its being closed. Also the Evening Class was
not taken advantage of by those for whose benefit it had been
6)
opened. The school was eventually closed, after being carried
7)
on for about five years in the face of the greatest obstacles.

Thus both in Pietermaritzburg and in Durban, the attempts of
the Indians to give Higher Education to their children, by depend-
ing on their own resources, had failed. This shows clearly a

1) African Chronicle 2nd Sept., 1911 Indian Educational
Institute.

2) Ibid., 21st Febr., 1916 Indian Educational Institute.

Ibid., 3rd June, 1916 Indian National Educational
Institute.

Dharma Vir 25th March, 1916 Indian Educational Institute.

Indian Views 7th Jan., 1916 The Indian Education
Institute.

3) African Chronicle 3rd June, 1916 Durban Indian Institute.

4) Ibid., 20th May, 1916 Durban Indian Institute.

Ibid., 3rd June, 1916 Durban Indian Institute.

5) Ibid., 3rd June, 1916 Indian National Educational
Institute.

6) Indian Opinion 24th March, 1916 Indian Educational
Institute, Durban.

7) African Chronicle 3rd June, 1916 Indian National Educational
Institute.

Indian Views 25th Jan., 1918 Higher Education.

lack of finance on the part of those who desired such education, and a lack of interest in such education on the part of those who had the necessary funds.

Consider now the response of the Provincial Administration, before the Cape Town Agreement, to the desire of the Indians for Higher Education. By 1911 six Indians in Pietermaritzburg had entered for the Junior Certificate of the University of the Cape of Good Hope, and three for the Matriculation examination.¹⁾ In 1914 children, who desired to go beyond the elementary stage, attended the Indian Government Schools in Pietermaritzburg and Durban, at the Sydenham College, or the private classes for teachers for the Indian Teachers' Junior and Senior Certificates.²⁾ But because of the fact that the number of Aided Schools still by far exceeded the number of Government Schools, we can understand why by 1917 the Indians were still very anxious to have Higher Education, and why the growth of the demand for further education beyond the elementary stage had developed into a strong demand for improved facilities.³⁾ Thus the Indian community asked the Education Department, whether some provision might not be made by forming a special class for Higher Education at the school formerly called the Durban Higher Grade School, if a separate institution could not be provided for Higher Education.⁴⁾ Such a class was⁵⁾

1) Report Supt. Educ. Prov. Notice No. 26/1911 of 8th Febr., 1911.

2) Ibid., 1914 p. 7.

3) Report Prov. Admin. Commis. U.G. 8 '17 Evid. Kudie p. 770.
Report Supt. Educ. 1917 p. 62.

4) Indian Views 25th Jan., 1918 Higher Education.

5) Report Supt. Educ. 1918 p. 62.

Indian Views 14th June, 1918 Higher Education.

Ibid., 28th June, 1918 Higher Education.

Ibid., 28th July, 1918 Higher Education.

Ibid., 2nd Aug., 1918 Higher Education.

eventually started on 1st August, 1918 at the Carlisle Street Government School, which, as we have seen above, ^{a)} was formerly the Durban Higher Grade School. ¹⁾ This class soon made good progress. In 1921 it was stated, ²⁾ where the Education Department could with the staff at its disposal provide for education beyond Std. IV, it might do so in the case of the Government Schools. But it does not appear that much progress ³⁾ was made as a result of this, for by 1928, of the nine Government Schools, only one, Carlisle Street, which had then just been raised to the Matriculation standard, taught up to Std. X, the remaining eight Government Schools being Primary Schools. Also all the 43 Aided Schools were Primary Schools. However, in one or two Aided Schools, a Std. VII was added, but it contained only one or two scholars. Finally, there were also before 1927 a few classes ⁴⁾ for teachers, namely, at Tongaat, Durban and Pietermaritzburg. The provision for Higher Education by the Provincial Administration was, therefore, far from satisfactory.

^{b)} Consequently, we find Indians proceeding, as previously, beyond the borders of Natal to obtain the Higher Education they required, but could not obtain in Natal. Indians attended, for

1) Report Supt. Educ. 1919 p. 20.

2) Prov. Notice No. 97/1921 of 20th April, 1921 par. 9.

Ibid., No. 26/1925 of 11th Febr., 1925 par. 7.

3) Kichlu, Memorandum par. 2.

4) Report Supt. Educ. 1927 p. 81.

Ibid., 1930 p. 67.

Report Prov. Auditor N.P. No. 5/1929 p. 75 par. 38.

Monthly Educ. Circular Aug., 1930 p. 112.

a) See p. 172.

b) See p. 184.

example, at the Fort Hare Native College,¹⁾ and in 1930 provision was made for bursaries for Indian students tenable at Fort Hare.²⁾ And there were also Indian students at the Cape Town University and the University of the Witwatersrand.³⁾

Next, we come to consider the question of establishing a College in Natal for Indians. We have already noticed that during the days of the Indian Immigrant School Board a College had been proposed, but not established.^{b)} In 1917 Dr. Loram, Inspector of Schools, had suggested the establishment of a modern High School with academic and commercial departments.⁴⁾ But nothing seems to have been done. Subsequently, the Education Committee of 1928 considered that it was absolutely essential to establish a Training College.⁵⁾ And then, in order to meet the criticism that the wealthy Indian left the poorer Indian to be looked after by the State, or by missionary enterprise, and to stimulate the Indian community in "the spirit of mutual self-help," Mr. Sastri proposed an educational institution in Durban that was to be erected and equipped solely at the expense of the Indians in Natal. He had been informed by the Education Department that a Training College for teachers was the most urgent need of Indian education, and because also of the great desire on the part of the Indians for educational facilities up to the Matriculation standard, he formulated a scheme

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- 1) Report Under Sec. of Educ. U.G. 17 '19 p. 57.
Report Nat. Affairs Dept. 1919-1921 U.G. 34 '22 p. 21.
 - 2) Prov. Notice No. 445/1930 of 30th Dec., 1930.
Minutes Prov. C. 4th June, 1931 p. 49.
 - 3) Mercury 21st Jan., 1935 Education of Indians (etc.).
 - 4) Report Supt. Educ. 1917 pp. 59, 62.
 - 5) Report Educ. Enquiry Comtee. 16th May, 1928 par. 8(b,c).
 - 6) Naidoo and Brandaw, Sastri Speaks pp. 218, 240.
Report S.A. Indian Congress Jan., 1929 Speech Sastri laying Foundation Stone of Sastri College p. 1.
- a) See p. 262.
b) See pp. 96, 97.

for a combined Training College for teachers and a High School. The Provincial Administration, it was said, might take over this school, and conduct it as a Normal School, if the Indians erected a suitable building for the purpose. It was, therefore, resolved¹⁾ to raise funds for building such a combined Normal and High School. The estimated cost of the building eventually erected was £20,000, and this sum was raised by Mr. Sastri. The school was known as Sastri College, and was opened on 1st February, 1930.²⁾ It was placed under a Principal and a vice-Principal,^{a)} and an Indian staff including six graduates, who had been imported from India,³⁾ and was to continue the work that had formerly been conducted at the Carlisle Street Government School.⁴⁾ Thus provision was eventually made at the College for the Matriculation and the Junior Certificates.⁵⁾

But Sastri College, which was considered to be a "monument of the desire of the Natal-born Indians for a Western education,"⁶⁾ was not a great success in its initial stages. Consideration, however, of the great desire shown by the Indians for education, which we have already noticed growing during the last two periods,^{b)} and reference to the conclusion we have come to that

1) Report S.A. Indian Congress Jan., 1929 Speech Sastri laying Foundation Stone of Sastri College p. 1.

Witness 9th June, 1928 Education For Indians (etc.).

2) Gen. Report Prov. Auditor Year ended 31st March, 1930 p. 62.

3) Report Supt. Educ. 1929 p. 13.

4) Ibid., 1930 p. 14.

5) Report Circular Educ. Dept. Febr., 1931 pp. 60-63.

Ibid., April, 1931 p. 93.

Report Supt. Educ. 1932 p. 12.

6) Witness 25th July, 1932 The Future of the Natal-born Indian (etc.).

a) Both were Europeans.

b) See p. 184.

the future of Indian education seems to depend on the initiative of the Indians themselves, now again, as in the case of the poor support given to the two High Schools ^{a)}, clearly reveal the fact that Indian patriotism and Indian wealth, like European patriotism and European wealth, did not somehow seem to blend. Thus the original wave of enthusiasm soon spent itself ¹⁾, and the initial fervour for subscription cooled off ²⁾. The funds of the College raised by subscription were insufficient to carry out the original plan, which had included a main educational block, a science laboratory, a staff room block, a Principal's residence, two hostels and a caretaker's cottage. Of this only the first and the last building were erected. There appeared to be no ³⁾ chance to proceed further. But at the end of 1934, a new block, making provision for the proposed science laboratory and common room, and also for a Principal's office and a library, was nearing completion ⁴⁾. Then also the expense of the College, which was probably from about £4,000 to £5,000 per annum, and representing about one-twelfth of the total subsidy for Indian education, naturally constituted a great impediment in the general expansion of the whole system of Indian education ⁵⁾. Financially, therefore, Sastri College became the same draw on the general development of Indian education that the Government Schools had always been. Thus the Education Department soon had to economise, as far as the staffing of the College itself was concerned. It became its policy to replace the six graduates from India, who had ⁶⁾

1) Report Supt. Educ. 1930 p. 9.

2) Ibid., 1929 p. 13.

3) Ibid., 1930 p. 14.

4) Ibid., 1934 p. 18.

Ibid., 1935 p. 16.

5) Ibid., 1929 p. 13.

6) Witness 25th July, 1932 Sastri College Teachers (etc.).

a) Cf. pp. 226, 227 et seq.

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been imported on a three-years' contract, with European graduates at a commencing salary of £300 as against the fixed salary of £400 that was being paid to each of these graduates from India. Such European graduates were to be employed, until such time as qualified Natal Indian graduates could be obtained. Thus at the end of 1932, these six Indian graduates returned to India, and then European teachers were allowed to fill the vacancies.²⁾ Meanwhile, Natal-born Indians had joined the staff with high post-Matriculation qualifications.³⁾

Apart from financial difficulties, there were also other defects. Thus the absence of hostel accommodation deprived many of the up-country Indians of Secondary Education and teacher-training.⁴⁾ There was also a big hiatus,⁵⁾ as we have noticed in the case of the Board Schools and the Aided Schools, between the work of the Primary Schools and that at Sastri College. Later the Natal Technical College in Durban arranged classes at Sastri College for University degrees,⁶⁾ and this appears to have been a compromise, as far as the request of the Indians was concerned for admission to that College.^{c)} But at Sastri College itself, the great demand for an academic

1) Report Supt. Educ. 1930 p. 15.

2) Ibid., 1932 p. 14.

Ibid., 1933 p. 18.

3) Ibid., 1932 p. 24.

4) Ibid., 1930 p. 14.

5) Ibid., 1930 p. 20.

6) The Guardian 9th Jan., 1941 Segregation at University (etc.).

a) Cf. p. 144.

b) See p. 247.

c) See pp. 244, 245.

education up to the Matriculation standard had meantime already become such that the College was overcrowded by 1936.

But in order that a wrong impression might not be obtained of the actual state of Higher Education after 1927, let us consider the position, as it was after the establishment of Sastri College.

Meanwhile, in 1929 three candidates out of four at the Carlisle Street Government School had passed in the Matriculation examination, and nine out of 15 in the Junior Certificate examination.²⁾ Later at two of the 13 Government Schools, Sastri College and Mitchell Crescent, and at two Aided Schools, St. Xavier³⁾ and Sydenham Girls', there was provision for post-Primary Education. And in 1935 secondary classes were instituted at the York Road School in Pietermaritzburg.⁴⁾ But, eventually, in 1936 facilities for post-Primary Education were available only at three Government Schools - Sastri College, Mitchell Crescent in Durban and York Road.⁵⁾

The paucity of pupils receiving post-Primary Education at this time was to a great extent due, it appears, to the fact that few girls attended post-Primary classes.⁶⁾ Girls were only admitted to the Mitchell Crescent School, when they wished to follow a secondary course. But girls seldom proceeded to the higher standards of even the primary courses.⁷⁾ In the schools making provision for

1) Report Educ. Commis. 1937 par. 459.

2) Report Supt. Educ. 1929 p. 13.

3) Ibid., 1933 p. 12.

4) Ibid., 1934 p. 16.

Ibid., 1935 p. 14.

5) Ibid., 1936 p. 14.

6) Ibid., 1932 p. 12.

7) Ibid., 1932 pp. 12,14.

post-Primary Education in 1933, there were only 276 boys and 20 girls, who took advantage of it; ¹⁾ in 1934 the number of boys was 297 and the number of girls ²⁾ 23; in 1935 it was ³⁾ 316 boys and 37 girls; and in 1936 it was ⁴⁾ 339 boys and 52 girls. And then also ⁵⁾ but few girls attended the classes for Secondary Education at the Mitchell Crescent School, in spite of attempts to improve and popularise the school by the introduction of a broader and more practical curriculum. ^{a)} But the position can be further analysed ⁶⁾ as shown in the following table:-

STAND- ARD	1927		1930		1933		1937	
	NO.	%	NO.	%	NO.	%	NO.	%
BELOW STAND- ARD	5,493	55	8,296	54	8,812	49	10,213	45
I	1,373	14	2,214	15	2,680	15	3,364	15
II	1,146	11	1,583	10	2,083	12	2,453	11
III	882	9	1,187	8	1,683	9	2,267	10
IV	633	6	841	6	1,184	7	1,658	7
V	319	3	602	4	716	4	1,118	5
VI	99	1	402	3	631	3	988	4
VII	44	.44	66	.43	146	.81	187	.83
VIII	15	.15	30	.19	111	.61	136	.60
IX	2	.02	5	.03	23	.13	54	.24
X	1	.01	9	.06	15	.08	40	.18
	10,007	---	15,235	---	18,084	---	22,478	---

What is striking is the large number of pupils below standard, and

1) Report Supt. Educ. 1933 p. 12.

2) Ibid., 1934 p. 16.

3) Ibid., 1935 p. 14.

4) Ibid., 1936 p. 14.

5) Ibid., 1935 p. 28.

6) Ibid., 1927 p. 62.

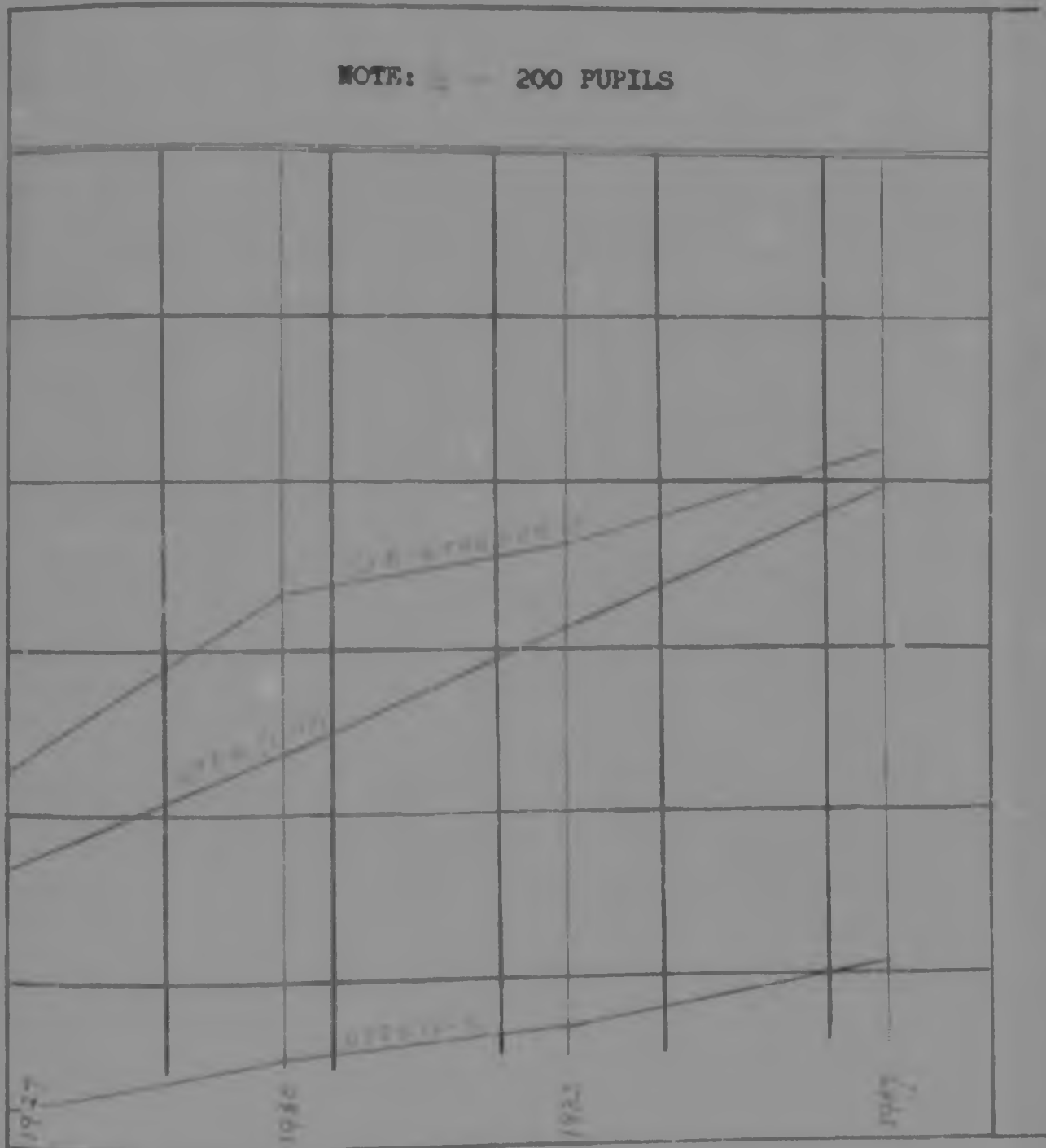
Ibid., 1930 p. 69.

Ibid., 1933 p. 79.

Ibid., 1937 p. 96.

a) See p. 245.

the rapid decrease in succeeding standards. This decrease is noticeable especially after Std. IV. It would appear that the vast majority of Indian pupils were in the sub-standards, and that thousands of them never proceeded further. The number receiving some form of Higher Education is insignificant. This is shown by the following graph:-



1)
From 1933 onwards, the sub-standards included an introductory

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- 1) Report Educ. Commis. 1937 par. 419.
Report Supt. Educ. 1933 p. 18.

class, and this probably accounts to some extent, as will be seen from the graph, for the increase in 1933 in the number of pupils in the sub-standards. And when we compare these facts with those obtained by an examination of the table, ^{a)} showing the standards reached by Indian pupils during the days of the Indian Immigrant School Board, we notice that the predominance of pupils in the lower standards, and the paucity of pupils receiving Primary Education are characteristics of Indian education that are common to both that period and the present.

^{b)}
Now we have noticed that previously there had been a tendency to concentrate on the pupils in the upper standards. And this tendency we find again during this period, when we consider the emphasis still being placed by the Indians on Higher Education. ¹⁾
For it was pointed out that:-

it seems more than likely that parents attach a highly fictitious bread and butter value to this course where their boys are concerned. Many of them ... keep their sons at school up to an age when they could well be expected to be helping the family instead of, as is sometimes the case, being a tax on it .. Annual promotion schedules of post-primary classes show that too many pupils who are subjected to this type of education are totally unfitted to benefit from it.

But remember how during the days of the Indian Immigrant School Board early employment had a greater attraction than the education the schools could offer. ^{c)} It would, therefore, appear that ^{d)} the desire of the Indians to have the same educational facilities as the Europeans had gone to the other extreme. When we consider

1) Report Educ. Commis. 1937 par. 459.

a) See p. 117.

b) See p. 118.

c) See pp. 65,66.

d) Cf. pp. 162,166,167,170,179.

the lack of openings for Indians^{a)}, it becomes extremely doubtful, whether Indian education should any longer be developed on the same lines as European education. For along such lines, Indian education seems to reveal the defects of the European system of education in an exaggerated form. It is beside the point to state that many Indians received Higher Education, while they were unfitted to benefit by it. The State has not yet the right to limit the educational ambitions of Europeans, although this had been, and is still being, attempted in the case of Indians, for example, and it is equally true that many Europeans received Higher Education, when they were unfitted for it. It was maintained¹⁾ that the system of Indian education appeared to be "an unbounded mushroom growth," but then Indian education had always been characterised by its extreme artificiality. Furthermore, it was suggested that the foundation of Indian education had first to be made good; but it seems clear that such a foundation could never possibly be made good, while Indian education was aimless. Then, also, if Sastri College is taken to represent the Indians' desire^{b)} for Western education, it has clearly failed so far. Western civilisation is supposed to embody the ideals of democracy, which again does not recognise class distinctions. No Natives^{c)} are, for example, allowed to attend Sastri College, although, as we have seen above,^{d)} Indians attended the South African Native College at Fort Hare. Besides, inability to pay fees would debar many Indians from attending Sastri College.

But the provision at Sastri College of classes run on

1) Report Educ. Commis. 1937 par. 420.

a) See p. 244.

b) See p. 235.

c) A few Natives appear to be attending evening classes at Sastri College at the present time.

d) See pp. 233, 234.

a)
University lines was an important innovation with great prospects, for, when these classes are fostered, Sastri College would eventually, by attracting more students for Higher Education and with increased accommodation, receive an improved status, and would not only form the nucleus for a future Indian, or rather non-European, University, but class distinctions would tend to disappear, and it would be run on lines that are more in conformity with the status of a University by catering for all classes of society.

4. Great Demand for Vocational Training.

b)
We have seen that during the days of the Indian Immigrant School Board requests by Mr. Colepeper for the inclusion of some form of industrial training in the curriculum of the schools had been rejected. Later the Indian community began to ask the Government for Technical Education, but their appeals were c)
ignored. Therefore, as in the case of Higher Education, the Indian newspaper, the African Chronicle, advised the Indians to provide facilities for such a type of education for their children. d)
But we have seen, although it had originally been intended that the Durban Educational Institute should provide also Technical Education, no such education had been provided by it. Hence there was meanwhile no Technical or Agricultural Education for

1) African Chronicle 21st Jan., 1911 Technical Education.

Ibid., 19th Aug., 1911 The Goal in Sight.

a) See p. 237.

b) See pp. 109, 110.

c) See p. 226.

d) See p. 229.

1)
Indian children.

In the larger urban areas, Technical Education was by Act No. 30 of 1923 placed under the control of Technical Colleges, and was financed directly by the Union Government. But no direct benefits were conferred on Indians by this Act. Thus Indian children generally experienced great difficulty in finding employment when they left school. And there was no opportunity for them to enter the various trades, except as handyman and jobbers on their own account. In fact, Indians were debarred from the benefits of apprenticeship. Even when an Indian had obtained Technical Education, he was not allowed to become an apprentice; and if he could apprentice himself to an Indian employer, he was prevented from doing so, since there was no opportunity of obtaining Technical Education.

But in December, 1928, the first Trade Union Congress, organised by the officials of the Natal Indian Congress, asked the Union Government to provide Technical Education for Indian apprentices, or that Indian apprentices should be exempted from the Technical Education required by the Apprenticeship Act. And the South African Indian Congress had meanwhile in January, 1928 by resolution requested the Union Government to provide facilities for Technical, Industrial and Agricultural Education, and the resolution was then forwarded to the Administrators of the

1) Dharma Vir 13th May, 1916 Education.

Indian Opinion 28th Oct., 1921 Durban And District Indian Educational Advisory Committee.

2) Native Teachers' Journal April, 1931 p. 111.

3) Ibid., July, 1931 p. 179.

4) Report S.A. Indian Congress Jan., 1929 First Indian Trade Union Congress Presidential Speech p. 4.

5) Ibid., First Indian Trade Union Congress p. 6.

6) Ibid., Education of Indians Replies from Provincial Educational Authorities pp. 1,3,4.

a) Cf. p. 66.

Transvaal, Natal and the Cape Provinces, and that portion of it which referred to Technical Education was submitted also to the Technical Colleges. But the Natal Technical College in Durban could not find accommodation, and did not have the necessary funds for the capital and current expenditure. The Pietermaritzburg Technical College submitted a similar reply. Provision was, however, subsequently made for Technical Education;^{a)} and, as we have already noticed,^{b)} classes were arranged at Sastri College for University degrees.

Also the Provincial Administration was slow in providing vocational training for Indians. By 1927 there were no facilities for industrial training, except at the York Road School in Pietermaritzburg, which provided tuition in woodwork.¹⁾ In 1935, with the exception of four schools, Indian schools lacked facilities for needlework, because there were so few Indian women teachers.²⁾ But in the same year, a domestic science department^{c)} was opened at the Mitchell Crescent School in Durban. Although the tradition of handicraft was strong in India, the Natal-born Indians had thus little chance in their schools of developing this traditional ability.³⁾ And it was suggested that manual work should be more widely practised in Indian schools, because of the dexterity the Indians revealed.^{d)} We have seen that the Union Government had by the end of this period not yet increased the subsidy for Indian education.⁵⁾ Thus financial considerations

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- 1) Kichlu, Memorandum par. 4.
 - 2) Report Supt. Educ. 1935 p. 44.
 - 3) Ibid., 1932 p. 24.
 - 4) Ibid., 1933 p. 18.
 - 5) Ibid., 1931 p. 15.
 - a) See pp. 246, 247.
 - b) See p. 237.
 - c) Cf. p. 239.
 - d) See p. 225.

had precluded the Education Department from doing much in this direction, although it was well aware of the needs of the Indians.¹⁾ Then there was Agricultural Education.²⁾ But it was considered that the success with which agriculture was being plied outside school made it unnecessary to be taught in Indian schools. The Education Commission of 1937, however, took a different view.³⁾ It pointed out that 90 per cent. of Indian immigrants to Natal were agriculturists, but that the rising generation did not take to agriculture, preferring, instead, to seek employment in the towns, and that the skill of the older generation in cultivating the land was being rapidly lost in the general tendency prevalent at this time of turning from agriculture to trade. The Commission, therefore, thought that the teaching of agriculture in the rural areas could do much to restore agricultural pursuits to their proper place among the Indian community, and to encourage the Indians to find profitable occupation on the land, instead of adding to the already congested ranks of unemployment in the towns.

Decided improvement was made with the establishment in Durban of an Indian Technical Education Committee, which was recognised by both the Union Department of Education and the Durban City Council.⁴⁾ By August, 1932 the sum of £200 was being spent annually on Technical Education in Durban.⁵⁾ This amount was ultimately substantially increased by the Union Government.⁶⁾ There was less progress in

1) Report Supt. Educ. 1933 p. 18.

2) Ibid., 1932 p. 24.

3) Report Educ. Commis. 1937 par. 457.

4) Pather, Paper on Indian Education in Natal submitted at the Conference of the Natal Indian Congress in 1938 par. 20.

5) Mercury 21st Jan., 1935 Education of Indians (etc.).

6) Witness 1st June, 1933 Indian Education Grant.

Ibid., 14th June., 1933 Indians in the Union (etc.).

Mercury 21st Jan., 1935 Education of Indians (etc.).

Technical Education as far as Pietermaritzburg was concerned, but the Carnegie Trust had donated the sum of £80 for equipment, and Technical Classes were arranged for 1939, and eventually commenced.¹⁾ Commercial Classes had meantime met regularly at Sastri College,²⁾ and at the end of September, 1938 there were almost 150 students on the roll. The subjects were typewriting, shorthand, bookkeeping, commerce, English and Afrikaans.

Although, as far as Vocational Education was concerned, only the fringe had meanwhile been touched, Indian education was to a great extent losing its former mediocrity,^{a)} and Vocational Education, while still in certain respects the novelty it had previously been,^{b)} had become more of a reality in Indian education.

5. Increased Remuneration and Improved Status of Teachers.

^{c)}
In a previous section, we have shown the financial relation

1) Witness 19th April, 1941 Indian Technical Institute (etc.).

Pather, Paper on Indian Education in Natal submitted at the Conference of the Natal Indian Congress in 1938 p. 8.

2) Ibid., p. 8.

Witness 24th May, 1932 Commercial Classes (etc.).

a) See p. 82.

b) See pp. 108, 109 et seqq.

c) See pp. 194, 195 et seqq.

especially between the Union Government and Indian education generally. Therefore, we have now to analyse the position further to show the financial relation between the Provincial Administration and the teachers of the various schools.

First, we have to take into consideration the existence of the two classes of schools already noticed - the Aided Schools and the Government Schools, the fact that, by virtue of this classification of Indian schools, we naturally have two practically distinct classes of teachers - those at the Aided Schools, and those at the Government Schools, and, finally, that the conditions of service would vary greatly. For in the one case, the teacher was the servant of missionaries and private individuals, but in the other that of the Government.

Before the 'Upliftment' portion of the Cape Town Agreement had come into operation, and the Education Committee of 1928 had presented its report, the grants for the Aided Schools were still far from adequate. From 1st January, 1925 they were at the rate of £2 10s. Od. per annum on the quarterly average attendance of all children of not less than five years of age nor more than sixteen. No part of these grants could be applied to any other purpose than the payment of teachers' salaries. It will be noticed that, although the scale was now on a capitation basis, it revealed a definite lack of principle as reflected in the facts considered below.

These salaries still depended too much on the attendance of ^{b)}

These salaries still depended too much on the attendance of the pupils, so that the position of the teachers, as before, must have been very uncertain. Matters could, of course, not improve,

1) Prov. Notice No. 29/1926 of 3rd Febr., 1926 sect. 3.

Ibid., No. 112/1927 of 6th April, 1927.

2) Report Supt. Educ. 1929 p. 15.

a) Cf. p. 85.

b) Cf. pp. 66 et seqq., 78 et seqq., 88 et seqq., 105.

interfere between employer and teacher in giving Government aid. In fact, the grantees of the schools at all made their own terms with the teachers,¹⁾ but there was no uniform principle in fixing the number of teachers for a school. Consequently, each grantee appeared to engage his staff according to his financial means.²⁾ It naturally follows that, in the case of schools with a small enrolment, the rate of grant allowed by the Provincial Administration was insufficient to secure good teachers, and thus the grantees were forced to reduce the salaries, in order to secure the required number of teachers for their schools.³⁾ It, furthermore, became the principle to employ inferior teachers for the infant classes.⁴⁾ Under these circumstances, the majority of the teachers for even the upper classes must have been inferior. But because grantees differed, some of them, for example, paid their teachers more than the grant and others less, with the result that teachers with equal ability, but employed by different grantees, might receive different salaries.⁵⁾ No doubt, these variations in the salaries must have been aggravated, when there was competition for teachers.⁶⁾ Consider, therefore, the following details. There were 215 teachers in the 43 Aided Schools at the time of the Cape Town Agreement. Assuming there was one Headmaster at each school, we have 172 assistants. Now the Headmasters were not suitably paid. There were no fewer than 71 assistants, in other words, 41 per cent., whose salaries were below £60, and these salaries showed such low figures as £21, £20, £18 and £12 per annum. And then, finally, since no grant was given to cover the

1) Report Supt. Educ. 1929 pp. 15,16.

2) Kichlu, Memorandum par. 14.

3) Ibid., par. 14.

4) Report Supt. Educ. 1929 p. 16.

5) Ibid., p. 16.

6) Kichlu, Memorandum par. 14.

cost of equipment, there was always the possibility of grantees using a portion of the grant for equipment.¹⁾ The teachers of the Aided Schools were, therefore, placed in a most unenviable position.

Let us now examine the salaries of the teachers in the Government Schools.²⁾ In April, 1925 a scale of salaries was introduced, which was amended, as from 1st September, 1927, by the addition of a special grade for male Headmasters. The scale was as follows:-

HEADMASTERS -

	<u>Men.</u>	<u>Women.</u>
<u>Special Grade:</u>		
More than 400 pupils in average attendance.	250-10-300	-
<u>Grade I:</u>		
250-400 pupils in average attendance.	200-10-240	180-10-220
<u>Grade II:</u>		
100-250 pupils in average attendance.	180-10-220	160-10-200
<u>Grade III:</u>		
Under 100 pupils in average attendance.	150-10-180	130-10-150

ASSISTANTS -

	<u>Men and Women.</u>
Grade B with Senior Certificate.	120-10-150
Grade A with Junior Certificate.	80-10-120
Unqualified £6 per school month.	

It will be noticed that, as in the case of the Aided Schools, the salaries at the Government Schools also depended on attendance. But it is to be noted that there is in this case an annual

1) Report Supt. Educ. 1929 p. 16.

2) Prov. Notice No. 94/1926 of 31st March, 1926 chap. II sect. C.

Ibid., No. 267/1927 of 14th Sept., 1927.

increment, and better salaries generally than in the case of the Aided Schools. But even here the salaries are far from satisfactory. For if we now take the Government Schools functioning in 1927, the position can be explained by means of the following table:-

SCHOOLS	AVERAGE ATTENDANCE
Carlisle Street, Durban	346
Depot Road, Durban	452
Mitchell Crescent, Durban	204
Ungeni	171
Stanger	251
York Road, Pietermaritzburg	83
Dundee	120
Estcourt	70
Ladysmith	171

If we now assume that there was one Headmaster at each school, and classify these schools according to the grades mentioned in the scale above, we get the following table:-

GRADE	AVERAGE ATTENDANCE	SCHOOLS	HEAD-MASTERS
Special Grade	More than 400 pupils	Depot Road	1
Grade I	250-400 pupils	Carlisle Street Stanger	2
Grade II	100-250 pupils	Mitchell Crescent Ungeni, Dundee, Ladysmith	4
Grade III	Under 100 pupils	York Road	1

We notice thus that the majority of the Headmasters were in Grade II, so that only three Headmasters could possibly reach a

1) Report Supt. Educ. 1927 p. 74.

maximum of £300, unless speedy promotion took place. But it appears that all the Principals were men.¹⁾ Thus the probable benefits women teachers might have obtained from this scale were fewer than in the case of men teachers. The position of assistants was even less satisfactory. Now in 1927 there were nine Government Schools with 69 teachers - 57 men and 12 women.²⁾ It follows thus that of these teachers, nine being Headmasters, 60 were assistants - 48 men and 12 women. It would have taken an assistant, assuming he received his increments regularly, and possessed the Senior Certificate, five years to advance from Grade A to Grade B. Thus while there were only nine Government Schools, and if we assume that there were on an average six teachers at each school, the chances of promotion at the Government Schools, for both Headmasters and assistants, must have been more limited than at the Aided Schools, since there were decidedly more Aided Schools than Government Schools.

It would thus appear that future improvement in the salaries at Aided Schools had to be effected first by fixing a suitable principle for the basis of the grant, the scale of the grant, and the numerical strength of the staffs. The Education Committee of 1928, finding the salaries of the Aided School teachers and the method of payment unsatisfactory, and the capitation basis inadequate,³⁾ considered certain changes desirable, and then suggested that the Aided Schools should be graded by average attendance, that the Provincial Administration should be responsible for the total cost of the salaries, that a proper scheme of salary scales and conditions of service should be introduced on a more liberal basis, and that it should apply to the whole Province.

Thus there appeared in 1929, in connection with the Aided

1) Report Supt. Educ. 1927 p. 74.

2) Ibid., 1927 p. 66.

3) Report Educ. Enquiry Comtee. 16th May, 1928
pars. 6(b,c), 8(b,c).

Schools, Provincial Notice No. 195/1929 by which certain regulations were approved with effect from 1st April, 1929 in substitution of those published under section 7 of Provincial Notice No. 4/1925, as amended by Provincial Notices Nos. 29/1926 and 112/1927. But these regulations under Provincial Notice No. 195/1929 were not applied,¹⁾ and further amending regulations were subsequently published under Provincial Notice No. 461/1929 of 31st December, 1929, and to have effect from 1st January, 1930. Provincial Notice No. 195/1929 was repealed by this new Provincial Notice.²⁾ New regulations were introduced also in connection with Government Schools by Provincial Notice No. 232/1929 of 10th July, 1929 by which the amendment was approved with effect from 1st April, 1929 of Provincial Notice No. 94/1929 by the substitution of certain regulations in place of those contained under section C of chapter II, as amended by Provincial Notice No. 269/1927. Thus, when the Provincial Administration adopted the recommendations of the Education Committee of 1928 as to changing the method of grants to Aided Schools, and changed the amount of grant, it accepted responsibility for the payment of the salaries of Aided School teachers, and introduced an entirely new system of grants based on salaries, and paid the salary grant monthly.³⁾ Regular scales of salaries for teachers in both Aided and Government Schools were thus adopted, and the teachers were paid according to those salaries, and no longer according to the

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- 1) Gen. Report Prov. Auditor N.P. No. 6/1930 par. 40.
 - 2) Prov. Notice No. 232/1929 chap. III sect. 19.
 - 3) Speech Administrator Prov. Notice No. 94/1929 of 20th March, 1929.

Report Supt. Educ. 1928 p. 14.

Report Educ. Commis. 1937 pars. 410, 440.

Gen. Report Prov. Auditor N.P. No. 6/1930 par. 40.

wishes of the grantees in the case of the Aided Schools. Furthermore, a system of staff rationing for the Aided Schools was adopted, and a ratio between staffing and attendance was laid down.¹⁾ The result was that the control exercised over the staffing of the Aided Schools was by 1930 almost as complete as in the case of the Government Schools.²⁾ There was thus, no doubt, great improvement generally in the status of the Aided School teachers. But not all the anomalies were removed; in fact, others were created subsequently.

³⁾ New scales of salaries were later introduced for Government Schools, and more advanced qualifications, as, for example, the possession of the Matriculation Certificate and a University degree, were demanded. Consequently, at the end of this period, there was considerable improvement in the salaries of Indian teachers, especially for those at Government Schools. But the position was still not considered satisfactory or equitable.⁴⁾

Since the Provincial Administration now prescribed the salaries, and supplied the funds for the teachers at the Government Schools and also for the teachers at the Aided Schools, and both groups had to satisfy the same inspectors as to the standard and quality of their work, there seems to have been no reason why teachers, no matter in which group they were, should not have received the same salaries, when they held the same qualifications.^{a)}

1) Report Educ. Commis. 1937 pars. 410, 440.

2) Gen. Report Prov. Auditor N.P. No. 6/1930 par. 40.

3) Prov. Notice No. 266/1933 chap. II sect. 5.
Ibid., No. 105/1934 of 21st March, 1934.
Ibid., No. 132/1936 of 9th April, 1936.

4) Report Educ. Commis. 1937 par. 440.

a) In fact, the Aided School teachers resented the difference in the scales - Report Supt. Educ. 1930 p. 14.

The great difference that still existed in the scales for the two groups of teachers was thus unjustified, especially when we consider the fact that the teachers in the Aided Schools worked under more difficult conditions than those in the Government Schools, and that the work in the Aided Schools compared very favourably with that done in the Government Schools. Thus, although the Provincial Administration had taken over responsibility for the salaries of the Aided School teachers, there was not yet complete control by it of the Aided School teachers themselves. And then, too, while the Union Government subsidy of £5 5s. Od. was the same, whether a child attended a Government School or an Aided School, the unit cost to the State was ^{a)} £7, as we have seen, in the case of the Government Schools for Primary School children, but £3 15s. Od. in the case of the ¹⁾ Aided Schools. It, therefore, appears that Aided School salaries were used to pay the salaries of Government Schools.

In connection with these salaries, we have to mention the introduction of a system of posts for both the Aided Schools and the Government Schools. In the case of the Aided Schools, ²⁾ there were to be three classes of posts - First, Second and Third. For the Government Schools, provision was made for two ³⁾ classes of posts - First and Second; but a Third Class post might be recognised. It appears that the maximum number of ⁴⁾ posts at the Aided Schools was 136, and at the Government ⁵⁾ Schools 135. But in 1930, for example, there were 69 Aided

1) Report Educ. Commis. 1937 par. 444.

2) Prov. Notice No. 461/1929 chap. III sects. 10, 11.

3) Ibid., No. 232/1929 chap. II sects. 6-9.

4) Ibid., No. 461/1929 chap. III sect. 18.

5) Ibid., No. 232/1929 chap. II sect. 10.

a) See p. 209.

Schools as against 13 Government Schools.^{a)}

It thus follows that the allocation of posts on this scale was very much in favour of the Government Schools. In fact, it rested on a financial basis - the difference really between the Aided Schools and the Government Schools.

It stands to reason that, under these circumstances, there was hardly any likelihood of the Aided School teachers obtaining posts at Government Schools, because of the small number of Government Schools.^{b)} The same, of course, applies to the Government School teachers, for when necessity forced them to seek posts at Aided Schools, there would hardly have been sufficient vacancies. Hence the whole system tended to create a rigid line of demarcation between the teachers of the two classes of schools, and thus nullified to a great extent the co-ordination^{c)} achieved by Provincial Notices Nos. 461/1929 and 232/1929 in the administration of Aided Schools and Government Schools.

Now at the Aided Schools, there was a maximum of 28 First¹⁾ Class posts, 54 Second Class posts, and 53 Third Class posts.²⁾ The corresponding figures for the Government Schools were 43, 69 and 23. In other words, First and Second Class posts predominated at the Government Schools. There were also more First Class posts at the Government Schools than at the Aided Schools. That is to say, the Third Class posts predominated at the Aided Schools.

It would follow from this that at the Aided Schools the

1) Prov. Notice No. 461/1929 chap. III sect. 18.

2) Ibid., No. 232/1929 chap. II sect. 10.

a) See p. 220.

b) Provided, of course, they had the necessary qualifications.

c) Compare, for example, pp. 253, 254, 27^a, 275, 276.

teachers with the lower qualifications would be in the majority, and that the qualifications at the Aided Schools were generally lower than those at the Government Schools. But the regulation in the case of the Government Schools that teachers with no experience would be placed in a Class A would have tended to increase the number of teachers in that class. For in that class, for which the qualification was the new T. 5 Certificate, there were already no less than 30 per cent. of Government School teachers, and in Class B, for which the new T. 4 Certificate was required, 40 per cent. Thus in Government Schools, 70 per cent. of the posts required very low qualifications. The presence of such low qualifications in the case of both groups of schools must have had a very injurious effect on the general standard of Indian education, and thus there was perpetuated a defect that, as we have already seen, was characteristic of Indian education since the earliest times. Moreover, if the new salary scales aimed at obtaining teachers with higher qualifications, as can be deduced from the new system of certificates was actually the case, then they had clearly failed in this respect.

The post system thus constituted an injustice not only to the schools, in other words, the children, but also to the teachers of both groups of schools. In the case of the Aided Schools, it would have been more acceptable, if appointments had been made directly by the Provincial Administration itself, for under the control of School Committees the post system would have lent itself to favouritism and discrimination, would have prevented teachers being appointed to the posts to which they were entitled,

1) Prov. Notice No. 266/1933 chap. II sect. 5.

Ibid., No. 132/1936 of 9th April, 1936.

Report Educ. Commis. 1937 par. 445.

a) Cf. pp. 100, 101 et seqq.

b) See pp. 263, 264.

and there would have been no healthy competition. It is small wonder, therefore, that the Education Commission of 1937 recommended that the post system should be abolished.

Such were thus the salary scales and the post system introduced after 1927. But an important aspect of these scales was the inauguration of a system of marriage and house allowances.

A marriage allowance of £24 per annum was allowed for Indian Headmasters and male assistants at Government Schools. But it appears that no Indian assistants had meantime received this marriage allowance, and thus on 19th July, 1927 the Executive Committee of the Provincial Council decided to pay this allowance as from 1st April, 1925 retrospectively. It was a non-pensionable allowance and was paid only to male assistants, who were certificated and had attained the age of twenty-three. But a certificated or uncertificated teacher under twenty-three, who had received it before 1st April, 1929, was allowed to draw this allowance. In the case of Aided Schools, a marriage allowance of £18 per annum was provided in 1929 to each male teacher, who was certificated and not less than twenty-three years of age. Indian Headmasters at Government Schools received a house allowance of £24 per annum,

1) Report Educ. Commis. 1937 par. 445.

2) Prov. Notice No. 94/1926 of 31st March, 1926 chap. II sect. C.

Ibid., No. 269/1927 of 14th Sept., 1927.

3) Report Prov. Auditor H.P. No. 4/1928 pp. 62, 63.

4) Prov. Notice No. 232/1929 chap. III sect. 17.

Ibid., No. 266/1933 chap. III sect. 1.

5) Ibid., No. 461/1929 chap. IV sect. 33.

6) Ibid., No. 260/1919 of 19th March, 1919.

Ibid., No. 269/1927 of 14th Sept., 1927.

Ibid., No. 232/1929 chap. III sect. 18.

Ibid., No. 266/1933 chap. III sect. 1.

Ibid., No. 244/1931 of 22nd July, 1931.

which, until July, 1931, was a non-pensionable allowance, but could not be held concurrently with a marriage allowance. The marriage allowance to Indian male teachers at Aided Schools could similarly not be held concurrently with a house allowance.¹⁾

Then there were pensions. Two Indian Headmasters, namely, Mr. R. Hoover²⁾ of the Victoria Street Government School in Durban, and Mr. V. Rowley³⁾ of the Umgeni Government School retired on pension on 9th September, 1913 and 28th January, 1916 respectively. But by 1917, with one or two exceptions, Indian teachers generally⁴⁾ had no pension rights. By 1920, however, they were admitted to⁵⁾ the benefits of the Natal Teachers' Pension Fund. It is to be noted, however, that these were Government School teachers. Mean-⁶⁾time, no provision had been made for Aided School teachers. The only recommendation⁷⁾ the Education Committee of 1928 could make, as regards pensions, was an improvement in the conditions of service.⁸⁾ But a scheme of pensions on normal lines was subsequently rejected. In 1930, however, there appeared Ordinance No. 10 "to make provision as to retiring allowances or other financial benefits to non-European teachers for whom no provision is made under any other law." This Ordinance was assented to on 26th September, 1930, and

1) Prov. Notice No. 461/1929 chap. IV sect. 33.

2) Report Ind. Schools 1885 M.B.B. p. A 68.

Report Prov. Notice No. 258/1913 of 8th Oct., 1913.

Report Supt. Educ. 1913 p. 24.

3) Report Ind. Schools 1885 M.B.B. p. A 68.

Report Supt. Educ. 1915 p. 17.

Report Prov. Notice No. 29/1916 of 9th Febr., 1916.

4) Report Prov. Admin. Commis. U.G. 8 '17 Evid. Dukes p. 901.

5) Report Prov. Auditor M.P. No. 5/1920 p. 23.

6) Report Supt. Educ. 1929 p. 16.

7) Report Educ. Enquiry Comtee. 16th May, 1928 par. 8(b,c).

8) Report Supt. Educ. 1930 p. 8.

by it a provident fund, called the Natal Non-European Teachers' Pro-
vident Fund, was constituted.¹⁾ But from, and after, the commence-
ment of this Ordinance, a non-European teacher could not be admit-
ted to the Natal Teachers' Pension Fund. This Ordinance was,²⁾
however, not satisfactory as far as Indian teachers were concerned.
Towards the end of this period, Government School teachers still
paid into this Provident Fund,³⁾ but Aided School teachers were
still treated differently from Government School teachers, and thus
the Education Commission of 1937 recommended that teachers at Aid-
ed Schools should receive the same pension privileges as those at
Government Schools.⁴⁾

It is, therefore, clear, although there was great im-
provement generally in the financial position of Indian teachers,
much had still to be done, before Indian teachers could be consid-
ered satisfied with their prospects, and be expected to take such
interest in their work, as was essential for the future welfare of
Indian education.

6. Fresh Impetus to the Training of Teachers.

^{a)}
We have already noticed that a marked characteristic of Indian
education was the lack of teachers, and that the salaries were not

1) Ord. No. 10/1930 sects. 2,24.

2) Report Teachers' Pension Fund Enquiry Comtee. 15th March, 1932
Encl. in Minutes Prov. C. 1931-1932 par. 8(1).

3) Report Educ. Commis. 1937 par. 441.

Report Prov. Auditor N.P. No. 4/1938 p. 49.

4) Report Educ. Commis. 1937 par. 443.

a) See pp. 92,93 et seqq.

such as to attract efficient teachers. As a result of the impetus in 1927 to the development of Indian education, and the improvement in the salaries, we can expect an increase in the number, and an improvement in the general efficiency, of Indian teachers.

It has already been shown that the training of teachers had meanwhile left much to be desired. The first body to establish a Training College for teachers before 1927 was the St. Aidan's Mission at Sydenham.¹⁾ But there were still great difficulties in obtaining certificated teachers, and it was felt these difficulties would in the future be rather aggravated than diminished.²⁾ Thus the time appeared ripe for a consideration of the better training of teachers,³⁾ and, therefore, it was intended to make arrangements for the training of Indian teachers.⁴⁾ In 1918 an attempt was thus made to start a continuation class at the York Road Government School in Pietermaritzburg, and the qualification for entrance was the passing of Std. VI in a Government School.⁵⁾ And the Training College of the St. Aidan's Mission, which was training mainly mission teachers, and which, it was considered, was unfitted to become cosmopolitan because of its constitution, was reorganised during 1919, a capable Principal appointed, and a thorough overhaul effected of all sections.⁶⁾ Thus in 1919 there were two Training

1) Report Supt. Educ. 1904 p. 7.

2) Ibid., 1916 p. 19.

Speech Administrator Prov. Notice No. 61/1919 of 19th March, 1919.

3) Report Supt. Educ. 1917 p. 62.

4) Speech Administrator Prov. Notice No. 70/1918 of 20th March, 1918.

5) Report Supt. Educ. 1918 p. 53.

6) Ibid., 1917 p. 62.

Ibid., 1919 p. 53.

a) See pp. 95,96 et seq.

Schools for teachers - one in Pietermaritzburg and one in Durban.¹⁾
Subsequently, Saturday Tutorial Classes were commenced at Tongaat.²⁾
These Teachers' Classes were later conducted entirely by the Education Department,³⁾ and the fees that had so far been paid by the Indians attending them were abolished, as from 1st January, 1926.⁴⁾
There were also Vacation Courses.⁵⁾ As we have seen, Sastri College^{a)} was established not only as a High School but also as a Normal School,⁶⁾ but the formal process of teacher-training⁷⁾ began only in 1931. Then, in order to help prospective teachers, provision was made for bursaries by Provincial Notice No. 445/1930, which provided for two bursaries of £30 per annum each for Indian pupils to take up a post-Matriculation course of training for the teaching profession, the higher grades of a teaching certificate, and for a degree at Fort Hare.⁸⁾ These bursaries were subsequently increased to £32 per annum each.⁹⁾

Now the improvement in the salaries of the teachers had naturally given the Provincial Administration the opportunity of demanding better training and general education from teachers, and consequently of introducing certificates of a higher standard so as to obtain better work in the schools. " the staffs of the

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- 1) Speech Administrator Prov. Notice No. 61/1919 of 19th March, 1919.
 - 2) Report Supt. Educ. 1920 p. 15.
 - 3) Ibid., 1921 p. 20.
 - 4) Report Prov. Auditor N.P. No. 5/1926 p. 51.
 - 5) Report Supt. Educ. 1921 p. 86.
 - 6) Ibid., 1928 p. 14.
 - 7) Ibid., 1929 p. 13.
 - 8) Report Prov. Auditor N.P. No. 6/1931 p. 62.
Report Supt. Educ. 1930 p. 15.
 - 9) Prov. Notice No. 8/1936 of 9th Jan., 1936.
 - a) See p. 235.
 - b) See p. 234.

Teachers' Classes were increased and two senior lecturers were appointed, one to take charge in Pietermaritzburg and one in Durban.¹⁾ These lecturers were experienced European teachers, and their work caused great improvement in the teaching in Indian schools.²⁾ There was also an increase in the number of students attending these classes.³⁾ Since the introduction of the new salary scales,⁴⁾ the classes had grown remarkably. The Vacation Course held in July, 1931 at Sastri College was attended by teachers from all over Natal.⁵⁾ And to enable teachers to pass in art, music and physical training, Vacation Courses were held in Durban in January, 1933. There was again a very good attendance, and the work of the schools improved considerably.⁶⁾ These Vacation Courses, therefore, proved very successful.⁷⁾ The training course which, as we have said above, began in 1931 at Sastri College, comprised training for post-Matriculation teachers, and it was intended that Indians, wishing from 1932 onwards to enter the teaching profession, should complete at least a year's training at Sastri College.⁸⁾ Then in 1931 a determined effort was made to introduce a more ambitious system of certification for Indian teachers; and such a system was eventually introduced in 1932, when three grades of certification,⁹⁾ known as the T.3 (with Matriculation), T.4 and T.5, were open to

1) Report Supt. Educ. 1931 p. 9.

2) Ibid., 1932 p. 14.

3) Ibid., 1931 p. 9.

4) Ibid., 1932 p. 24.

5) Ibid., 1931 p. 9.

Monthly Educ. Circular Aug., 1931 p. 131.

6) Report Supt. Educ. 1933 p. 18.

7) Ibid., 1934 p. 30.

8) Ibid., 1931 p. 9.

9) Ibid., 1932 p. 24.

teachers, who had not reached the Matriculation standard. The institution of these certificates led to the abolition of the Indian Teachers' Junior and the Indian Teachers' Senior Certificates.

Classes were then organised at Sastri College for those wishing to enter for these new certificates, and the first examinations were completed in 1933.

Consider now the increase in the number of teachers. In 1933 there were 500 teachers. The following year the teaching staff increased to 541, but owing to the increase in the number of pupils, the 41 additional teachers made no appreciable difference in the average number of pupils per teacher, which remained at 35. In 1935 there were 584 teachers, but the average number of pupils per teacher was still 35, owing to an increase in the pupil enrolment. By the end of 1936, the number of teachers was 614, and in 1937 it was 640.

In 1924 the question of the employment of European women at Indian schools was discussed in the Provincial Council. A motion was then brought forward against the employment of European women at Indian schools, but it was negatived. Great gratitude had been earned by some European women teachers at Indian schools, and others had not expressed any desire to be transferred. The Education Department would, furthermore, have been unable to staff, for

1) Report Supt. Educ. 1932 p. 24.

2) Ibid., 1933 p. 18.

3) Ibid., 1933 p. 12.

4) Ibid., 1934 p. 18.

5) Ibid., 1935 p. 14.

6) Ibid., 1936 p. 14.

Ibid., 1937 p. 14.

7) Minutes Prov. C. 1923-1924 of 8th May, 1924 pp. 62,63.

8) Report Supt. Educ. 1924 p. 12.

9) Ibid., 1925 p. 14.

example, the Carlisle Street School in Durban, if European women teachers were not permitted to teach at Indian schools, and it would have been unfair to displace them, since they had so many years of faithful service. Women teachers were needed for the large infant classes in Indian schools, and then, too, enquiries for Indian graduates for the higher classes had proved fruitless. Nevertheless, in 1926 a motion was put in the Provincial Council, and agreed to that European women teachers should not be employed at Indian schools under the control of the Provincial Administration, and that effect should be given to this motion, as soon as other posts could be found for those already employed at such schools.¹⁾ Thus in 1927 nine European women teachers were employed at the Carlisle Street Government School, and this was the only Government School to which such teachers were attached.²⁾ But a large number of European women teachers were employed at Aided Schools.³⁾

The old opposition of Indian parents to the education of girls was a direct result of the scarcity of Indian women teachers. Thus of the 88 women teachers employed in 1933 at Indian schools, only 46 were Indians, the remaining 42 being Europeans and Coloureds.⁴⁾ And in June, 1936 of the 605 teachers then employed at Indian schools, 109 were women, but of these 109 women only 50 were Indians.⁵⁾ An attempt was made in 1935 to train Indian women teachers.⁶⁾

1) Minutes Prov. C. 8th June, 1926 p. 109.

2) Ibid., 22nd March, 1927 Reply Administrator to Lidgett p. 17.

3) Report Supt. Educ. 1933 p. 12.

Ibid., 1934 p. 18.

Ibid., 1935 p. 16.

4) Ibid., 1933 p. 12.

5) Ibid., 1936 p. 14.

6) Report Prov. Auditor N.P. No. 5/1936 p. 63.

Report Supt. Educ. 1935 p. 28.

Ibid., 1937 p. 14.

teachers. A class was established for the purpose at the Mitchell Crescent School in Durban, as from 1st April, 1935. But the efforts of the Education Department to encourage Indian girls to take up the teaching profession were largely unsuccessful.

a)
As before, Indian male teachers predominated. In 1937 they formed 81.6 per cent. of the total number of teachers.¹⁾ And this, no doubt, constituted another reason for the objection of Indian parents to sending their girls to school.

2)
In 1935, for example, the percentage of European teachers at Indian schools was only 9.9, and, therefore, Indian education was still in the hands of Indians, as during the days of the Indian Immigrant School Board.^{b)}

Although there were still some Indian teachers, who could not, or would not, qualify,³⁾ there had generally been serious attempts to qualify.⁴⁾ There was consequently great improvement in the professional qualifications of the teachers, but, although at the end of this period 98.1 per cent. of the teachers in the Government Schools were qualified, at the Aided Schools only 64.2 were qualified.⁶⁾ And the standard of the qualifications of the teachers was not high.⁷⁾ The more highly qualified type of teachers was scarce.⁸⁾ In 1933 there were only .1 graduates in all Indian schools, and of

1) Report Supt. Educ. 1937 p. 14.

2) Ibid., 1935 p. 16.

3) Ibid., 1932 p. 24.

4) Ibid., 1932 p. 14.

Ibid., 1933 p. 12.

5) Ibid., 1932 p. 14.

Ibid., 1934 p. 18.

6) Ibid., 1937 p. 14.

7) Ibid., 1932 p. 14.

8) Ibid., 1933 p. 12.

a) Cf. p. 98.

b) Cf. pp. 55, 76, 99, 126 note a, 184, 187, 196 et seqq.

these two were Indians.¹⁾ In 1936 there were 25 graduates of whom
six were Indian men.²⁾

Thus, although there was improvement in both the qualifications and general education of the teachers, the position appears to have been still far from satisfactory. This can be traced back to the comparative recent growth of the movement for Higher Education among Indians in Natal.

7. Improved Central Control and Local Administration.

We have already noticed^{a)} the new system of administration introduced in 1894. During this period, the Provincial Council was the link between the Union Government and the Education Department, as far as education in Natal was concerned. The Union Government advanced subsidies to the Provincial Council, which again allocated certain amounts to the Education Department towards Indian education. Education was controlled by means of regulations, which were approved by the Executive Committee of the Provincial Council.³⁾ Hence, under the present system of centralisation, provision was made that, in exceptional cases, all matters would be presented to the Executive Committee for consideration and decision, when⁴⁾

1) Report Supt. Educ. 1933 p. 12.

2) Ibid., 1936 p. 14.

3) Prov. Notice No. 33/1911 of 13th Febr., 1911.

Ibid., No. 220/1912 of 13th Nov., 1912.

Ibid., No. 133/1914 of 3rd June, 1914.

4) Ibid., No. 268/1915 of 15th March, 1915.

a) See pp. 150, 151, 152.

circumstances afforded reasonable grounds for departing from the regulations made under the Education Acts. Consequently, while the administration of education was thus carried on largely by regulations, it became the practice of introducing into every set of regulations a provision that the Administrator might vary the regulations in special cases. It is obvious that, when one case had been sympathetically considered, it might naturally have led to others, and this would have resulted in the negation of all regulations.¹⁾ The regulations that were passed became a veritable maze of educational amendments, and many of them were of a retrospective character. The extremes to which such amendments could go can be seen in the case of Indian Aided Schools:-

Provincial Notice No. 172/1912
in substitution for existing legislation -

Provincial Notices

Nos. 172, 205 of 1912	
Nos. 50, 83, 144, 191, 198 of 1913	No. 123/1915. tution for
Nos. 102, 112, 175, 247 of 1914	No. 123/1915.
Nos. 18, 19, 33, 98, 99 of 1915	

Nos. 123, 208, 272 of 1915	
No. 30 of 1916	 in substitution for
Nos. 20, 36, 186, 259 of 1917	No. 199/1918.

No. 199/1918	
amended by	No. 283/1919
	Nos. 213, 308 of 1920
	No. 94/1921
	Nos. 212, 215, 224 of 1922
	Nos. 70, 143, 176, 307 of 1923
	Nos. 303, 304 of 1924.

No. 199/1918	
cancelled by	No. 4/1925 section 7.

No. 4/1925 section 7	
amended by	No. 29/1926 and No. 112/1927

No. 4/1925 section 7	
in substitution for	No. 195/1929.

No. 195/1929	
repealed by	No. 461/1929.

No. 461/1929	
amended by	No. 175/1935.

Thus from 1912 onwards there were no fewer than 44 amendments, before

1) Report Prov. Auditor N.P. No. 6/1930 p. 5 par. 9.

we come to Provincial Notice No. 175/1935.

Hence the educational system was deprived of the stability that would have been achieved, if there had been definite Education Laws. As far back as 1923-1924, the Provincial Auditor had stated:-¹⁾

The Laws as they stand at present are mere skeletons, while many of their provisions have been ignored as obsolete. For example the system in vogue for the Training of Teachers is in conflict with the existing Statutory provisions; the division of schools into the various grades is not sanctioned by any Law; while provision of Hostels, the payment of Indigent Grants, etc., have no statutory basis other than the Annual Appropriation Ordinance.

2)
The Education Laws in force at the end of this period dated back from 1877. The annual reports of the Provincial Auditor show to what extent these regulations had resulted in illegal expenditure. Thus, for example, the Select Committee on Public Accounts of September, 1929 considered the many irregularities and discrepancies exposed by the Provincial Auditor. It thought that the position would not improve, until the whole control of education finances had been brought up to date. And the Select Committee on Public Accounts of August, 1930 also called attention to the remarks made by the Provincial Auditor on certain irregularities and discrepancies, and to the undesirable practice of introducing retrospective regulations. In fact, not only had the reports of various Provincial Auditors repeatedly drawn attention to the

1) Report Prov. Auditor N.P. No. 2/1925 par. 5.

2) Gen. Report Prov. Auditor N.P. No. 6/1930 par. 5.

3) Report Select Comtee. on Public Accounts 10th Sept., 1929 Encl. in Minutes Prov. C. 1929 par. 10.

4) Ibid., 26th Aug., 1930 Minutes Prov. C. 1929-1930 and 1930 par. 12.

5) Gen. Report Prov. Auditor N.P. No. 6/1930 par. 5.

Speech Administrator Prov. Notice No. 58/1911 of 29th March, 1911.

Ibid., Prov. Notice No. 58/1922 of 22nd March, 1922.

Ibid., Prov. Notice No. 76/1925 of 25th March, 1925.

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1) Report Prov. Auditor N.P. No. 2/1925 par. 5.

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5) Gen. Report Prov. Auditor N.P. No. 6/1930 par. 5.

Speech Administrator Prov. Notice No. 58/1911 of 29th March, 1911.

Ibid., Prov. Notice No. 58/1922 of 22nd March, 1922.

Ibid., Proc. Notice No. 76/1925 of 25th March, 1925.

absence of a consolidating Education Ordinance, but sixteen years before Union, when the Education Act of 1894 was under consideration, an educational code had been promised. By 1931 no steps had yet been taken to validate the regulations, although they were not so freely used as previously, and there was also considerable improvement in the issue of retrospective regulations.¹⁾ At the end of 1934, the codification of the Education Laws was still under consideration.²⁾ By 1937 nothing had still been done in this direction, but the Education Commission of that year recommended³⁾ the Provincial Administration should draft a consolidating Education Ordinance that would take the place of -

the present mass of educational legislation and will concentrate within the compass of a single enactment and in an intelligible form the existing legislation on the subject.

But, in other respects, there was greater progress in the administration of Indian education. In 1918 there was instituted⁴⁾ the Durban and District Indian Educational Advisory Committee on the suggestion of Dr. Loram, after he had invited the Indian community to discuss the question of Higher Education for Indian children. Two of the aims of this Committee were:

1. To secure education for Indians in the Province not inferior to that provided for other sections of the community in the Union of South Africa, and to devise ways and means to attain that object.
2. To act as a medium between the Government and the Indian community in all matters pertaining to the education of Indian children.

Although, for many years after the retirement of Mr. Colepeper in

1) Report Prov. Auditor N.P. No. 6/1931 pp. 6,56.

2) Ibid., N.P. No. 4/1933 p. 4.

Ibid., N.P. No. 6/1934 p. 4.

3) Report Educ. Commis. 1937 par. 1.

4) Indian Opinion 21st Oct., 1921 Durban And District Indian Educational Advisory Committee.

Indian Views 21st June, 1918 Durban And District Indian Educational Advisory Committee.

a)
1903, there was no inspector solely for Indian education, some of
the inspectors of European education meantime inspected also Indian
schools. But in 1929 a revised scheme of administration for
Indian education was framed and a new post, Inspector in charge of
Indian Education, created. At the end of this period, no sub-
department of Indian education had been created as in the case of
Native education, but the tendency seems to have been still in that
direction, and the time will probably come in the near future,
when, with the further development of Indian education, it will be
necessary to organise it under such a sub-department. In fact,
the Education Commission of 1937 agreed with the views expressed
in two successive reports of the Superintendent of Education that,
as soon as circumstances permitted, a separate sub-department
should be created. It did not, however, recommend that this sub-
department should be created immediately, for it was aware that the
cost of creating such a sub-department would be very heavy.

Let us now consider the system of local administration. Take
first the Private Schools established by the Indian community.

As a result of the greater activity of the Indians in educa-
tion, encouraged largely by the restrictions applied by the Govern-
ment, and the antagonism of the Indians to mission schools, and

1) Report Prov. Admin. Commis. U.G. 8 '17 Evid. Hugh Bryan
p. 889.

2) Report Educ. Commis. 1937 par. 410.

3) Report Supt. Educ. 1930 p. 3.

Ibid., 1931 pp. 3,9.

4) Ibid., 1930 p. 13.

Report Educ. Commis. 1937 pars. 2,411.

5) Ibid., pars. 448,472.

a) See p. 151.

b) Cf. p. 152.

c) See pp. 170,171 et seqq.

d) See pp. 196,197.

because of their desire for National Schools, various bodies interested in Indian education appeared during this period, some having been instituted already towards the end of the previous period. Thus there was the Indian Women Association¹⁾ whose object was the promotion of female education. Then there were the Pietermaritzburg Hindu Young Men's Association,²⁾ and the Anglo-Gujarati Educational Society.³⁾ We have already mentioned the Committees of the High School in Pietermaritzburg and the Durban Educational Institute. There were, finally, also various School Committees,⁴⁾ as, for example, in the case of the schools at Mayville, Merebank and Pinetown. Also inspectors were appointed.⁵⁾ About the time of the Cape Town Agreement, there were about 50⁶⁾ Private Schools maintained by the Mohammedan and Hindu communities alone. There were, apart from these Private Schools, also many others. Towards Private Schools, the Indians had contributed during this period less than £35,000. But the only connection between these schools and the Provincial Administration appears to have been that established, when they became Aided Schools.

Next, consider the administration of the Aided Schools. In

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- 1) African Chronicle 10th Oct., 1908 Female Education (etc.).
 - 2) Ibid., 22nd Oct., 1910 Maritzburg H.Y.M.A. Celebrations.
 - 3) Indian Opinion 23rd March, 1917 Anglo-Gujarati Educational Soc. (sic H.D.K.).
Indian Views 8th Dec., 1916 Anglo-Gujarati School.
 - 4) African Chronicle 26th Aug., 1911 Mayville School Committee.
Ibid., 21st Oct., 1911 Merebank Indian School.
Ibid., 22nd June, 1912 Meeting Of Pinetown Indians (etc.).
 - 5) Ibid., 24th Oct., 1908 A distribution of prizes (etc.).
Ibid., 4th Dec., 1909 Newcastle Tamil School (etc.).
Ibid., 23rd April, 1910 Notes on Current Topics (etc.).
 - 6) Kichlu, Memorandum para. 26, 28, 65, 66.
 - a) See pp. 196, 197.
 - b) See pp. 227, 231.

the case of schools run by missionary bodies, the mission concerned was, presumably, the managing committee with a grantee serving as manager under the direction of his mission. It appears further that these managers were chosen from the missionaries. In several cases, the grantees of newly-recognised schools were Indians, and it follows that in such cases the managers would be Indians. In fact, the grantee system was becoming almost a profession; it was fast becoming a lucrative profession. Thus many persons built certain structures, and let them as schools to grantees, who, of course, retained the school fees.

As the scope of Indian education had increased considerably since the days of the Indian Immigrant School Board, it follows that the duties of the grantees and the managers must have increased. There were cases of grantees having a large number of schools under their control, and in one particular case as many as 13 schools. In such a case, the grantee and the manager must have been overburdened with work, if they had to perform their duties at all satisfactorily. And as before, since the schools were scattered and still in practically inaccessible localities, to supervise them must have been a very difficult task for one grantee without neglecting the smaller schools. Thus some Indian witnesses, before the Education Commission of 1937, expressed dissatisfaction with the grantee system of managing the Aided Schools. The Commission was, however, of the opinion that on the whole, especially

1) Kichlu, Memorandum par. 24.

2) Report Supt. Educ. 1928 p. 39.

3) Naidoo and Brandaw, Sastri Speaks p. 224.

4) Evidence collected from Indians.

5) Kichlu, Memorandum par. 23.

6) Report Educ. Commis. 1937 par. 473.

a) Cf. pp. 34, 52.

when grantees had some previous experience of educational administration, the system worked admirably. But when education was administered by sectarian groups, it seemed impossible to exclude private and sectional interests. The aim of the missionaries, or of the Indian religious societies, must naturally have been to proselytise, and to foster and maintain their religious principles. There appear to be no regulations in the Provincial Notices laying down definite rules for School Committees, and thus it seems that these School Committees existed only on sufferance, and that their value in guiding the educational policy of the Provincial Administration was nil. As in the case of all School Committees, lack of co-operation was generally conspicuous, and the appointment of teachers often led to friction, the dismissal of the manager or the collapse of the Committee itself.¹⁾

But at the end of this period, there was marked improvement in the position of the Aided School teachers also as regards their relation to the local bodies. Many anomalies had been terminated. No longer was the position of the teacher left so much as before to the caprice of grantees and managers. Now it was the duty of the manager to adjust his staff, and he was bound by a minimum of strength of staff. He had to nominate a holder for a teaching post, but no post could be held without the approval of the Education Department.²⁾ It was in the power of the manager to dismiss teachers, but then he had to report the circumstances to the Education Department, and teachers when dismissed could appeal to the Education Department.³⁾ At first managers were allowed to pool the

1) Evidence collected from Indians.

2) Prov. Notice No. 461/1929 chap. I sect. 3.

3) Ibid., chap. III sect. 16.

4) Ibid., chap. VI sect. 33.

5) Kichlu, Memorandum par. 22.

total amount of grants and fees they had received in connection with all the schools under their control, and they had merely to report to the Education Department how the total amount of grants and fees had been spent; it was not necessary to submit to the Education Department a separate account of the income and expenditure of each school. It thus follows that a grantee with a large number of schools under his control would have very large powers, leading naturally to such anomalies as already described.^{a)} But these defects were remedied at the end of this period. For then the manager had to institute a Banking Account in the name of the particular school for which aid was being sought. And all moneys intended for the benefit of that school were to be paid into this Banking Account. The manager had to operate the finances of the Banking Account, and he had to submit yearly statements of accounts.¹⁾ He was also bound by the salary scales introduced by the Education Department. He had to pay the teachers' salaries in equal monthly instalments, and no instalment of his grant was to be paid, until²⁾ the teachers had been paid their full month's salary.

But the absence of uniformity in the central and local administration of Indian schools was still reflected in the status of the schools, and was being maintained by the sharp social distinction between the teachers at the Aided Schools and those at the Government Schools, and the different salary scales. The system of posts further tended to aggravate the lack of uniformity between the two classes of schools.^{b)} And this was the more to be deplored, since

1) Prov. Notice No. 461/1929 chap. I sect. 1; chap. VI sects. 43, 44.

2) Ibid., chap. I sect. 3; chap. II sect. 5; chap. VI sect. 36.

a) See pp. 249, 250 et seqq.

b) See p. 61 note a).

economy was studied in the face of general dissatisfaction under an educational system that was already severely handicapped, since its inception, by the lack of suitable and reliable teachers. In other words, a system that could least afford it was run on lines that created a wide gulf between its teachers. The better system, of course, would have been to appoint teachers according to their qualifications and to abolish the post system, as we have seen the Education Commission of 1937 had recommended.^{b)} And among the pupils, the dual system of schools created a certain amount of social snobbishness. Thus the Aided Schools bore a certain stigma - they were supposedly for the poorer classes. But then the Government Schools had only a decided advantage in building, equipment and furniture.^{c)}

Thus summing up, we notice there is some definite improvement in the administration of Indian schools. In fact, the main advancement during this period appears to be in administration. But the system still bears too great a similarity to that under the old Council of Education and the Indian Immigrant School Board. The system of centralisation seems to be going so far that the whole system of education - for Europeans, Natives, Indians and Coloureds - threatens to become unwieldy.^{d)} And since it is too much based on class distinctions, it embodies and maintains sectional interests. Thus it appears a thorough reorganisation

1) Report Supt. Educ. 1934 p. 30.

a) Cf. pp. 92,93 et seqq., 260,261 et seqq.

b) See p. 258.

c) Compare p. 255 in connection with the quality of the work done at these two classes of schools.

d) This, as we have seen, was one of the defects of the educational system before 1894 under a Council of Education controlling both European and Native education, and under the Indian Immigrant School Board. See pp. 149,152,163,187.

is necessary, so that also the Indians can conform to the principles
of Western civilisation^{a)} and of a democratic State, and thus receive^{b)}
the status of citizens of South Africa.

a) Cf. p. 192.

b) Cf. p. 194.

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of Western civilisation^{a)} and of a democratic State, and thus receive^{b)}
the status of citizens of South Africa.

a) Cf. p. 192.

b) Cf. p. 194.

P A R T IV.

THE SOLUTION - THE INEVITABLE - THE CITIZEN.
CONCLUSIONS DRAWN AND BASES FOR THE RECONSTRUCTION OF
A SYSTEM OF INDIAN EDUCATION.

CHAPTER VI.

CORRELATION BETWEEN INDIAN SOCIETY AND EDUCATION.

1. Development of a Distinct Class Society.

Before Union, the indenture system constituted the social background of Indian society in Natal. But the opportunities offered the Indians, and the advantages they generally acquired from their residence in Natal tended merely to accelerate its collapse rather than to sustain it.

Although, as we have seen, there are various patriotic societies among the Indians, with a strong desire to maintain their identity, attempts to secure unity among Indians generally have not been successful. There are various reasons for the failure to constitute the Indians into a definite bloc. There is the variety of caste, race, language and custom, which is being maintained with almost ineradicable conservatism; there is the inevitable effect of Western civilisation; and, finally, there is the effect of the new economic life in Natal after 1910 with resultant poverty, which tends to loosen racial bonds.

Generally, however, the Indians still retain their Asiatic outlook; the prospects of inter-marriage between them and the rest of the non-Europeans are very remote; their economic prosperity is being built up by exploitation of the Natives, and

thus they have aroused also the hostility of the Natives as they had already aroused that of the Europeans. Their position in the country was further brought into prominence by the new relationship between the Union Government and the Government of India after 1927.

Thus, because of their racial exclusiveness and general economic advancement, the Indians have become a distinct racial group in the multi-religious and multi-racial society of Natal.

2. The Present System of Class Education and its Defects.

Although the system of Indian education became essentially a system of class education when the Indian Immigrant School Board was established, and although it was based on the European system of education, there was a marked difference in content between the two systems. The European system was essentially academic; the Indian system was academic, but purely Primary Education. The uselessness of the Indian system of education was due to the lack of an industrial bias. The wealthy Indians required and demanded a more advanced system of academic education. Consequently, the system of education fostered by the Indian Immigrant School Board catered only for the poorer Indians. In order to make provision for the better class Indians, the Higher Grade Schools were opened, after Indians had been refused further admission to European schools. Indian education had, therefore, no relation with the interests of the Indians as an integral part of the South African nation. And that it was the policy of the Provincial Administration that there should be no such relation is seen by its

attitude towards Indian education.

Then, with the greater interest of the Indians themselves in education, Indian education was eventually controlled by three groups - the Indian religious bodies, the European missionaries and the Government through the Provincial Administration. But the conception of education, as seen in the case of the Indian religious bodies, is a rigid literary tradition. A selective agency is created, and education is used as the best means for fostering the traditions of Indian religious bodies. In this respect, we have a system similar to the European missionary system of education which also has a tradition to inculcate. The Government system is also similar in this respect, in so far as it has a tradition of Western civilisation. Thus each group has a definite policy in its educational system, but between the three systems is an utter lack of uniformity. This kind of education, however, bears no fruit in practical life in Natal.

Thus, while the missionaries and the Government pursued their systems of education without any compromise with the system fostered by the Indian religious bodies, the present system of Western education for Indians came to be regarded by Indian religious bodies as foreign and intrusive. The Indian religious bodies were consequently encouraged to establish more schools of their own. The result was that under the three systems there was generally no adjustment to the needs of those who were being educated. Therefore, Indian education became more than previously academic in a way that was more objectionable from an Indian point of view, when we consider the position Indians generally occupy in Natal.

Furthermore, these three systems, when encouraging class education, foster principles that are antagonistic to a democratic society, and thus fail to supply the necessary dynamic for social progress. There is no emphasis on the ideal of the citizen. Because of their conservatism, their lack of the democratic principle of equality, and their emphasis on formality, they teach

principles more adapted to a conservative society, so that the Indians cannot conform to Western standards of civilisation. Thus the European child has a system of education that has as background the civilisation in which he lives; but the Indian child has to acquire a new civilisation, which is different from that which he finds at home and at school. The European system of education has certain benefits for the European child; the opportunities of the Indian child are extremely limited, and all he knows of Western civilisation is what he learns from his school books and to a limited extent from his environment. He thus assimilates badly, especially when a foreign tongue is the medium. And his education remains superficial, because there is so little given him with which to assimilate that education. All interest in the Indian pupil is lost once he leaves school, and his needs are not studied. Thus, during his youth, the Indian is educated along European lines, but, when his education at school ceases, he finds his life no longer ruled by European standards - he is something different from the European and without the privileges of the European. There is, therefore, created a youth problem, youth the raw material out of which the future citizens are made. As a consequence, the youth of the Indian community constitutes a great promise which is, however, made a great threat by the present system of education.

It thus appears that Indian education generally has some motive aiming at strengthening one group against another. In other words, the characteristics of Indian education are defined by the particular conception of each educating body of the relation of the Indian child to the interests of the State. Evidently, the interests of the State are not considered of primary importance. When, therefore, to the lack of diversity in the system of Indian education is added the competition the Indian child has to face from the European child, and for that matter also from the Native and the Coloured child, the future of the Indian child

remains a problem.

Consequently, the best system of education that could be established under the circumstances, is that which would build up a society different from that which exists at present.

3. A Reorganised Society - Essentials for its Educational Advancement.

We are entering a new educational era in which opportunities and competition will be greater, and in which the limitations of the present educational system should be removed. While the Europeans control the trade unions from which Indians are generally debarred, and are given opportunities that Indians are denied, it follows that Indians would suffer more than Europeans, when there is a depression in the country. The direct result of this will be unrest. Such unrest, as we have seen, took place in the economic, social and political spheres.

Thus the one group should not be fostered at the expense of the other. But for this we should have racial co-operation and peace. For did not the Indians achieve a greater degree of economic and social advancement, when there was some measure of racial co-operation and relative peace in the country before 1894, and did that development not receive a setback when European antagonism was aroused! Thus, when there is racial disharmony, society becomes disintegrated, and the economic development of the groups is not fostered. Furthermore, religion and language in a conservative society make for a coherent society, but in a group they create a nationalism that can become antagonistic to the interests of all the groups and to the interests of society as a

whole. An individualism is fostered that cannot but disturb the peaceful relationship between persons, and that ignores the objective interests of the several groups.

We should have definite civil liberties, and not merely give lip-service to them, as happened when the Indians were considered to be equal to the Europeans in theory but not in practice. Now, in Natal, legislation for Indians differed materially from that for Europeans, and was, as we have seen, of a repressive character. No loyalty to the State, and no interest in the welfare of the State are created, and co-operation between Europeans and Indians is not encouraged. Latterly, however, there was a marked increase of the feeling of moral responsibility on the part of Europeans for the welfare of Indians, but sectional interests invariably still override all other interests.

What should thus be the system of education for a reorganised society, in order to maintain the relative interests of the various groups? We need a comparative study of the conditions of the economic life of the Europeans and the Indians to provide the system of education that would cater for both those Indians who complete a full course of education, and those who usually receive only a few years' education. Thus the system of education we should foster should make an effective adjustment of Indian to European economic life. We have, therefore, to give the educational policy for Indians a new objective. This can only be done by reorganising society in such a way that the status of the Indians is no longer determined by the Europeans. Furthermore, there should be a definite incentive created for Indian children to take an interest in the problems of the community and national life as a whole. There should be less of the policy, as at present, of total assimilation, and the educational system should no longer be the useless system it has so far been, but should be more utilitarian, so that education could minister to the practical needs of life. And, when Indians are given their proper place in such a reorganised

society, there would be definite aims to influence Indian education, so that more schemes could be applied, as in the case of Europeans, and not dropped or grudgingly adopted, because of limited financial resources. Since it follows that the Indian educational system would fail if it were too utilitarian, we should formulate a system that would effect a compromise between the two extremes of a purely academic and a purely vocational training, and we should not proceed to the extreme of academic education, as we have seen has so far been the case in Indian education. This would, of course, depend on the degree to which society generally is reorganised. But then it must be remembered that so long as the missionary bodies, both European and Indian, have control of the great majority of Indian schools, with their limited resources and their special aims in education, reorganisation in education in conformity with a new society would be difficult, if not impossible.

We should, therefore, co-ordinate the schools in accordance with a reorganised society; they should become job-training institutions. The State should take greater interest in the ability and future of the pupils, instead of spending money on reformatories, when the ill effects of the present system of education and the disorganised society become apparent in the growth of greater dependency of Indian youths on their parents and of a criminal class among them. The State should act as a guiding force, for it would be impossible for it to control all industry in the country, at present at least, and discourage all private initiative. At present, it exploits the faculties of the community; it trains both men and women, and gives them work. But this is confined to Europeans. Thus also in time of peace, the State should show the same interest in the community, and Indians should share such benefits. Research should be undertaken into possible occupations for Indian pupils, and there should be information available for suitable occupations. There should be contact with employers, and working conditions, wages and chances of employment should be investigated. In this

way, there would be co-operative progress. And the inefficiency and lack of initiative in democracy, seen during times of peace, that *laissez faire* attitude that has crept even into the schools with the attendant lack of discipline and system, should make way for a progressive democracy in the economic, social and political spheres, so that it could be reflected also in the educational system. This would become necessary, when the Indians are so industrialised that parents - both fathers and mothers who are employed - could see in the schools a system that would protect, guide and educate their children, when such industrialisation tends to break up home life more than at present, and prevent mothers from staying at home and undertaking the direction of their children themselves. In other words, when the Indian pupil is admitted to school, he should be entering upon the first important step towards citizenship, and should be trained to be an asset, and not a liability, to his parents and the State. Opportunity to achieve that ideal should be provided in a reorganised system of Indian education.

But it follows that for some time Indian education must necessarily still have a religious background. However, because of the lack of financial support on the part of European and Indian religious bodies, and their dependence on the Government as regards curricula for their schools, by virtue of the financial assistance given them by the Government, we should naturally have a system of State education that would have a proselytising background, but only for the welfare of the State, and not for any particular religious, economic, social or political group. But the educational system should not thus be converted into a propaganda machine; it should be used to inculcate loyalty to the State for the benefit of the whole of society. In this way, the problem of the loyalty of schools and teachers to the State - especially important in non-European education in this country in time of war - would not arise.

Thus every decision made affecting the education of Indians

should take full account of the importance of the necessity of building up a nation sound in spirit, mind and body, and qualified to meet all demands, whether in peace or in war. In other words, the Indian should be taken up in the social life of the country, so that he is no longer ostracised, but becomes a citizen with a common interest with that of the European in the welfare of the community and of the State as a whole.

CHAPTER VII.

A SOCIO-ECONOMIC BASIS FOR THE CLASSIFICATION OF INDIAN SCHOOLS - ATTENDANCE AND CURRICULUM.

1. The Question of Compulsory and Free Education.

Since we have now considered the nature of the reorganised society we envisage, the question to be considered next is the attendance of Indian children at school. In other words, we have to consider how it would be possible to obtain the attendance of the whole of the Indian school-going population.

Compulsory Education raises many questions. There is growing up a mass of ignorance that is by no means alleviated by a prolific birth rate. And there is the further fact that it is no longer possible for a pupil, who had passed Std. IV, for example, to be absorbed immediately by the economic life of the community, as appeared to have been the case during the days of the Indian Immigrant School Board. To enforce the attendance of Indian children at school would naturally be unjust, as long as under the present system of education, the education given is still useless, in so far as it gives nothing in return for the time spent at school, and prepares the pupils for no better future than would be theirs without such education. The same would apply to any attempt to enforce the attendance of Indian girls in the face of caste prejudice. Thus Compulsory Education can only be adopted

in a reorganised democratic society that is free from sham and subterfuge, and when the system of education for Indians is also so reorganised that it has a definite value, by taking into consideration the future employment of the pupils. Total Compulsory Education seems to be impossible under a system of missionary education, which, we have seen, is what Indian education practically is. No child can, according to the principles of democracy, be compelled to attend the schools of any particular missionary body; there are too many different religious bodies, who compete with and are jealous of one another; the proselytising tendencies of missionary bodies are not popular with their rivals, the Indian religious sects; and missionaries have not the financial resources to admit many free pupils to their schools. And if Compulsory Education is introduced in toto, either the State would have to pay for education at missionary or religious schools, or take over Indian education altogether. But it can hardly be expected that the State should pay more for the proselytising activities of religious bodies than it is doing at present; at the same time, it can hardly be expected that in a democratic State religious bodies should not be allowed to have their own educational systems. Then, finally, because of the disparity in numbers between Indians and Europeans, a system of Compulsory Education for Indians only would increase the number of Indian schools out of all proportion to the number of European schools, and thus give the impression that more was done for the education of Indians than for the education of Europeans, and would further leave us just where we are at present - the juggling of the vote for Indian education, so as to retard the progress of Indian education for the sole reason that Europeans fear they would be ousted in the economic life of the country, for education often, though not always in the case of Indians, means economic advancement. But while democracy should avoid the present extremes of wealth and poverty, and enable each member of society to play his part in society, without having a

society of idle rich and idle poor, it should be to the benefit of Europeans, if they are spurred on by competition on the part of Indians.

Free Education can be considered a natural corollary of Compulsory Education. But Free Education, like Compulsory Education, has never really been a characteristic of Indian education. The lack of finance militated against the adoption of such a system on a large scale. Partial Free Education, however, tends to accentuate poverty, to emphasise class distinctions, and to create social parasites, who do nothing towards the welfare of the State and the community. And once some can pay - and often insist on their right to pay - and others cannot pay for education, it means that those who can pay can send their children to better class schools, and agitate for such schools - as we have seen in the case of the establishment of Government Schools for the better class Indians - and that thus the system of fees necessarily presupposes the existence of various grades of schools.

We may also state that Free Education is no more a natural corollary of Compulsory Education than, for example, adaptation to the conventions of society should be compensated by Government financial assistance. Under a system of Free Education, there is often a deplorable wastage of public money, as, for example, in the case of free books. Furthermore, such items as bursaries, free medical attendance, free meals, and free hostel accommodation are incompatible with any system of education that is financially starved. They would fundamentally affect the education vote, and when teachers' salaries are inadequate, they cause great dissatisfaction among teachers, who consider them outside the province of education, and as a direct reason for the inadequacy of their salaries, and the continual tinkering at, and deductions in, salary scales, when there is a depression in the country.

But Free Education also differentiates between schools by radically affecting the discipline and general administration of

schools. Invariably, the best pupils proceeded to schools where fees are demanded, either because of their parents' ability to pay fees, or because of a bursary they had received at some other, presumably, poorer school. The result is that many schools have to be satisfied with poorly-clad and under-nourished pupils - the backwash of society. Since retardation necessarily means financial loss to the State and to parents who pay fees, backward pupils are often promoted, with serious effects on the general tone of the schools. And then the system of bursaries creates an unhealthy rivalry among schools, and promotes cramming.

A system of class education and class snobbery is, therefore, not conducive to an equal distribution of the economic wealth of the country. But education is one of the best means of enabling the future citizen to adapt himself to the rest of society. In a reorganised society, because of a natural incentive towards education, the obligation of the State towards the financial support of education would, of course, increase. Now the question of Compulsory and Free Education is undoubtedly based on the assumption that education for every individual is an absolute necessity. But, since the progress of the individual in society benefits the individual himself, the whole of society, or, in other words, the State, it follows that the individual, the whole of society, and the State should contribute towards the development of the individual. The State has only to provide the means of education, and the ways of applying that education; society has to pay for it, and each individual has to contribute, in addition, to his own education. For, if the citizens are given suitable employment with adequate wages, they would be in a position to pay for education. Self-respect, initiative and individual enterprise, instead of the incentive towards the present dependence on the munificence of the State, on community chests, and other funds - which, after all, is but a very poor substitute for what the poor miss under the present economic and educational system -

would be encouraged. In other words, a scheme of educational finance should be drawn up under which society should contribute towards education, and the individual, if he is unable, while needing education and receiving it, to contribute towards his education, should be enabled to contribute his share, when he is in a financial position to do so.

Thus, under a reorganised society, with equal educational facilities for all Indians, and a definite prospect of employment, education would be made compulsory by economic conditions and, generally, by a desire and opportunity to achieve a higher standard of living, and the necessity for Free Education, as fostered at present, would disappear.

2. Proposed New Classification of Indian Schools and Course of Studies.

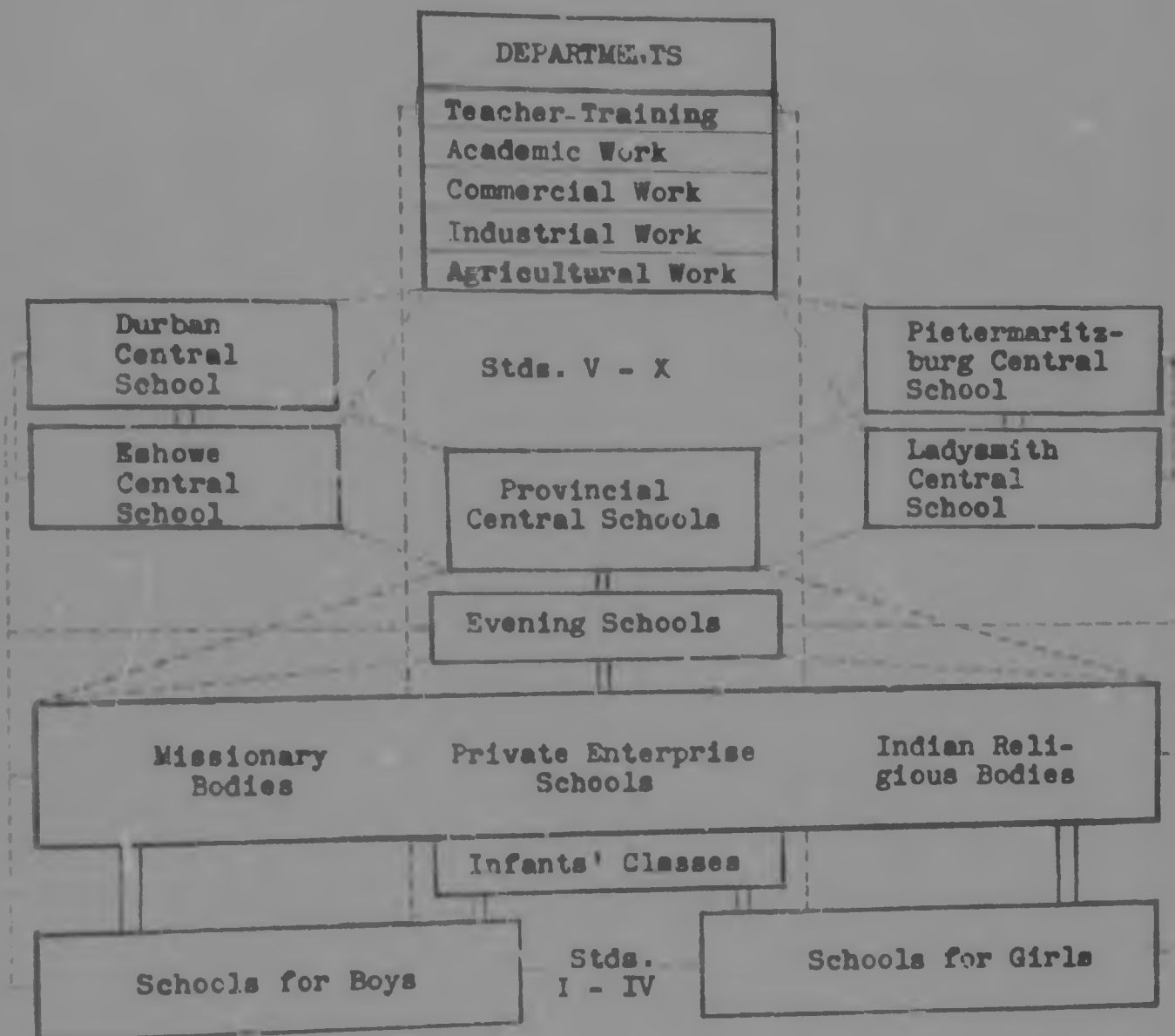
Since the Indians would form the same economic unit as the Europeans under a reorganised society, it follows that Indian schools should be reorganised according to the new economic and social position of the Indians.

Now, while only 50 per cent. of Indian children of school-going age were being educated by 1937, it meant, as we have seen, that still about 20,000 additional school places had to be found, entailing the erection of at least another 100 schools, and the recruitment of more than 500 new teachers.

We have seen that the Government Schools were fostered to a great extent at the expense of the Aided Schools. Hence it seems

a) See p. 224.

advisable that Indian schools should no longer be classified into Government Schools and Aided Schools, but into Primary Schools and Secondary Schools as follows:-



Under this scheme, there could function about 200 Primary Schools and four Secondary Schools, with about 40,000 pupils and 1,000 teachers.

As Secondary Schools, there should be established, in addition to Sastri College, three other Central Schools at Eshowe, Pietermaritzburg and Ladysmith. There are at present very few pupils above Std. VI, and, therefore, there should meanwhile be separate departments, and not separate schools, for teacher training, academic work, commercial work, industrial work and agricultural work. The classes at these schools should range preferably

from Std. V to X.

Evening Schools tend to be failures, when they are run without the support of a strong administrative body. Hence it seems that Evening Schools should be established at these four Central Schools as continuation classes. They would thus no longer be makeshift expedients to bolster up a defective system of education, but would acquire a greater educational and social value.

In the Primary Schools, education should proceed to Std. IV, and infants and girls, who should be housed in the same schools, should be taught separately from males from Std. I onwards.

There now remains the difficulty of establishing the additional schools required under the system proposed, and to draw up a course of training to encourage pupils, and obtain the necessary teachers.

It stands to reason that the establishment of an additional 100 schools would absorb a very large proportion of the funds necessary to administer the system of education proposed here. It, therefore, seems advisable that three Central Schools should first be established; but since the number of pupils in the Secondary Schools would for some years still be small, the establishment of these three Central Schools need not entail the same initial outlay as in the case of Sastri College. For Primary Education, 20 small schools should be established each year during the first five years, with the necessary provision for future expansion.

Now during the first five years, the pupils in the industrial departments should have had sufficient training to enable them to make the necessary furniture for both the Secondary and the Primary Schools. They should, therefore, build these new schools. In this way, the practical value of Indian education would be emphasised. Money for land and material should be advanced by the financial body suggested below.

There is a further possible suggestion. As the curriculum

for Indian schools is at present, it appears that 25 hours per week attendance at school is excessive in comparison with the educational results obtained, when we consider also the time lost by retarding pupils. Thus, when the subjects taken are of greater practical value than, for example, reading, poetry, singing and clay-modelling, and do not unnecessarily overburden the curriculum, less time would be required for the attendance of pupils at both the Secondary and the Primary Schools, and this would meet the case of pupils whose services are required by their parents at home, and of apprentices, teachers and clerks, for example, who should be absent from their classes during certain days per week to apply, as suggested below, among their own people the knowledge gained at school. Consequently, until sufficient schools have been established, there should be two sessions at all schools - a morning session, and an afternoon session. In this way, the existing buildings could be made available for twice the number of pupils than is at present the case.

In order to encourage pupils, and to make Indian education utilitarian, the curriculum for the Primary Schools should be such as to include, apart from English, Afrikaans and some one or more of the Indian dialects where possible and desirable, the following subjects - arithmetic, domestic science, nature study, hygiene, geography, history and civics. There should not be a too detailed study of one particular subject, but a very general treatment of these subjects and cognate subjects seems necessary. For example, nature study, hygiene and domestic science could be grouped, and also geography, history and civics. The Primary School curriculum should be a preparation for the Secondary School curriculum.

In the Secondary Schools, pupils are prepared for their future work. Thus when pupils have reached Std. V, they should have chosen their life's work with the assistance of their parents and teachers. They then become apprentices, with a few hours

attendance per week at school, and thereafter occupying their time with their calling. The central educational administration should arrange for the apprenticeship of pupils among Indian farmers, businessmen and manufacturers.

Then there are the teachers. When there are two sessions, it follows that the number of teachers required for this system of schools would be considerably decreased. There would be a further accretion to the teaching body by the recognition of apprentice-teachers. Hence prospective teachers would already have had six years' training, if they proceeded to Std. X. They should be attached to a school during their hours of apprenticeship. The experience thus acquired, and the advice obtained from the teachers of that school would be invaluable. Poorly-qualified teachers could attend evening continuation classes. School holidays should be used for the further education of teachers. Allocation of certificates should be based more on actual teaching experience than on educational qualifications. When there are, therefore, facilities for further education, backed by adequate financial encouragement, the quality of the teachers would soon improve.

Finally, we have to consider the prejudice of Indian parents. It can be safely assumed that once Indian education acquires a money value, much of the present apathy would disappear. There is the question of caste prejudice against the attendance of girls. This difficulty could be alleviated to a great extent by the establishment of schools under the local control of Indian religious bodies, while no unnecessary impediments are placed in their way by the Government, when they wish to teach religious doctrines and inculcate racial ideals. In fact, it appears that, with a certain amount of State control, it would for some time be in the interests of Indian education, if the Primary Schools could be fostered especially with this purpose in view. In this way, there would be greater likelihood of an increased attendance of girls at school. It is quite possible that, when Indian pupils reach the Secondary

School stage, religious and racial sentiments would no longer be the obstacles they, undoubtedly, still are in Indian education.

CHAPTER VIII.

CENTRAL AND LOCAL ADMINISTRATION UNDER A CO-ORDINATED SYSTEM OF INDIAN EDUCATION.

1. Educational Administration and Class Representation.

We have seen that, because of differences of race, language, religion and social status, the Indians now form a distinct class society. Although the missionaries also interested themselves in Indian education, and were to a certain extent represented on the old Indian Immigrant School Board, after 1894 there was no direct representation by missionaries on the central administrative bodies. The nearest approach to any direct representation by Indians themselves was in the case of the Durban and District Indian Educational Advisory Committee. But then, as we have seen, no sub-department of Indian education was created. Thus the only kind of representation missionaries and Indians now have is in the case of the various School Committees, and the system of grantees and managers. But there are defects in both the system of central and local administration. Both emphasise extremes that are injurious to the proper development of Indian education.

In central administration, there is a deadening conservatism that lacks the initiative even some local bodies possess, and often a definite want of acquaintance with local needs, because

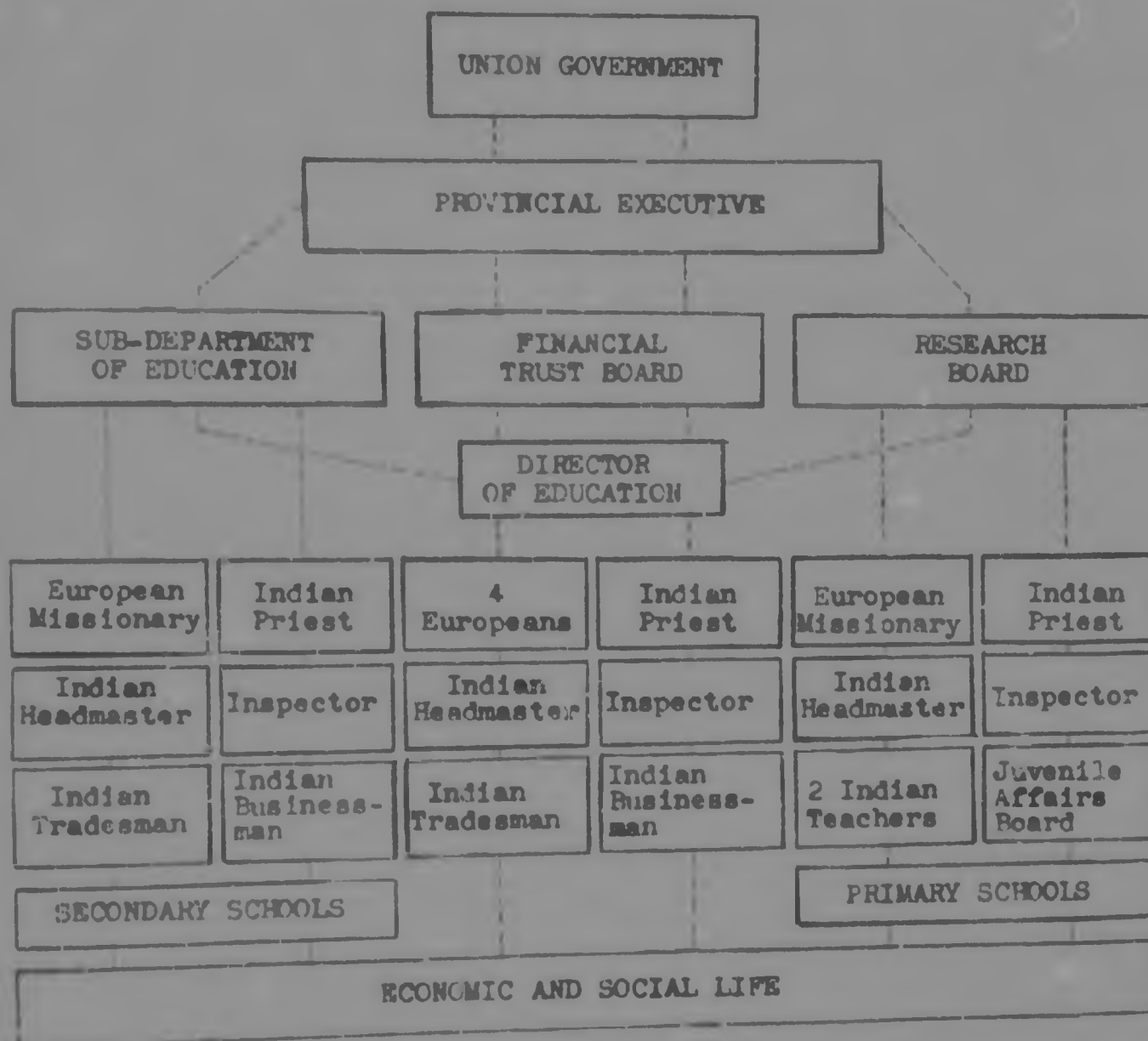
of an educational bureaucracy that is foreign to a democratic system of education. In local administration, we have democracy in education run wild, showing a decided lack of efficiency, and often a deterrent to real progress. Often the interests of parents and children are not represented, but only the personal interests of would-be educationists. The interests of teachers are also not represented, as witness the formation of teachers' societies.

What we want is a system of representation that is a compromise between these two extremes. We need an amalgamation of the forces of central and local administration. In other words, we should have a system of administration in which these two forces not only supplement each other, but exert a guiding influence the one on the other, and yet represent the interests of those who are directly concerned in the system of education.

2. Proposed System of Central and Local Administration.

In order to obtain uniformity in the system of Indian education as proposed, it is necessary to formulate a system that is based on the fact that education should be controlled by those who have made a special study of educational problems - by trained experts - and that it should be made a State department, in the same way as, for example, agriculture and mining are State departments. The public - that section of it which is directly interested in education - should receive advice and guidance from these experts, but should support education in money or in kind. In this way, education would still remain a democratic function.

The Provincial Council should formulate educational policy with the assistance of its experts, but laymen should not have any administrative functions. And such a system of central and local administration can be suitably illustrated as follows:-



The Union Government should, as at present, advance annual subsidies to the Provincial Executive Committee towards Indian education. The Executive Committee and the Provincial Council should legislate for Indian education no longer by means of regulations, but by means of definite education Laws. A Director of Education should be appointed for Indian education, and also a Sub-Department, consisting of six members - 1 European missionary, 1 Indian priest, 1 Indian headmaster, 1 inspector, 1 Indian tradesman and 1 Indian businessman. The Director should be at the head of this Sub-Department. There should also be established an Indian Financial

Trust Board of nine members - four Europeans, 1 Indian priest, 1 Indian Headmaster, 1 inspector, 1 Indian tradesman and 1 Indian businessman. And there should be a Research Board of seven members - 1 European missionary, 1 Indian priest, 1 Indian Headmaster, 1 inspector, 2 Indian teachers and 1 member (either a European or an Indian) of a non-European Juvenile Affairs Board.

When the Provincial Executive Committee intends to introduce legislation on Indian education, consultations should be held with the Director and the 22 members of the Sub-Department of Education, the Financial Trust Board and the Research Board. In fact, there should be the closest collaboration between these bodies. In this way, suitable legislation could be passed. The Financial Trust Board would be the body that would manage the finances of Indian education. The Sub-Department would administer the Secondary Schools, and the Research Board the Primary Schools. The members of the Research Board would act as inspectors of the Primary Schools, but all correspondence would be undertaken by the Sub-Department, so that the Headmasters of the Secondary and the Primary Schools could be relieved of all clerical duties. The Research Board would investigate labour questions affecting Indians, and would find suitable avenues of employment for scholars. It would act as a guide to the Sub-Department, the Financial Trust Board, the Director and the Provincial Council as to the future policy in regard to Indian education. This Board would also arrange for a system of apprentices with farmers, businessmen and manufacturers.

Under such a system, there would be no need for School Committees, and yet there would be local representation for the various sections of the Indian community; there would be no fear of Indian education being controlled by politicians; teachers would be represented; and there would be a strong, central body. Finally, educational policy would be decided by experts, and not by amateurs.

CHAPTER IX.

THE FINANCIAL ASPECT OF INDIAN EDUCATION AS DETERMINED BY ECONOMIC FACTORS.

1. Sources of Financial Support.

We have already noticed that there is a very close connection between the finances for Indian education, and the economic and political conditions prevalent in the country, so that the whole administration of Indian education, the attendance at the schools, the number and condition of the schools, and the number and quality of the teachers are all affected. It follows that, while there is still the old antagonism towards the Indians, there can hardly be any appreciable increase in the vote from the Union Government in conformity with the needs of Indian education.

But, in addition to this vote from the Union Government, there are other sources of revenue for Indian education. There is the financial support that could be obtained from the Indian public, and from those Indians, who are educated and trained in the schools. Finally, there is the money from various school funds, and that paid by teachers towards pensions.

These five sources of revenue are, of course, determined to a great extent by the economic position of the Indians. The question is, therefore, how to use this revenue, so that Indian education could be financed by the Indians themselves and no longer

be starved, because of the anti-Asiatic sentiments of European politicians, or because the Province decides to retrench on education owing to financial stringency.

2. Proposed Co-ordinated System of Financing Indian Education.

a)

Since the amount expended on Indian education at the end of this period was £96,000, it follows that a similar sum would be necessary to educate the whole of the Indian school-going population.

b)

Now we have seen that during the last ten years the amount expended on Indian education had increased by approximately £60,000. It follows that the vote for Indian education will increase by at least a similar amount during the next ten years. Suppose, therefore, the Union Government advances this amount to the Financial Trust Board without interest.

Since employers would benefit by the training of the pupils under this scheme, they should pay something towards that training. There should thus be an excess profits tax, say, of 1/- in the pound, and also a small employment or insurance tax, say, of 2/6 per employee per year. Suppose these two taxes amount at the end of five years to £5,000.

c)

As seen above, there would be about 40,000 pupils attending

a) See p. 223.

b) See p. 223.

c) See p. 293.

both the Primary and the Secondary Schools. Suppose there are at the non-Aided Schools of both the European missionaries and the Indian religious bodies at least another 10,000 pupils. This would give us a total of 50,000 pupils. Under our scheme, these pupils would all receive Free Education. When they are eventually given employment by the Government and the citizens of the State, they should be in a position to pay for the education they had received. If each pupil pays £2 for the education he had received during five years, at least £100,000 would be collected.

There are the school funds. The industrial and agricultural departments should help to raise the standard of living of the Indians. For example, Indian markets should be established on the model of the one at present existing in Durbar, where the products of the schools could be sold. Furthermore, the schools should take on work also like typing and bookkeeping. In this way, the funds of the schools would be considerably augmented. Suppose the revenue from all school funds at the end of five years amounted to £500.

Finally, when teachers contribute to a pension fund, the money is used by the Provincial Government, and they receive no interest. Thus all teachers should contribute, say, £1 per annum towards a pension fund to be administered by the Financial Trust Board, and they should receive interest on their money. Since there would be 1,000 teachers, the revenue from this source would at the end of five years be about £5,000.

If all this money, some £170,000, is pooled and administered by the Financial Trust Board, there would be ample funds to start the scheme proposed above. And the total amount at the disposal of the Financial Trust Board would, of course, be increased by the usual annual subsidies granted by the Union Government. Furthermore, even if the £60,000 obtained from the Union

a) See p. 293.

Government were to be refunded subsequently, the system of Indian education could thus be fostered on sound economic lines, and could also eventually become financially self-supporting.

CHAPTER X.

POSSIBILITIES OF THE SCHEME PROPOSED.

1. How the Schools would meet the Demand for Education.

A notable characteristic of the development of Indian schools, especially during recent years, is that they had developed quantitatively and not qualitatively. Under the present scheme, there would be greater variety, and the sharp distinctions between the various classes of pupils would disappear. The system proposed envisages a national and a democratic system of schools that would cater for all the Indians, and not merely for the few. Of course, there are possibly great difficulties that would have to be surmounted, as, for example, the differences between the various religious doctrines. But, since the system avoids the present danger of making the schools purely media of propaganda, these difficulties would be greatly minimised.

This system would be decidedly better than the old system, in so far as Indian education would have an undoubted economic value, so that parents and pupils would see the necessity of education in their new social life. It proposes to prepare the pupils for life, and would thus exercise greater appeal to the average Indian, for the education to be imparted would become a *sine qua non* of Indian social development. In the case of Indian girls, there would be

increased attendance, for the system takes into consideration the caste prejudices of the Indians, and also the necessity that girls should be taught by women.

Although it cannot be claimed that under this system there would be immediately a 100 per cent. attendance, yet it can be safely assumed that there would be a greater increase in the general attendance of Indian children at school.

2. Extent of Co-ordination Achieved.

The financial restrictions of the old system would be obviated. It is further expected that the financial benefits the pupils would receive from the system would remove to a great extent the present indigency. Through the Research Board, there would be a definite link between local interests and the Central Administration. There would be wiser control of the finances of Indian education, and all schemes would be the result of experimentation. The interests of every child would be safeguarded, so that there would also be a definite guarantee that the child would be absorbed by some form of employment after his schooling is completed, and this would be conducive to the interests of the Indian community and of the State as a whole. The local bodies would be under greater control, and they would have definite responsibility. And there would also be closer contact between the schools and the central authority, and education would be administered by education laws.

Experience would be pooled, and thus there would be fostered in the whole system a soundness that is at present lacking. And

there would, furthermore, be created a strong local body that teachers would appreciate more than local initiative without responsibility. And thus the position of the teachers would be improved.

And then, too, in the clerical staff, there would be a body that would be acquainted with the needs of the schools. In fact, there would be greater incentive towards a general all-round improvement of Indian education.

3. Possible Extension of the Scope of Indian Education.

Under this system, there would be greater scope for public initiative. Indian education would become a social force, encouraging creative co-operation as never before. There would be a greater attempt to harness the various social forces, and in this Indian education would take the lead. Education would, therefore, be extended also to the country districts, and would no longer be confined to the towns, and would be the means not only for the rich, but also for the poor to take their proper place in the economic, social and political life of the State - in a real democracy devoid of conflicting class interests - and then Indian education would truly fulfil its purpose as a State and national function.

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