

A HISTORY OF NATIVE EDUCATION
IN NATAL
BETWEEN 1835 AND 1927.

(Thesis presented by Oscar Emil Emanuelson for the
Degree of Master of Education).

Oscar Emanuelson.



Contents.

	<u>Page.</u>
Preface.	1
Introductory Chapter.	3
Chapter I 1835 - 1842: Before the British Occupation: Early Unaided Missionary Enterprise.	7
Chapter II 1842 - 1857: Aided Missionary Effort in the Early Years of British Rule.	21
Chapter III 1857 - 1884: The £5,000 Reserve for Native Purposes: Control by the Lieutenant Governor through the Secretary for Native Affairs.	52
Chapter IV 1884 - 1894: Control by the Council of Education: The Appointment of an Inspector of Native Education: The Question of Industrial Training.	102
Chapter V 1894 - 1910: Mr. Robert Plant: The Beginnings of the Systematic Training of Teachers.	167
Chapter VI 1910 - 1918: The Early Years of Provincial Control: Mr. W. P. Gebers: The Native Education Advisory Board.	199
Chapter VII 1918 - 1920: Control by The Provincial Council: The Appointment of a thoroughly trained Chief Inspector: Rapid Reorganization.	229
Chapter VIII 1921 - 1927: Consolidation and Advance.	273
Chapter IX Movements towards Union Control.	310
Appendices (including Bibliography).	314

To the Examiner.

Various friends have given clerical assistance in the checking and correction of the type-written copies, - hence the occurrence of various styles of handwriting in the foot-notes and elsewhere.

-1

PREFACE.

This account of Native Education in Natal has been written to make available for the first time a mass of valuable information, which will, it is hoped, prove useful to Government Officials and leading Missionaries. For this purpose, details have been entered into where they would otherwise have been unnecessary, and schemes which have borne no fruit have often been discussed as thoroughly as those which have been adopted. Especially is this so in the first four chapters. The earliest reports, at present terra incognita to the Natal Education officials, are in manuscript, are found with Miscellaneous Reports of the Secretary for Native Affairs, and are now filed for preservation in the Natal Archives. Concerning even the Zwaart Kop Government Native Industrial School (1886 - 1891) very little information has been found available in the records kept by the Natal Education Department.

The writer's chief object has been to give the history of "formal" education. For those interested in "informal" education, many excellent books on the customs and kraal-life of the Natives of South Africa are available.

Questions of policy have been dealt with from the standpoint/
point/

point of the historian, rather than from that of a political or an educational administrator. Consequently no attempt has been made to advocate any one method of solving the problems of Native Education.

Information concerning Zululand before its annexation to Natal in 1897 is unobtainable, because the documents collected in the Office of the Governor of Zululand are of too recent a date to be consulted by the public. Such material as is available points to the presence of only a few missionaries in Zululand before 1898, owing to the attitude of the Zulu Kings towards them.

The absence of accurate records has made it impossible to deal with such interesting subjects as The largest Mission Societies and The oldest Mission Stations.

The inclusion of any account of unaided missionary effort has also been impossible; but it is quite safe to assume that all missionary effort which has produced good educational results has received either Government comment or Government grant.

When the spelling of any Zulu name differs from the usual modern form of such a name, the variation is due to the fact that the documents consulted make various spellings possible.

INTRODUCTORY CHAPTER.

1. In view of the fact that missionaries were actually at work in Natal even before the first arrival of British troops, the years between the arrival of the first missionaries and the coming of the main body of troops may be taken to constitute the first period in the history of Native Education in Natal.

2. The year 1842, in which British troops occupied Natal, marked the opening of what may be termed the second period. Before that date, the missionaries, few in number, laboured alone without any form of Government support. The Dutch Volkeraad was not in a position to give them financial assistance. As we shall see in a later chapter, the Dutch were on the best terms possible with some of the missionaries. After 1842 and until 1856, when Natal was granted a Royal Charter, the story is still one of missionary zeal and enterprise; but the story is one of increased effort, because of the more settled conditions, which followed the British Occupation and gradually made possible the sending out of more and more missionaries. The early Lieutenant Governors also carried out very ably, as far as they possibly could carry out, the Imperial Government's plans for the encouragement of mission-work among the Natives of Natal.

3. The granting of the Royal Charter in 1856 (or the calling together of the newly constituted Natal Legislative Council in 1857) marked the opening of the third period, for the 27th clause of the Charter¹ definitely laid down that a sum of £5,000 was to be set aside every year as a Reserve for Native Purposes. As this sum was beyond the control of the Legislative Council, the characteristics of this period are (1) the fact that all Native matters were Imperial Government questions, and (2) the fact that, as far as Government participation in the educating of the Natives was concerned, the control was exercised by the Lieutenant-Governor-in-Council. This control was usually indirect, through the Secretary for Native Affairs, to whom even the Superintendent of Education had to make reports, when as "Visitor of the Native Institutions receiving Government Grants" he was called upon by the Lieutenant Governor to visit such schools.

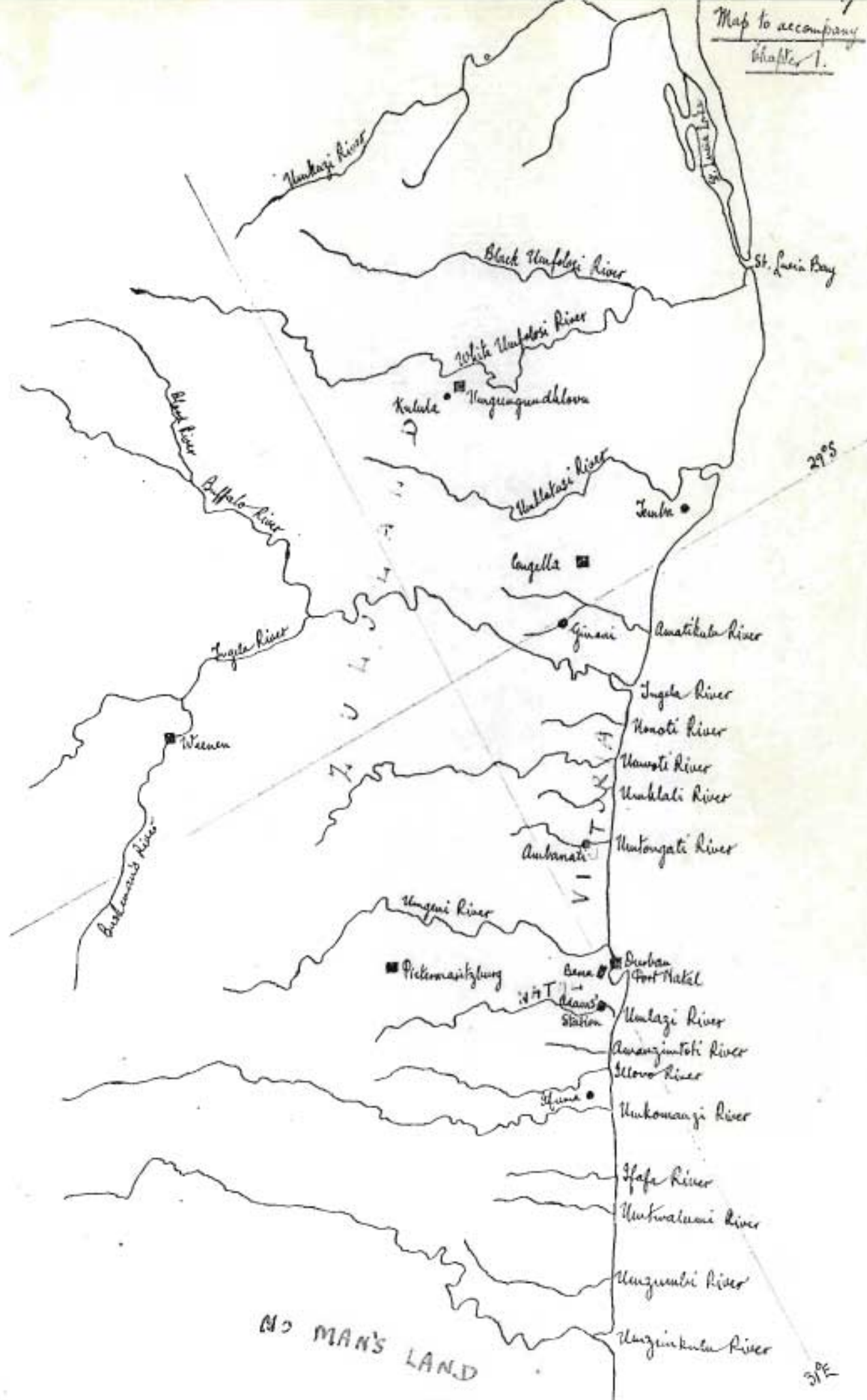
4. Such was the condition of affairs until 1884, when the Council of Education, which since 1878 had exercised control over the education of Europeans, was by Law 1 of 1884 enabled to take an active part in the control of Native Schools. This period was a brief one, for the Council of Education was short-lived; but in it the first Inspector of Native Education was appointed. He was controlled by the Native Education Committee, which consisted of three members of the Council of Education.

5. In/

1. Not the Letters Patent of 1848, as stated by Dr. Leram in "The Education of the South African Native".

5. In 1894, when the granting of Responsible Government led to the appointment of a Minister of Education, the Inspector of Native Education became a subordinate officer under the Superintendent of Education. In this period there began the systematic training of teachers.
6. In 1910, when the Union of the Provinces of South Africa had been accomplished, the control of Native Education became one of the duties of the Provincial Council acting through a Superintendent of Education, who in his turn delegated most of his authority to the Senior Inspector of Native Schools. Assistant Inspectors of Native Schools were appointed in this period.
7. This was the condition of affairs from 1910 until the appointment of Dr. Loram as Chief Inspector of Native Education in 1918. He held this post until, in 1921, he assumed new duties as a member of the Native Affairs Commission provided for in the Native Affairs Act of 1920. His tenure of office was characterised by rapid destructive and constructive work, i.e., by the initiating of schemes for the advancement and betterment of the Natal system of Native Education.
8. After his departure from Natal, there began a period of consolidation, and the last two years have been years of greatly increased activity as a result of the Native Taxation and Development Tax Act of 1925.

9. Suggestions concerning direct control of Native Education by the Union Government are becoming increasingly common. Attempts are certainly being made to abolish some of those anomalies, which are most striking when the systems of Native Education in the four provinces are compared. It is pleasing to be able to state that Natal's system, though admittedly imperfect, has been found to hold many elements promising satisfactory progress in the near future. This estimate of the position is referred to at greater length in a later chapter.



CHAPTER I.1835 - 1842:BEFORE THE BRITISH OCCUPATION:EARLY UNAIDED MISSIONARY ENTERPRISE.

Of definite educational work among the Zulus in the first part of last century very little can be written, for there was little or no such effort. Considerable interest, however, gathers round the questions: Who were the first educators of the Natives of Natal? Who were the first missionaries to the Zulus?

From a record¹ (at present in The Natal Archives) it would seem that Fynn went in 1823 with Captain Owen in H.M.S. Leven to Delagoa Bay; and that two officers died of fever as the result of trying to establish communication with the inland Natives;

but/

1. An application for land addressed by Fynn to Commissioner Cloete, and filed with Miscellaneous Papers bound in one volume in 1848.

but that Fynn was apparently successful after their failure and assisted in "establishing the reception of a Wesleyan Missionary" who had been brought by Captain Owen from Cape Town in the "desire of founding a British Missionary in that country". Unfortunately there is nothing in the document to indicate exactly what part of the country was visited. It may have been what is now Natal, or what is now Portuguese East Africa. This seems though, to be the first attempt at Christian Mission work among the Natives in or on the borders of Natal. The document is also silent on the identity and later success or failure of this "Wesleyan Missionary".

History, however, does tell us with certainty that Captain Allen F. Gardiner, who had resigned from active naval service in 1834, and who seems to have been long imbued with the missionary spirit, arrived at Port Natal in 1835, with a view to the introduction of Christianity among the Zulus - in the country of the terrible and blood-thirsty Dingaan. His tactful behaviour gained for him the confidence of Dingaan and the permission of that monarch to establish mission stations in the Zulu country. Some time during the same year, according to a letter¹ written in 1847 by the Reverend Aldin Grout, Gardiner commenced the erection of his "station" near the mouth of the Untongati River.

It is difficult to decide if Gardiner himself did any direct mission work or not. Certain it is, however, that the pious captain, encouraged by his success, returned to England, where he was successful in enlisting the sympathy of the Church Missionary Society. At the anniversary meeting of that Society in 1836, he was one of the chief speakers; and one of the re-

sults/

1. A letter written early in 1847 to the Secretary of the Natal Government by the Reverend Aldin Grout, one of the early American Missionaries, the first three of whom arrived in Natal in December 1835, while Gardiner was away on his mission visit to England.

sults of his keenness and eloquence was an offer by the Reverend Francis Owen for service in far-away "Zululand". "Natal" at that time really denoted only the immediate surroundings of "The Bay", though it is almost impossible for us in these chapters to use the name consistently in such a restricted sense. The early settlers were not consistent themselves in this matter.

Mr. Owen and his family party arrived in Cape Town on the 2nd of March in 1837; on the 25th he was in Port Elizabeth; at the end of April he began his long overland journey to Natal; on the 25th of July he reached Port Natal, where he was met by Gardiner, who had come all the way by boat; and on the 19th of August they met the Zulu King at his birth-place to the north of Umgungundhlovu, the Royal Kraal, ~~and situated~~ situated close to the south bank of the White Umfolosi River and about one hundred and fifty miles from Port Natal. That was only a preliminary visit. Owen arrived there with all his helpers and equipment in October 1837, Dick King being one of his wagon-drivers.

While Owen was on his way overland from Port Elizabeth, Gardiner was at his "station" on the Umtongati River, having again visited Dingaan, who had at that interview given permission for two "Church" mission stations to be established - one at Umgungundhlovu,¹ the capital; and one at the second capital, Congella,² not far north of the Tugela River. No "Church" mission station was founded except at the capital, though Owen and Gardiner had at Dingaan's command picked a site at Congella in August 1837. It was the Americans who later commenced work in the neighbourhood of Congella at Dingaan's suggestion. They had also been placed by Dingaan on another site, which had been picked by Gardiner immediately after his first visit to Dingaan.

The/

1. Umgungundhlovu = The Place of the Great Elephant, i.e., Tshaka.
2. Kengela = Look out!

The explanation of this appears later in this chapter.

Four strenuous years Owen spent in different parts of South Africa, and all were full of discouragement. Not the least of his difficulties was Dingaan's attitude towards theological matters. Of this attitude a good account is given by Mr. R. B. Hulley, who was Owen's interpreter. After a sermon by Owen (the only one which he was allowed to give to a real mass meeting at the capital) the King asked some questions and finally said:- "If that is your belief, you are of no use to me or my people. We knew all that before you came to preach to us. I and my people believe that there is only one God - I am that God. We believe that there is only one place to which all good people go - that is Zululand. We believe that there is one place where all bad people go. There," said he, pointing to a rocky hill in the distance, "there is hell, where all my wicked people go. The Chief who lives there is Umatiwane, the head of the Amangwane. I put him to death, and made him the Devil-Chief of all wicked people who die. You see, then, that there are but two Chiefs in this country, Umatiwane and myself. I am the great Chief - the God of the living. Umatiwane is the great Chief of the wicked. I have told you now my belief. I do not want you to trouble me again with the fiction of you English people. You can remain in my country as long as you conduct yourselves properly." As Hulley pointedly remarks, that "was the first and the last time Mr. Owen was allowed to preach the Gospel to the Zulus." Owen's real aim, of course, was to prepare the way for later comers, as will presently appear; but even this object he was obliged to leave unachieved.

Dingaan/

Dingaan however apparently allowed both Owen and Halley to try for a few weeks to teach him Reading; and Owen was certainly allowed to teach Reading and Writing to some of the boys at the Royal Kraal, whenever the Indunas cared to remember to send the boys along to "Kulula", for that was the name of Owen's "station". This teaching Owen was able to undertake, because of the books and instruction in Xosa given him by the Missionaries (Brownlee, Ayliffe, and Boyce) whom he had met on his way from Port Elizabeth to the Zulu country. The American Missionaries in Natal also did all they possibly could to help their new "Church" colleague.

Gardiner himself did not stay long in Natal, we are told; and "the sailor-missionary" perished miserably by starvation in 1852 on the inhospitable shores of Patagonia, whither he and some fellow-workers had gone on a rash and perilous mission expedition. The author of "Russell's Natal" says that Gardiner never did any mission work except among the residents at The Bay. The facts are that Gardiner's actual residence was on the Untongati River, about thirty-five miles south of the Tugela River and about thirty miles to the north of The Bay; and that in Owen's diary there are frequent references to the knowledge of biblical doctrine displayed by messengers sent from Gardiner's residence, which was called "Ambanati"¹. It may therefore safely be inferred that Gardiner did at least make sure of religious instruction being given on his "station", even if it cannot be proved that he was himself the instructor. One of his private letters reveals his desire to have an active, full-time Missionary on his land.

Under the conditions prevailing in Zululand, successful
mission/

1. Hamba nati * Go with us!

mission work was almost out of the question. The incidents which led Owen to leave Zululand will be dealt with on a later page. For the present it is sufficient to realise that success had not attended the attack of Christianity and Education, launched by Gardiner and Owen on the very centre of heathenism and ignorance in Zululand. What measure of success attended the attack elsewhere? The story of the American Missionaries is the answer to this question.

It was in 1835 that the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions established a mission in Natal and Zululand, by sending out Dr. Adams and Messrs. Champion and Aldin Grout, who arrived at The Bay in December of that year. They visited Dingaan at Ungungundhlovu, and were told that he preferred them to work south of the Tugela River; but permission was given for one mission school to be conducted near the Umhlatusi River, though Dingaan very much doubted their ability to teach his people to read and write. As will be seen later, two "stations" were opened north of the Tugela River. Unrecorded permission must have been obtained for the second "station".

The A. B. C. F. M. had sent out a party of six married men. Of these Dr. Wilson and Messrs. Lindley and Venable went inland from Cape Town, and carried on work for some months at Mosega, the capital of Mosekatse, until it was attacked by the Boers. The prospect of further war between the Matabele and the Boers obliged these three Missionaries to leave Mosega, return to the Cape, and join their brethren in Natal, whither they came very soon after Owen's arrival. But for many months no other

American/

American missionaries were sent out, because of the unsettled conditions in Natal and Zululand.

According to Owen's Diary there were still only six active American missionaries in 1837. Dr. Wilson and Mr. Venable were then settled at the mouth of the Umhlatusi River; and Mr. Champion and Mr. Grout were at work near the mouth of the Tugela River; while Dr. Adams and Mr. Lindley were operating to the south of Durban and had a printing press in operation (either on their "station" or at The Bay).

Unfortunately there is very little, even in Owen's Diary, to indicate the methods adopted by these missionaries; but their labours must have been successful almost to the degree anticipated; for, in spite of temporary withdrawals of the missionaries in 1838 and again in 1843 (or 1844), they carried on their work and laid the foundations of the present successful "American Board Zulu Mission". The following account of their early "stations" is built up from fragments in Owen's Diary and in Miscellaneous Papers collected in the office of the Lieutenant Governor of Natal before 1850.

Information about Adams and his early work is at present unobtainable, as far as the writer knows.

"Ginani"¹ was started in September 1836 near the north bank of the Tugela River (probably on the banks of a stream called the Umsundusi), and was the scene of the labours of Champion and Aldin Grout. Charles Brownlee (later the Gaika Commissioner) was their interpreter for a time. When Owen visited this station in September 1837, Champion had become an expert Zulu linguist, and had a school, which was used also as a Church, and which was often too small for the congregations on Sundays.

Wilson/

1. Nginani = I am with you.

Wilson was there also at the time, and Venable came shortly afterwards. Both of the latter were then on their way to commence work near the Umhlatusi River. In Champion's school the instruction was undoubtedly mostly religious, though the pupils were also taught reading and writing. It would seem that the "induna" and the parents allowed the children to come only once a week, though Dingaan had sent eight or nine girls from Umgungundhlovu to attend the school regularly. Owen said that these had made "good progress" when he saw them, but the remark is too general to indicate what work they had been doing.

Though Champion was a master of Zulu as a spoken language, he could NOT have done much teaching of reading and writing, because he and the other missionaries had failed to decide upon a satisfactory system of orthography¹. They had Xosa books and dictionaries ^{as guides,} but the reduction of the Zulu language to written form was in spite of that an exceedingly laborious and difficult task. A certain measure of success must have been achieved, however, for Owen had in use a small elementary Zulu Reading book from the American printing press at Port Natal (or at Adam's "station" on the Umlazi River a few miles to the South of Durban).

As has been stated, the American station of "Ginani" was erected on a spot originally chosen by Gardiner near the Umsunduzi River. Here he had erected huts, immediately after his first visit to Dingaan, and before his return to England in search of missionaries. The site was given to the Americans by Dingaan himself when Gardiner was in England; but Gardiner did not on his return take umbrage at this unconscious and unavoidable trespass.. In fact, the friendliness of

these/

1. This is still an open question according to many authorities, though a good effort has recently been made to settle the question.

these early missionaries one to another is a striking condemnation of later denominational jealousy and competition.

In the records mention is also made of "IFUMA" , from which Lindley came to the Umlazi "station". It would seem that the Americans carried on some kind of mission and educational work at Ifuma, but information is unobtainable.

"TEMBA" ¹ was the name of the station ten or fifteen miles south of the Umhlatusi River and about fifty miles from Umgungundhlovu. Wilson and Venable were in charge there. They too had girl boarders, who were taught by the Europeans, but were in the charge of a young woman of the royal household. Charles Brownlee (later the Gaika Commissioner) was the interpreter for the American missionaries at "Temba"². He was only a youth at the time, and the missionaries had contracted to carry on his education in return for the services he rendered. Just after the massacre of the Boers in February 1838, Venable, unaware of the tragedy that had taken place, came in person to Umgungundhlovu to complain that the "induna" in his district near the large Zulul¹town of Congella had stopped all his people from going to be taught². Even the children had been kept away from their sewing classes. Venable discussed with Owen the position created by the horrible tragedy, and they decided to leave their stations and go to Durban. This was in February. Early in March, while they were still in Durban, Owen's coadjutor (Mr. Hewitson, a lay-reader) arrived.

Hewitson/

- 1. Temba = Hope!
- 2. The records are not clear on this point, as both "Ginani" and "Temba" are mentioned as being near "Congella". Perhaps "Congella" was between them, so that one "induna" may have had control over the coast strip of Zululand and therefore the supervision of both stations.

* Owen erroneously refers to him as "James Brownlee".

Hewitson agreed with Owen's suggestion to begin religious and educational work among the Dutch, so as to secure later access to the Natives in more peaceful times. Owen actually wrote to Preterius, who was however too busy with schemes of war and revenge to write more than a courteous acknowledgement of the receipt of Owen's letter. In this period of uncertainty, while the first Durban Expedition against the Zulus was away, the refugee missionaries founded in Durban one school for Europeans and Coloureds, and another for Natives. The instruction given was almost entirely religious in character, and these ventures lasted only a few weeks.

Very soon after this Captain and Mrs. Gardiner and all the Americans EXCEPT LINDLEY (and perhaps Adams) left for Cape Town. It is not known how long Lindley (and Adams ?) remained. Perhaps they also sailed for safety later; but all danger south of the Tugela River was actually past before Owen set sail, though Owen (and probably Lindley) did not know it. At a public meeting held in Durban just before his departure, Owen raised the question of erecting mission stations in Natal in the event of the country becoming the acknowledged property of the Settlers at The Bay. The Settlers were definitely against the collection of Natives round mission stations, as they had seen too much of that in the Cape Colony; but they were anxious to have schools established on their own lands for the benefit of their Native servants. The main punitive expedition against the Zulus set out shortly after this public meeting, but it was such a failure, that the Zulus came to Durban and forced the Settlers to take refuge on board ship.

Owen and Hewitson sailed to Delagoa Bay early in May, and
landed/

landed at Algoa Bay in June 1838. They had definitely abandoned all hope of continuing their work in Natal or Zululand, as they had realised that, if the Boers conquered the Zulus, hatred between them would by no means decrease. The Boers would then not allow mission stations to be formed, and the Zulus would never of their own free will live near their powerful conquerors. Owen and Hewitson were thus at Algoa Bay in the unfortunate position of having to draw on mission funds intended for work among the Zulus, while the latter were quite unapproachable.

Owen busied himself for a time with religious work near Grahamstown, until in March 1839 Dr. Adams and Mr. Lindley arrived with the information that Dingaan had expressed his regret for his treatment of the missionaries and was willing to have them back again. Owen quickly decided against putting himself once more in the hands of the blood-thirsty monarch. Lindley thereupon suggested that Owen should go to Mosega. Lindley himself was unable, because of his pending return to Natal, to resume his work in Matabeleland, though Mr. Edwards (of the London Mission Society) had written from Kuruman urging his return to the north. Owen eventually found himself with Hewitson and a surgeon (Mr. Robert Philip) at Mosega; but there he received long-expected instructions from London. These were to the effect that West Africa should be tried, seeing that the Zululand mission field had had to be evacuated. This Owen refused to do on three very good grounds: the climate was most unhealthy; his wife's health had already suffered severely; and he had already had to learn Zulu, Dutch, and Sechuana. Owen therefore left South Africa and took up parish work in England. It is believed that this noble pioneer finally died of fever

in Egypt in 1854.

And what of the Settlers? Were they doing nothing towards educating the Natives? The answer must be very definitely in the negative; for on more than one occasion had Owen felt himself obliged to rebuke them for their mode of life at Port Natal and on their farms — most of them were confirmed polygamists, as they were virtually chiefs of the refugee Natives, who like all other Natives despised any man who had only a few wives.

PARALLEL POLITICAL EVENTS.

- Fynn came to the country and was well received by Tshaka.
- 1824 There were then only 300 or 400 Natives near Port Natal. Farewell and King came later and were also well received.
- The sloop "Julia" was wrecked on her second voyage to Port Natal with supplies. The Englishmen were thus isolated until 1829.
- 1828 Tshaka was murdered, and Dingaan became King of Zulus.
- 1834 Fynn left Natal (for good, he thought).
- The name "Victoria" given to the land granted to Gardiner by Dingaan.
- 1835 "Durban" was named and roughly surveyed.
- 1837 The Dutch came to Natal.
- A year of bloodshed. The massacre of Retief and his friends took place.
- 1838 Major Charteris arrived with British troops to preserve peace. Captain Jervis was left in charge and was popular with both parties. His force was too small to preserve peace. — The Battle of Blood River occurred.

- The Town of Pietermaritzburg was laid out on "The Bushman's Rand".
- 1839 The Dutch Memorial Church was built. (Practically the first permanent minister was the Reverend Daniel Lindley, who officiated until 1847, when he went back to his mission work.)
Umpande and his followers asked the Boers for aid against Dingaan.
The British troops left in December as peace had prevailed
- 1840 In January the Boers and Umpande's troops made Dingaan flee northwards.
In February Umpande was declared Vassal King of the Zulus, and all the land was declared Dutch territory - "Natalia".
- 1841 The Reverend James Archbell (a Wesleyan) visited Durban.
- 1842 Captain Smith came with British troops to occupy Natal. In May the Battle of Congella was fought.
Dick King's ride to Grahamstown.
The arrival of more British troops under Colonel Cloete.
Captain Smith was left in charge.
Many Boers trekked inland across the Drakensberg.

CHAPTER II.1842 - 1857:AIDED MISSIONARY SUPPORT IN THEEARLY YEARS OF BRITISH RULE.

Contents.

The Royal Instructions.

The Policy of the Government during this Period.

Indaleni: How it nearly became the first Government School for Natives.

The Scheme for Native Education proposed by the Bishop of Cape Town.

The Discussion between the Home Government and the Lieutenant Governor.

American Mission Stations in 1850.

The 1852 - 1853 Commission.

Ordinance 2 of 1856.

A Government Experiment.

Chief Political and Other Events.

CHAPTER II1842 - 1857:AIDED MISSIONARY EFFORT IN THEEARLY YEARS OF BRITISH RULE.

The Royal Instructions.

In 1842 political events occurred with startling rapidity. Captain Smith was sent to Natal with British troops, and the Battle of Cengella occurred in May of that year. This was followed by a siege, the ride of Dick King, and the arrival of reinforcements under Colonel Cloete on H.M.S. "Southampton". Colonel Cloete made various arrangements with the Boers, and then left Captain Smith once more in command. It would seem that much that was unexpected had happened, for Sir George Napier wrote to England for special instructions regarding Natal. These instructions, which were not proclaimed in Natal until June 1849, twelve months after they had been received, are dealt with in the following paragraphs.

Jurists/

Jurists with only European experience are amazed, when they visit South Africa, at the existence of separate and distinct codes of law for separate classes of the community. In Natal, the existence of a separate code of law for Natives owes its origin to the Royal Instructions to the Officer administering the Government of Natal in 1848 (the so-called Letters Patent of 1848). As far as the management of the Natives was concerned, clauses 13 and 28 were the significant ones. In these clauses it was stipulated that no disabilities or restrictions could be placed on the Natives alone because of their colour; and that Native Law and Custom and Usage were not to be interfered with, unless they were repugnant to the general principles of humanity recognised throughout the whole civilised world.

In the Cape the restricting clause was that Native Law should not be repugnant to the Law of England. The difference is one of great importance, and must constantly be borne in mind in the consideration of Native matters in Natal, where the policy has always been to preserve as much as possible of the racial and tribal characteristics of the Natives. The word "always" is used advisedly. Spasmodic attempts seem to have been made at detribalisation and individual tenure of land, but little success has attended these efforts hitherto. Likewise, the abolition of "lobola" and polygamy has hardly got beyond the stage of discussion by Missionary Conferences and Native Welfare Societies.

The policy of the Government
during this period.

1. The Government attached much importance to in-
struction/

struction being given as much as possible through the medium of the English Language¹.

2. The Government wished attempts to be made to teach European methods of agriculture, and loans were actually made to encourage the purchase of ploughs by Natives. Sometimes these loans were to Missionaries, and at other times they were to Natives. Ample time was always given for repayment. There is no case on record of any attempt to evade payment.

3. The Government were prepared to make grants in aid of those educational institutions which were considered to be working on satisfactory lines. There was no fixed scale of grants, and each application for Government Aid was treated entirely on its own merits. In one case a missionary was actually invited to ask for such aid.

4. To encourage the founding of schools, even land grants were made, usually as Reserves, though part of each reserve was practically a freehold grant. Ordinance 5 of 1856 made possible the granting of land even to "foreign" missionaries, even though these missionaries were not naturalised British subjects. The Ordinance affected the Americans first; and its provisions were later applied to the representatives of the Berlin Mission Society, and to the Norwegian Mission Society which had sent out Bishop Schroeder.

5. Lieutenant Governor Pine, having been in Liberia, believed that the Natives were NOT mentally inferior to the Europeans; and he made public the fact that one of the objects in the annexation of Natal was to save the

Natives/

1. Letter by D.Moodie, the Secretary to the Lieutenant Governor, to the American Missionaries in October 1849, in answer to request for land for printing press in Durban.

Natives from oppression by a race of men who considered themselves more enlightened. (Note his disappointment on his return to Natal as Governor in 1873!)

- 6. It was the Government's intention to devote all hut-tax moneys "to the formation and maintenance of institutions, by means of which they might be made capable of enjoying the blessings of true freedom and civilisation". But this intention was not carried out before several years had passed, and even then only a portion of the money was used for Education.
- 7. The Government favoured the method of trying to cause small communities or groups of Natives to advance in knowledge and civilisation AS COMMUNITIES, rather than trying to secure education for as many individuals as possible. Hence the favourable view of Mr. Allison's work at Indaleni, where the parents as well as the children came under the guiding influence of their "umfundisi" to a remarkable degree. (Yet this was the very method against which the Early Settlers had spoken in the presence of Owen in 1838.)
- 8. The emphasis in this period was always on "civilisation" and "social advancement". The standard of living in the Native areas aroused much more discussion than the ignorance of the Natives. (Perhaps in modern times the emphasis has been too much on ^{Instruction} ~~Education~~, as though it were the only force available, and too little on Social Work among the Natives.)

Indaleni/

Indaleni: How it nearly became
the first Government School for Natives.

In December 1850 it was resolved by the Lieutenant Governor to offer an allowance of £200 per annum to Mr. Allison (a Wesleyan, who had come to Natal from the north with a band of faithful Swazis) for the purpose of promoting the educational and social advancement of the Native population. This was accompanied by a promise of such further aid as he might require for auxiliary assistance, on the condition that he severed his connection with the Wesleyan Mission Society. Mr. Allison had had many years' experience before he came to Natal, and was doing at Indaleni work which regularly met with the approval of the Governor and the general public; but there seemed to be in the Society itself differences of opinion on the question of Mr. Allison's methods and policy. Apparently the Government decision was meant to counteract disturbing influences from within the Society, and to secure the continuance of Mr. Allison's experiments in Native Education. The Editor of the Natal Witness, in a leading article in December 1850, found fault with the policy of Government intervention in ecclesiastical and mission matters, but thought that there was good excuse for such interference in the case of Mr. Allison, whose work was so outstanding in character. Mr. Allison had adopted with marked success the plan of giving the people on his station individual titles to land. This experiment moved Lieutenant Governor Pine to express his regret that the existence of Locations would kill any general attempt to introduce a system of individual ownership, as in them the Natives could live pastorally/

pastorally, almost nomadically. (This is perhaps the earliest clear recognition that one of the greatest aims in Native Education is conversion from pastoral to agricultural modes of life.)

Nothing came of the Government's offer, because the discussion within the mission had become so hot, that Allison resigned and determined to carry on work as an independent missionary. As such he did good work in later years at Zwart Kop, Impolweni, and Edendale. He later became reconciled with his former brethren, and Indaleni and Edendale are to-day the most successful and important Wesleyan Mission Native Institutions in Natal. These misunderstandings were exceedingly unfortunate, for the Government grant for Indaleni was withdrawn as soon as Allison's departure was known; and it took Allison some time to build up another institution worthy of Government assistance.

No doubt can exist about the value of Allison's work, though his successors may not have been so sound and progressive as he was. Three Lieutenant Governors (West, Pine, and Scott) praised his work freely in their Despatches to the Home Government, and the Acting Lieutenant Governors of the time (Boys and Preston) did the same. Lieutenant Governor Scott wrote in Despatch 90 of 1857: "Mr. Allison has proved himself the most successful missionary labourer in this colony, and he has practically shown that Industrial Training, combined with religious and moral instruction is the best. . . . the only method of drawing a Native from his barbarous habits and customs, and giving him a real and permanent elevation in the social scale¹." After the departure of Allison from Indaleni, there/

1. We can to-day praise Illing and Adams in an equally unreserved way.

there took place an entire departure from the conditions of occupation laid down in the minute of the Land Commissioners concerning civilised habits and dwellings. Perhaps this was due in part to the concentration of the Wesleyans upon urban ^{work.} work.

The usual policy was to allow mission stations to be built in the Locations. The fact that Indaleni was not in a Location was due to the non-formation of the contemplated Unkomanzi Location, and to the kindness of the Land Commission in allowing Allison to stay where he was, in spite of strong protests from other claimants to the land. Yet it is a remarkable thing that up to that time no land in the rural districts had been permanently granted to the Missions; only town sites had been granted for places of worship or schools. The missionaries were seemingly on sufferance in the Locations.

The Scheme of Native Education proposed by the
Bishop of Cape Town.

Before this carefully prepared but over-ambitious scheme can be understood, certain points must be considered in Earl Grey's famous "Instructions to Sir Harry Smith".

In June 1848, when Natal was still directly under the control of the Governor of the Cape, Earl Grey stated in his Instructions that he was glad to hear of Sir Harry's intention to levy a capitation tax on the Zulus; and he suggested in addition a quit-rent upon the land they occupied.

Earl Grey believed that there would thus be provided a revenue for such important purposes as establishing schools and other beneficial institutions, and that the Natives would learn habits of industry by having to work to obtain money for
the/

the payment of taxes. The building of hospitals in the different districts, and the providing of means for relieving sick and destitute Natives, were at the same time suggested by Earl Grey, who expected the necessary funds to come from direct taxation of the Natives.

The Bishop of Cape Town had visited Natal in the middle of 1850; but had first drawn up his scheme, when the Natal Government began contemplating the erection of ten locations for Natives. The Bishop quite rightly claimed that he had framed his plans with special reference to (1) the suggestions of Earl Grey in his various communications to the Natal Government and (2) the recommendations, which were originally put forward by Lieutenant Governor West's 1847 Commission for Locating the Natives and later warmly approved of by Sir Henry Pottinger, at that time Governor of the Cape. He further maintained that Earl Grey had pressed upon the Natal Government the matter of civilizing the Natives, who at that time were believed (by the Bishop, at any rate) to number one hundred and fifteen thousand.

The Bishop first wrote to the Lieutenant Governor of Natal on the subject of these Institutions in June 1850, and requested that the scheme should be laid before the Diplomatic Agent, Mr. Theophilus Shepstone. The claim for Government assistance was based upon Earl Grey's instructions, that the hut-tax should be used for the direct benefit of the Natives themselves.

Lieutenant Governor Pine replied that he agreed with much of what the Bishop had suggested, and that he would in due course make suggestions to the Secretary of State for the

Colonias/

Colonies concerning the committing of the secular education of the Natives to the Bishop on certain terms and conditions, but that he saw many obstacles.

Apparently these suggestions were never made; for, when the Bishop (who had gone to England to raise funds and select men) approached the officials at Downing Street in person, they regretted that they had not received any report from Lieutenant Governor Pihe. The scheme was finally reported upon by the Acting Lieutenant Governor, while the Lieutenant Governor himself was absent from Natal on leave. The objections to the scheme were given in the report, and will be dealt with later.

The Bishop wished to establish, in the first instance, two or three Institutions; and he expected the Government to grant £300 to each of these, on the condition that the grants were to be subject to revision after five years, when (he hoped) the Institutions would be self-supporting, as they were to "combine industrial with educational instruction". For each institution he hoped to get a farm of at least three thousand morgen, though he later actually asked for five thousand morgen. A sum of money much larger than £300 per Institution was eventually applied for, as private contributions had been disappointingly small. His plan was to plant in each of the existing locations, if the funds and the number of missionaries available allowed, an institution like those of the Moravians and some other Missionary bodies in South Africa; and he hoped to found two (or possibly three) Institutions as early as 1852, but wanted a definite promise of help for these and for Institutions to be founded later.

The objects of these Institutions were stated to be

(1) /

(1) the conversion of the heathen to the faith of Christ, (2) the education of the young, (3) the formation of industrial habits, and (4) the relief of the sick and afflicted. In other words, attempts were to be made to train a number of Natives to be "wholesome examples", "influential counsellors", probably religious teachers in Natal, and possibly "humble instruments of spreading a knowledge of Christianity in British possessions and elsewhere".

Each Institution was to consist of a Day School, a Boarding School for those who were to become teachers, a Home for Orphans, the germ of a Hospital, a model Garden, and a model Farm. And each Institution was to be under the direct control of a clergyman, who was "to be aided in the industrial and educational part of the work by selected teachers", who were also to have "some acquaintance with medicine" and look after the patients. The medical practitioner of the district was to be called (at Government expense) only when necessary. The staff would thus have consisted of a principal, a schoolmaster, a mechanic, an agriculturist, and, as will appear later, possibly a trader. Each pupil was to be "fully instructed in the Christian religion; and the secular instruction was to include what was taught in the elementary schools of England. For boys there were also to be practical gardening, practical farming, and instruction in certain mechanical arts. For girls the extra lessons were to be general house-work, especially sewing, cooking, and washing.

The "Sole Visitor" was to be the Bishop of Cape Town (who could send a representative), and HE was to decide in the case of each Institution if there was to be a Mission Trading Store or not.

Accounts were to be open to Government inspection, and an annual statement of expenditure and receipts was to be submitted.

The carrying out of such an elaborate scheme could not even be begun without a large amount of money. A study of the following figures will show why the Bishop was in the end unwilling to start even one Institution without a cash grant of £1,500 and a guarantee of £500 a year for five years. This unwillingness the Bishop indicated in a letter to the Colonial Secretary in London in April 1852. Between £1,000 and £1,500 would be needed for the necessary buildings (hostels, hospital, infirmary, residences for families of teachers, school, and chapel), the implements, and the wagon - even if the plan was adopted of erecting one building for four European families and fifty boarders. The annual cost of upkeep would be £600 (£250 for the boarders, £250 for the officers and their families, £50 for the hospital, and £50 for repairs). For half of this sum the Bishop asked the Lieutenant Governor to make provision in the estimates. If there were no free passages on Emigrant Ships, the Government would be asked for the necessary passage money - at least £300.

A vote of £900 for three Institutions actually passed one reading of The Legislative Council, but Colonel Boys (then Acting Lieutenant Governor) brought in objections at the second reading. Other denominations, he said, would claim (and some did claim) grants for similar purposes, especially as some of them had already founded Institutions in Natal and were therefore better qualified for Government assistance.

The public generally was dissatisfied with the exclusive nature of the Bishop's proposals, especially the proposal

which/

which would make him the Sole Visitor, though he lived more than a thousand miles away.

The public revenue of Natal had been insufficient for the payment of salaries and the execution of necessary public works, because of trade depression following the rush to the Australian goldfields; and the granting of £900 for even one year would have saddled the Colony with debt. Consequently the granting of five sums of £900 and of the passage money was out of the question.

The following further objections to the scheme were forwarded for consideration to the Colonial Secretary in London by Colonel Boys and later by Major Preston (both Acting Lieutenant Governors).

(a) No Native Institution could be self-supporting, as even the farmers could not sell their produce, inland trade being carried on by barter mainly.

(b) The Bishop had overlooked (1) the cost of living inland far away from the sea; (2) the existence of a fine Industrial Mission carried on near Zwaart Kop by Mr. Allison (an Independent Wesleyan) without Government grant; (3) the need of paying the parents for allowing the children to leave their work as herds and go to school; (4) that the amount of Hut Tax collected was by no means a fixed sum; (5) that the Natives already knew how to grow Indian Corn, Millet, Pumpkins, and Native vegetables; and (6) that gardeners brought out could not teach before they were familiar with local conditions and with the Zulu language.

(c) Buildings and equipment would cost much more than/

than the Bishop estimated.

(d) No private funds were guaranteed by the Bishop.

(e) The Government could not grant any large sum of money without having a voice in the spending of that money.

(f) The whole scheme would ultimately cost the Natal Government the very large sum of £37,000 (Annual Grants totalling £15,000; fifty thousand morgen of land worth £20,000; and £2,000 in passage money).

It is not to be wondered at, then, that Major Preston hold out no hope of a Government grant being made, but invited the Bishop to found one Institution at Church expense and prove to the public the value of his schemes when modified after practical experience.

Thus closes the story of an early and ambitious project.

The Discussion between the Home Government and
the Lieutenant Governor.

The fact that the Imperial Government was keenly interested in the civilisation of the Natives is shown by the complaint of the Secretary of State for the Colonies, that only a small amount of Government money was spent on Native Education.

Lieutenant Governor Pine replied that Government Schools in the Locations would have been useless in the existing circumstances of the Natives. His contention was that money was better spent on magisterial control and the securing of peace, than in educational efforts foredoomed to failure.

He further pointed out (1) that Native children would not

come to school, unless compulsion was used or the parents^{could} paid compensation for the loss of the services of their children; (2) that competent persons to conduct such schools were at the time unobtainable; and (3) that sites could not be chosen and buildings could not be erected, until the position and the boundaries of the Locations were determined. Pine felt that, when the Government in Natal was powerful enough, ^{the} Natives should be commanded to go to school, even though education was not compulsory in England, for the Government was a civilised one in a country of barbarians.

But Pine was doubtful about the wisdom of erecting Government Schools for Natives. He seemed to think it wiser to lend pecuniary assistance to the Missions, which were better fitted for the work and in possession of the necessary appliances; but he would have reserved to the Government the right of general supervision, and so secured a limited control of the system of Native Education.

An oft forgotten fact was also pointed out by Pine in his reply to the Imperial complaint - that the Government Schools in Pietermaritzburg and Durban were open to Native children, though the Natives made very little use of that opportunity.

The Natal Government had by 1854 also made use of the £1 for £1 system of grants in the case of seven schools, some of which were open to Natives, and the others of which were for Natives only.

The Government had further set ~~aside~~ £400 for a Government Dictionary and Grammar of the Zulu language, though it seems that only £50 was paid out (to Dohne).

As early as 1854 an experiment was also being carried out to test the value of a system of individual tenure, Lieutenant Governor/

Governor Pine being a great believer in such a system. On the Umvoti River, near the Reverend Aldin Crout's Mission Station, thirty allotments of land had been surveyed for the most intelligent Natives of that district. Each family was to have fifteen acres for tillage as well as commonage rights, and the only charge for each piece of land was to be a reduced survey fee. This settlement soon became an established fact, and the place is prosperous to-day.

In a second lengthy despatch Pine continued his answer to the Imperial complaint. In this he admitted that the exertions of the Missionaries had not been attended with success, though he did not agree with the popular suggestion that trading by some of the Missionaries was the cause of the apparent failure.

Though Pine regretted the existence of so many sects, the members of which failed to obscure the minor differences and stress the similarities in doctrine, he considered that every possible encouragement should be given to Christian Missionaries. In the Cape some of the Missionaries had exercised, not altogether wisely, a great political influence. No Natal Missionaries could be accused of any such thing, but Pine thought it would be a good plan to refuse even permission to work, as well as land and money grants, unless the Missionaries were prepared to observe the command: "No politics! No interference with the civil government of the Natives!" It would seem though that in spite of this some Missionaries later became unnecessarily friendly with members of the Zulu royal family.

Earl Grey had written, "Place these people in circumstances in which they shall find regular industry necessary for their subsistence." Pine therefore drew up a statement of what he considered the essentials of a successful system of Native

Education/

Education. They were as follows:-

- (1) Compulsory attendance between certain ages.
- (2) Schools in every Location.
- (3) Aid to individuals and religious bodies in establishing and maintaining schools.
- (4) Government control of the mode and subjects of secular instruction.
- (5) Government inspection to ensure the carrying out of Government regulations.
- (6) Establishment of hospitals in Locations far away from towns already blessed with hospitals.
- (7) Extended compulsion in the matter of Native dress.
- (8) Compulsion in the matter of the type of dwelling erected, as the dark huts meant a continuance of dark habits. (The buildings we live in have an influence on us.)
- (9) Zulu examinations for magistrates and officers of the Native Affairs Department, when the official Dictionary and Grammar should be available.

In the meantime what was to be done to improve conditions? Pine thought that just masters and good quarters on the property of the masters would do a lot towards making the Natives adopt civilised ways. Perhaps even the apprenticeship system could be tried with boys under nineteen, who could be bound for three years to learn mechanical trades; but Pine realised the difficulty of framing suitable regulations.

Many voices had been raised in condemnation of polygamy. Pine considered direct interference far inferior to gradual suppression by legislation and the extension of the system of individual tenure of land.

One of Natal's problems in 1854 was the great and steady influx of barbarous Natives. Pine suggested that every incoming refugee should be made to choose between (1) going back and (2) serving an apprenticeship for two years at the prevailing rate of wages, the first year's wages to be paid to the Government in return for permission to stay in Natal.

American Mission Stations in 1850.

Commenced in	Missionaries in Charge in 1850.	
1836	N.Adams	Umlazi Station (Before British Government in Natal).
1844	A.Grout	Umvoti Station.
1846	D.Lindley	Inanda Station.
1846	Wm.Ireland	Iifumi. (J.C.Bryant, the founder.)
1847	L.Grout (and J.C.Bryant)	Umsunduzi. (Bryant came there in 1850.)
1848	S.McKinney	Amahlongwa.
1848	S.D.Marsh	Table Mountain. (Dohne came there in 1849.)
1849	S.D.Marsh	Itafumasi.
1848	D.Rood	Ifafa.
?	M.Dohne	Table Mountain. (Dohne there in 1849 and 1850.)
1849	M.Abraham	Empumulo.
1849	H.Tyler	Isidumbini (Isidumbini).
1849	M.Wilder	Printing Press.
1850	M.Butler	Printing Press.

An appeal (signed by the American Missionaries Grout and Lindley) was made in October 1850, for one hundred acres at each of the above sites, some of which had evidently been occupied without definite written authority, also for land for a new

Missionary/

Missionary (Mr. Wilder) between the Umsinto and the Umtwalumi Rivers, somewhere near the existing Station at Ifafa. It was estimated at the time that in this district to the south of the Umkomanzi River there were between ten thousand and twelve thousand Natives. Apparently permission for possession of these Stations was not withheld in the doubtful case of Table Mountain, though the Government replied that they could say neither "Yes" nor "No" in the cases of Amahlongwa and Ifafa. The appeal was seemingly temporarily granted in the other cases, as far as permission to remain at work in those places was concerned.

The 1852 - 1853 Commission.

This Commission was one of great importance, judging by the length of its report, here summarised, and the number and length of the Lieutenant Governor's despatches thereon.

One of the Commission's complaints was that no general systematic attempt had been made (before 1853) by the Government to "educate the Kafir youth".

Native parents, the Commission said, were usually disinclined to allow their children to be instructed in private schools, as they seemed to dread the breaking down of their national customs and the destruction of the traffic in cattle for young women.

So long as Natives lived in large communities, where their own customs and usages operated with great vigour, missionary effort would be comparatively ineffectual. If the Government lessened the size of these communities, and thereby broke down

Native nationality and clanship, and brought the youthful Natives into daily personal contact with the civilised Europeans, the efforts of the missionaries would be successful. The Commission firmly believed that the Natives could be improved and trained to habits of industry under proper management, though never under the conditions existing in 1853.

The Government was urged by the Commission to encourage the apprenticeship, through the Resident Magistrates, of all male and female Natives between the ages of twelve and twenty years, for whom the Magistrate COULD find employment. The apprenticeship period was to be five years, at the usual wages of the country, but was to be entered into only if the services of these young people were not required by the parents. The Commission rightfully emphasised that few Natives remained at work long enough to learn any kind of work thoroughly, and suggested that no period of service should be less than twelve months. In fact, there was the additional suggestion that apprentices who bound themselves for a long period of time should get, in addition to pay, free clothes, more comfortable lodgings with fireplaces, fuel, and a short holiday every year.

These suggestions, it will be noted, did not concern the older Natives, for their habits were considered as fixed.

The Commissioners, having noticed the success of the village system in the Cape Colony and in the Transvaal Territory, thought that the system should be adopted in Natal, to familiarise the Natives with a mode of living and management, which was different from and in advance of what they were accustomed/

accustomed to in their independent state, and which would tend to break up their old associations and make them independent of their chiefs.

Some of the recommendations were to the effect, that each location should be of six thousand acres and have good wagon roads connected with the main public roads of the colony; that buildings and other public works at Magistracies should be built by Natives as far as possible; and that each location should have at least two villages with water furrows in the streets.

There should be a Government Industrial School in each village, in which the elements of gardening and agriculture (as well as some of the more easy and useful trades) were to be taught; and the building was also to serve as a chapel.

The attendance at school for three years of all young
of both sexes
Location Natives/(between the ages of seven and twelve) was to be compulsory; English and Dutch were to be taught; and Infant Schools were to be encouraged.

When the school system had been established, even the children living on Europeans' farms were to be compelled to go to school for three years - during which time they would have to live with friends in the Locations.

The Commission wisely felt that the religious training of the Natives should be left to the zeal of the Christian Churches; and that every encouragement, pecuniary and otherwise, should be given to the missionaries, as more secular teaching would make the Natives more "acute and dangerous".¹

Another/

1. This recommendation is not clear, for the main suggestion was the erection of Government Schools in the villages. Perhaps encouragement of Mission effort was to be resorted to, if the system of villages and village schools could not be brought into existence.

Another intention was that every man in the villages should buy an allotment of land within the surrounding location lands; and that in the course of time the villagers should be encouraged to use wagons and ploughs and erect a common grinding mill.

A further suggestion was the collection, in addition to the usual Hut Tax, of an annual rate for the expenses of hospitals, schools, Police force, and Government messengers, the chiefs and headmen, who, under the magistrates, were to be in charge of the villages, to be responsible for its collection.

This last suggestion was hardly fair! To what use was the existing Hut Tax money being put? But it was certainly wise to try and make the Natives realise that Education was something worth paying for. Hence the present demand for school fees (however small), and the Development Tax very recently imposed.

Needless to say this ambitious scheme bore no fruit. Money was unobtainable, as were teachers.

West apparently had not been (according to the 1852 Commission) too successful a man at Native Affairs.

Pine did not wish to criticise his predecessor. He admitted the justice of the complaints of the Commission, but said that many of the mistakes were really unavoidable, and that it was very easy to be wise, after a few years had passed and the consequences were revealing themselves

Pine, in a Despatch dealing with the Commission's Report, suggested/

suggested an additional tax on every Native Hut which had not a high door and at least one window.

His idea was that new wants would mean greater industry.

It is a question whether in his ideas upon Native development Pine was not confusing two things. It is possible to raise the level of Native life in respect of civilisation, and yet at the same time to avoid an exact duplication of what Europeans understand by a civilised life.

On considering most of the suggestions of Lieutenant Governor Pine, one cannot help wondering whether he was ^{not} confusing Christianity and Morality with Western Civilisation, as well as forgetting that Western Civilisation is full of ugliness as ^{well as} of beauty.

Ordinance 2 of 1856.

This was passed when Cooper was the Acting Lieutenant Governor; but little came of this Ordinance, because of opposition by the Colonists. In despatches to the Home Government, Cooper pointed out that however great the zeal of the Missions engaged in the work of converting the Native population, their limited resources, if unaided, were bound to fail in attaining, to any material extent, the results so desirable and even so needful, for the well-being of the Natives and the peace of the Colony.

On the other hand, if it were advisable that the local Government should take upon itself solely the task of educating the Natives, the smallness of the amount that could be disposed of for the purpose from the Colonial Revenues would equally be a bar to any success of sufficient importance to be speedily

and/

and practically useful. The strongest argument for sole Government control of Native Education was uniformity in religious instruction. But such a system would be autocratic and arbitrary; also, the Government had been forestalled by the Missionary Societies in the matter of Native Education, and by 1856 uniformity had become quite impossible. Hence co-operation with all missionaries was the only course possible, and the £1 for £1 system was put forward, so that the energetic missions would get most encouragement from the Government.

Various sections of the public objected. Vague references to this fact were made in the Legislature, and postponement until a differently constituted Legislative Assembly was in existence was suggested. Cooper went so far as to postpone the putting of the law into operation, until Her Majesty's approval had been obtained; but he insisted on passing the Ordinance fully BEFORE a "new" Legislative Assembly could exist, because the Natives would not for a long time enter such an Assembly (or even have their voice heard there).

A sum of £10,000 was being produced by direct taxation of Natives, while no more than £5,500 was being spent in any way on them, of which only £140 was at that time spent on Native Schools. The balance was therefore about £5,000. The 1856 Ordinance applied a sum not exceeding one-fifteenth of the Estimated Revenue to Native Education, that was about £2,000 a year. Cooper regretted he could not make it more than £2,000, even if only for the purely selfish purpose of securing future peace for the Colonists.

The main provisions of Ordinance No.2 of 1856 (which was repealed by Act 5 of 1894) are here given in detail.

It/

It was to be lawful for the Lieutenant Governor for the time being, with the advice of the Executive Council, out of the public funds of the District, to establish and maintain schools for the education of ^{the} coloured youth, and to contribute towards the support of schools otherwise established, as he should from time to time see fit.

Every school was to be subject to inspection in the manner indicated below.

In
Every school to be established or supported by public funds, under the provisions of the Ordinance, religious education, industrial training, and instruction in the English language, ~~was~~ ^{was} to form a necessary part of the system to be pursued therein; but in order to provide for the instruction of children of parents dissenting from the religious doctrines to be taught in any such school, such children as should attend the same as day scholars only, might, upon application to be made in that behalf, by their parents or guardians, be taught therein without being instructed in the doctrines of religion.

Every such school was to be placed under the superintendence and management of such person as the Lieutenant Governor, with the advice of the Executive Council, might in the case of each such school specially direct.

The teachers of every such school were to be appointed by the person under whose superintendence and management the school had been placed, and were to be removable by him at pleasure.

In order to secure the efficiency of schools to be supported by public funds, every such school was to be inspected at least once in every year, by an inspector, or inspectors, to be for that purpose appointed by the Lieutenant Governor.

As soon as convenient, after the inspection of any such schools/

schools, such inspector, or inspectors, should make a report in writing to the Lieutenant Governor for the time being, setting forth the name or description of such schools, the number of children educated therein, the funds out of which the same were supported, and the amount thereof respectively, the salaries paid to the teachers thereof, and the yearly cost incurred for the support and education of each pupil maintained therein, and should also report on the discipline and management of the school, the nature and extent of the industrial instruction pursued therein, the attainments of the children, and the state of the school generally as regards its efficiency.

As soon as the several schools which were to receive support under the provisions of the Ordinance should have been inspected, the whole of the reports relating thereto should together be laid before the Colonial Legislature, if the said Legislature should be then in session, and, if not, then within one calendar month after the commencement of the then next ensuing session.

It was finally provided that the whole amount of the sums to be advanced, under the authority of the Ordinance, in any one year, should not exceed one-fifteenth part of the estimated revenue of the District for such year.

As far as the establishment of Government schools is concerned, the only practical result of this Ordinance was, as Dr. Loram remarks in his "Education of the South African Native", the ill-starred Industrial School at Swart Kop.

Dr. Loram also says that the public objection to the system of Aided Schools was because of the absence of ^{adequate} Government control. Certain it is that the residents of Durban presented

a Memorial to Cooper in protest.

A Government Experiment.

In 1856 H.P.Fynn (R.M. at Lower Umkomaas) located himself for five weeks at the Native Village of Inyangwini, during which he held several meetings of the Natives to explain the object of establishing an Industrial Native Village; building was in progress, and ploughing was going on well, the labour and material being supplied by the Government. Fynn apparently left Durban on September 10, and reached Inyangwini on September 18, commencing the supervision of operations at once. He suggested that the Superintendent (whose name is not known) should report monthly to the Resident Magistrate (Fynn) on the progress and current expenses.

The land is now part of a huge sugar estate, to the best of the writer's knowledge. The later history of the experiment is buried in obscurity. This is one of those promising efforts the student of Native Affairs so often meets with but once.

The following figures are given as being of interest. Cart (complete with chain, trektow, yokes, etc.); twelve Oxen; Mealie Mill; Mealie Crusher; two Ploughs; Nails, Spades, etc.; 50 lbs. Coffee; Wagon hire from Durban to Umpambinyoni (a river seven miles south of the Umkomansi River and just north of the present village of Scottburgh)-£89:15s.6d. (These were apparently the initial expenses.) Superintendent's salary; two Ploughmen; two Leaders; Building Expenses - £20:8s.8d. (These were apparently the monthly expenses.)

Chief Political and Other Events.

1842 Captain Smith came with British troops to occupy Natal. The Battle of Congella took place in May. Dick King rode to Grahamstown for help. Colonel Cloete arrived with reinforcements. Captain Smith was promoted to the rank of Major and left in command after Colonel Cloete's departure. Sir George Napier wrote from Cape Town to England for Royal Instructions concerning Natal. The Reverend James Archbell had come with Captain Smith to establish a Wesleyan mission in Natal, and he was followed at intervals by Davis, Richards, Allison, Holden, and Mason - all before 1859.

1843 Natal became a British Colony in May. Mr. Henry Cloete (brother of Colonel Cloete) was appointed H.M. Commissioner for Natal Affairs. Bishop H. Shreder came from Norway to establish a mission among the inland Natives. Natal's first newspaper, "De Natalier", appeared. (It was later succeeded by "De Patriot".) There were only 500 Dutch families still in Natal in December.

1844 The Reverend Aldin Grout returned to Natal, as a "Government Missionary", and founded the Umvoti Native Village. The American Missionaries had left Natal in accordance with the resolution of the A.B.C.F.M. to withdraw their missionaries owing to the unsettled condition of affairs in Natal. Grout (and probably Adams too) was at the Cape in April, when the Governor of the Cape Colony (Sir George Napier) endeavoured to secure the valuable services of these two grand pioneers among the Natives in the Natal Territory, by offering them passage money and £150 each per annum (from the Native Chest) from the date of their reporting to Major Smith in Natal. The £150 was to be for salaries, schools, and other buildings. There is nothing to indicate why Grout alone accepted. (The A.B.C.F.M. rescinded its resolution in 1845, and Grout ceased to be a "Government Missionary" at the end of June 1846, though he remained on his station.)

1845 Natal became a part of the Cape in December. Lieutenant Governor West reached Natal in December, and was accompanied by a Recorder and an Executive Council. Orange River Sovereignty proclaimed by Sir Peregrine Maitland.

1846 Mr. Shopstone, who (with the title of Diplomatic Agent) was appointed to manage the Native Department, arrived in February.
 West appointed a Commission for Locating the Natives, Dr. Adams and Mr. Lindley being members of the Commission. As a means of encouraging the establishment of missions in the Locations he wished to form, West suggested asking the Missionaries to act as Location Superintendents in return for small grants.
 The Wesleyans (under the Reverend W.J. Davis) made an amicable agreement with the Americans concerning "fields of labour".
 The Reverend James Allison (a Wesleyan) probably came to Natal (from Swaziland) at the end of this year. Many Boer families left Natal.

1847 Inanda Native Village was founded by the Reverend Daniel Lindley.
 "The Natal Witness" first appeared.
 Many (400?) Boer families left Natal at the end of the year, because of the failure of Pretorius's Mission to the Cape Governor.
 The Reverend W.J. Davis (a Wesleyan) applied for land, for himself in the Swart Kop Location, and for Allison in the contemplated Unkemanzi Location.
 The Location Commission reported in March. Some Locations were provisionally defined. Natives were directed to move into them.
 Sugar cane was for the first time planted in Natal.
~~Many Boer~~

1848 Amanzimtoti Native Village was founded by Dr. Adams. Sir Harry Smith came on a visit and persuaded very many of the Boers to return to Natal.
 Natal was given a Legislative Council and allowed to pass her own Ordinances.
 A Land Commission was appointed and issued several reports.
 The Battle of Ebcemplaats took place in August. Bishop Schroeder submitted specimens of Zulu printing to the Government.
 Letters Patent concerning the control of the Natives were received, but not proclaimed.
 Some German families were brought out to grow cotton at "New Germany".

1849 Some Native Locations were provisionally proclaimed, though still without definite boundaries, and probably without Royal consent.
 The 1848 Letters Patent were proclaimed in June. The imposition of a Hut Tax of seven shillings was proclaimed in July.
 Lieutenant Governor West died in August, and Colonel Boys became Acting Lieutenant Governor.
 There were thirteen American Missionaries in Natal by the end of the year, and steps were being taken by the Government to give them a site for a printing press in Durban.
 Many Byrne Settlers came out.

- Ordinance 2 of 1850 concerned "Masters and Servants".
Mr. (later Sir) Benjamin C.C.Pine arrived as Lieutenant
Governor in April.
- 1850 Public discussion of the introduction of cotton
cultivation among the Natives took place.
S.Paul's was built in Durban.
More Byrne Settlers arrived.
- Gold was discovered in Australia.
Many colonists left Natal to go to the Australian
goldfields.
- 1851 Native feeling ran high because of the collection of
the Hut Tax and the compiling of a census.
More Byrne Settlers arrived.
- A strong Native Affairs Commission was appointed in
September.
Many colonists went to Australia.
"The Natal Mercury" first appeared.
The Sand River Convention recognised the independence
of the Boers north of the Vaal River.
- 1852 An Interdenominational Native School in Pietermaritz-
burg was in receipt of a Government Grant, as was
Allison's School at Edendale; but no Grants were given
to the American Native Schools, of which there were ten.
The Scheme of the Bishop of Cape Town was considered.
Major Preston acted as Lieutenant Governor for a few
months.
- The Crimean War broke out.
More colonists went to Australia.
An attempt was made to introduce a system of in-
dividual tenure of land by Natives on Grout's station
on the Umyoti River.
Natives in various centres clubbed together to buy
land on Shepstone's advice.
- 1853 Mr. Owen (H.M. Assistant Commissioner) came to Natal to
study the questions of Native Locations and Land Titles.
Corporations were established in Durban and Pieter-
maritzburg.
Pine appointed a Commission to consider the Publication
of a Government Zulu Dictionary and Grammar.
Pine appointed an Education Commission.
The 1852 Native Affairs Commission reported in October.
- The Bloemfontein Convention gave back to the Boers be-
tween the Orange and the Vaal their independence.
- 1854 Dr. Colenso arrived as Bishop in February.
Compulsion in the matter of Native dress in towns began
in April.
- Colonel H. Cooper became Acting Lieutenant Governor.
Sir George Grey visited Natal and recommended Representa-
tive Government.
- 1855

- Ordinance 2 of 1856 dealt with Native Education, and was the result of a long consideration of the question of Government Aid for the Missionaries, some of whom had been receiving such Aid. The Ordinance was proclaimed with the Queen's consent in November. About £10,500 was collected in Native Hut Tax. A fight occurred between two of Panda's sons, Cetywayo and Umbulazi.
- 1856 The Royal Charter of Natal was granted, a sum of £5,000 being reserved for Native Purposes because of the previous lack of Government effort in the direction of civilising the Natives. Mr. (later Sir) John Scott arrived as Lieutenant Governor in October, and assumed duties in November.
- The Indian Mutiny broke out.
- 1857 The new Legislative Council met in March - this being the institution of Representative Government in Natal. St. Peter's Cathedral was opened in Pietermaritzburg.
-

CHAPTER III.

1867 - 1884.

THE £5,000 RESERVE FOR NATIVE PURPOSES:

CONTROL BY THE LIEUTENANT GOVERNOR THROUGH THE

SECRETARY FOR NATIVE AFFAIRS.

Parallel Political and Other Events.

1857 The Indian Mutiny broke out.
 Representative Government was granted to Natal, and the
 new Legislative Council met in March.
 St. Peter's Cathedral was opened in Pietermaritzburg.
 Cetysayo became the real ruler of Zululand, though Panda
 was still alive.
 Ordinance 6 dealt with the Native Hut Tax.
 Polygamy amongst the Natives was discouraged by the Legis-
 lative Council.
 The Legislative Council asked for a digest of Native
 customs and laws.

- Dr. Mann arrived, to take up work under Bishop Colenso. A Select Committee on Education was appointed and reported.
- 1860 The Chief Central Board of Education was established. The Reverend J. Mason (a Wesleyan) came to Natal. Doane's Zulu Dictionary was laid before the Legislative Council.
- Dr. Mann was appointed "Inspector General of Education" at the end of June.
- 1859 Only 10% of the European children were at school. The financial progress of the Colony began to be remarkable.
- The first large influx of "Coolies" took place. The young Prince Alfred visited Natal with Sir George Grey. Omnibuses began to run weekly between Durban and Pietermaritzburg, the journey lasting eleven hours.
- 1860 The Point - Durban railway was opened. Lieutenant Governor Scott visited England to make arrangements for harbour works at Durban. The erection of a sugar mill for Natives was suggested by Shepstone. The financial progress made by the Colony was great.
- Lieutenant Governor Scott returned to Natal in February. Cetymayo was nominated in Shepstone's presence as Kanda's heir.
- 1861 Lieutenant Governor Scott took up a determined attitude on the question of Tribal Land Titles for Natives, and the Colonists demanded his recall. The Secretary for Native Affairs visited the Native Schools in person, but no report of the visit has been found. Machinery for the Umvoti Sugar Mill was purchased. The financial progress of the Colony remained satisfactory.
- The Government bought 50 copies of Part I of Dr. Bleak's "Comparative Grammar of South African Dialects".
- 1862 The Legislative Council asked for information about the expenditure of the £5,000 reserved for Native Purposes. The Legislative Council again raised the question of codifying the Native customs and laws. The financial progress of the Colony remained satisfactory.
- A climax year with regard to imports and exports, decline being noticeable towards the end of the year.
- 1864 The Law, concerning the "Exemption" of Natives from Native Law, as defined by the Letters Patent of 1848, was proclaimed.

- The Legislative Council discussed the disqualification of Natives for franchise purposes.
The creation of a Natal Native Trust was discussed and became an accomplished fact.
- 1864 Lieutenant Governor Scott left Natal in December. Colonel MacLean then became Lieutenant Governor. Colonel (later Major General) Bisset acted for some months during Lieutenant Governor MacLean's illness. The construction of railways was discussed.
- The Colony was in financial difficulties.
- 1865 Lieutenant Colonel Thomas and Colonel (later Major General) Bisset acted as Lieutenant Governors for short periods.
- The Durban High School was founded, with Robert Russell as Headmaster.
Land for Natives had by this time been given in trust to the Lieutenant Governor and the Legislative Council. "No Man's Land" was annexed and called Alfred County.
- 1866 A "common school" was opened by the Bishop at Bishopstowe.
A ~~Proposed~~ increase in the Hut Tax was discussed. Colonel MacLean was nominally the Lieutenant Governor until the end of the year. The Colony was still in financial difficulties.
- The decline in the import trade continued, but there was an improvement in the export trade.
Diamonds were discovered in South Africa.
- 1867 Mr. Keate became Lieutenant Governor in May. Cetuyayo changed his policy of cruelty, and many Natives left Natal to return to Zululand.
- A small quantity of gold was discovered in Natal. More diamonds were discovered near the Orange River. Heavy floods occurred in Natal. The financial troubles of the Colony had not yet vanished.
- 1868 The question of European Model Schools was raised. A Select Committee on Rural Education was appointed, but no report was made. Lieutenant Governor Keate was in Basutoland from March to May on Imperial business, and Colonel Browne acted in his absence.
- Diamond digging began in real earnest.
Bishop Macrorie arrived as head of the "Church of the Province".
- 1869 A Select Committee on Education was appointed, but no report was made.

The Government bought 50 copies of Part II of Dr. Bleak's "Comparative Grammar of South African Dialects."
 1869 Lieutenant Governor Keate stopped all "Industrial Grants" for Native Schools.
 The financial position of the Colony improved.

1870 Diamond Digging became more systematic at Kimberley.

1871 Sir Henry Barkly annexed Griqualand West.

Reverend Burgers became President of the South African Republic.

1872 Mr. Anthony Musgrave succeeded Mr. Keate in July.
 Panda died at the end of the year.

The Charles Barter Commission on Education was appointed by Lieutenant Governor Musgrave.
 Sir Benjamin Pine returned as Governor in October.
 1873 Cetwayo was crowned King of the Zulus.
 Many Missionaries (especially the Norwegians) were obliged to leave Zululand.
 The Amahlubi under Langalibalele rebelled in November.

Sir Benjamin Pine visited England.
 Sir Garnet Wolseley was Lieutenant Governor for five months.

1875 Sir Henry Bulwer succeeded him.
 The construction of the Durban - Pietermaritzburg railway was commenced at the very end of the year.

1876 The Hut Tax was increased to fourteen shillings per hut.

1877 Many Missionaries left Zululand because of violence towards them and their followers.
 Shepstone carried out the annexation of the Transvaal.

1878 Sir Bartle Frere (High Commissioner) visited Natal.
 More Missionaries were obliged to leave Zululand.
 The Government issued an ultimatum to Cetwayo in December.

1879 War with the Zulus broke out in January. The British were defeated in January at Isandhlwana, but were victorious at Rorke's Drift. The battle of Ulundi brought the war to a close in July. Cetwayo was dethroned, and Zululand was divided into thirteen districts by Sir Garnet Wolseley.
 Sir Owen Lanyon succeeded Shepstone as Administrator of the Transvaal.

1880 Sir Theophilus Shepstone retired.
 The Durban - Pietermaritzburg railway was opened.
 Sir George Pomeroy Colley succeeded Sir Henry Bulwer
 in July.
 The Transvaal Boers decided in December to fight and
 regain their independence.

Sir George Colley was defeated at Laings Nek, Ingogo
 Heights, and Amajuba Mountain.
 1881 The Dutch captured Potchefstroom.
 Peace was signed in March, and the Transvaal became a
 self-governing British Colony.

1882 Cetwyayo visited England.

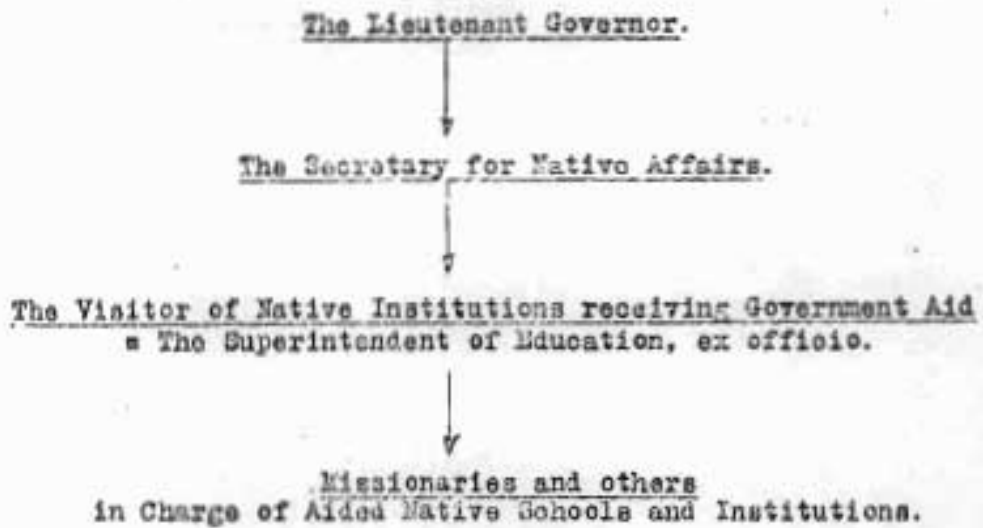
Cetwyayo became King again in January, but only of
 the territory north of the Umhlatusi River.
 Zululand south of that river was a Reserve under a
 1883 Commissioner.
 Cetwyayo was forced to flee from Zululand and take re-
 fuge in this Reserve.
 Bishop Colenso died, and no successor was appointed.

Cetwyayo died in February and Dinizulu became King of
 1884 the Zulus.
 The Council of Education was given the control of Native
 Education.

Contents of Chapter III.

- The Control of Native Education before 1864.
- The £5,000 Reserve.
 The Colonists' Objections to this Reserve.
 The Lieutenant Governor's Answers to these Objections.
 The Expenditure of these Reserve Funds.
- Lieutenant Governor Scott's Outline of the Government's Intentions.
- The Locations: Tribal Titles: Individual Tenure.
- Hospitals.
- The Cultivation of Exportable Staples.
- Printing Grants: Dictionaries and Grammars: Newspapers.
- The Results of the Appointment of a Select Committee on Education in 1858.
- Conditions of Grant.
- Natives and Europeans in the same Schools.
- Apprentices and Industrial Training.
- The Reports of the Visitor of Aided Native Institutions.
- Central Schools: The Training of Teachers.
- The Education of Native Girls.
- Native Enterprise.
- Sir Benjamin Pine's Disappointment in 1873.
- The Report of the 1873 Select Committee on the Supply of Labour.
- The 1873 Education Commission (Chairman: Charles Barter).
- Law 15 of 1877: The Council of Education.
- The 1881 - 1882 Natal Native Commission (Chairman: H. Connor).
- Illing's School at Ladysmith.
- The Disadvantages of the Connection of Missionaries with Education.
- The Influence of the Secretaries for Native Affairs.

The Control of Native Education before 1864.



NOTE!

1. The first Superintendent (Dr. Mann) was appointed in 1859. Dr. Mann became "The Visitor" in 1864. He left Natal in April 1866, and definitely resigned in June 1870. Mr. T. Warwick Brooks acted after Dr. Mann's departure from Natal, and was finally appointed early in 1873. He died in April 1876. Mr. Robert Russell became Associate Inspector in 1875, and Acting Superintendent in April 1876, final appointment being made in January, 1878.

2. The inspection of Aided Schools before 1859 was carried out by Magistrates or other officials (e.g., the Colonial Engineer) who might happen to pass any such schools in the course of their duties. Sometimes these "inspectors" would report to the Colonial Secretary, instead of to the Secretary for Native Affairs, for the former was virtually the Superintendent of Education before Dr. Mann's appointment.

The £5,000 Reserve.

The Royal Charter was published in Natal on the 5th of November as Government Notice 124 of 1856. Clause 27 and Schedule C of this document stipulated that "out of the revenues arising from taxes, duties, rates, and imposts, or from waste lands of the Crown in Natal", a sum of £5,000 should be set aside every year for "Native Purposes". When this provision came into effect in 1857, a new period in the history of Native Education opened, for definite steps began to be taken by the Government in the direction of educating the Natives. Missionaries were certainly at work among the Natives, but very few of them before 1857 had received any Government Aid.

The Colonists' Objections to this Reserve.

The setting aside of such a large sum of money, beyond the control of the New Legislative Council, was the cause of great bitterness among the Colonists, and this bitterness was by no means short-lived.

The members of the Council felt that this Reserve was a reflection on the character of the Colonists; and that it would mean (1) the placing of the governing and training of the Native population beyond the control of the Legislature, and (2) the probable continuance of crude, experimental, and ever-changing methods of managing "this ignorant but interesting people", in fact the retarding of their development.

The Council strongly objected to giving over the £5,000

with/

with a "carte blanche"; they wanted the actual mode of expenditure to be discussed and to be entered in detail on the annual estimates, as they felt that the prevailing methods of governing the Natives had proved a failure, in spite of the advantages of the system of magisterial control and superintendence.

A further criticism of the Government was that the Natives were still vagrants and without steady pursuits. On the strength of this the Colonists urged, over and over again, the gradual destruction of the Location system and the placing of the Natives among the Whites as farm labourers.

Other remarks were to the effect that the Natives were "refugees and interlopers", were isolated from "the civilising influence of the white men", and were likely to be the cause of bloody wars in the near future.

Lastly the Colonists said the creation of the Reserve was an insult to their Legislative Council, and they promised to provide large sums for Native Purposes, if they were only allowed to discuss the expenditure on Native Affairs, - but they came forward with this promise only after several years had passed.

The Lieutenant Governor's Answers to these Objections.

To these numerous objections, Scott replied that the Queen had placed the "moral and educational training" of the Natives under the Executive, instead of under the Legislature, for the sake of permanency, and to avoid the influence of fluctuating public opinion¹. Nevertheless, Scott promised

to/

1. "We do further enjoin and command you, not to propose or assent to any Law whatever, by which persons not of European birth/

to co-operate with the Legislature in all reasonable and just measures suggested, though he was not obliged to do so in connection with Native Affairs.

Further, he quite frankly declared his belief that the real cause of the opposition to the Government's plans was the desire for unlimited supplies of Native labour, - the Colonists seemed to believe that the country belonged to them, and that the Natives were merely refugees or interlopers. The Council had certainly asserted more than once, without any qualification, that "the barbarian must for his own sake be subjected or made liable to disabilities or restrictions not required in the case of a civilised man".

Refugees/

birth or descent might be subject to any disabilities or restrictions, to which persons of European birth or descent would not also be subjected or made liable." (15th July, 1856; Buckingham Palace.)

We must remember, in reading this chapter, that the new ideas and ideals, which were becoming common in Europe, were almost unknown in Natal.

As a matter of fact, the policy of Her Majesty's Government was sketched out shortly after its assumption of authority over the District. It was a two-fold policy:- (a) "The gradual suppression of the laws and form of Government under which the Natives lived, so as quietly to draw them into a community of laws and interests with the civilised races." (b) The setting aside of a "fixed and annual appropriation of a portion of the revenue to be exclusively used for their religious, moral, and industrial training, by which a way might be opened to them, through which they might attain a higher social position, and emulate ourselves in the arts of civilised life." The 1848 Letters Patent were never meant to lead up to a Native Code of laws, - the preservation of Native customs and usages was meant to be temporary, so that the process of civilising the Natives would neither be an affair of force nor involve an unnatural break in development.

The remarks about vacillation in the Government's Native policy in South Africa applied more to the Cape than to Natal, for the Natal Government had been remarkably consistent.

Refugees had been admitted into the Colony, but Scott rightly contended that most of these "interlopers" were Natives who were finding it possible, in the peace which followed the British Occupation, to return to their old homes. In any case, genuine refugees were by regulation compelled to enter into service for a period of three years.

The very Colonists, who were in 1857 and 1858 speaking loudest about "the civilising influence which daily contact with the white race" would produce, were those who had previously acted in such a way as to make Sir Harry Smith proclaim, on his visit to Natal in February 1848:- "Such admixture cannot be. A distinct line must be established between the different races of Her Majesty's subjects." In fact, in 1855 there was passed, in deference to this cry for segregation, an Ordinance to prevent the Natives from settling on private lands or on Crown lands not within the Locations.

The following extract from a Despatch sent to England in April 1858 sums up Scott's criticism of the various documents which the Colonists prepared as protests against the setting aside of this annual Reserve. "There is in these documents no expressed desire to elevate and improve the social position of the Native by making him a landed Proprietor, or an independent cultivator of the soil, a civilised trader in, or a producer of, exportable articles, or a mechanic, or a skilled labourer; the Native Population are to be scattered throughout the Colony and located on the farms of the White Colonists in the capacity of 'servants working for wages'. The Kafir is to be forced into a greater (more ?) dependent position than at present,

and/

and to be made still more ^lsubservient to the requirements of the white colonists."

Scott was one of the first to admit that the progress of the Natives towards a higher civilisation had not been satisfactory, but he asked what could be expected, when less than £100 had been spent on their education every year out of the thousands of pounds collected in Hut Tax.

Moreover, he was indignant at the accusation of vagrancy made against the Natives, who lived in fixed dwellings, were fondly attached to their homes, and showed a remarkably strong attachment to localities.

The charge of isolation he considered equally unfounded. The Natives could hardly be called an isolated people, when it was remembered that they were buy^{er}s from and sellers to the Europeans, and that there were over nine thousand Native labourers at work among Europeans both on the farms and in the towns and villages.

Scott was also indignant¹, because the Colonists had forgotten "the broad unquestionable fact, that the policy adopted had secured to the Colony an unbroken peace since the first establishment of the Government, and had guided it to a prosperity yearly and rapidly advancing." The Recorder, Mr. Henry Cloete, had in 1852 stated publicly his belief that "the history of man did not afford a parallel to the unprecedented security both of life and property which Europeans" had possessed in Natal. The peaceable condition of the Natives was not due to any overawing amount of military power, - indeed, it could not have been, for the Europeans (less than eight thousand in number) were in the midst of a barbarian population/

1. Despatch 88 of 1858.

population nearly twenty times as large, and the country was surrounded by territories occupied by savage peoples.

There was no justification, either, for the attitude the Colonists took up in considering the Reserve an insult to themselves, for similar Reserves existed in other Colonies enjoying Representative Government; and in New Zealand, which had Responsible Government at the time, there was a Reserve of £7,000 for Native Affairs which were looked upon by the New Zealand Legislature as Imperial matters.

The Colonists had claimed that they wished the gradual destruction of the Location system. Scott wished for the same thing, but refused to take any steps except such as kept pace with the desire for individual tenure by Natives. Hence he realised only too well that the abolition of the Locations would be a very much slower process than the Colonists anticipated; and he was right, for the Locations exist to-day. He therefore aimed at securing Tribal Titles to the Land, to make sure that the Natives were treated fairly. His efforts in this direction are dealt with in a later section of this chapter.

Discussion dragged on for several years, but the Lieutenant Governor with the support of the Imperial authorities maintained his position.

The Expenditure of the Reserve Fund.

A: Expenditure for Native Purposes in 1857.

Establishments	£3,643: 11: 0
Swaart Kop Industrial Instruction	359: 10: 5
Lower Unkomansi	145: 10: 1
Rations to Native Chiefs and Messengers	88: 8: 6
	<u>£4,237: 0: 0</u>

(There is no information whatever available about this instruction at Zwaart Kop. It had no connection with the Government Industrial School founded later in the same locality.) In this year, £2 was spent in prizes for sugar bags made by Natives.

B: Expenditure for Native Purposes in 1858.

Special Surveyor		£198: 0: 0
Superintendents for the Cultivation of Cotton by Natives		28: 0: 0
Industrial and Manual Labour Institutions		1,341: 14: 8
Zwaart Kop	£79: 15: 4	
Lower Unkomanzi	391: 18: 8	
Bishopstove ¹	275: 0: 0	
Springfield	183: 6: 8	
Edendale (= Georgetown) ²	183: 6: 8	
Lower Unlazi	28: 6: 8	
Verulam	100: 0: 0	
Indaleni	100: 0: 0	
Rations to Native Chiefs and Messengers		35: 13: 6
Purchase and Transfer of Erf No. 3 of Block A, Durban, site of Public Hospitals		626: 11: 0
		<u>£2,229: 18: 6</u> ¹

¹ (This sum does not include "Establishments".)

1. Bishopstove - The Lord Bishop's Schools for Natives near Pietermaritzburg, where forty youths (the sons of higher class Natives) were being educated to become teachers in institutions to be established elsewhere. The boys, taught by the Bishop, were reported to have made remarkable and interesting progress.
2. Edendale - The Reverend J. Allison's new "Industrial Training Village", which consisted at this time of six hundred souls.

C: Expenditure for Native Purposes in 1861.

Industrial Institutions		£1490: 16: 8
Bishopstowe	£320: 16: 6	
Springvale	200: 0: 0	
Elondala	220: 0: 0	
Umlazi	50: 0: 0	
Indaleni	200: 0: 0	
Verulam	300: 0: 0	
Umtwalume	100: 0: 0	
S. Mary's School, Pieter- maritzburg	50: 0: 0	
Evening School, Durban	50: 0: 0	
Cultivation of Cotton		508: 9: 3
Hospital in Durban		1,206: 15: 7
Medicine for Natives		5: 3: 0
Purchase of Ploughs		88: 1: 0
Umvoti Sugar Machinery		<u>2,856: 0: 11</u>
		<u>£6,155: 6: 5</u>

(The expenditure of such a large sum was possible because of the smallness of the outlay in earlier years.)

D: Receipts and Expenditure of the Reserved Civil List for
Native Purposes for the Years 1863, 1864,
1865, 1866, and 1867.

Receipts.

Years.	Annual Reserve.	Industrial and other Institutions.	Ploughs.	Umvoti Sugar Mill.	Total.
1863	£5,000	£75: 5: 6	£101	£30: 4: 6	£5,206: 10: 0
1864	£5,000	£82: 14: 6	£215	£21: 0: 0	£5,313: 14: 6
1865	£5,000	£24: 5: 0	£18	£17: 1: 3	£5,057: 6: 3
1866	£5,000		£193	£34: 6: 8	£5,227: 6: 8
1867	£5,000		£228	£1,007: 7: 8	£5,232: 7: 8

Expenditure/

Expenditure.

Years	Industrial and other Institutions.	Special Surveyor.	Hospital Durban.	Sugar Mill	Unvoti Ploughs.	Miscellaneous.	Total.
1863	£1,543:4:10	£436	£547:1:11	£607:9:10			£3,133:16:7
1864	£1,425:10:10	£436		£850:6:3	£132		£2,843:17:1
1865	£2,289:0:0	£436		£1,110:3:0	£583	£125:9:6	£4,544:13:5
1866	£2,084:0:0	£436		£637:17:2		£3:0:0	£3,160:17:2
1867	£2,511:0:11	£436		£623:17:4	£73:10:0	£1:15:0	£3,547:1:3

† The balance in favour of the Fund at the end of 1867 was £9,711:11s.7d.

‡ Founded in 1861 and 1862 as an experiment in Industrial Training.

Notes: Expenditure on Mission Schools in 1877, 1878, and 1879.

	1877	1878	1879
	<u>Pounds Sterling.</u>		
(1) <u>Church of England - Bishop Colenso:-</u>			
Educational Purposes, Bishopstowe and Pietermaritzburg.	250	250	250
Adult Evening School, Pietermaritzburg	50	50	50
(2) <u>Church of South Africa - Bishop Macrorie:-</u>			
First Class Common Schools:			
S. Mark's, Pietermaritzburg	50	50	50
S. Faith's, Durban	50	50	50
Lady Smith	50	50	50
Second Class Common Schools:			
Springvale	24	24	24
Highflats	24	24	24
Kestcourt	12	12	12

500 (3) American/

	1877	1878	1879
	<u>Pounds Sterling.</u>		
(3) <u>American Mission:-</u>			
{ Central Training School at Amanzimtoti	200	200	200
Female School, Inanda	100	100	100
First Class Common Schools:			
Umtwalume	—	50	50
Inanda	50	50	50
Mapumulo	50	50	50
Second Class Common Schools:			
Umzumbi	24	24	24
Amahlongwa	24	24	24
Ifume	24	24	24
Amansimtote	24	24	24
Umvoti	24	24	24
Umsunduzi	24	24	24
Esidumbini	24	24	24
Itafamasi	24	24	24
Hlokolo's	24	24	24
Groutville Kraal School	—	50	50
Ifafa School	12	12	12
(4) <u>Hanoverian Mission:-</u>			
Second Class Common Schools:			
Hermannsburg	24	24	24
Itemboni	24	24	24
(5) <u>Wesleyan Mission:-</u>			
First Class Common Schools:			
Pietermaritzburg	50	50	50
Edendale	50	50	50
Indaleni	50	50	50
Verulam	50	50	50
Second Class Common Schools:			
Driefontein	24	24	24
Eva's Station	24	24	24
Springfield	18	18	18
New Leeds	18	18	18
Adult Evening Schools:			
Pietermaritzburg	50	50	50
Durban	50	50	50
Dronk Vlei	20	20	20

1080 (6) Scotch/

51
124
183

	1877	1878	1879
	<u>Pounds Sterling.</u>		
(6) <u>Scotch Missions:-</u>			
Training School at Pietermaritzburg	100	100	100
First Class Common School at Impolweni	50	50	50
Second Class Common Schools:			
Cedara	24	24	24
Gordon Memorial, Biggarsburg	24	24	24
Gordon Memorial, Industrial School	-	-	3

(7) Berlin Missions:-

First Class Common Schools:			
New Germany	50	50	50
Koenigsberg	-	25	25
	Total in 1877: £1,938.		
	Total in 1878: £1,963.		
	Total in 1879: £1,966.		

NOTE!

- A. These figures have been collected and tabulated to indicate (1) the number and character of the schools at the close of this period, and (2) the lack of progress.
- B. "Common" was the name applied to those schools which were not first and foremost "Industrial Schools".

Lieutenant Governor Scott's Outline of the Government's Intentions.

In one of his first speeches to the new Legislative Council, Lieutenant Governor Scott pointed out that the raising of the coloured races in the scale of civilisation was a problem, which generous-minded people in all parts of the world/

world had long laboured to solve, - though little had been accomplished in proportion to the vast amount of exertion made, because the problem presented almost insuperable difficulties, and as the best means of attaining the end was still an experiment. There was an expectation in Natal that under the new form of Government a rapid change would be effected in the relations between the Europeans and the Natives. Lieutenant Governor Scott did not share the expectation. He pointed out that, though a strong Government Commission had investigated the subject in 1852 and 1853 and had made numerous suggestions, these had not been adopted. The largeness of the Native population¹ and the smallness of the revenue of the Colony had made rapid reform quite impossible.

Scott therefore stated that their policy towards the Natives should be "simple and just, but firm and persevering". Their first aim should be the quiet and gradual "correction of some one marked defect in the habits of the Native". With the purpose of initiating this policy of gradually destroying one objectionable practice after another, Scott proposed to introduce a law placing a restriction on polygamy, as he considered this the "most repugnant and obnoxious of the many objectionable customs of the Natives". Yet he did not wish to attempt its suppression at once by a direct prohibition. His idea was to admit the evil, but to restrict the practice by imposing fines in increasing ratio on every additional marriage.

Scott however doubted the ability of the Government to tackle single-handed the problem of elevating the Natives. Religion and Education, he maintained, should not be forgotten; and he considered Natal singularly fortunate in possessing a
 large/

1. There were supposed to be 150,000 Natives in Natal in 1858.

large number of zealous Missionaries, for whom he besought encouragement in every possible way.

Many of these Missionaries held land in trust, with a view to its being granted as soon as practicable to the Natives in small holdings and under ^{individual} undivided titles. Scott stated his firm belief in the value of this plan, and his attempts to assist the Natives in ^dsecuring such land titles are dealt with later in this chapter.

To carry out the intentions of the Queen, Scott proposed to establish from time to time Native Villages in or near the Locations, each Village to be governed by a Magistrate and to have attached to it an Industrial Institution, where the younger Natives might be taught such mechanical and agricultural occupations as would make them useful servants and labourers. For the successful control of these Villages, he proposed to secure the co-operation of the most zealous Missionaries, who would "use their influence to inculcate charity and peace, and teach their flock to fear God and honour the Queen". His proposals came to nought.

The details of a scheme of this kind, he naturally realised, could be developed only by working it out in practice and only if suitable officers could be found, but nevertheless he outlined very carefully the objects he had in view:-

- (1) "By the appointment of additional Magistrates, to obtain a greater surveillance over the Native population and an enlarged and energetic administration of justice."
- (2) By placing an officer of justice in the midst of the Chiefs and Headmen, to control their power and reduce their influence, to scan narrowly and check evil practices, and to

seize/

172

seize opportunities of imperceptibly moulding their laws to an accordance with those of the Colonists. (3) To induce the Natives to accept individual titles to land, and so give them fixed homes and a permanent interest in the soil. (4) To encourage by precept and example the cultivation of useful products, and so wean them from idle pursuits and teach them the advantages of steady, industrial labour.

In addition, Scott suggested the granting of gratuities to Native Schools conducted by the various religious bodies, the continuance of such grants to be contingent upon the merits and success of these schools. Ordinance 2 of 1856 had made the granting of such aid possible, but the law had remained almost a dead letter. In fact, the Colonists did their best to have the measure repealed. The following figures give an idea of the extent to which the Government was assisting the Missions. In 1855 the Grants in Aid¹ totalled £72:10s.; in 1856, £70; and in 1857, £70. Yet a sum of nearly £10,000 was got from the Natives every year in Hut Tax, which had been collected for the first time in 1849. Small wonder that the Royal Charter reserved a sum of £5,000 annually for "Native Purposes", especially as it was originally intended that the whole amount of the Hut Tax should be used entirely for the benefit of the Natives.

Another plan, to which Scott gave great prominence in the early years of this period, was that of building good roads up to, and sometimes through, the various Locations, with Native labour only. Such roads, he felt, would greatly benefit the Colony generally, as districts difficult of access would be opened up and the sale of produce by Natives thereby facilitated.

The/

1. They were given on the recommendation of the Lieutenant Governor and with the consent of the Secretary of State for the Colonies.

The roads would also be of strategic importance.

The Locations:¹ Tribal Titles: Individual Tenure.

Lieutenant Governor Scott was very anxious, in the early years of this period of office, to make many individual Natives the legal owners of the land they cultivated, but he had discovered before the end of 1860 that the subject was full of difficulties, and in a Despatch to the Duke of Newcastle (the Secretary for the Colonies at the time) he indicated what these impediments were. The chief obstacle was the difficulty of bringing an uncivilised person to understand the value of legal titles to land, and the consequent necessity for granting such titles in a manner that would guard him against his own ignorance and the advances of speculators. Also, the rugged nature of the lands occupied by the Natives made it impossible to divide these lands up into small farms. Further, the Natives were (and would for a long time remain) pastoralists.

Scott however felt that something should be done to make Native ownership and occupation more secure. On the advice of the Secretary for Native Affairs, he therefore suggested the granting of tribal titles, the tribes to buy the land for reasonable sums over a period of, say, six years, though strictly speaking they were entitled to the land free of charge. Trustees, one of whom would be the Chief of the tribe which made the purchase, could then subdivide the land as they pleased, perhaps finally into family holdings with unfettered titles. Some of the Chiefs approved of the scheme,

while/

1. Reference to the Locations has of necessity been made elsewhere in this chapter.

while many did not appreciate the need for a change in the system of tenure. The Queen gave her consent to the issue of tribal titles, the basis of calculation to be an average of twenty-five acres per hut or family in each tribe. The Colonists however were exceedingly annoyed by Scott's determination to proceed with the granting of these tribal titles, and petitioned the Queen to recall him.

Hospitals.

During his visit to Natal in 1860 Sir George Grey, at that time Governor of the Cape Colony, granted a sum of £1,000 for the erection of a hospital for Natives at Pietermaritzburg. Later a second sum of £1,000 was given by Grey from the same fund, a Special Grant of £40,000 made by the Imperial Government.

When this hospital had been erected, Scott authorised the spending of £1,700 out of the £5,000 Reserve on a Native Hospital in Durban, to which Europeans would be admitted if sufficient accommodation was available.

In the same way a small hospital costing £600 was erected at Verulam in the county of Victoria.

Scott hoped that these institutions would in the course of time become self-supporting.

Believing that institutions of this kind would gradually wean the Natives from many of their barbarous customs, since their own medical practices were so blended with witchcraft and superstition as to be frequent sources of crime, Scott intended to erect, as circumstances permitted, similar

hospitals/

hospitals at each magistracy where there was a District Surgeon. There is no evidence in the Despatches to show that he was successful in carrying out these proposals.

The Cultivation of Exportable Staples.

By the Charter it became the clear duty of the Lieutenant Governor and his Executive Council to interest themselves directly in the welfare of the Natives, instead of leaving their moral and industrial development to the almost unaided efforts of the Christian Missionaries. The encouragement of the Missionaries was begun in real earnest in 1857, but Scott did not content himself with that. As Paramount Chief of the Natives, he assumed the duty of introducing amongst them the cultivation of such exportable staple products as were best suited to their knowledge and the commercial situation of the Colony. In order that the duties of planting might pass from the women to the men, Scott afforded the Natives every facility for obtaining ploughs and other improved implements of agriculture, just as his predecessors had done. In a Speech to the Legislative Council in April 1859, Scott said:- "The end we have in view is . . . worthy of every effort. By the cultivation of cotton or any of the many other valuable staples suited to the climate, we shall give to the Native an industrial pursuit which will awaken in him a permanent interest in the soil; fit him to receive an independent title to the land he cultivates; and thus create in him, not only higher principles of Government, but set in action strong elements of civilisation."

Shepstone/

Shepstone had drawn up, as early as May 1856, a memorandum on the desirability of inducing the Native population of Natal to grow cotton, and on the best manner of accomplishing this, - in which he pointed out the danger of arousing the superstitions of the Natives, who might blame this innovation for all future misfortunes. This memorandum was sent to England in April 1858, when Scott was preparing to take active steps towards introducing cotton cultivation among the Natives.

One suggestion was the collection of the Hut Tax in cotton, even though this would have meant the Government's operating as merchants. It would further have necessitated compulsion in the matter of cotton cultivation, which might have resulted in Natives doing so much work for themselves, that the labour problem for Europeans would have become more acute than ever. Yielding to pressure from the Legislative Council, Scott decided against the Hut Tax proposal and began the experiment under the control of the Secretary for Native Affairs as a method of industrial training for the Natives.

Consequently in 1858 Mr. Struthers was appointed at a salary of £100 and with a travelling allowance of £50 to act under Mr. H. P. Fynn (the Resident Magistrate of Lower Umkomansi) as an instructor in the cultivation of cotton; and in the same year Mr. John Shepstone was similarly appointed as "Cotton Visitor of Native Tribes" in another district. Both appointments were temporary, as Scott anticipated difficulties because of Native superstitions, whose strength however he later found he had overestimated.

In 1858 also, the Secretary for Native Affairs was authorised/

ed to hand out money for the purchase of ploughs merely on verbal promises of repayment (within a fixed time and in cotton) by individual Natives desirous of adopting an improved system of agriculture. Twenty ploughs had been purchased on this system before May 1859.

The Reverend H.A.Wilder's American Mission Station on the Umwalumi River was one of the chief centres, at which the cultivation of cotton by Natives was begun with Government assistance. In 1859 he was given a gratuity of £50 for a water-course and a mill, and another of £20 for a cotton gin to be run by this water power, in addition to an annual allowance of £100.

The Government's efforts were watched with much interest by the Colonists, some of whom wrote letters to the Editors of The Natal Witness and The Natal Mercury in condemnation of the appointment of Struthers and John Shepstone as "Cotton Visitors" when these men knew much about the Zulus but very little about cotton.

In June 1860 the Legislative Council asked for a return showing the extent of land used by the Natives for the cultivation of cotton, the number of Natives who were cultivating cotton, the extent and the causes of success or failure of the Government's experiment, and various other facts. Apparently the Lieutenant Governor did not see fit to answer these questions, for they were repeated in July 1862, when the Secretary for Native Affairs replied in the following terms:- "The Government has succeeded in accomplishing two points with regard to the cultivation of cotton. It has overcome the prejudices of the Natives against the cultivation of any new product/

product which is not an article of food; and it has shown that the plant succeeds very well in this Colony. So long, however, as mealies command so high a price, it is not likely that the Natives will enter very largely into the cultivation of cotton."

Attempts were also made to introduce the cultivation of coffee, but the efforts do not appear to have been rewarded with much success. Certainly, too little was grown for export, though the value of the crop was clearly demonstrated and coffee is to-day grown with success. A further reference to the growing of coffee occurs later in this chapter.

At the Uxvoti the Government had, as we have seen, spent as early as 1862 large sums on the buildings and machinery necessary for a sugar mill for the benefit of the Natives. The experiment was too costly, and when the Government after a few years decided to close the mill, certain Natives clubbed together, leased the mill, and hired a European manager to run the mill for them.

Printing Grants: Dictionaries and Grammars:

Newspapers.

In May 1859, the Legislative Council asked the Lieutenant Governor to place not more than £100 on the Estimates as a grant in aid of the publication of Bishop Colenso's "Zulu - Xhosa Grammar". The request was granted in the following year, a grant of £50 having already been made to the Reverend Lewis Grout (an American missionary) for a similar purpose.

In connection with the appearance of the Bishop's "Zulu -

English/

English Dictionary", the Legislative Council suggested a second grant of £100 in June 1860, and the request was again granted.

Dr. Callaway, a physician who had come out with Dr. Colenso, was given a Grant of £200 in 1864 for the working of his printing press at Springvale (Upper Umkomazi).

In the same year the Reverend J. Tyler, the American missionary at Esidumbine, appealed for financial assistance in the training of a Native printer, and in the following year he was teaching several Native boys the art of printing. A Grant of £12 per annum was made in recognition of his work, a further sum of £12 a year being given in support of a small monthly journal published under the title "Ikwezi"¹.

The Results of the Appointment of a Select Committee
on Education in 1858.

In February 1858 a Select Committee consisting of five members of the Legislative Council considered the subject of Education generally in the Colony. Its report was presented in April of the same year, and dealt chiefly with the education of Europeans.

The Committee's recommendation concerning the creation of a Central Board of Education was adopted, and the Board came into existence in October, in order that it might frame and submit to the Legislative Council and the Lieutenant Governor a plan of General Education for the Colony. The Resolutions of the Board were presented in November, and dealt chiefly
with/

1. "Ikwezi" = a star. The journal ceased to appear in 1868, and no copies exist in the Government files. The Anglicans began the issue of a second "Ikwezi" in 1897 from Eshowe.

with the conditions¹ on which Aid should be given to schools, though no mention was made of Native schools.

One of the Board's Resolutions concerned the appointment of a General Superintendent of Education, a post which had also been suggested by the Select Committee earlier in the same year. Dr. Robert James Mann was appointed Superintendent² in the latter half of 1859.

By the end of the year he was able to report the existence of a few schools at work and in receipt of Government Aid; but the system was not fully developed until 1860. At some of these schools there were undoubtedly a small number of Native and Coloured pupils, but the schools were essentially European schools.

The Select Committee already mentioned was not entirely forgetful of the needs of the Native population, and Section 5 of its report deals with the question of Native Education. A "comprehensive system of English Education for the Natives" was recommended. The Committee said:- "It is our duty as Christians, and as Legislators" we should regard it as "a matter of primary consideration; as the vindication of the law will be rendered more easy and certain, in proportion to the discipline, intelligence and morality imported to the Caffre. The Government will be rendered more safe, Laws more respected, and life and property more secure."

When/

1. This Board, incidentally, seems to be responsible for the introduction of the system which involved payment of Grants in accordance with average daily attendance. Grants before 1859 appear to have been made on enrolment, and independently of daily variations in attendance.
2. The Board remained in existence for some time, but seems to have left the carrying out of its Resolutions to the newly appointed Superintendent.

When the Legislative Council considered in May 1859 the Report of a Select Committee appointed to report on the Resolutions of the Central Board of Education, the following resolution was adopted:- "That it shall be the duty of the General Inspector of Education to superintend and control all schools within the Colony receiving Aid from the Government - whether for white or for black scholars - if His Excellency the Lieutenant Governor will avail himself of his services for the latter purpose." As we have seen, the Superintendent visited the Native Aided Institutions for the first time in 1864.

Conditions of Grant¹.

As has been stated, the first systematic encouragement of missionary effort in education practically dates from 1857. The conditions of Government Grants appear to have been the following.

Industrial Training was made a special condition at the very beginning of this period; for experience had proved that Religious and Industrial Training should be combined, in order "to produce a lasting beneficial effect on a savage and really draw him out of barbarism". The cultivation of such crops as cotton was therefore encouraged.

Instruction in the English language was a necessity. In some schools Zulu and Religion were the main subjects, a smattering of English and a little Arithmetic being given in order to earn Grants. English as a medium was used in a remarkably large number of the schools.

The/

1. This subject has also had to be discussed in other sections of this chapter.

The teaching of Geography was also encouraged, though it was not essential.

Aided Schools were required to furnish periodical statements of the expenditure of the Grants made to them.

They were also required to be open at all times to the supervision of such officers as the Lieutenant Governor might appoint for the purpose of inspection.

The continuance of the Grants was contingent upon the success of these Aided Schools.

Natives and Europeans in the same Schools.

The instructions given to Lieutenant Governor Scott concerning the making of distinctions between British Subjects on the ground of colour have already been mentioned. They were absolute and unequivocal. One of his predecessors (Pine) had mentioned in a Despatch that Native pupils could be admitted to the Public Schools of the Colony, though very few indeed availed themselves of the opportunities so afforded them. The following extracts from reports on the Verulam Public School in 1857 and 1858 by an "inspecting" Resident Magistrate show that a change had taken place after Pine had gone. "The present number of the scholars in attendance amounts to 42 in all, of whom 29 are Europeans, and the remaining 13 are Native children" "The school-room, though an airy and substantial building, is not sufficiently large for carrying out a proper and satisfactory plan of instruction, especially as a considerable number of Native children are taught in the school."

This system however did not always work satisfactorily.

Concerning/

Concerning the Primary School at Durban the Superintendent of Education wrote in 1876:- "At the end of 1874 the numbers on the School Register were 122, of whom only forty were girls, and most of these infants; at the end of the first quarter (of 1875) Mr.Crowe had only forty-two girls, and of these seven only were not infants. He had been selected especially with a view to training pupil-teachers to supply the future masters and mistresses of our schools, but he was met by the difficulty that he had no girls old enough to make teachers, and the Superintendent, on enquiring into this matter, became aware that parents were withdrawing and withholding their children, especially their girls, in consequence of the presence of the children of St.Helena families. The Superintendent was also made aware that a similar feeling prevailed in other schools at Durban." The Superintendent took the matter into his own hands, as Sir Benjamin Pine was on the eve of leaving Natal, and, acting on a decision by Mr. Keate, agreed to the exclusion of the undesirable pupils on the ground that their presence was damaging the school. Sir Garnet Wolseley cancelled this order on his arrival, and the St.Helena children were readmitted. Immediately several European children left the school, but they returned, when it was discovered that the regulations applied to all Government and Aided Schools; and Mr. Crowe's outstanding ability soon built up the school to a state of prosperity never reached before.

In November 1882, the Council of Education telegraphed in reply to an enquiry from the Headmaster of the Newcastle School:- "Government Schools and Aided Schools are open to

all/

all classes of the community. Coloured children must however conform in all respects to European habits and customs." The sting, of course, was in the latter half of the instruction. We cannot in our day say definitely what the objections raised by the Colonists were, but in the opinion of some contemporary observers they did not object either to the presence of Coloured children merely because of their colour or to the education of the Coloured children. Thus in his Special Report on Government Aided Education (1875), Mr. Robert Russell, ^{the} former headmaster of the Durban school, wrote:- "The question is not whether they shall be educated, but whether they shall be allowed to sit side by side in the same schools with our children. Neither is it one merely of abstract right. The claims of these Coloured people as colonists and burgesses cannot be disputed. Their social position, however, is not high; and the characters of some of them would hardly bear scrutiny. Their ways of thought, and their habits and customs, are often widely different from our own. These considerations, and not the fact of mere difference in colour, are the causes of wide-spread feeling against them. On the other hand, their seeking the advantages of these schools, evidences a desire on the part of the parents to have their children trained in conformity with enlightened English ideas. This desire ought to be encouraged rather than checked. At the same time, it must be clearly understood that white people have 'rights' which they cannot afford to part with; and that not the least cherished by them is that the sense of honour, decency, and manliness inculcated in our children shall be fenced from injury by

every/

every possible security. Let us hope that with the adoption of needful safeguards all ill-feeling on this subject will gradually disappear, and that in time we shall see white and coloured children vying with each other in the attainment of the mental and moral qualities necessary for discharging successfully the domestic, civil, political, and religious duties of their common-home."

Apprentices and Industrial Training.

In 1659 the Lord Bishop selected ten of his best boys at Bishopstowe, placed them with artisans and master tradesmen in Pietermaritzburg to be trained as skilled workmen, and boarded as well as lodged them at his own expense with a clergyman who gave them further general instruction in the evenings. The plan met with the approval of the Lieutenant Governor, who agreed to make a grant of £12 per annum per apprentice as an aid towards maintenance. The number of boys was not to exceed ten, and the grants were to be given only for three years, the intention being to test thoroughly the value of the plan. We hear no more of the scheme, and may safely conclude that the results of the experiment were not entirely satisfactory.

The number of apprentices in the different Industrial Schools varied greatly from year to year, and no useful purpose can be served by tabulating the few available figures. The question of apprentices is referred to again in a later section of this chapter.

The character of the work done is of far greater interest than/

than the number of pupils receiving instruction. No syllabuses of work had been drawn up, and each Missionary concerned seemed to be able to follow his own devices, provided the "work" when inspected by the Government officials was found satisfactory. In 1868 the Lord Bishop used a large part of the Bishopstowe Grant for his printing and book-binding establishment, and Warwick Brooks, the Acting Superintendent and Visitor, commented unfavourably upon this practice, as the Grant had not been given for that purpose. At Indaleni the boys did plastering, white-washing, quarrying and dressing stone, building in stone, carting, ploughing, mowing, field-work generally, sawing, planing, and thatching. At Verulam the boys made and mended shoes, while the girls made and mended clothes. Dr. Callaway at Springvale produced a series of school books with the assistance of his boys. At Edendale, wagons and ploughs were repaired, a saw-pit was in use, a new work-shop was built, and various articles (bedsteads, chests, drawers, window sashes, doors, and coffins) were made.

The Government gradually became convinced that the moneys spent on Industrial Training were being wasted, and the Industrial Grants were withdrawn in the time of Lieutenant Governor Keate. This fact is referred to again in the next section of this chapter. Industrial Training as an essential part of Education for Natives did not come into prominence again until the Council of Education was given the control of the Native Schools in 1884.

The Reports of the Visitor of the Aided Native Institutions.

The Legislative Council, remembering its suggestion that
the/

the Superintendent of Education should, when appointed, control all Aided Schools in the Colony, asked in June 1860 for the Report by the Superintendent on the Schools receiving Grants from the Reserve for Native Purposes. The Lieutenant Governor replied that no such report existed, as the Superintendent had not been instructed to examine and report upon these schools.

The first report it has been possible to find is entitled "Report on the Native Schools in operation and in receipt of Aid from Government for the last six months of the year 1864." In this Report there occurs a sentence which leads one to understand that certain "reports" were made half-yearly, but it is extremely doubtful if these "reports" were anything more than annotated statistical returns made by the missionaries themselves. In any case, they have not been preserved.

According to this 1864 Report, there were in that year six Industrial Schools on mission stations receiving Grants from the Native Reserve Fund. At one of these places (Ungababa, a Church of England station) preparations were being made to instruct the Natives in the cultivation of coffee. On the other five stations (Indaleni, Verulam, Eden-dale, Springvale, and Umwalumi), there were seventy-eight Natives under industrial training, twenty-five being adults receiving instruction in general agriculture, while there were forty lads learning building, carpentry, joinery, and wagon-building. Of these lads twenty-one were indentured, usually for three years. Twenty-one girls were learning "cutting-out" and sewing. The Government Grants for these six schools

amounted/

amounted to £400¹ for these six months, while the entire cost of the schools during the period was nearly £1,250.

There were, according to the same Report, seven Native Day Schools of the First Class in 1864, with four hundred and sixty-seven Native children, who received instruction in English from fairly competent European teachers. The Grants for these schools totalled £350. The Natives themselves contributed £183.

In the same year there were four Evening Schools with two hundred pupils. Two of these schools received £50 each while the others received only £24 each per annum. In Allison's School in Pietermaritzburg only Zulu was taught, but in the other schools most of the pupils were also taught a little English. This was the case even in Illing's Unaided Evening School in Ladysmith, where there were seventy pupils.

Native Day Schools of the Second Class also existed at this time. There were ten of them, and each received a Grant of £24. The pupils, numbering nearly four hundred, were very young, and were taught chiefly in Zulu for religious purposes, though English was also taught for the sake of the Government Grants.

The Report closes with a recommendation concerning the establishment of a Central Training School in Pietermaritzburg before expansion in any other direction took place. It was expected that the Corporation of the town would give a site free, and Lieutenant Governor Scott was anxious to adopt the recommendation without delay; but the heavy cost of the Umvoti Government Sugar Mill for Natives inevitably led to the postponement and finally to the abandonment of the scheme. A

beginning/

1. Umwalumi and Umgababa received £100 each per annum, while the others received £200 each - therefore the total was probably £500, not £400.

beginning was to be made with two living-rooms, one dormitory, a kitchen, and the necessary outbuildings, together with two small rooms for a Resident Superintendent. The school was to be wholly a Government one, and was to be conducted for social and economical (not religious) purposes. Each chief was to send at least one boy to acquire (1) a thorough knowledge of English and Zulu and (2) the habits and customs of civilised men, so that these boys could later be either "civilisers and instructors" in Kraal Schools in all parts of the Colony or skilled artisans. The school was to be gradually extended in scope and size, and a class could then be conducted for English lads who wished to become Government Interpreters. The Secretary for Native Affairs also warmly approved of the whole scheme, and suggested the setting aside of £1,000 out of the Reserve Fund.

For the time nothing could be done, so a Grant of £100 was made in 1865 for the Central Training School on the Amanzimtote American Mission Station, in which eighteen boys were receiving instruction of a fairly advanced type. These boys were the brightest and most promising pupils of the other schools, from which they had been taken for a "more careful and complete training as teachers". A similar Presbyterian Training School was later opened by Allison in Pietermaritzburg, the enrolment in 1868 being thirty-four.

Dr. Mann was impressed in 1864 by the small results produced by the large Grants for Industrial Training. He therefore suggested "freer" Grants to make possible the substitution of the "elementary branches of education" for Industrial Training, and also small grants for less ambitious schools/

schools. The immediate result was an increase of nearly £200 on so-called "Common Schools" in 1865.

"The Visitor"¹ was once more on tour in 1868, and was asked to report specially on each Industrial School, in order that the Government might decide whether the Grants to these schools were worth while. If it was found desirable to withdraw these Grants, the moneys so saved would perhaps be expended on a "large, central, industrial establishment under Government control near Pietermaritzburg". Perhaps this investigation was partly due to the fact that the year 1868 was one of "continued depression in the affairs of the Colony" generally. Warwick Brooks found that the Missionaries felt the Industrial Grants as shackles - only one of the American Missionaries was keen on Industrial Training; and he deplored the scattering of the industrial instructors over the Colony, so that each instructor had only a few scholars.

The outcome of his enquiry was that Lieutenant Governor Keate decided to stop all Industrial Grants at the end of 1869, except in the case of Springvale, where Callaway had certain tasks in hand which could not be completed before the middle of 1870. This decision marked the beginning of a period of doubt and disillusionment, and the idea of Industrial Training, as we observed in the last section, did not come into prominence again for some time.

After the rearrangement of the Grants from the Reserve Fund, there were in 1871 three Central Training Schools (Amanzimtote, Inanda, and Pietermaritzburg), eight First Class Common Schools, twelve Second Class Common Schools, and three Evening Schools.

The/

1. T. Warwick Brooks, who was Acting Superintendent of Education at the time.

The work in these schools was carefully inspected by Warwick Brooks under the following heads:- "Spell Zulu. Read Zulu. Read Zulu Testament. Read Zulu Second Book. Read English Testament. Read other Books. Understand English. Reply in English. Zulu Dictation. English Dictation. Work Addition. Work Subtraction. Work Multiplication. Work Division. Work Higher Rules. Know Geography. Sewing." Statistical tables attached to his Report indicate how many scholars in each school could do each of the enumerated things. The list gives us an idea of the character of the work done in the best schools, and also indicates the attitude of Warwick Brooks towards "Results".

Central Schools: The Training of Teachers.

When Warwick Brooks visited Edendale in 1868, the Principal of that Institution expressed to "The Visitor" his firm belief in the Central School system which was in vogue at Amanzimtote. The Secretary for Native Affairs had approved Dr. Mann's suggestion of a Government Central School to be located in Pietermaritzburg; but his opinion changed, and he later stated that he considered the system a failure, though he recognised the good quality of the work done at Amanzimtote.

Dr. Callaway, having noticed the successes achieved at Amanzimtote, wished to start a Central School for boys at Springvale, and the Wesleyans planned a similar institution at Verulam; but Warwick Brooks declined under any circumstances to recommend the necessary Grants, ^{should} even if the Government find itself unable to open a Central School of its own. He took

up the attitude that payment should be by results, and that therefore the Missions should found institutions and prove the value of these before Government Aid was invoked.

Between 1869¹ and 1871 the American Missionaries were busy carrying out their plans for supplying their new kraal schools and the mission stations of other societies with teachers, plans which involved the enlarging of their Central Schools at Amanzixtote and Inanda. These plans were a departure from the methods prevailing in mission work. The Missionaries as a body had cherished the hope that the heathen would come to the schools and churches on the mission stations. The Americans now adopted the method of "planting" schools and churches near as many large kraals as they could, for which purpose Native teachers were trained in increasingly large numbers. Information concerning the character of the training given is unobtainable. Probably it was very largely academic rather than professional.

Warwick Brooks regarded this forward movement with regret, for he had been anxious to carry out Dr. Mann's scheme of placing the training of teachers beyond the control of any religious body. Moreover, he thought that these "new" Native teachers would be successful only near the mission stations or in Native villages built after the European fashion (Now Leeds, Impolweni, and Springfield near Durban, for instance), - the Chiefs and Headmen would resent direct attacks on tribal customs in their strongholds.

The Education of Native Girls.

By 1868 the Missionaries had begun to realise that

strenuous/

1. Population in 1869, according to Lieutenant Governor Keate:- 17,821 Europeans; 5,297 Indians; 246,244 Natives.

strenuous efforts would have to be made in the direction of more or less advanced education for the girls, as semi-educated women had not proved to be the best wives for the Native leaders trained by the Missionaries. The Wesleyans tried to improve the mentality and the outlook of the women especially at Verulam, where their efforts met with greater success than at Edendale. Finally in March 1869 Lindley, an American, started an altogether new scheme at Inanda, where he placed a Mrs. Edwards¹ in charge of a new Girls' School similar to the existing Boys' School at Amanzimtote. The experiment was successful, and was copied later at Indaloni, a Wesleyan Mission Station. Mrs. Edwards is frequently commended in the Reports of the time for employing "the admirable school drill used in the United States", - whatever that may have been.

Native Enterprise.

Warwick Brooks found at New Leeds in 1868 a school that was run entirely by Natives. The teacher they then employed had been trained at Mr. Ayliff's school in the Cape Colony, and appears to have been an excellent teacher in every way. For three years he had carried on the school with no assistance. The Wesleyans had given him some books for use in the school, and each head of a family paid four shillings a month towards the expenses of the school. Instruction was through the medium of English. Warwick Brooks was delighted with his visit to this school, and wrote a long account of the work there. His report concluded with the recommendation

that/

1. This lady died at Inanda only a few months ago.

that an Annual Grant of £16 or £18 should be made, to keep the school going and to encourage the opening of similar schools in other parts of Natal.

Reference has already been made to the enterprise of certain Natives in connection with the Umvoti sugar mill.

Sir Benjamin Pine's Disappointment in 1873.

Sir Benjamin C.C.Pine had been one of Natal's earliest Lieutenant Governors, and he returned in October 1873 to resume his former duties. In his Opening Speech at the First Session of the Seventh Legislative Council, he gave utterance to his disappointment that more progress had not been made in raising the Natives to the level of European civilisation. His speech concluded with an appeal to the Colonists to shoulder their burden of responsibility, and made a deep impression on all who heard it. The Council replied to his speech in very feeling terms, and promised him all the support they could possibly give, - an attitude very different from that taken up by their predecessors in the time of Lieutenant Governor Scott.

In a Despatch sent in April 1874 Pine said: "The Native population¹ of this country has immensely increased, and the two races have not as was anticipated become linked together by the bonds of mutual dependance and assistance. . . . They² are two races living side by side in a comparatively small area - totally differing in feelings, usages and traditions - and bound together by no tie of mutual dependance except the dependance created by the feeling/

1. 100,000 Natives in 1848.
246,000 Natives in 1869.
350,000 Natives in 1875.

feeling of protection given by the white colonists to the Natives." In the same Despatch he referred to the "danger arising from the immediate contact of two alien races, pressing each other at every point without mingling."

When Sir Garnet Wolseley visited Natal during Sir Benjamin Pine's visit to England, he felt certain that war¹ between Blacks and Whites was an absolute certainty, and therefore asked the Imperial Government to agree to an extra expenditure of £20,000 on the Police Force. The Chiefs were as powerful as ever, and both Wolseley and Pine were certain that these autocrats were responsible for the smallness of the successes gained by the Missionaries in their endeavours to civilise the Natives.

The Report of the 1873 Select Committee on the
Supply of Labour.

The recommendations which the Committee submitted for the consideration of the Council were twofold:- some were intended to give an immediate incentive to labour; while others dealt with the creation in the rising generation of Natives of new habits and aims in life, which would have an effect on the supply of good labour in the future.

The Lieutenant Governor, as Supreme Chief, should "require and compel the attendance" of Native children for a period of years at schools giving "an industrial and educational training." At least one school should be erected in each Location
without/

1. The writer has been unable to find any justification for the following statement by Russel in "Natal: The Landwits Story":- "Sir Garnet Wolseley was able to report to Lord Carnarvon that 'the Natives of Natal are happy and prosperous - well-off in every sense', and that they and their white neighbours were on the best of terms."

without delay, the funds to be raised by direct demands for special contributions from the inhabitants of the Locations. Similar schools for Natives not living in the Locations were to be erected in other parts of the Colony with funds got from Native squatters on Crown Lands and from the Native Reserve Fund. Assistant Magistrates should be placed in all of the Locations.

The 1873 Education Commission

(Chairman: Charles Barter).

This Commission commenced its sittings in April 1873 and reported in September 1874. Native Education was hardly touched upon, owing to the unavoidable absence of the Secretary for Native Affairs, 1873 being the year of Cetuywayo's Coronation and the Langalibalele revolt. The Commission contented itself with making the following recommendations:-

(1) That the Government should support to the uttermost (a) the schools already in existence for the training of Native teachers, (b) the schools which really trained the Natives in civilised habits, and (c) the Kraal Schools supervised by the Missionaries. (2) That Sub-Inspectors acquainted with the Zulu language should be appointed to examine the Native Schools and report to The Visitor of Native Institutions, as the latter officer was really too busy to examine even the European children thoroughly.

Mr. Robert Russell was appointed an Associate Inspector of Aided Schools in January 1875, his duties being "to examine the schools of the Government receiving Government Aid, and

to/

to report on their state and condition, confining as much as possible" his "report to facts observed by" him. It was the intention that he should inspect all Aided Schools in the counties of Durban, Pietermaritzburg, Victoria, and Alexandra; but he was soon instructed to confine his attention to the European Schools of the whole Colony (seven counties).

Law 15 of 1877: The Council of Education.

Law 15 of 1877 was passed "to make better Provision for Primary or Elementary Education in the Colony of Natal", and came into effect in January 1878. This measure provided for the creation of a Council of Education consisting of ten members, five of whom were to be members of both the Executive Council and the Legislative Council. The members of the Council of Education were to be appointed for two years, and no clergyman could become a member. Meetings were to be monthly, but an Administrative Committee of three was appointed to give effect to any general resolutions passed by the Council.

The Superintendent of Education was now called the "Superintending Inspector of all Schools established, maintained, or assisted by the Government", and the Lieutenant Governor was enabled to appoint an "Assistant Inspector" or Assistant Inspectors of such schools. Both the Superintending Inspector/^{and} the Assistant Inspector were to be subordinate to the Council of Education, whereas the Superintendent had formerly been directly responsible to the Lieutenant Governor.

Primary or Elementary Schools were divided into two classes/

classes: Schools maintained entirely from Public Funds, and Assisted Schools. The law further made provision for the establishment and maintenance of two Primary Model Schools (one for boys, and the other for girls) in each of the towns of Pietermaritzburg and Durban. To each of these Model Schools a number of Pupil Teachers were to be attached. As we have already seen, Natives and Coloureds could not be refused admittance to these schools, though comparatively few Natives availed themselves of the opportunities so provided. An Infant School was also to be established in each of the towns mentioned.

The remuneration of teachers was to consist "of a Salary, of a Capitation Grant in proportion to the attendance in respect of numbers and regularity of pupils at the schools, and of a Capitation Grant in proportion to the educational results".

The 1881 - 1882 Natal Native Commission
 (Chairman: H.Connor).

The Commission declared that there was little desire among "ordinary" Natives for Education, but that no Government opposition should be made to the placing of schools in Locations, especially among tribes either favourably disposed or too small to oppose, so that the bigger tribes might in the end, ask for similar schools.

In these Location Schools, no fees should be charged to begin with, and a reasonable amount of compulsion should be employed to secure satisfactory attendance.

Instruction/

Instruction in English was considered by the Commission to be an essential, as was instruction in active games of some kind.

Another recommendation was that the Chiefs should be induced to ^{communicate} correspond with the Government in writing instead of orally, so that the desire for Education might become more general, at a ny rate among Chiefs and Headmen who were favourably disposed.

Industrial Education of a kind was being got on the farms and in the towns, but the Commission felt that this was not enough; and it recommended (1) the apprenticing of selected youths to tradesmen in towns and (2) the founding of a school (or schools) for elementary instructions in the trades before such periods of apprenticeship should begin.

A much more important recommendation was that there should be appointed a Special Superintendent of all Schools for Natives supported or aided by the Government. This idea was revived by the Native Education Advisory Board in 1917 - ten years after its creation.

Illing's School at Ladysmith.

The Reverend W.H. Illing was unsupported by any Society, and up to the end of 1867 had received only £25 out of the Reserve for Native Purposes. He taught Zulu, Dutch, English, Arithmetic, Geography, Greek, Latin, English and other European History, and the Catechism. His hold over, and his influence upon, the Natives and the Coloureds in their village just outside Ladysmith were truly remarkable. He

was/

was the very soul and centre of the whole village. When urged to take a much-needed holiday, he said: "If I leave them longer than five days, they would forget everything". On one occasion he threatened his flock that he would ask the Resident Magistrate to send them to prison "for despising their opportunities". Whatever we may think of the curriculum followed by the most advanced pupils in his school, we must admit with the officials of his time that the uplifting of the Native races would have been comparatively easy, had the efforts of other missionaries been attended with the success that followed the work of this lonely pioneer.

The Disadvantages of the Connection of Missionaries
with Education.

When Warwick Brocks visited the various Native Schools and Institutions in 1868, he discovered that the Natives at Hermannsburg would not send their children to school, as they considered schooling to be part of the new religion. Shepstone called this the great drawback of the method of employing missionary agency in Native Education, but he frankly admitted that he failed to discover any more suitable agency.

The Influence of the Secretaries for Native Affairs.

Mr. Theophilus Shepstone's title was changed in 1853 to "Secretary for Native Affairs", and he held this position until 1877, when as Her Majesty's Special Commissioner he carried out the annexation of the Transvaal. Mr. J. W. Shepstone/

stone was Acting Secretary for Native Affairs from 1877 to 1884, when Mr. H.C. Shepstone was appointed Secretary, a post which he held until the granting of Responsible Government in 1893.

The names of the Secretaries for Native Affairs seldom occur in this chapter, because they were men who worked silently. In the numerous documents that have been consulted for this period, their names seldom appear. All Reports and recommendations by "The Visitor of Native Institutions" were however submitted to the S.N.A. for his consideration before they were forwarded to the Lieutenant Governor. In the margins and at the foot of the various Reports we find remarks such as these:- "Grant recommended. T.S., S.N.A." "Suggested that this grant be not increased as recommended by The Visitor. T.S., S.N.A." Occasionally small paragraphs appear in the margins in support or condemnation of certain proposals; but the writer has not been able to discover any document on Native Education prepared by the Secretaries for Native Affairs. Nevertheless, their influence must have been tremendous, and we can say with certainty that no questions were decided, before the advice of the Native Affairs Department had been obtained.

CHAPTER IV.1884 - 1894.CONTROL BY THE COUNCIL OF EDUCATION:THE APPOINTMENT OF AN INSPECTOR OF NATIVE EDUCATION:THE QUESTION OF INDUSTRIAL TRAINING.

Parallel Political and Other Events.

- 1882 Sir Henry Bulwer returned as Governor.
- 1883 Death of Bishop Colenso ("Usobantu").
- 1884 Death of Cetymayo in February.
Dinizulu became King of the Zulus.
- 1894-1886 Gold discovered in the Transvaal.

- 1886 "The New Republic" recognised by the British Government.
Sir Arthur Havelock came as Governor.
- 1887 The Queen's Jubilee.
Ezululand declared British territory in May.
- 1888 "The New Republic" annexed to the Transvaal.
- 1889 British South Africa Company established.
Sir Charles Mitchell returned as Governor.
- 1891 Railway line completed to Charlestown.
- 1892 Railway line completed to Harrismith.
Bishop Macrorie resigned.
- Death of Sir Theophilus Shepstone ("Sontseu").
Death of Mr. George Cato.
- 1893 Bishop Baynes arrived.
Natal got Responsible Government (Sir John Robinson,
Premier).
Sir Walter Hely-Hutchinson arrived as Governor.
-

Contents of Chapter IV.

The Control of Native Education between 1884 and 1894.

Law 1 of 1884.

The 1885 Mission Reserves Commission.

The Council of Education, The Native Education Committee,
and The Inspector of Native Education.

Industrial Training.

The Zwart Kop Industrial School.

Finance and Grants.

Standards of Instruction.

The Teachers.

The Classification of Schools.

Mr. Plant's first Reports and his Minute on Native Education.

The Umsinga Mountain Controversy.

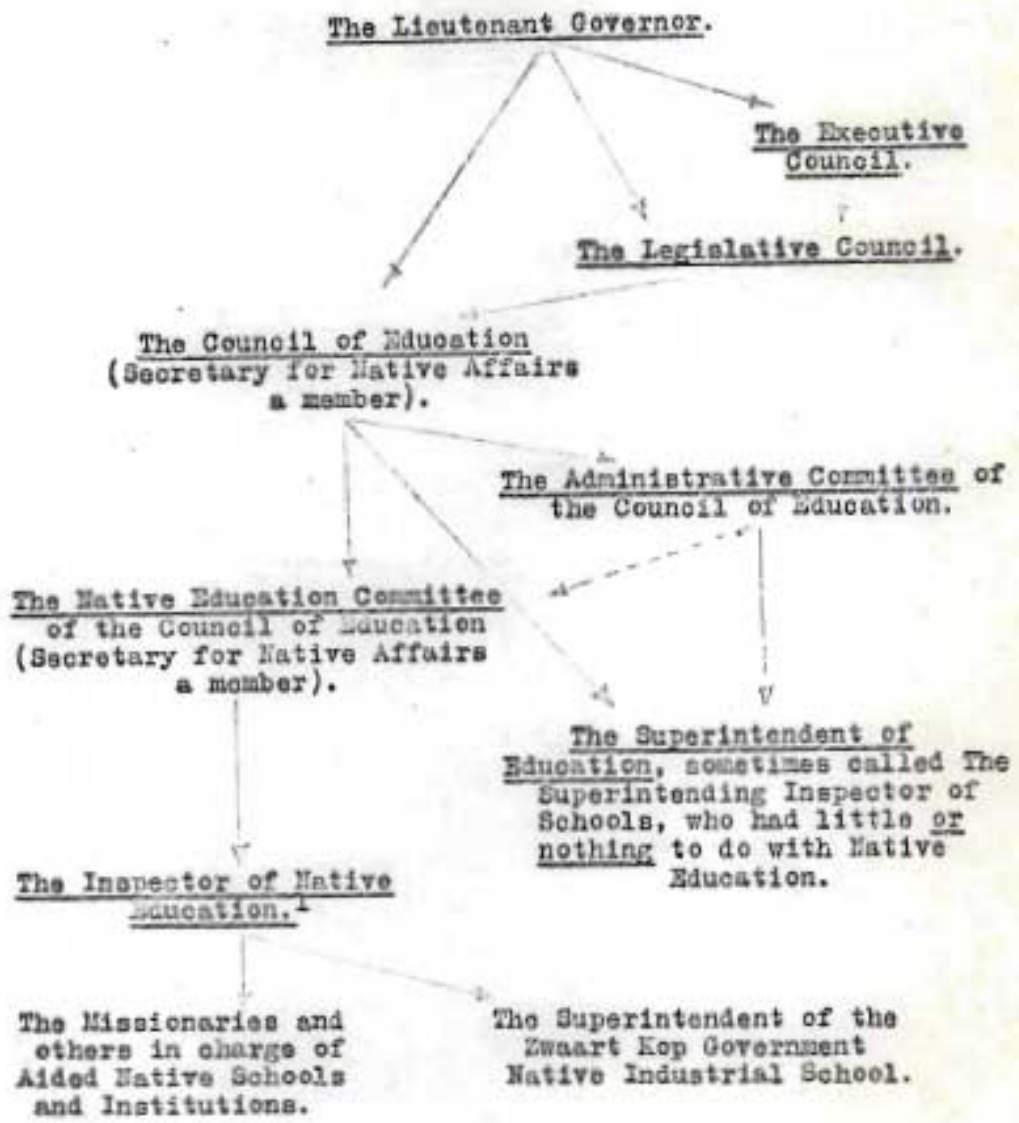
Roman Catholic Criticism: An Abbot's Views;
Mr. Plant's Report on Mariannhill;
The Superintendent of Education's
Report on Mariannhill.

A Magistrate's Suggestion.

The Presence of Coloured Children in the Public Schools.

Zululand.

The Control of Native Education between 1884 and 1894.



1. Mr. Fred B. Fynney was appointed in April 1885. He died in June 1888.
 Mr. Robert Russell (the Superintendent of Education) acted for a few months.
 Mr. Robert Plant was appointed in October 1888.

Law 1 of 1884.

For the Promotion of Elementary Education among
the children of the Native Population.

1. By this law it became the duty of the existing Council of Education:- (a) to take such measures as might be most advisable (subject always to the approval of the Governor) for the establishment and maintenance of schools for the education of Native children of either sex or both sexes in the Native Locations and other parts of the Colony; (b) to frame Rules and Regulations for the above purpose, for the government and discipline of the schools so established, for the holding of inspections and examinations, for the awarding of prizes to encourage the children, and in respect of all matters coming within the intent of the Law but not otherwise specially provided for under the Law; and (c) from time to time as occasion might require to repeal, alter, or amend all the Rules and Regulations so made.
2. The number of members of the Council was increased from ten to twelve. The Governor was to appoint the two additional members from persons, acquainted with the Zulu language and Native habits and customs, and taking an interest in Native Education.
3. The Council was authorised and empowered to appoint a Committee of its members for the purposes of Native
Education/

Education, such Committee to contain the two members referred to and the Secretary for Native Affairs (if he was a member of the Council).

4. The Council, subject to the approval of the Governor, was to appoint to all schools so established proper persons to be teachers, assistant teachers, or pupil teachers, and to make Rules and Regulations regarding the appointment and payment of such teachers.
5. The course of instruction to be given in all such schools was to include the following subjects:- (a) Reading and Writing in the English Language; (b) Reading and Writing in the Zulu Language; (c) Arithmetic, up to and including the rule-of-three; (d) Elements of Industrial Training; and (e) in Girls' Schools, Sewing and plain Needle-work.
6. In all these schools instruction was also to be given in the principles of morality, inculcated and explained to the children in a manner adapted to their capacities (subject always to such rules as might be laid down by the Council).
7. The children taught in the schools so established and maintained were to be not less than six years or more than fifteen years of age.
8. It also became lawful for the Council to aid and assist out of the funds placed at its disposal any schools established, maintained, and conducted by the
various/

various Missionary Churches and Societies in the Colony or by private persons for the Education of the Native population, if the schools so assisted or maintained conformed in their course of instruction and their management to such Rules and Regulations as the Council might lay down as necessary.

9. The funds at the disposal of the Council were to consist of ^(a) such portions of the amount of £5,000 reserved annually under the Charter for Native purposes as were placed at its disposal by the Governor, and (b) of such further sums of money as might be voted by the Legislature of the Colony from time to time or be otherwise acquired by the Council for the purposes of Native Education.
10. The Natal Native Trust was empowered to alienate and grant to the Council for the purposes of Native Education such portions of Native Location lands as might from time to time be required as sites for schools and school purposes.
11. The Governor was enabled to appoint an officer, to be called the "Inspector of Native Education", whose duty it should be (a) to aid and assist the Council of Education in establishing schools for the education of Native children; and (b) to take such active part (in the name of the Council, and under its control) as might be deemed necessary in directing and superintending the establishment of such schools, their management when
established/

established, and the course of instruction and education to be given in them. It was to be the duty also of the Inspector (c) to visit and inspect such Government schools, as well as all such schools for the education of the Native population as should be aided or assisted by the Government, and (d) to report upon the same, and (e) generally to carry out the directions of the Council in all such matters as might pertain to the establishment and maintenance of schools and to the course and conduct of the education given in them.

12. It was to be the duty of the Inspector of Native Education to inspect once at least in every year every school established and maintained or assisted under the Law, and to furnish an Annual Report in writing to the Governor upon (a) the number of schools so established and maintained or assisted, (b) the nature of the instruction given in these schools, (c) the attainments and progress of the Natives receiving education in them, (d) the state of the school buildings and premises, and (e) the discipline, management, and efficiency of the individual schools.

13. The Inspector of Native Education had to be acquainted with the Zulu language, and he was to receive a salary not exceeding £400 a year, subject to six months' notice and without claim to pension, together with travelling expenses at the rate of twenty shillings a day for every day that he was engaged in his duties of inspection.

14. Copies of his Annual Report, together with a statement of all accounts of the receipt and expenditure under the provisions of the Law, were to be laid before the Executive Council and the Legislative Council as soon as possible after the termination of each year.
15. The Law was styled and cited as "The Native Primary Education Law of 1883".

x.

The only school founded by the Council in accordance with the first provision of this Law and with Ordinance 2 of 1856 was the Government Industrial School at Zwaart Kop. Its history is given later in this chapter. When this Law was partially repealed by Act 5 of 1894, the Government remained legally able to establish and maintain Government Native Schools, though no such action was taken until 1917 and 1918.

By Law 17 of 1884, a knowledge of the Zulu Language was declared unnecessary on the part of the so-called "Native" members of the Council, as it had been found impossible to apply the original regulation concerning this qualification.

Before the carrying out of Law 1 of 1884 is considered, it should be of interest to take stock of the position as it existed, before the passing of the Law could have been had any effect. The 1885 Reserves Commission gives in its very lengthy Report an excellent idea of the stage reached by the Missions in that year as far as the civilization of the Natives was concerned; and that may be taken as some criterion of educational achievement.

111

The 1885 Mission Reserves Commission.

The Report of this Commission is here summarised to give an idea of what progress Mission Work in general had made, before the Council of Education was entrusted with the control of Native Schools.

On the Umtwalume (American) Reserve there had been eighty-one applications for individual titles, and the survey fees had been paid; but no titles had been issued, because at the Umvoti some holders had relapsed to heathenism and were likely to fall into the hands of money lenders.

On the Ifafa (American) Reserve there was no white missionary resident. This was not a good Reserve, as it was too close to sugar plantations, and therefore to plentiful supplies of ^rteacle for the making of intoxicating drinks. There had been a few applications for titles, which came to nothing for the same reason as at Umtwalume. Some plots had actually been surveyed, and some Natives in the neighbourhood wished to purchase in the Reserve, but thought they were prohibited from doing so.

The Amahlongwa (American) Reserve also had no white missionary resident. The missionaries had been withdrawn at the request of the Society in America to try the experiment of making the Natives independent of "spoon-feeding". This policy was reversed in 1885, when the local American missionaries applied to the parent body for six new missionaries for these and other stations. Some Natives in the neighbourhood had wished to buy holdings and had paid survey fees, but no titles were ever issued. The Natives then bought Crown

lands/

lands close by.

StMichael's (Roman Catholic) Reserve was a complete failure, for the people would not acknowledge Mission Control, and the Missionary left in disgust.

The Ifume (American) Reserve was started by the Reverend Daniel Lindley in 1837. In 1885 there was no white missionary resident.

At Amanzimtoti (an American Reserve) thirty-eight Natives had titles. They were mostly Christians, and had paid survey fees only. No titles were issued after 1860, for fear of alienation and the leaving of the plots vacant. Twenty more plots had been surveyed, but no titles were issued. The whole Mission effort was by far the most advanced of its kind in 1885.

The Umlaas (Church of England) Reserve had no one in charge at all, and the lands seemed to have been used in an unauthorised way.

The Indaleni (Wesleyan) Reserve was founded by Allison in 1850. No titles had been given, but the Natives had bought Crown and private lands near the station. No glebe had ever been surveyed. The Commission wrote of this place as follows:- "The Indaleni Mission Station should not only be viewed as it now is, but as having been a centre from which great influence and good have gone out in years past. It is the parent of many missions in the Colony. Edendale was formed by Christians who went from here. Then from Edendale have been formed the 'Driefontein', 'Telapi', 'Jonono's Kop', and Bushman's River Missions about Ladysmith; and 'Indaleni' too has sent out men by whom the 'Dronk Vlei' and Ixopo

Missions/

Missions have been founded. Still, having done this, it has an increasing population in itself."

The Inanda (American) Reserve was one of the oldest Mission Stations. The Commission wrote:- "This Mission, we consider, is conducted in a very satisfactory manner, and the lands are fully utilised for the purposes for which they were set apart."

The Table Mountain (American) Reserve had no missionary since Mr. Dohne left in 1870, and had not been visited by a white missionary for four years. About £2,000 had been collected by the Americans from the sale of fire-wood, but only £25 had been spent on this Reserve. The money was used elsewhere. No wonder the Commission said that this Reserve had not been properly used.

The Itafanasi (American) Reserve had an ordained Native minister in charge.

On the Umaunduzi (American) Reserve enough coffee was grown for the needs of all on the Reserve, and tea was grown by one Native. The Commission was quite satisfied with this Station.

The Charlotte Dole (American) Reserve was started by Aldin Groot, before Natal became British, on the Umvoti River, and one hundred and fifty titles had been given to Amakolwa¹ and Heathens. When the Government Sugar Mill closed in 1878, it was leased by four Natives, who employed a white man to run it. There were one hundred and fifty acres of cane, and also superior houses and furniture. Trees had been planted (on the European's land probably).

At/

1. Believers, Christians.

At the Isidumbini (American) Reserve a Native teacher was in charge, and he was managing the affairs of the place satisfactorily.

On the Nonoti River a Reserve had been promised to the Bishop in 1869, and was surveyed in 1870; but the transfer was never completed; therefore no mission work had been done.

In the Mapumulo (American) Reserve no titles had been given to the Natives, but the place was well managed.

The same remark was made about the Umpumulo (Norwegian) Reserve.

The Elianzeni (Hanoverian) Reserve was started in 1865 by Mr. Moe, and the glebe had been transferred, but not the Reserve. The school hours were equally divided between learning and working (for boarders and regular attenders). Twelve teachers were being trained there (eleven of them for other schools). There was a brass band of seventeen instruments from Germany. This was a new departure in Native Education.

The Itanheni (Hanoverian) Reserve was established in 1856 in an unsuitable locality. The heathen there were exceptionally "hard".

The Drakensberg (Berlin) Reserve was one of the oldest missions, but the Reserve had been surveyed only a few years when the Commission made its visit, and no transfer had been secured.

Conclusions arrived at by the Commission: The main object in making these Reserves was to secure a fixed Native population near each mission station, to ensure work without hindrance. This object had been attained, as most of the

Reserves/

Reserves were well peopled.

The Natives were to have been encouraged and enabled to obtain title to land in these Reserves. No grants had been made, except at Ifafa, Ifumi, Amanzimtote, and Charlotte Dale, because the missionaries were generally opposed to the granting of land-titles. The missionaries may have had good reasons for their objections but these had SURELY been well met. The Governor's consent had to be got for the alienation of any such lands¹; and further restrictions could, if necessary, have been put into the title-deeds.

Some of the Reserves had only two trustees. This was bad, for a majority of the trustees had to apply for the title-deeds.

The Commissioners were of the opinion that (with the exception of Nonoti, Table Mountain, and Umlaas) these lands had been used to a certain extent for mission work, but that the objects sketched by Lieutenant Governor Scott in his opening speech made to the first Legislative Council had not been attained.

The Council of Education, The Native Education Committee, and The Inspector of Native Education.

The first "Committee for the Purposes of Native Education" appointed in accordance with Section 3 of Law 1 of 1884 consisted of the Secretary for Native Affairs and Messrs. A.S. Windham and R. Lindsay. This Committee was upon its appointment in November 1884 instructed by the Council of Education to draw up a General Report on Native Education indicating
desirable/

1. This is indicated in the various Despatches dealing with the subject.

desirable future action. No copy of this Report exists, as the files and letter books of the Council of Education have been destroyed, and as the Minutes of the Council were not very full in the first months of its existence. The Report was read by the Council at the end of December 1884, and it was resolved to print it and circulate it among the members of the Council.

At the same time the Council respectfully requested the Governor to appoint an Inspector of Native Education as soon as possible. The official notification of the appointment of Mr. Fred B. Fynney as Inspector of Native Education¹ was read before the Council in April 1885. In February 1887 the Superintending Inspector of Schools (Mr. R. Russell) was instructed to act for Mr. Fynney, who was given three months' sick leave. Mr. Fynney died on the 4th of June 1888, while he was on a month's sick leave, and Mr. Russell was again appointed to act. Mr. Plant was appointed in October 1888.

Industrial Training.

The Native Education Committee was instructed in June 1885 to co-operate with the Inspector of Native Education in defining what might be considered Industrial Training, in formulating some system for carrying out such Industrial Education, and in drawing up a list of those schools which
should/

1. The Inspector of Native Education was always a very subordinate officer. He seemed to have power only to inspect the schools and advise the Native Education Committee, which in turn had no power. All the power was in the hands of the Council of Education, though naturally the decisions of the Council were always subject to the Governor's approval.

should no longer receive grants. Their report was presented in the following month; and the result was a resolution by the Council that Law 1 of 1884 should be amended, to give the Council power to relax the regulation concerning instruction in the "Elements of Industrial Training" in the case of any particular existing school. Forty such schools were nominated. In the meantime Law 1 of 1884 had to be observed by all schools receiving Aid, even by those which had been notified that their Grants would soon cease. The difficulty arose, because the Missions had no funds to buy expensive tools or to hire good artisans. The Inspector suggested, in his Report for 1885, that increased grants should be made to help the Missions to meet the situation.

At the same time the Council decided that it would be desirable to raise the age limit from fifteen to seventeen for boys in Industrial Schools. Both of these amendments were made by Law 13 of 1885. In 1891 there were only three hundred and sixty-four boys and three hundred and ten girls over age. Many boys, in fact, left at the age of eleven or twelve years to go to work.

The newly appointed Inspector had drawn up a scheme for a Model Farm, and his suggestion was embodied in the report which the Native Education Committee presented to the Council in July 1885; but the matter was allowed to stand over.

In October 1886 the Committee met a deputation from the Natal Missionary Conference, and discussed the question of altering the Native Education Law. Apparently many of the Missionaries were strongly opposed to being forced to do anything but very simple Industrial Work, and in February 1888

the Council received from the Natal Missionary Conference a Draft Bill for the Amendment of the Native Education Law. This discussion bore fruit in Law 38 of 1888, which is dealt with in a later paragraph.

In the Council itself opinion was divided on the question of Industrial Training, for in the same month Mr. Henry Bale asked for "Manual" Work to be given the same footing as "Industrial" Work, and for relaxation to be possible even in the case of schools founded after the passing of the Law. As we shall presently see, the Council did make a relaxation in the case of their new Branch School at Zwaart Kop.

The Council seemed however to be very uncertain as to what the best system of Industrial Training for the Natives might be. No information was available from the Cape, for there Native Education was more definitely "academic" than the Council wished the Natal system to be. Consequently the Secretary of the Council was instructed to obtain, if possible, reports concerning the working of Native Industrial Schools in Fiji; but there is nothing to indicate that this information, if it was obtained, had any influence upon the Native Schools in Natal.

Law 38 of 1888 gave effect to some of the recommendations of the Native Education Committee. Law 1 of 1884 had demanded "Industrial" Work in all Aided Schools. Law 38 of 1888 stated that "Manual" Work would be accepted in place of "Industrial" Work. The Council of Education was further given power to classify all Aided Schools into these three classes:- (1) Industrial Schools, where regular instruction was given in trades or handicrafts, on the highest scale of grants. (2)

Schools/

Schools giving manual or field labour regularly, the work to be approved by the Council, and the grants to be on a lower scale. (3) Schools giving no regular instruction in trades or handicrafts, or in manual or field labour - the schools provided for in Section 1 of Law 13 of 1885. The maximum scale of grants to each kind of school was to be fixed by rules adopted by the Council of Education and approved by the Governor in Council, but the actual grants to each school were to be fixed by the Council alone.

The Law was to come into force in January 1889, but prompt action does not seem to have been taken, and the delay was responsible for much discontent later. In March 1889 the Inspector of Native Education was called upon to submit a classification of all schools receiving Government Grants in accordance with the new Law, and the scheme was submitted to the Committee in June. The Committee placed a suggested basis of grading before the Council in November 1889, and at the same time succeeded in getting from the Council a promise to refuse grants on the suggested scales to any schools failing to comply with the standards laid down by the Council from time to time. Without this last proviso, the purposes of Law 1 of 1884 (especially Section 8), which had not made provision for any change in the regulations for Aided Schools, would have been defeated. On whatever principle the grants may have been made, certainly no proper system of grading had been adopted before the end of 1892, though this had been discussed at great length in that year.

Bale urged early in 1890 that a large Central Industrial Institution should be authorized for the training of Natives.

Perhaps/

Perhaps he was thinking of the comparative failure of Zwaart Kop. His motion was changed after considerable discussion in the Council, and it was decided that it was desirable to take steps to provide Industrial and Domestic Training for Native boys and girls by means of central institutions established in suitable localities, and a Committee was appointed to frame a draft scheme. Nothing was done, it would seem, for in 1892 Bale urged the introduction in the Native as well as the European Schools of Manual Training according to the Swedish system of alcyd or according to the system prevailing in the United States of America. His suggestion was taken up by the Administrative Committee of the Council of Education.

The Report for the eighteen months which ended in June 1891 indicates that in this period two hundred and twenty boys were learning a trade, while two hundred and fifty girls were learning house-work. At the same time, of the younger pupils one hundred and twenty boys were learning Gardening and one thousand two hundred girls were learning Sewing. This is very creditable when we take into consideration the inadequacy of the school/ grants. Further, schools might comply with the conditions legally imposed and yet find that the expected increased grants were not forthcoming. The strange thing is that so many schools kept on steadily improving their apparatus and equipment in the hope of earning better grants - and this too, when many parents were not in favour of "work" in the schools, which they looked upon as places of "learning" only. "Work", they said, came in out-of-school and after-school life.

The Zwaart Kop Industrial School.¹

In February 1885 Mr. R. Lindsay (a member of the Native Education Committee) proposed in an Ordinary Meeting of the Council of Education that two schools be established under the provisions of Law 1 of 1884, one in the Impendhle Location and the other in the Zwaart Kop Location, both under European teachers. The Council wanted a Government School for Natives as soon as possible, and, acting on the recommendation of the Native Education Committee, decided that a start should be made in one locality. The Committee suggested that the Zwaart Kop Location should be examined by the Inspector for a suitable site, and the Council agreed. A site was chosen, and in October 1885 the Colonial Engineer was instructed to prepare plans for the Zwaart Kop School, while the Natal Native Trust was asked to agree to the use of fifty acres for the purpose, £600 being voted for the foundation of the school. A tender of £562² for the erection of "The Zwaart Kop Industrial School" was accepted by the Council in December 1885. The school was to be ready by the end of April 1886; and the Native Education Committee suggested that Mr. Samuel Gibbs be appointed "Superintendent" at the salary of £150 per annum from the 1st of April, in order to enable him to become acquainted with the people and to supervise the equipment³. In July 1886

Timothy/

1. The history of this school contains what may seem an unnecessary amount of detail. These have been included at the request of various officials and other persons interested in Native Education. The records consulted are NOT in the possession of the Education authorities.

2. The total cost was actually £612:7s.3d.

3. Two manuscript books by Mr. Gibbs had been submitted to the Council in January 1886 - an English-Kafir Vocabulary, and an Elementary English Grammar in English and Kafir.

* Timothy Zuma was appointed Assistant Teacher at Zwaart Kop as from the 1st of August in the same year. His salary was to be £2:10s. a month, but he was to get board and lodging free. At the same time arrangements were being made for the services of a competent Industrial Teacher, and temporary assistance was authorised in case it should be necessary.

The approaching opening of the school was advertised to the surrounding Natives, and four applications for admission as boarders were made at once. The school was opened on the 1st of August, but the surrounding Natives were unwilling to take advantage of the opportunities thus offered to them. Nevertheless the Native Education Committee was hopeful that the attendance would rapidly improve. Luke Kumalo, ^① a carpenter and wagon-builder, who also had a useful knowledge of general farming, was appointed Industrial Teacher as from the 1st of September 1886 at £5 a month plus board and lodging for himself and his wife, who was to take charge of the kitchen and the house-work. Kumalo was supplied with materials costing £23, in order that he might build himself a house.

Mr. Gibbs died suddenly on the 28th of August 1886, and steps were promptly taken by the Council to send out a temporary Principal. Mr. Hulley was sent out on the 2nd of October at 10s. a day. Apparently the number of scholars rapidly increased, for in October 1886 the Native Education Committee recommended that the attendance be limited to the number provided for; but we must remember that the buildings were very small.

Mr. Robert Smith was appointed as Principal from the 1st of December 1886 on six months' probation. Zuma was dis-

missed/

* Has recently come back to the neighbourhood to live.

① Now lives at Brifontein near Lelysmit.

missed in December, and Elias Kusalo^{*} was appointed in his stead at £3 a month plus board and lodging from the 1st of January 1887. At the same time the spending of £5 on maps, Geography definition cards, and copybooks was authorized. The school opened in 1887 with thirteen scholars, only one of whom was a day scholar. The new Superintendent's methods of control were obviously distasteful to the pupils, for there occurred in January 1887 several cases of insubordination, most probably in connection with "employment" (= fatigue duties?). We find work however going on smoothly in the following month, and a beginning was made with converting the unsuitable work-shop into a dormitory and with erecting a new work-shop away from the main building. The materials, costing £50, were supplied by the Council, and the work was carried out by the Superintendent and the pupils.

Yet even the most optimistic could not avoid recognising the truth, and in the same month the following resolutions were passed in the Council:- (1) "That the Council of Education take into consideration the fact that the Zwaart Kop ^{School} ~~Central~~ Location has not fulfilled the objects for which it was established, in so far as it had failed to meet the needs of the Natives living in the Location." (2) "That the usefulness of the Institution be extended by the establishment of Branch Schools, under Native Teachers, in connection with the Central Industrial School and subject to the control of the Superintendent of Zwaart Kop, for the education of young children." The Native Education Committee, on going into the question of these "feeder schools", apparently wanted no industrial education in any of them; but before submitting a report to the

full/

* Now an ordained Wesleyan minister in the Transvaal.

full Council they wished to have the opinion of the Attorney-General as to the legality of conducting a Government School in which no Industrial Training was given. In their own words, they wished to know whether the Council had "power to authorise the relaxation of the law in regard to Industrial Training to the extent of permitting such training to be altogether dispensed with in the case of children under twelve years of age attending schools established, maintained, or assisted by the Council." We have thus the extraordinary spectacle of the Council of Education wishing to do the very thing, which one of their officers was paid to prevent in the Aided Schools. The Attorney-General replied that any Branch School under the Zwart Kop scheme would come under Law 13 of 1885, and that therefore the rules re Industrial Training could be relaxed to any extent at the pleasure of the Council. The Native Education Committee thereupon recommended a trial with one Branch School, and asked the Zwart Kop Superintendent to recommend a site. A site was chosen in June 1887 by Mr. Lindsay, the originator of the scheme, and the Superintendent of Zwart Kop. £42 would be necessary for the buildings, and £4 a month for the teacher. The records are completely silent upon the history of this Branch School.

The food supplied to the Boarders at Zwart Kop soon caused trouble, and in April 1887 a new dietary scale was to be tried for one month. Reference to a similar problem is found in a later chapter. The trouble to-day is that the students realise the differences between their dietary and the ideal dietary discussed in their Hygiene lessons, while they fail to think of the smallness of the boarding fees charged.

By/

By August the number of boarders had increased to fourteen, and there were five day scholars. The average attendance throughout the term was seventeen.

An inspection was held in October 1887, when nineteen scholars were presented for examination, five out of the number being day scholars, of whom one was a girl. All were within the recognised ages. Eight scholars succeeded in passing Standard 3 creditably; four passed in Standard 2 in all but Geography and Zulu Reading; four boys passed in Standard 1; but the other pupils had not passed beyond spelling easy words. As a Day School, then, the Institution was not successful.

The character of the Industrial Work done by the students in the Industrial Department in 1887 is shown by the following figures:- Forty thousand bricks had been made. A new work-shop had been erected, forty-eight feet long and eighteen feet wide, with walls ten feet high, ^{and} roofed with iron, with a verandah seven feet six inches wide along the front, all the necessary woodwork having been done on the premises. Nearly twelve acres had been got under cultivation. Over one thousand useful and ornamental trees had been planted along the boundaries of the school grounds, together with one hundred fruit trees of various kinds. Eight boys had been learning trades, the one girl had been learning needlework and house-work, and the other scholars did two hours of manual work of some kind every day. Water had been laid on from a spring more than two miles away. The land (fifty acres in extent) had been fenced in. The old work-shop had been converted into a dormitory, floored and lined throughout, and covered/

covered with iron on one side. A two-roomed cottage had been built for the teachers, as well as a stone cattle-kraal. Mr. Fynney was therefore in 1887 sure of the success of the experiment. His opinion was completely changed in 1888, when the Institution seemed a failure, both as a Day School and as a Boarding School - for it closed with ten day scholars, four of whom were children of the Industrial Teacher, who was leaving.

When the Inspector of Native Education thus visited Zwart Kop in person he found the dormitories somewhat crowded, and therefore asked the Council to provide extra accommodation for the scholars. The Council consented, as we have seen. He had also some remarks to make about clothing¹, and he actually made a recommendation on the matter to the Native Education Committee, though details are lacking. But the matter came up again later, and a suitable dress for the Boarders was decided upon, the cost of which (12s.6d.) was charged to each scholar. By February 1888 there were fifteen Boarders and six Day Scholars. In March there were seventeen Boarders, the place being then full; but there were still only six Day Scholars. In that month the Committee recommended a vote of £32 for the materials for a building to be used as a blacksmith's shop, a wagon house, and a store-room. By May there were twenty-eight scholars, so that the erection of a new house for the Superintendent became necessary, for which £200 was voted, along with £30 for a wooden floor in the school-room which had to be converted into a dormitory.

But when the place reopened in August, there were only
nine/

1. The Committee was just at this time anxious for the Inspector to impress upon those in charge of the Native schools the necessity for inculcating habits of cleanliness on the part of the scholars.

nine boarders and ten day scholars, the falling off being attributed to sickness among the children and scarcity of money. By October only one more boarder had come. Therefore other causes must have been operating as well, for in September the Acting Inspector of Native Education reported to the Council of Education on the complaints made by the Industrial Teacher against the Superintendent. Whatever trouble had been brewing came to a head in December, when the Superintendent had to report insubordination on the part of the pupils (all the boarders had run away) and to complain of the conduct of Luke Kumalo, the Industrial Teacher. The newly appointed Inspector of Native Education and the Acting Secretary to the Council of Education¹ were thereupon despatched to visit the place and report upon the whole position, including any complaints that the boarders were thought to have made against the Superintendent. These officers came to the conclusion that faulty management by the Superintendent had led to the running away of the pupils, and they dismissed the Industrial Teacher to make the Superintendent himself responsible for the success of the work. The position was that only ten day-scholars remained, while the Institution was costing £400 per annum; and the numbers had never reached thirty. It was therefore suggested that the Superintendent should be given £200, instead of £150, and that he should find and pay his assistants. This plan was adopted in January 1889, and the Superintendent employed one assistant at £40 a year plus rations. In April 1890 the Superintendent was given an extra £25 a year towards the "keep" of the assistant.

Meanwhile/

1. If these officers had been accompanied by a magistrate and a representative of the Native Affairs Department, real good would have resulted from the enquiry. The three neighbouring chiefs and their headmen would then have had to appear, and their opposition would have been to a large extent broken down/

Meanwhile matters improved slowly; in March 1889 there were four boarders and eight day-scholars, and by October there were ten boarders and eleven day-scholars, six of the latter being girls. Nevertheless the Council was not satisfied, and Mr. (later Sir) Henry Bale suggested in October the closing of the school. This matter was left over, but the Council took into consideration a suggestion made in November by the Native Education Committee: that three months' notice should be given to the Superintendent, and that a married Native teacher should be employed at £60 a year, the boarders to be his private lodgers. When the question of closing the school or placing it under a Native teacher again came up for discussion in February 1890, it was decided to allow the experiment to continue under the existing conditions.

In August 1890, when the Superintendent applied for another Industrial Teacher in consequence of increased numbers, the real cause of the mischief was discovered. The Superintendent, who had been appointed at £150 in November 1886, was not teaching, but merely superintending. The Council promptly called upon the Superintendent to teach at his former salary of £150, and gave him £75 for Native assistants to be appointed by the Inspector. At the same time the Council issued instructions that the boys were to have four hours' school and four hours' shop-work or outside work daily. Later the Council agreed to give the Superintendent £175 for himself and £60 for assistance, and also to make a further building grant of £115.

In June 1891 (when there were thirty pupils, sixteen of whom were day-scholars) the Native Education Committee recommended/

down. Many of the parents refused to send their children to school, merely because their Chiefs had not expressly given them orders to support the school.

mended to the Council the remission of the fees of those boys in receipt of Industrial Training; such a step, it was felt, would attract at least ten or fifteen new scholars in August, and make the school to a certain extent a success as an Industrial Institution. There were only two boys in the shop at the time, and they threatened to leave if fees continued to be demanded. For the new scholars a blacksmith would be appointed, so that Scotch-carts and wheel-barrows could be made and sold. Plant amended the suggestion by making the remission of fees dependent upon a promise to enter upon apprenticeship for three years. The boys seemed willing to accept this condition, but the Council resolved not to remit any fees.

When this scheme fell through, Plant suggested that boys entering in August 1891 be informed that boarders should work four hours a day in the shop, and that day-scholars be obliged to work two hours a day at some form of manual labour. The Native Education Committee and the Council adopted the suggestion. In August there were accordingly twelve boys in the shop, and the Superintendent asked for instructions concerning the work to be done by them. Plant then came forward once more with the previous suggestion, the appointment of a blacksmith, and also suggested what articles should be made. The Native Education Committee supported the Inspector's recommendations, and the Council decided to adopt the plan and to give Mrs. Smith (the Superintendent's wife) £25 a year for a Girls' Sewing Class. But the Council postponed the carrying out of their resolution concerning the appointment of a blacksmith, because notice had been given of a motion for the closing down of Zwaart Kop.

The Council finally decided in October 1891 to close the school down at the end of the year, and to let the buildings to some Mission at a small rent. The Governor agreed, but said that the letting of the buildings was a matter for the consideration of the Natal Native Trust. Apparently that body was quite willing. A Special Native Education Committee investigated the whole question, and its Report and Recommendations were considered by the Council in January and again in March 1892. In April the Special Native Education Committee was given power to act in the matter, and its decisions were confirmed by the Council in August 1893. The Zwart Kop School was accordingly sub-let to the Reverend S.H. Rowe (the General Superintendent of Wesleyan Missions in Natal) at a nominal rental, subject to a year's notice. The school was to be run as a Class I School; i.e., six hours were to be set aside every day for Industrial and Manual Work, and one hour and a half for ordinary school subjects. The maximum grant possible was £4 per pupil per annum, and the furniture was lent to the Wesleyans, who actually took the place over on the 14th of November in 1893. In May 1894 the Council resolved to hand over to the Reverend H.Astrup of Untunjambili the blacksmith's tools from Zwart Kop, as he had a European Industrial Teacher on his station between Krantz-kop and Stanger. The school lasted some years as a Girls' School under the new management; but only a few ruins to-day mark the site of an expensive experiment, which would have been a decided success, if the right man had been in charge. On one occasion the suitability of the site was praised. Some time afterwards the same official condemned the site as
most/

most unsuitable and the chief cause of failure. True, the Natives of the district supported the venture very poorly, as they were afraid of being asked to pay for the buildings, and as their Chiefs had not commanded them to support it. Also, the boarders usually came from mission stations where they could have been taught just as well as at Zwaart Kop. The writer ^{has} failed to find any other real cause for the failure of the experiment than that already indicated. The failure of the Institution under the control of the Wesleyans is not to be wondered at, for they already had flourishing schools in the immediate neighbourhood.

Finance and Grants.

The Governor usually authorised the spending upon Native Education of one-half of the £5,000 reserved annually under the Royal Charter of 1856; the Legislative Council as a rule voted between £1,500 and £2,000 out of the General Revenue for the purposes of Native Education; and when more money was needed, the Governor would authorise an extra vote out of the Reserve of £5,000.

Law 1 of 1884 had an unfortunate result in the withdrawing of Grants from the Night Schools. The Council of Education decided in September 1885 that these Grants would have to be discontinued, not only on the legal ground that the pupils were over age, but also because they earned wages and could afford to pay school fees. Moreover the Council seemed to be against co-education, at any rate in these Night Schools. If Native girls came to town for domestic employment and also

wished/

wished for education of some kind, then they would do better to go to Night Schools conducted specially for their benefit (of which however there were unfortunately none at the time).

On legal grounds also an application for a Grant towards the salary of an Itinerant Native Teacher on the territory of the Clydesdale Institution* had to be refused.

The "Kraal Schools" were the chief stumbling block in the carrying out of the regulations concerning Industrial Work. For the girls it was easy to provide instruction in simple Needlework; but it was difficult to provide for the boys. (The teaching of Basketry and Native Crafts is a much later idea, and even to-day the boys call Basketry "girls' work".) The Inspector felt that these Kraal Schools should not have their small grants withdrawn, for they were doing really useful work as small centres of civilising influences in the middle of the various Locations. Yet the Grants were withdrawn.

By Law 35 of 1884 the Council of Education was empowered to give aid out of the Public Funds towards the building of Aided Schools.

Before 1886 Grants seem to have been paid monthly; but there is evidence to support the belief that after 1886 Quarterly Returns were called for, and that the Grants were paid quarterly.

The following figures indicate the expenditure estimated for 1886:-

Ordinary Current Expenditure	£2,400: 0: 0
Current Expenditure on Eswart Kop	£512: 0: 0
Equipment for Eswart Kop	£143: 12: 0
Buildings at Eswart Kop	£562: 0: 0

The/

* Near the Unzinkulu River.

The current expenditure in 1885 was £330 per month, while it was expected to be only £200 per month in 1886. The large decrease was due to the withdrawal of Grants from those Schools which did not do Industrial Work satisfactorily, to the fact that the Inspector could do little travelling owing to the amount of preliminary organisation necessary, and also to the absence of special gratuities.

The year 1888 was one in which the finances of the Colony were reported to be flourishing. One might therefore reasonably have expected that much would be done in that and the following year for Native Education. The figures however do not indicate any extraordinary increase in expenditure, but this is undoubtedly because of the regulations concerning Industrial Work and their effect upon the number of schools.

The poorness of the grants and their effect in hindering development have already been mentioned in connection with Industrial Training. Another effect of this parsimonious policy was the employment of inefficient teachers at very low salaries, in the effort to save some of the Grant for equipment and repairs to buildings.

Standards of Instruction.

In January 1886 the Secretary of the Native Education Committee was instructed to write to the Superintendent of Education at the Cape for information concerning standards of attainment, courses of instruction, and other details of organisation used in the Cape Native Schools. A reply was received from Dr. Dale in February 1886, and the papers were
circulated/

circulated among the members of the Committee for later discussion. It would seem that standards of some kind had been determined upon by April 1886. They are here given in extenso, as they were probably the first ever issued.

Standards of Attainments under which Scholars in the Different Aided Native Schools were classified in 1886.

Reading.

- Standard 1: Easy sentences in 1st Zulu Reading Book.
- Standard 2: Read from 1st English Primer, translating the words into Zulu. Read 1st Zulu Book.
- Standard 3: Read from Standard 3 Reading Book, and translate into Zulu. Read Zulu Book.
- Standard 4: Read from Standard 4 Book, translate into Zulu and explain the words.
- Standard 5: Read from Standard Reader or other book any ordinary narrative fluently, translating each sentence correctly into Zulu. Read Zulu fluently.

Writing.

- Standard 1: Write on Slates figures and words in Zulu.
- Standard 2: Write three lines dictated from English Reader 2. Write both English and Zulu words in Copy Book.
- Standard 3: Write ordinary passages dictated slowly in both English and Zulu. (Capitals and figures, large and small hand.)
- Standard 4: Write to dictation passages from Reader. Write text and small hand in copy books.
- Standard 5: Writing freely to dictation in round or small hand (good).

Arithmetic.

- Standard 1: Repeat Multiplication Tables and do the first three Rules.
- Standard 2: Long Division and all former Rules.
- Standard 3: Compound Rules (money).
- Standard 4: Division and Reduction of Money. Weights and Measures.
- Standard 5: Practice, Bills of Parcels, and Rule of Three by Method of Unity. Addition and Subtraction of Proper Fractions with Denominators not exceeding 20.

Geography.

- Standard 1: Nothing.
- Standard 2: Nothing.
- Standard 3: Outlines of Political Geography of Natal.
- Standard 4: Physical and Political Geography, Natal and South Africa especially.
- Standard 5: More detailed Physical and Political Geography (Africa).

Grammar.

- Standard 1: Nothing.
- Standard 2: Point out Nouns, Verbs, Adjectives, Adverbs, and Personal Pronouns.
- Standard 3: Parse simple sentences and illustrate the use of Parts of Speech.
- Standard 4: Analyse and Parse Sentences.
- Standard 5: Analyse and Parse Complex Sentences, Prefixes and Affixes (with derivation).

This syllabus was temporarily replaced at the beginning of 1888 by a new one drawn up by the Inspector/ (Mr. Fynney), but not given here. The object of the new syllabus was to secure greater similarity between European and Native Education.

The full Council adopted the proposed schedule with certain amendments under the head of English subjects. These Standards were not in force more than a year, and a completely new set of Standards was issued for observance in 1889. They are given below, and differ from those issued for 1888 in providing for an elementary class to be called Standard 1, so that the 1888 Standard 7 became the 1889 Standard 8.

Standards of Examination which came into force in January 1889.

English.

(Reading, Recitation, Grammar, and Geography.)

- Standard 1: Reading English Primer and translating into Zulu.
- Standard 2: Reading from Standard 1 Reading Book, English and Zulu; translate words and know their meaning.
- Standard 3: Read from Standard 2 Reading Book, English and Zulu; translate words and know their meaning. Point out nouns and verbs. Geographical terms simply explained. Point out continents and oceans.
- Standard 4: Read from Standard 3 Reading Book, or Stories from English History. Point out nouns, verbs, adjectives, adverbs, and personal pronouns; and form simple sentences containing them. Chief countries, towns, and physical features of the continents.
- Standard 5: Read from Standard 4 Reading Book, or History of England, and explain the words and allusions. Parse simple sentences, and illustrate the use of the parts of speech. Detailed physical and political Geography.
- Standard 6: Read from Standard 5 Reading Book, or some Standard author, and explain the words and allusions. Analyse and Parse simple sentences. Prefixes, affixes, common Latin roots. More detailed physical and political Geography, Natal and South Africa particularly. Latitude and longitude. Day and Night. The seasons.

Standard 7/

Standard 7: Read from Standard 6 Reading Book, or some Standard author. Recite 50 lines from some Standard author, approved by the Inspector, and explain the words and allusions. Analyse and Parse complex sentences. Prefixes, affixes, Latin roots. More detailed physical and political Geography. Manufactures and commerce. Circumstances which determine climate.

Standard 8: Read a passage from some Standard author, approved by the Inspector. Recite 100 lines and explain words and allusions. Analyse and parse sentences, and know derivation of ordinary English words. The Ocean. Current and Tides. Planetary System. Phases of Moon.

Writing.

(Copy-Books, Exercise-Books, Dictation and Composition.)

Standard 1: Write words of 3 letters on slate.

Standard 2: Write 10 easy words from dictation. Show Copy-Books.

Standard 3: Write 3 lines dictated from Standard Reader. Show Copy-Books.

Standard 4: Write 6 lines dictated from Standard Reader. Show Copy-Books (capitals and figures, large and small hand).

Standard 5: Write to dictation passage from Reader. Show Copy-Books (improved small hand).

Standard 6: Write from memory the substance of a short story read out twice; spelling, handwriting, and correct expression to be considered. Copy-Books and Exercise Books to be shown (improved small hand).

Standard 7: A short exercise in composition. Passage dictated from newspaper. Show Copy-Books and Exercise-Books (improved small hand).

Standard 8: More difficult exercises in composition. Show Note-Books and Exercise-Books.

Arithmetic.

Standard 1: Notation and Enumeration up to 100, and simple addition.

Standard 2/

- Standard 2: Notation and Numeration up to 1,000. Simple Addition and Subtraction. Multiplication table up to 6 times 12.
- Standard 3: Notation and Numeration up to 100,000. The four simple rules. Multiplication table. Pence table to £1.
- Standard 4: The former rules with Long Division. Addition, Subtraction, and Multiplication of Money.
- Standard 5: Division of Money, and Reduction of Money and of Weights and Measures.
- Standard 6: Practice, Bills of Parcels, and Rule of Three by method of unity. Addition and Subtraction of Proper Fractions with denominators not exceeding 20.
- Standard 7: Vulgar and Decimal Fractions, Proportion, Simple Interest.
- Standard 8: Higher Arithmetic, with Mensuration of Parallelograms, Right-angled Triangles, Circles.

Reading with intelligence will be required in all the Standards, and increased fluency and expression in successive years.

Questions will be put on the meaning of what is read. The Dictation and Arithmetic of Standard 3 and upwards, may, at the discretion of the Inspector, be on slates or paper. The work of the girls in Arithmetic will be judged more leniently than that of boys. Mental Arithmetic suitable to the respective Standards will be given.

1st March, 1889.

(Signed) Robt. Plant,

Inspector of Native Education.

The 1889 Standards were replaced at the end of 1893, when all regulations concerning Standards 6, 7, and 8 were withdrawn. This would seem to be in keeping with Plant's oft-repeated statement that the aim of Native Education should

be/

be some education for as many as possible, not a good education for only a few. Minor changes (in Standard 5) were the exclusion of the History of England, the inclusion of the History of Natal (after the publication of the first edition of Russell's "Natal"), and the inclusion of Bills and Proportion in Arithmetic.

The Teachers.

Native Teachers were obtainable in 1885, but they were unsuitable from the point of view of education and general qualifications. The want was to a certain extent being met by sending young Natives to Lovedale, Heald Town, Amansimtoti, Edendale, and Lindley Training School; but this could not satisfy the immediate need, especially as the Goldfields were beginning to draw teachers to Johannesburg. Moreover it was found inadvisable to place Native teachers in complete charge of schools, as in such schools there was a want of energy, system, and discipline. General opinion also was against the use of female teachers in schools where there were many boys. A scheme of certification was at the time under consideration by the Council of Education, and is outlined in a later paragraph.

In March 1886 the Council became conscious of the existing lack of facilities for holding examinations for the granting of licences to teachers. The Native Education Committee thought that all teachers should produce certificates of qualification from the Head of the Society engaging them, and teach a class in front of the Inspector to his satisfaction.

The/

The Committee also thought that a Central Board of Examiners might with advantage be established in Pietermaritzburg and hold annual examinations for teachers' certificates, such Board to consider the question of standards of attainment to be demanded of teachers. The full Council went into the whole question, and then empowered the Committee to take whatever action was needed to give effect to its views on the examining and licensing of Native teachers.

The first examination of candidates for Native Teachers' Certificates took place on the 10th of January in 1887 at the Native High Court, the examiners being the Superintending Inspector of Schools, Mr.S.O.Sammelson, and the Inspector of Native Education. Probably there were few candidates; perhaps the examination was partly oral; certainly there was no "practical" test. This examination was held as the result of a resolution of the Committee working on the instructions of the Council that Government Certificates (1st, 2nd, and 3rd Class for Native Teachers should be prepared, and that a Board of Examiners should be appointed to examine candidates for certificates under standards. The syllabuses are here given.

Standards under which Candidates for Government Certificates as Native Teachers were examined in and after 1887.

Reading.

- Standard 1: Read from Standard 4 Reading Book, translate into Zulu, and explain the meaning of the words.
- Standard 2: Read from Standard Reader No.6 any ordinary narrative, fluently translating into Zulu. Explain meaning of words. Read in Zulu.
- Standard 3: Read passage from some well known author. Recite 200 lines from same, and explain the words and allusions.

Writing/

Writing.

- Standard 1: Write to Dictation passages from Standard Reader No.6 or other suitable book. Write Good Hand in Text and Small Hand.
- Standard 2: Write freely to dictation. Round and Small Hand.
- Standard 3: More difficult exercises in Composition. Dictation from some technical subject. Improved Small Hand.

Arithmetic.

- Standard 1: Division of Money and Reduction of Money, Weights and Measures, Mental Arithmetic.
- Standard 2: Practice, Bills of Parcels, Rule of Three, Addition and Subtraction of Proper Fractions. Mental Arithmetic.
- Standard 3: Vulgar and Decimal Fractions, Compound Proportion, and Compound Interest.

Geography.

- Standard 1: Outlines of Physical and Political Geography - Natal and South Africa particularly.
- Standard 2: More detailed Physical and Political Geography.
- Standard 3: General Knowledge of Geography of the World, Oceans, Seas, Tides, Currents. Circumstances which govern climate.

Grammar.

- Standard 1: Analyse and Parse Sentences.
- Standard 2: Analyse and Parse complex Sentences. Prefixes and Affixes, with derivations.
- Standard 3: Analyse and Parse Sentences, and know the derivation of ordinary English words.

Science (for girls).

- Standards 1, 2, and 3: Needlework or Domestic Duties.

Science (for boys).

- Standard 1: Nothing.
- Standard 2: Some knowledge of one or more of these:-
Chemistry, Geology (Elementary), Physiology, Agriculture.
- Standard 3: Astronomy; more advanced Physiology; Political Economy; Chemistry; Geology. (One or more of the above.) Also a knowledge of some Trade or Agriculture.

Early in 1889 Native Teachers' Examinations were held, there being sixteen male and four female candidates. Thirteen were from Edendale, and two from Inanda. One obtained a 1st Class Certificate; three, 2nd Class Certificates; and one, a 3rd Class Certificate. These passes probably mean Standard 4, Standard 5, and Standard 6, judging by the syllabus just given. The results showed clearly that too little attention had been paid to the art of teaching, and this defect of training was even more evident in the lower schools, which, though valuable as "feeders" to the better schools, were very poor indeed. It is only fair to admit though that it was difficult to keep children regularly at school.

The results of the examinations held in 1891 were exceptionally good for the time - of the thirty-three candidates (thirty men and three women) one secured a First Class Certificate, two got Second Class Certificates, and ten were successful in the Third Class.

Forty-five candidates came forward early in 1892, and fifty at the end of the year. The results were again remarkably good, for the time.

In 1893 and 1894 they were disappointing.

In spite of the improvement which became noticeable in the work of the teachers who qualified in the various examinations conducted for their benefit, very few Native teachers indeed were found to be competent in the teaching of Composition, even Sulu Composition. Consequently this subject received special attention in and after 1893.

The Classification of Schools.

In October 1892 the Council considered very carefully certain recommendations of the Special Native Committee, and accepted these recommendations, with a few small amendments.

The Governor-in-Council, however, considered that the proposals were unsatisfactory as being too expensive, and that the industrial training recommended was not sufficiently clearly defined. The proposals actually involved the spending of an extra £2,000. The Council of Education submitted that this additional outlay should not be allowed to outweigh the vast benefits to be secured by what the Council considered a simple but effective and far-spreading system of Native Schools, subject to Government inspection and accepted rules. The Council further claimed that their proposals were the result of a long enquiry, in which the opinions of experienced men thoroughly conversant with Native education and life ^{had} been consulted; that they were carefully framed so as to be capable of modification when necessary; that they would secure the maximum of educational facilities at a very moderate cost; and that the rejection of them would result in the closing or weakening of schools already doing good work.

The/

The outcome of the apparent deadlock was the appointment of a Committee of the members of the Council of Education to confer with a Committee of the Natal Executive Council.

A communication from the Reverend W. Baker, forwarding a resolution, on the question of Native Education, passed by the Wesleyan Methodist Synod of the Natal District, was submitted for consideration by this Special Joint Committee.

When this Committee met in March 1893, it recommended that all the Laws relating to the subject of Native Education be consolidated as soon as possible to form one Law, and especially that Section 1 of Law 13 of 1885 (the section by which the Council of Education was given power to relax, in the case of existing schools, the requirements concerning "elements of Industrial Training") be repealed in order that all schools might be classified under the system the Committee recommended. The Governor, however, said that it was impossible to consider the question of consolidating the Laws concerning Native Education during the session then in progress. As we shall see in the next chapter, the much needed consolidation took place in 1894.

A system was finally approved by the Governor-in-Council, and is here outlined. In essentials it does not greatly differ from the scheme rejected (whose details have therefore been omitted).

Classification of Native Schools, and Rules and Regulations for the Payment of Grants in each class.

- Class 1: Industrial Schools and Training Institutions.
- Class 2: Primary Schools.
- Class 3: Elementary Schools, the Schools specified in Section 3 of Law 38 of 1888, at which no regular instruction was given in industrial work.

Class 1: Industrial Schools and Training Institutions.

Six hours per day were to be spent on industrial and manual work, and ninety minutes per day on ordinary scholasito subjects.

Work was to be of an advanced character. The students were to be industrious and useful to themselves, and had to become able to train others to work.

No school could get this grant except by the consent of the Council of Education¹.

The average attendance was to be at least ten daily in each quarter, and the Pupils should be between thirteen and twenty-five years of age.

Separate schools were to exist for each sex.

The work for boys was to be Sloyd, or the corresponding American system of industrial or manual training, or some one or more of the following trades:- Printing, Tailoring, Brickmaking, Bricklaying, Flastering, Carpentering, Wagon-making, Blacksmithing, Tinsmithing, Saddlery, Shoemaking, Farriery, Stonemasonry, Painting, or any other approved occupation.

Grants were to be paid quarterly at £5 per head per annum for resident/ pupils only.

The work for the Girls was to be any two or more of the following:- Sewing and Plain Needlework, Tailoring, Cutting-out and making of Clothing, Washing and Ironing of Clothing, Cooking, House-work generally, or other approved occupations.

The rate of Grant was to be £4 per head per annum.

No school could get more than £250 per annum

Class 2: Primary Schools.

These schools were to consist of two sections or departments.

In the uNEX section of each school, the work would be the same as in the Class 1 Schools, but the same standard of efficiency would not be expected.

Children between 8 and 10 years of age were to do at least 4 hours of "work" a week.

Children between 10 and 12 years of age were to do at least 6 hours of "work" a week.

Children above 12 years of age were to do at least 9 hours of "work" a week. Or a weekly average of 7 hours of "work" might be arranged.

Reading and Writing in English and Zulu, and Arithmetic

1. This would seem to indicate that the Inspector of Native Education could classify the other schools. were/

were to occupy 2½ or 3 hours a day, according to whether the Pupils were above Standard 2, or below Standard 3.

The work done by the boys was to be any one of the trades mentioned for Class 1 Schools, or cultivation of the soil according to approved civilised methods of Manuring, Ploughing, Harrowing, and Gardening generally.

The work for the girls was to be any one of the branches of work mentioned for Class 1 Schools.

Grants were to be not more than 30s. per annum for each Pupil below Standard 3, and were not to exceed 40s. for each one above Standard 2, and were to be paid quarterly, if the average attendance was at least 15.

The maximum grant allowable was £150.

The work to be done in the lower section of each of these schools was to include Sewing and Plain Needlework, or such of the following as the circumstances of the school would permit:- Gardening or Cultivation generally according to approved civilised methods; Mat-making; Straw-plaiting; Brush-making; Basket-making; Washing and Ironing of Clothes; House-work generally.

The Inspector was to use his discretion in examining the work of these schools. The times for "work" were to be 4, 5, and 6 hours a week (instead of 4, 6, and 9 as in the upper section). Or a weekly average of 6 hours per week per pupil could be accepted.

The times for the other subjects were to be as in the Upper Section of each of these schools.

Grants were 15s. per annum per pupil below Standard 3, and not more than 20s. per annum per pupil above Standard 2. The attendance qualification was the same.

The maximum Grant to the lower section of any school was to be £75.

Class 3 Schools.

These were schools, which, by reason of their being established prior to the passing of Law 13 of 1885, were exempted from giving regular instruction in trades or handicrafts, or in manual or field labour.

Grants were to be 15s. per annum per pupil, and the average attendance had to be 15 per day in each quarter.

The maximum Grant was £40.

General.

The Council of Education could also give Grants up to

half/

half the cost of tools and machinery.

The Council could pay the whole salary of an Industrial Teacher¹ competent to give instruction to the teachers throughout the Colony.

Mixed schools for Pupils over 12 were gradually to be done away with. The Council could discontinue Grants in order to do away with co-education.

The Inspector was not to examine beyond Standard 5, unless the Pupils intended becoming teachers.

One and the same school could be divided into separate departments to suit these regulations.

The intention was not to make the Natives finished tradesmen, but to train them to be industrious and self-helpful, and to raise them in the state of civilisation.

Any Grant could cease after six months' notice.

These recommendations were to come into force on the 1st of July in 1893.

During August and September of 1893, a sum of £1,050 was given out as Grants in Aid of Native Schools under the new system. There were only six schools in Class 1:- St. Alban's, Inanda Seminary, Adams' Training Institute, Umzumbi Home, Ehlanzeni, and Impolweni. Grants for October, November, and December amounted to £1,055 for 78 old schools and 5 new ones complying with the Laws. In fine, the operation of this new scheme necessitated an extra vote from the Native Reserve Fund of £2,250. It was the fear of such an extra vote which had led to the Governor's rejection of the earlier scheme.

Mr. Plant was of the opinion in 1894 that the new Classification of Native Schools, with its altered system of Grants, had answered admirably, as far as schools of the Second Class were concerned. The children in nearly every such school

had/

1. Was he to be a sort of Organising ^{Instructor} ~~Inspector~~? No further reference to this is made.

had been daily engaged in "something of a character distinctly educational in the direction of developing habits of diligence, method, exactness, and cleanliness". And the opposition of the parents to Industrial Training had slowly melted before pressure and argument by the Inspector and the Grantees.

Schools of the First Class, in which six hours had to be set aside daily for Industrial Work, had failed to comply with the new Regulations. Even those which had complied had not been very successful, except the Boarding Schools for girls. Mechanical training could be got by the boys in other ways. In some of these schools many of the pupils were too young for the type of work wanted; and it had been found unsatisfactory to run one part of an Institution as a self-contained First Class School.

The most successful schools were those under constant European supervision.

More schools would have been opened, if the interested Natives had possessed money for the teachers and ground for the buildings. A remarkable thing was that many children had begun to ask their parents for permission to go to work for two or three months, in order that they might have money for clothes, fees, slates, and books.

Mr. Plant's First Report and his Minute
on Native Education.

These are well worth considering, for in them there is found a serious attempt to analyse weaknesses after a close study.

The removal of boys as soon as they were old enough to work was very discouraging to the teachers; nevertheless marked improvements were noticeable in the teaching of the different subjects. To test the value of the work of the teachers, Plant examined the after-school life of the pupils, and was SURE that Education was rapidly improving the Native character, in spite of apparent and unavoidable forwardness, conceit, and insolence. The partially-educated Natives in the country he found more respectful than those in towns. Consequently he considered contact with Europeans was often harmful, while education was not.

It was due to the Missionaries, he said, further, that the average cost per pupil was only £1:3s.2d., while the average cost at Ewart Kop had been £22:10s.6d. per pupil per annum. The gross Native population of Natal proper he estimated to be at least four hundred thousand, and he thought that the children of school age numbered about twenty thousand, while there were only three thousand children at school. Therefore the aim of any scheme of Native Education would have to be such a general low average of excellence as would qualify the Native youth for the effective discharge of their probable duties in life. The majority would work in stables, kitchens, nurseries, and with wagons or on farms. Only a few would become teachers, mechanics, or clerks. The need he stated to be therefore the multiplication of elementary schools (with classes up to Standard 5), and NOT the encouragement of a few showy and advanced centres, these elementary schools to be improved by the gradual improvement of the teachers in them. There was a big difference between "In-
dustry/

dustry" and "Industries", and there was a great danger of teaching the Natives industries without making them industrious. Intelligent manual labourers were wanted, not educated Native mechanics. Therefore it was dangerous to open too suddenly the paths to comparative wealth. More money would mean more cattle, and therefore more wives. What that would lead to, Plant held to be too obvious to discuss. One of the results would have been increasing sloth among the men.

To reach the masses and give some education to all, Plant suggested double grants to existing elementary schools, if they would take in more pupils. Another suggestion was to employ three or four Europeans in different centres, who would each spend one day a week at each of five small Government Native Schools to be established near his headquarters. The annual expenses at each centre would be: £200 for the European Supervisor, £200 for five Native Teachers, £50 for Incidental Expenses, and £400 for the schools. One such centre should be opened in each year in a district untouched by Missionaries, but containing Natives willing to receive education. If these plans were adopted, and the annual expenditure were in consequence increased in 1890 to £8,000, there would be six thousand children at school before 1891.

Opposition by the Natives to Education was a powerful factor; and, though the Chiefs were taking more interest in Education, Plant felt that the attendance would not be satisfactory until a measure of compulsion was used - boys and girls under sixteen should not be allowed to go to work unless they had been at school three years or had attained Standard 4.

This/

This suggestion takes us back to the time of Pine. Another suggestion (also similar to one made earlier by Pine) was to appoint only "educated" men as Chiefs in the future.

For Industrial Training proper, Plant wanted a central school, with Standard 5 as the entrance qualification, and with an obligation to attend for three years. The existing system he considered an expensive failure, because of the cost of many buildings and special teachers. The difficulty of getting sufficient orders for work in the different districts, the poor transport and the waste of material were also obstacles to success. Bale accordingly suggested in the Council that such a central Industrial School should be established; but his notion was considerably amended. It is dealt with earlier in this chapter.

We shall presently learn that the Abbot of Mariannhill had criticised the Standard Examinations on account of the questions asked in Grammar. In the Report for 1889, Plant dealt with the value of Grammar in Native Schools in the following words:- "Grammar, including Analysis, is being more generally and intelligently taught, and where it is treated properly seems to be a popular subject with the children. I regard this as a very important part of our school work, not that it is so very important that a boy should know that UK is a noun, or that RUBS is a verb, but these Natives are so wanting in powers of comparison or analysis, that the process of reasoning which has to be gone through to decide whether THAT is an adjective or a pronoun, or to recognise the relations to each other of the different parts of a sentence, is of the greatest value as developing and strengthening their
mind/

mind in its weakest and most useful parts."

Of Composition Plant wrote as follows:- "Composition is an unknown quantity. While we have hundreds of Natives who can write a very good hand, there is not one in fifty of them who can put a letter together, even tolerably well." He would be indeed a presumptuous man who said that the difficulty had been even now¹ overcome.

The Umsinga Mountain Controversy.

In April 1887 H.F.Fynn (the Resident Magistrate at Umsinga) forwarded to the Natal Native Trust an application by the Reverend Dr.Dalzell for a new school site. After an exceptionally large amount of correspondence², and at the request of the Council of Education, Fynney (the Inspector of Native Education) visited the actual spot in October 1887, in the company of Fynn, and reported upon the proposed opening of the new school on the north of Umsinga Mountain and also upon the objections raised by the Natives. The question was one of the greatest importance, as it bore on the utility or the value of Mission Enterprise throughout the Colony. The Reverend Mr. Christison had tried the east of the mountain in 1885, and the Natives had successfully resisted his attempt to begin mission work there. Fynn naturally and correctly thought that the objections made in 1885 would be repeated in 1887; and, had

it/

1. See Chapter VII (Dr.Loran's period).
2. The following individuals took part in the correspondence:- Dr.Dalzell, Mr.H.F.Fynn, Mr.H.C.Sheatone (The Secretary of the Natal Native Trust), His Excellency the Lieutenant Governor, The Secretary of The Council of Education, The Secretary for Native Affairs, and Mr.Fynney. The correspondence lasted for months, the papers being transferred from one Government office to another in turn.

it not been for the anxiety of the Lieutenant Governor to discover what amount of truth there was in the statements made by the Natives about mission stations in general, the resistance of the Natives would have been successful again in 1887.

When in 1865 Christison had wished to open a station on the east of the mountain, the Natives/^{had}made the following objections:-

A mission station would be a great trouble to the tribe. It would be a place of refuge for bad characters, for outcasts from other places, and for "dressed" Natives pretending to be believers - a bad class to have in the heart of a tribe. Such mission stations offered inducements to the women on the least and most frivolous provocation to forsake even their little children, so that peaceful homes would be broken up, and troubles which could not be mended would be caused.

The Resident Magistrate, acting on instructions, called a meeting of Natives in 1867, and Dr. Dalzell and David Bengane* (his Native teacher) were present. The Natives made the following objections, as Fynn had anticipated:-

They had no children to send to school. Their wives would be drawn away from their husbands, and mothers would be drawn away from their children, to go and wear dresses and become women of the lowest type, thereby bringing trouble and misery upon their families. The children tending the stock and watching the gardens would neglect their work and run away to school, so that the crops would be destroyed. Children who were educated and became Christians despised their parents. The disregarding of parents might lead to the deserting of homes, and the children and young people might wander away and become homeless wanderers or bad characters, - unless they stayed at mission stations, where their characters would not necessarily improve. In short the children would "bunguka", i.e., become "turncoats" or "wild People".

Fynn felt that the objections to Mr. Christison's plan accurately reflected the general feeling of the Natives throughout Natal and the neighbouring countries, in regard to the system of mission work on fixed stations. There was a feeling/

* He still lives in the Umsungu district.

feeling of contempt towards the class of Natives who hung about some stations like loafers, under pretext of being Christians, and who had deserted or become outcasts from their own kindred. It was such people who had brought odium upon mission stations and mission work. The evil lay in bringing such outcasts into the midst of a local Native population of long standing. Fortunately, as will appear in the following paragraphs, the outcome of the enquiry at Umsinga was the shattering of such beliefs.

Dr. Dalzell had stated clearly in February 1867 that it was not to be a mission station on which outsiders could live and so dispossess the original inhabitants, and that his objects were:- to teach the children of the Kraals within available distance reading and the elements of civilisation, to preach the Gospel, and Christianise the Natives of the neighbourhood. He finally got a piece of land which had been leased to a man called Randles for a store.

The evidence in front of Fynney and the Acting Resident Magistrate is here summarised as being worthy of careful consideration.

The Natives did not wish to oppose the establishing of a mission, if it was the wish of the Government to establish one, but they were nevertheless afraid of having one there. They made no distinction between ordinary Native schools and mission stations, ^{as} they did not know of any distinction. If they wanted their children educated, they would send them to Bishopstowe¹ or elsewhere. The Missionary would not be guilty of immoral conduct, but they did not know what the

Amakolwa/

1. Founded by Dr. Colenso.

Amakolwa might do. This they said in reference to concubinage and drinking, ^{as} practised by traders in the district.

One "headman" of a section of a tribe, speaking of the Gordon Memorial and of a Hanoverian Mission, said - "I have no fault to find in the case of either as regards the people under my charge. . . . I don't think it is so much a question of establishing a school, as the fear entertained by the Natives that their grazing ground might be interfered with, and, had an application been made for a store site or anything of the kind, there would have been the same opposition."

Another "headman" said he opposed, "fearing that it might interfere with the pasturage ground, as that portion of the Umsinga Mountain had been set aside as grazing ground." He further said:- "I also thought the school might have a bad influence on the women¹. I do not know of any woman from amongst my people who has been in any way hurt through mission influences. The chief reason for opposing the school at Umsinga Mountain was the question of pasturage." The same "headman" had previously said:- "When a white-man settles on location land, he causes trouble. I am not speaking of missionaries, but of any white-^{men}man. At first they ask for a small plot of ~~land~~ ground, and afterwards claim a large piece of land, thus interfering with the cattle runs, and causing trouble to the Natives thereby."

Another witness said:- "I have no¹ fault to find with this mission as regards its influence on my people, nor with missions generally. If a woman desires to be bad, it is not necessary/

1. This is clearly a case of a "gregarious belief". It was shattered once the Natives were forced to look into the matter carefully and form their very own personal opinions on the matter.

necessary for her to go to a mission station to become so. If any of my children desired to become Christians or learn, I should not oppose them."

A head Native Constable said:- "What makes women go wrong is when there are a number married to one man. I should not care to have a school or mission established near my kraal for the same reasons that I should not like to have a town, as in my opinion, the tendency would be, in either case, to draw my children from their duty to me. . . . I do not believe that the effect of schools or missions tends to demoralise the people, male or female. The most that I can say is that they go and learn, and that takes them away from their homes and that is not according to our custom."

Another witness stated:- "The most that I can say is that attending these meetings takes the women and children from their homes for the time being."

As we have seen, Dr. Dalzell was finally granted a piece of land in the district. The extracts just given certainly make pleasant reading after the sweeping condemnations of Mission Stations given in the earlier paragraphs.

Roman Catholic Criticism.

An Abbot's Views.

In The Natal Record, a Roman Catholic weekly newspaper published at The Trappist¹ Institution of Mariannhill, the Right Reverend Abbot Frans Pfanner commented, in unfavourable terms, in the issue of the 12th of March 1889, upon the inspection of his Native pupils as carried out by the Inspector

of/

1. Abbot Frans had come from Bosnia with thirty monks, commissioned by Pius IX. A brief account of the Trappists should be of interest, and is here given.

The Abbot describes the Cisterians as a second edition of the Benedictines, and the Trappists as a third edition.

"The Trappists are neither more nor less than a third edition of those Benedictines, with the same rule as was followed by St. Augustine and the forty companions he brought to England. This rule of St. Benedict has had in every place and every time the same strict discipline, the same silence, and the same rule of manual labour as observed by the Trappists in Natal."

of Native Education. At the same time he summarised his own views on Native Education. His contentions were:- (1) that he himself could not have answered questions like those asked by the Inspector, when he was at school in Germany; (2) ~~That~~ that the more the Zulus learned to talk good English, the sooner would they cease to desire to become good artisans and agricultural labourers; (3) ~~That~~ that the Natives, when masters of English, would become full of pride and self-sufficiency, and return to their previous life of sloth and idleness; (4) that the first generation of civilised Kafirs¹ in Natal needed only the ability to read English fairly well, a knowledge of the Catechism in Kafir, and the ability to manage their savings; (5) that Kafir girls should be able to read only just as much Kafir as would enable them to learn their Catechism and prayers, and know the simplest/Arithmetic; (6) that a Kafir girl had only a limited intellect; (7) that the more the girls advanced in school, the less they wanted to work, and the more they were disposed to be insolent and dissatisfied.

This article was taken into serious consideration by the Council of Education in 1889, and some of the actual sentences contained in it are well worth studying. "Give to Kafir-girls as little education as possible. If a Kafir-girl of the first generation knows her religion and understands it, and if she knows well her prayers, it is better that she should not be able to read at all. First teach the Kafirs sound moral truths, teach them Religion without cant or hypocrisy. Instruct only the boys in reading, writing, and arithmetic; and train them to manual/

1. The word Kafir is here used only because it occurs in the original article.

manual labour. Do not teach the girls any English reading, and but very little Kafir. I want to educate the Kafir-girls for Christian Native husbands. You English farmers, merchants, and officials want to have them educated for yourselves as servants, housemaids, nurses, etc. and this perversion of the Natives receives encouragement from the Government by the present system of grants. As long as Native-schools are rated and paid according to standards, I maintain that nothing is to be expected from them."

Here we have clearly indicated the clash between the Government and one section of the missionaries. The Government may throughout have called the tune and paid the piper; but the missionaries have in some mysterious manner often managed to do things in their own way, at any rate over fairly long periods of time. We are here presented with the spectacle of the representative of a private institution avowing his distinct opposition to the lines upon which the State had declared that its work should be conducted, and of an institution claiming for ~~an authority~~ itself in the eyes of its scholars an authority and importance superior to that of the State. The Abbot claimed that his Mission spent more on its missions (schools, churches, food, books and clothing) than the Government did on all the Native schools in the whole of the Colony. Hence his anger at having a fixed policy dictated to him by the Government officers.

Such an outspoken criticism of the Government's policy in Native Education could not pass unnoticed, and the subject was dealt with in the leading article of The Natal Mercury of September 19, 1889. "A new departure in the pursuit of

mission/

mission work." "Methods that are altogether new and startling." - These were some of the expressions used. The editor cited the Abbot as demanding that the Native should be a convert first, and a labourer next, and a scholar last; and as proclaiming himself a sworn foe of polygamy, wife purchase, and idleness. On most of these questions the Abbot would have found himself in complete agreement with every other missionary body in the country. Hence the emphasis here placed upon his outspoken criticism.

The Government took the matter up (especially as the Abbot had applied for a grant of £500 instead of £100), and instructed the Superintendent of Education and the Inspector of Native Education to visit Mariannhill and write detailed reports of the work done there. These reports are not easy of access; but they are of great interest and value, and extracts are therefore given here.

* Extracts from the Report of the Inspector of Native Education on the Native Aided Schools at Mariannhill (dated 23rd September, 1899):

"As to the Industrial work done. This is in every way satisfactory. The variety, usefulness, and thorough character of the teaching imparted leave nothing to be desired. With respect to the school work proper, in both schools very little has been done as yet, the avowed objection to anything like advanced education on the part of the Abbot has hitherto prevented satisfactory progress being made; more especially among the girls, none of whom have got through the English Primer, though several have been

at/

at school for three or four years; the boys are a little better, though still far from what they ought to be. . . .

. The requirements of the Law, and of the Standards issued by the Council of Education are complied with - now - so far as the letter of those requirements is concerned, inasmuch as they are now giving the girls instruction in English to the extent of using the Primer in the school; but if the opinion of the Abbot remains unaltered as to the value of the educational course prescribed by the Council of Education, the probability would seem to be that in practice the purpose of the Law will not be well secured.

. The system followed in these schools of providing everything for the children free of charge, I regard as a very bad one; and though it is the explanation of the great popularity which these schools enjoy amongst the Natives, it is, nevertheless, very harmful in its effect upon the Native mind, being calculated to make them imagine that such provision is that to which they are entitled, and to regard a demand for payment for whatever they may wish to have as an injustice, and this more especially in the direction of all taxation.

The practice of isolating the children from ordinary social life, forbidding them to visit their homes, and the constant gaol-like supervision by the Europeans are also very objectionable, as they are calculated to prevent anything like self-reliance or personal forethought in the future.

But even if these things were otherwise, it still remains an open question as to whether the training carried on at this place is of any advantage to the Colony, and further, as to whether/

whether the way in which the children are treated is ^{not} a crying injustice to their parents. The whole of the working at this station is simply and solely in order to the establishment of a Native Trappist Settlement in our midst, with the possibility in the remote future of the Colony being able to obtain skilled Native labourers therefrom, and that any compliance that may be made with the requirements of the Law in the direction of English education is made under protest.

If this is so, then the present grant is none too small.*

Extracts from the Report on the Trappist Native Schools at Mariannhill, by the Superintending Inspector of Schools (dated 27th September, 1889):

*The course of instruction in both schools complies on all points with the terms of the Law, though hitherto but little attempt has been made to exceed the minimum requirements in the matter of book-learning. In this, in my opinion, the Abbot has acted wisely. From personal observation I have been impressed with the uselessness of much that is taught in many of the Native schools. Parrot-like repetition of grammatical rules, and of isolated facts in astronomy, physiology, and ancient Hebrew history is not education, but only a travesty of it. The time spent in enumerating the plagues of Egypt and in unravelling the intricacies of patriarchal relationships would be more profitably employed in levelling the break-neck roads and repairing the treacherous drifts that make a visit to many of the mission stations more a penance than a pleasure.

But in the public interest it (the Government) goes further, and makes training in practical every-day labour an indispensable part of the work of every school under its cognisance/

nisance.

Mariannahill School gives this training in excellent manner and degree, not only ^{because} the Law demands it, but because the Trappist deems self-abnegation and manual work a necessary part of conversion. Every boy and girl spends at least five hours a day in the School, and four-and-a-half hours in the field, the workshop, or the kitchen.
 Fifteen substantial buildings, with an aggregate flooring ^{of} over an acre, have been erected by masters and boys since September 1887. A two-storeyed building, with bath-rooms attached, has been built by the boys without help from the masters. The clothing of the whole monastic community is made and mended in the tailor's shop. Four wagons, seven carts, and one dog-cart have been made at the wagon-makers.

Since January 1888 the girls have made 13,000 different garments and pieces of house linen, have knitted over 600 pairs of socks and stockings, and have made 289 pairs of sandals and 34 pairs of shoes.

This amount and variety of manual work considerably exceeds that done by the children of all the other Native schools taken together."

It would seem that Plant was too severe on the Trappists. The Abbot certainly suspected Plant of being ~~be~~ biassed, and made a petition against his decisions in the examinations. But the Council of Education supported their Inspector almost unanimously, the votes being eight to one.

A large part of the discussion centred round the teaching of English Grammar, and on first thoughts one is apt to agree with/

with the Abbot and the Superintendent of Education in their estimate of the value of this subject in Native schools. Yet much can be said in defence of the teaching of this subject. This defence is dealt with in Plant's "Minute on Native Education", in which there is very much with which even the Abbot could not find any fault.

A Magistrate's Suggestion.

The Magistrate of the Umsinga Division, to whom reference has already been made, brought forward an interesting suggestion in his Annual Report for 1886.

There was no hospital, or provision of any kind of a public nature, for the sick and wounded in his division; and he felt that such an institution was much needed, especially for the Natives. He suggested that the Natal Native Trust should grant an addition of £100 per annum to the District Surgeon's voted salary, if he would take charge of a small hospital. A few rooms could at first be built for such a purpose, at a cost of £200 or less. Even a room costing a few pounds would be better than nothing. The friends of the sick and wounded could provide food, until the revenue of the Colony was sufficient for the erection of a proper hospital. Something at least should be done, he considered, out of the large revenues of his district in the way of providing a hospital and a surgeon, particularly for the Native population. He urged the erection of a hospital as being far more necessary, beneficial, and charitable than the erection of Native schools. The establishment of hospitals in all Native Locations should

be/

be the first and the best step towards civilising the Natives in the right way. It would soon counteract the evils of Native medicine traders, Kafir doctors, witchcraft, and superstition.

Industrial schools were the next step, in his opinion; the ordinary schools should have come last in the order of establishment.

This frank and interesting criticism of the existing system of educating and civilising the Natives was at the time well received; but there is nothing to show that it bore fruit. There is talk of erecting a hospital near Umsinga Mountain to-day, and the Presbyterians are planning to station a trained European doctor in the district, though there can hardly be any connection between this scheme and the much earlier suggestion.

The Presence of Coloured Children in the Public Schools.

Reference to the lawfulness of allowing Coloured children to attend the Public Schools has already been made in a previous chapter. Public feeling does not seem to have been ~~against~~ aroused against the practice until after 1870. In February 1885 the Council received letters, complaining that the Head Mistress of the Girls' Model Primary School in Pietermaritzburg had refused admittance to a girl name Emily Kok, the daughter of a Scotchman and a Griqua. After discussion the following resolution was passed:- "This Council cannot consent to the exclusion of children, on account of their colour,

from/

from the schools supported and maintained by the Government." Kention was made in the December 1885 meeting of the Council of a child, of Indian parentage, who had to be admitted to the Greytown Primary School, because there were no objections except her colour.

A definitely different policy seems to have been adopted at the end of 1886, for in February 1887 the Council resolved:-
(1) "That the Acting Headmaster of the Durban High School be instructed not to admit the Natives who have applied to him."
(2) "That as the Headmaster of the Boys' Model Primary School has reported that it would prove detrimental to the School to admit adult Natives to the lower standards, the Natives in question be refused admission."

The question, however, arose once more in February 1894, when it was suggested that Indians should be admitted to the Verulam Government School. The parents of the European children quickly made a vigorous protest, with the result that the Council decided that in any neighbourhood where an Indian or Native School was established, the children of Indians or Natives should not be admitted to the Government Schools as free pupils. The Council however stated in the following May that Native and Indian children could enter the Government Schools for Europeans, when they had been through their own schools.

It must be remembered also that a clear distinction was made between "Coloureds" and "Natives", even though the word "Coloured" was often used in legal documents for "Native". A missionary near Harding could for a long time get no grant for his school, because the pupils were "Griquas", or like "Griquas"/

"Griquas", and not real Natives. He finally received a small sum out of the funds voted for European Education. But this restricted use of the word "Coloured" was not common; the word was certainly not so used in the resolutions mentioned in the preceding paragraphs.

In 1886, at the tenth annual Examination for Government Certificates of Proficiency in Elementary Subjects (the Bursary Examination for the European Schools in the Eighties), there was one private pupil, a Native from the Verulam Mission Station. Though a few of the papers in English Grammar presented by European candidates were very creditable, the paper sent up by this Native pupil, Cleopas Kunene, was singled out as notably good and gained the highest marks in that subject.

Zululand.

In consequence of troubles and changes in Zululand, the British flag was hoisted in December 1884 at St. Lucia Bay, as a reminder that the Bay had been ceded to England by Panda in 1843. With the general consent of the Zulu people, who felt themselves unable to preserve peace and order in their country, the whole of Zululand was declared to be British territory in May 1887, and the Governor of Natal was appointed also Governor of Zululand. The following figures are given merely to indicate the almost complete absence at that time of educational effort in Zululand. In 1892 a sum of £300 was voted for the "Education and Industrial Training of Natives". A similar sum was set aside in 1893, together with one of £100 for European Schools.

CHAPTER V.

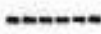
1894 - 1910:

MR. ROBERT PLANT :

THE BEGINNINGS OF THE SYSTEMATIC

TRAINING OF TEACHERS.

Contents of Chapter V.

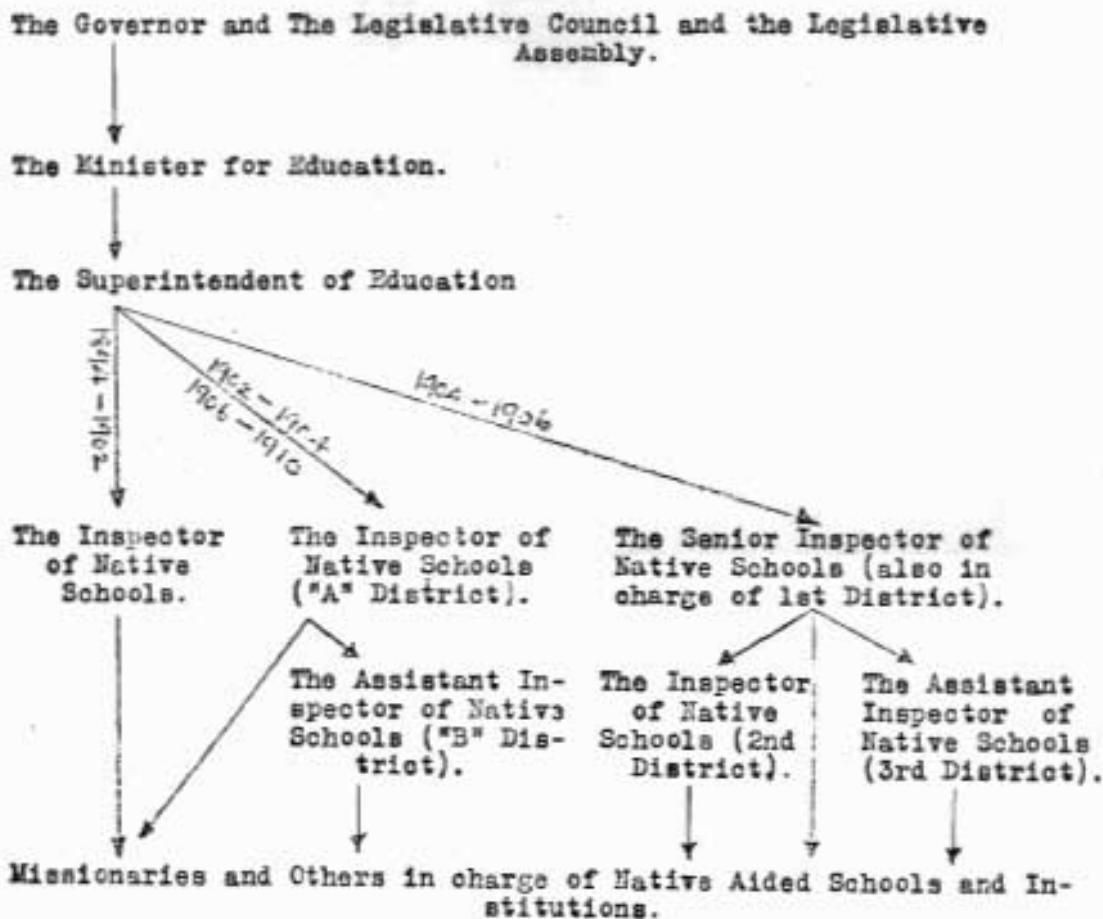


- The Control of Native Education between 1894 and 1910.
- Act 5 of 1894.
- Public Interest.
- The Awakening of the Heathen.
- Obstacles to Success.
- Industrial Training.
- The Training and Certification of Teachers.
- The Supply of Teachers.
- The Examination of Pupils.
- Supervision and Inspection.
- Fees.
- Pensions.
- Grants.
- Buildings and Equipment.
- The Attempt to found a Government School.
- The Zululand Schools.
- The Boarding Schools.
- Teachers' Conferences.
- Education and other Commissions.
- The Native Education Advisory Board.



The Control of Native Education between

1894 and 1910.



N.B. The Assistant Inspector resigned early in 1906, and was not replaced.

Mr. R. Russell presented his last Annual Report of the Superintendent of Education in 1901, after he had been in the service of the Department for thirty-six years; and Mr. P. A. Barnett became Acting Superintendent of Education in October 1902. Mr. Barnett had been H. M. Chief Inspector of Schools in England, and he left Natal in October 1904, his contract having expired. Mr. C. J. Kudie, who had been in Scotland for a period of service with the Scotch Education Department, then became Superintendent of Education in Natal. The closing date of this period, 1909, is just fifty years after the appointment of Dr. Mann, the first Superintendent in Natal.

Act 5 of 1894.

Law 14 of 1893 gave Responsible Government to Natal, and the first session of the new Legislative Assembly was held in October 1893. Early in 1894 an important law dealing with Education was passed

ACT 5 OF 1894¹ repealed certain earlier enactments. The provisions of this Act are given in fairly great detail to indicate the extent of the operations involved.

Ordinance 2 of 1856, for promoting the Education of the Coloured Youth of Natal, was completely repealed.

Law 15 of 1877, which had made provision for the control of Education by the Council of Education, had, only certain sections repealed. The unrepealed sections were those which dealt with Inspectors, Model Schools, Grants for Equipment and Buildings, other Grants, Pupil Teachers, Salaries, Religious Instruction and Corporal Punishment. Though this Law had dealt specifically with European Schools, it is mentioned here, because children of any race could attend those schools.

Of/

1. Many of these changes did not affect Native Education at all because the Law did not deal specifically with Native Education only.

Of Law 1 of 1884 only certain provisions were cancelled. The unrepealed sections dealt with the establishment and maintenance of Government Schools for the children of the Natives of Natal, with the inspection of such schools, with instruction in the principles of morality, with Government Aid for Mission Schools, with the granting of school-sites by the Natal Native Trust, and with the duties of the Inspector of Native Education.

The two most important results of the new law were the abolition of the Council of Education and the cancelling of the £5,000 Reserve. Other laws were repealed at the same time, but they are of little or no interest to the student of Native Education. By the new Act, the unrepealed sections of Law 15 of 1877 and Law 1 of 1884 and the whole of Act 5 of 1894 were to be read and construed as one.

Needless to say, these repeals did not directly and immediately affect (1) any School established, maintained, or aided under any of the repealed regulations; (2) any grant to such schools; (3) any office already created; and (4) all regulations in regard to the qualification and selection of teachers, the classification of schools, the course of studies, school fees, and bursaries - unless anything that was in existence was in direct conflict with the ^{intentions} instructions of the new Act.

By Act 5 of 1894 all powers and authority vested in the Council of Education were to be vested in and exercised by the Governor of Natal. One of the Offices ^{created} appointed under Section 8 of Law 14 of 1893 was to be that of Minister of Education, though such office might be held by any other Minister appointed under the same section. The lands and

the/

the property of the Council of Education were to be vested in the Minister of Education. All debts due by the Council were to be charges on the General Revenue, and all moneys due to the Council were to be recoverable by the Minister. The Governor in Council might make, alter, or repeal regulations concerning:- the classification of schools; the qualifications and selection of teachers of every kind; the appointment, pay, and promotion of Assistants with £150 or less, of Pupil Teachers, and of Teachers of Native and Indian Schools; the age and qualification of children for admission; the discipline and management of Schools; the course of studies, examinations, prizes, and bursaries; the school fees; and any other matters necessary for the better carrying out of the Education Acts, for which no provision was otherwise made. The Governor could appoint and remove any education official (teacher or otherwise).

Public Interest.

On the 21st of January 1895, there appeared in "The Natal Mercury" Mr. Speaker Stainbank's Address at Bellair on Native Education. The address aroused much interest at the time, and is here summarised. President Reitz had started a discussion in "The Cape Magazine" in November, 1891. Sir Theophilus Shepstone replied. Messrs. R.D. Clark and F.S. Tatham also contributed to the discussion, and Mr. Stainbank took part on a public platform.

The American Missionaries had told Stainbank that an experiment in leaving educated Natives in charge of stations had failed. He therefore considered that the Europeans could

safely/

safely give the Natives the maximum of education without creating dangerous rivals, without fear of making the Native race the dominant one.

But he thought that most Government and Mission failure in South Africa, was due to "hot-house" methods of forcing the pace of "growth". He suggested starting a change in the domestic life; this change would sooner or later raise the standard of social life; and later there would come legal and political advance in status.

He also thought that the scheme of trade-teaching under the new 1893 Regulations was too elaborate, and also uncalled-for. He said the Natives wanted to be trained gardeners, grooms, cooks, coachmen, and nurses; and that the Colonists wanted such workers. He felt that thus would the demands of missionaries, Natives, and Colonists be met, all of whom complained that there were no openings for "educated" Natives. Native wages were at the time 12s. to 25s. a month, while wages for labourers from India were £3 or £4 a month.

Stainbank wished to do away with Indian Immigration as a menace to Native Education; to do away with all grants to Native Schools; to fix and tabulate certain habits connected with domestic life, with the use of the English language only, — with agriculture, stock, and so on; to fix minimum standards with regard to subdivisions of these heads and the mode of judging, which should include both cleverness and experience; to give to every successful candidate and his instructor a sum of money; to give to the candidate a certificate of character and ability to use in getting employment; to give the pupil a distaste for kral life and provide him with the means of

gratifying/

gratifying his own wishes; to give the Missionaries a real chance of successful teaching; to get some farmers to educate Native boys for small wages, bonuses to farmer and pupil to be paid by the Government.

This discussion did not lead to any action, but it indicated the attitude of certain critics of the Government's policy in Native Education, and it is given for that reason.

The Awakening of the Heathen.

The "raw" Natives had begun by 1896 to realise the value of Education as far as the earning of money was concerned, because of the success of their "educated" brethren on the ea the Goldfields in the Transvaal. Consequently many children were sent to school, who would have otherwise remained "raw".

Even the Chiefs began to be interested in schools, and there is a case on record of a Chief who went to school as an ordinary scholar in 1896. It may be assumed that no pupils were guilty of inattention in this school. The good work went on in 1897, so that it can safely be said that throughout the Colony the Natives were responding to the purpose of the Native Primary Education Law of 1883. Before 1896 and 1897, education had been chiefly of "Kolwa" (= Believing = Christian) children; but in these years the Heathen began to want Education, several Chiefs and headmen applying for schools for their people, for they had begun to realise the value of communicating with the Government in writing. But it was only Reading and Writing that they wanted.

The parents on their part gradually became more tolerant

(or/

(or rather, less intolerant) of Industrial Work, for they were time and again forced to admit that they could not make a straight row of poles or plant parallel rows of mealies.

It must not be forgotten, though, that many Natives were not being reached by the educational efforts made on behalf of their race. When the average attendance was 7,851 in 1906, a conservative estimate (1906 Annual Report) indicated that 190,000 Natives of school age were not at school; in other words only 1 child out of every 25 children was being educated in the Aided Schools, and there were not many Private Schools at the time, at any rate not many of any importance. (According to the 1903 Annual Report, there were 998,000 Natives in Natal at the time, whereas in 1878 there had been only 290,000.)

Obstacles to Success.

The labour demands of the Colony had for many years been responsible for taking the bigger Native boys out of the schools long before they reached Standard 6. Consequently the pupils were mostly small boys and girls of all sizes, the girls outnumbering the boys.

Locusts and drought (with their result, scarcity of food) were frequent causes of distress among the Natives during these years, and had a retarding influence upon the growth of old schools and the opening up of new ones. Especially was the year 1896 a bad year; the locust swarms caused frequent interruptions of school work, the scarcity of food made the older scholars leave school to earn their living/

living, and the younger scholars were too weak to go to school. The year 1896 had been a bad one; 1897 was an even worse one, for in that year the Natives suffered from rinderpest as well as from drought and locusts.

A very unsatisfactory feature of the work was the lack of practical interest on the part of the parents, partly because of the hunger conditions, and partly because of their greed for land (which led them to save every penny possible for the purchase of land). But when the recognised "market value" of Education began to operate, local support of the schools began to be given. The Wesleyan Grantees had before that been demanding parental monetary support, and they found that this demand even aroused the interest of the parents. The Inspector warmly approved of this plan, and pointed out that the unsteady support of the Government would have meant the ruin of Native Education, if it had not been for the enthusiasm of the missionaries.

Then came the Boer War, which seriously interfered with Native Education. In the Uplands Districts the work had been better than ever until August, but after August 1899 the War up-country and the general drought and the locusts at the Coast interfered badly everywhere. Fortunately work proceeded smoothly after March 1900, except in Zululand and the north of Natal. Yet there was a very low average attendance in 1900, because of locusts at the Coast and late rains up-country.

Insufficient inspection as a factor militating against success will be dealt with on another page. A more serious obstacle to success was the migration of the best male teach-

ers to the Goldfields. To remedy this evil the Inspector suggested that the best teachers should receive between £60 and £70 per annum; but there is nothing to indicate whether this plan was adopted or not. Another suggestion was made by Mr. Mudie in 1907, that Grantees should make teachers sign on for two years at least and should not accept teachers without satisfactory certificates from their previous employers. But it was not easy to act on this suggestion, while even inefficient teachers were scarce.

A minor evil was the irregularity of attendance when the planting season began, especially in Zululand and other places, where the children were "allowed" to go to school, and where the value of education was not realised. Mr. Plant suggested in 1902 that the Native Schools should open from February 1 to October 31, with one month's vacation; or that a modified form of compulsion should be used in the case of pupils living near schools.

Superintendent Barnett raised in 1904 the point of the drawback of Zulu as an "intellectual" language as compared with English; he pointed out in a fresh and impressive manner the fact that it had so few abstract concepts as to be a "poor" language.

The poor quality of the Native teachers themselves is referred to on a later page.

When progress seemed certain, there occurred the Native Rebellion of 1906, which, though not so disastrous as the Boer War, had a very bad influence on the work of the schools; especially did the average attendance suffer. Some schools in the Rebellion area had to close, and they did not reopen

until/

until the latter half of 1907, though their attendance and enrolment then became better than ever.

The poorness of the buildings and equipment definitely hindered progress, and is referred to on a later page.

Industrial Training.

The regulations concerning Industrial Training had been altered and were applied with increasing strictness in the time of the Council of Education. In 1895 these regulations were relaxed slightly, as far as the character of the industrial work done was concerned, and the immediate result of this was the production of simpler but better work.

Year after year reference is made in the Annual Reports to the good quality of the Industrial Work for girls in most schools, and to the fact that the Industrial Work done by the boys was good only in the higher schools, most of which were Boarding Schools. In the lower schools the Industrial Work of the boys was such a farce and so seldom of any practical value, that the Inspector actually suggested in 1899 that it might ~~be~~ ^{be} very well ^{done} ^{with}. In this year a regulation was passed, prohibiting the sale of articles made by Native pupils. The effects of this regulation and its repeal in 1902 are referred to in the next chapter. The girls did Sewing and similar work in most of the schools, but there seemed to be no chance of granting proper facilities for the boys, even in Gardening apparently. (The later approach to this problem by Mr. Gebers and Dr. Loram is of interest.)

In 1907 the regulations concerning Industrial Work were

more/

more rigidly enforced, and the work at many schools was therefore classed as poor or barely satisfactory. The work at Adams, in fact, nearly came to a halt because of the strictness of this rule. At the time the only satisfactory work was that in Agriculture for boys and girls at Mariannahill, Polela, Centocow, and Maria Ratchitz; in Laundry at Inanda; and in the fields at Inanda and Umzumbi. Mariathal and Reichenam were also doing good work. The Needlework in the Day Schools was comparatively good, but other forms of work would have been expensive if well done; they were for the same reason wanting in variety, effective teaching, and useful character, even in most of the Boarding Schools, for very few Day Schools did work of this nature. Those schools which have been mentioned by name were worthy of special grants, for in them four hours a day were usually set aside for Industrial Work, which was regarded of special value as part of the school routine; but they did not receive such grants.

The Training and Certification of Teachers.¹

The teachers' examinations were first held in 1887 and were purely written ones. They can hardly be called professional examinations. In 1895, a representative year, tests were conducted in Arithmetic, Grammar, Geography, School Method, Reading and Translating, Spelling, and Handwriting; that is, in only one professional subject. It would seem that a 50% pass in Arithmetic and a 50% aggregate were necessary. There were undoubtedly three classes of certificates issued.

An/

1. Reference should be made to the paragraph on this topic in the next chapter. The early examinations are described carefully to emphasise the rapid nature of the progress made after 1902.

An obvious conclusion to be drawn from the reports of these examinations is that there were no definite training centres, and that candidates at one examination centre may have travelled miles to be examined. In 1895, examinations were conducted at Amanzimtoti (= Adams) and Edendale; in 1896, at Centocow, Impolweni, and Edendale; in 1899, at Edendale and Impolweni; in 1900, at Umzumbi and Edendale, the Inanda candidates being examined at Edendale; and in 1901, at Impolweni, Edendale, and Centocow.

In 1895, 1896, and 1899 the results were fairly satisfactory, as the accompanying table of entries and passes will show. In 1900 the results were very unsatisfactory, except in the case of the Inanda candidates; and Mr. Plant threatened to dismiss the candidates from the schools in which they were teaching, and to cut off the grants from their schools. In 1901, the Class 3 papers from Centocow and the Class 2 papers from Edendale were good, but all the other papers were poor. There were 25 passes altogether - the best result so far recorded.

The encouragement in 1898 of pupils, who wished to become teachers, is referred to on a later page. It was hardly an attempt to tackle the problem of teacher-training. The first step in this direction seems to have been taken in July 1902, when a regulation was made: that no Native (who had not passed a satisfactory examination in Standard 4 by January 1903, Standard 5 by January 1904, and Standard 6 by January 1905) should be eligible for appointment as head or sole teacher of a school. According to this regulation, a series of examinations of active teachers and student teachers con-

jointly/

jointly was held in November and December, 1902, at sixteen different centres. There were 232 candidates in all. The results are here summarised.

Std. 4:	Class 4 Certificate:	183 Candidates:	128 passes;
Std. 5:	Class 3	" : 33	" : 20 "
Std. 6:	Class 2	" : 12	" : 7 "
Std. 7:	Class 1	" : 4	" : 1 pass.

The passing of this regulation and the holding of these examinations was a great step forward. Many teachers had been employed, simply because they could act also as evangelists on Sundays. How this must have annoyed the Inspector, and how bad it must have been for the schools, can easily be imagined. The new regulation involved the temporary closing of some schools (as a glance at the statistical tables will show), especially as one examination was not enough, and as all Head Teachers had to pass Standard 6 by January 1905. So great was the effect of this regulation on the number of schools, that the question was raised by Mr. Plant in 1904 of allowing "good" unqualified teachers to carry on small schools on a reduced grant, especially in Zululand. In 1904 Teachers' Examinations were held at seventeen centres for 299 candidates. The results are here given.

Class 1:	14 candidates :	10 passes;
Class 2:	114 " :	53 " ;
Class 3:	171 " :	56 " .

To encourage efficiency in actual teaching in the schools after the passing of examinations, the Bonus System was established/

established, which though questionable as a policy was undoubtedly useful. In 1905 the best eleven teachers received £47 in bonuses. The efforts put forth in and after 1902 made it possible in 1906 to dismiss the lazy teachers actually at work, and to replace them by certificated ones.

But Mr. Plant was far from satisfied with even this. He attacked in 1906 the system of training employed in the Colleges. His main criticism was that there was not enough "practice"; and he urged that more practical training should be given, even if it meant that the attached Day Schools had to be used. This seems to be the beginning of the Practising School system. He further demanded that the drawing up of time tables, the keeping of registers, the writing of proper notes of lessons, and the methods of teaching should be emphasised by practice, in these Day Schools if necessary. Moreover he pointed out that possession of a certificate and success in teaching were not one and the same thing, and that the Grantees were not doing their share of the training by careful supervision of the young and inexperienced teachers.

The best female teachers seem in this period to have come from American centres, which had for years been specialising on the education of girls; but a sad feature was, that very few teachers were really qualified and successful, even among the Europeans who were engaged in Native work. So much time had to be spent on "academic" subjects, that there was too little time spent on "school method" - and yet the work was fairly good in these unfavourable circumstances.

The production of good teachers was so clearly the first essential in any scheme for reform and advance, that Mr. Plant asked/

asked for two Government Training Colleges, one for girls and one for boys, for effective instruction on the practical side of teaching, in order that "parrot work" in the lower schools (especially the Day Schools) might cease. His idea was that these Colleges should be open to every student in Natal, and that a one-year course should be given after the usual teachers' certificate had been obtained, no headship to be awarded to any one without this extra training. The intention to make them Government Institutions was due to the desire for uniformity of system, for the presence of candidates from every Mission, and for the abolition of disturbing denominational influences. Mr.Plant would have been glad to get even one such Government institution, and suggested the withdrawal of all grants from unsatisfactory schools in order that funds might be available. Nothing has yet been done in this direction, though the scheme was discussed in a slightly altered form in the time of Dr.Loram.

According to a regulation already mentioned, all Head Teachers were obliged to have a Class 2 Certificate, i.e., to have gained 50% of the marks in a severe Standard 6 Examination; but sixteen schools were still too poor to pay such teachers in 1909, and they were allowed to have Class 3 Teachers.

Very few of the teachers, even of Class 2, had received any systematic training in the art of teaching, though some had benefited by the American Winter Conference for Teachers. Attention had been so often drawn to the need for a practical training for teachers, that it is not surprising to find a great advance made in 1908. In that year definite Teacher-Training was undertaken at Adams. Though the staff for the

Normal/

Normal School was not at the time quite satisfactory, the school was properly arranged and fairly well equiped, and the benefits of this new system began to be reaped at the end of 1910. By that time Mr.Plant had retired, but he continued to live in Natal, and was able to see the expansion of the good work he had been able to begin after years of patient effort.

<u>Candidates from:-</u>	1895	1896	1897	1898	1899	1900	1901	1902	1903	1904	1905	1906	1907	1908	1909
Amanzimtote	9	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
Edendale	10	2	-	-	12	25	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
Zwaart Kop	2	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
Gordon Memorial	4	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
Bethany	3	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
Centocow	-	3	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
Impolweni	-	2	-	-	21	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
Private Study	.	.	.	.	2	.	9	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
Umrumbi	.	.	.	.	.	7	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
Inanda	<i>Entries</i>	<i>Passes</i>	.	.	.	2	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
					<i>Entries</i>	<i>Entries</i>	<i>Entries</i>	<i>Sixteen</i>	<i>entries</i>	<i>entries</i>					
First Class Entries	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	4	.	14	.	.	.	.	.
Second " "	.	.	.	.	.	.	7	12	.	114	.	.	.	.	.
Third " "	.	.	.	.	.	.	29	33	.	171	.	.	.	.	.
Fourth " "	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	183	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
First Class Passes	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	1	.	10	.	.	.	.	.
Second " "	5	0	-	-	4	0	$\frac{4}{24}$	7	.	53	.	.	.	.	.
Third " "	9	7	-	-	12	3	$\frac{19}{6}$	20	.	56	.	.	.	.	.
Fourth " "	.	.	.	.	.	.	128	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
Total Entries	28	17	-	-	35	34	36	232	.	299	.	.	.	.	.
Total Passes	14	7	-	-	16	3	25	156	.	119	.	.	.	.	.

The records are unfortunately incomplete.

The Supply of Teachers.

The supply of capable teachers was stated to be "still insufficient" in 1898; and the position was no better in 1899, for in that year even the worst teachers could not be dismissed as there were none to replace them. Matters had not improved even by 1902. In fact, matters were worse in 1903, because of the regulation concerning the certification of teachers between 1903 and 1905. Figures of the number of teachers certificated in each year of this period are not available; but one can judge of the progress made by the number of schools receiving Aid. The statistical tables appended show how the number of Aided Schools dropped in 1903 and ^{it} steadily grew, until the 1902 total had almost been reached again in 1910.

The Examination of Pupils.

The examination of pupils was carried out by the Inspector (Inspectors) in person, and the following table gives some idea of the amount of work put in.

1895 :	5268	pupils	examined.	
1896 :	5264	"	"	.
1897 :	5209	"	"	.
1898 :	6148	"	"	.
1899 :	4732	"	"	.
1900 :	5197	"	"	.
1901 :	5784	"	"	.

(No inspection in North — Boer War.)

Supervision and Inspection.

The value of European supervision became clearer as the years passed by, if it had ever been doubted; and yet many missionaries could not or would not visit their schools regularly. In fact, supervision by Grantees seemed to decrease in quantity and quality, as Government inspection improved in frequency and efficiency. The result was retrogression, for respect for a local supervisor was (and still is) of greater value than fear of a distant Inspector. Grantees were supposed to visit their schools once in each quarter; some paid their schools weekly visits, while others hardly ever went near their schools.

After 1898 it was only just possible for the Inspector to visit each school once in eighteen months, though he was most anxious to visit each school twice a year. The position had improved by 1902, for an Assistant Inspector was appointed in 1901. Conditions were still better after the appointment of a third Inspector in 1904, when all schools received two visits and some schools three visits a year.

In 1905 an experiment was successfully made. Four trained Native ministers were allowed to visit schools of their own denomination in their own districts, and three of these men did good work. In 1909 the experiment was extended, and educated Natives near the schools were appointed as Grantees, on the condition that they paid frequent "surprise visits". The experiment was a success.

The American Board of Missions took a bold step in

1905 by setting one missionary aside to do nothing but supervise the thirty-nine American Day Schools. It is to be regretted that the Wesleyans with their forty-eight schools did not immediately adopt the same plan in toto, and that the Anglicans (with eighteen schools) and the Presbyterians (with fourteen schools) did not adopt the plan in part. The Natives were willing to respond to appeals from a good leader or organiser in any direction. Hence the need of these European denominational supervisors, in the absence of Native leaders. The Wesleyans appointed a Supervisor in 1906, but he was not permitted to spend the whole of his time at this work; consequently he was not nearly so successful as the American one, who was doing such good work, that his schools alone suffered very little from the lack of Government inspection after the resignation of the third Inspector in 1906.

Fees.

The payment of fees by Native pupils was not a general practice in 1895; or, if fees were charged, they were merely nominal. Mr. Plant was of the firm belief in 1895, that the very low fees at the higher schools were responsible for the low attendance at each of these schools, as the Natives said, "A free thing can't be worth much". Moreover, the giving of free education and the charging of unreasonably low fees were unfair to the local Government, and to the philanthropic public in Europe.

The collection of fees by the Wesleyans has been referred to on another page. The practice gradually became more

general/

general, and in 1900 over £990 was collected in fees. In 1901 there were ninety-six schools (i.e. about 50% of the schools) in which fees were collected; but more fees should have been collected, especially in the Day Schools, where the Industrial Work done was far too poor to compensate in any way for the expenses of running the schools. In 1902 fees were collected in one hundred and three schools, but in 1904 in eighty-three schools only. In 1905 fees were collected in one hundred and six schools, the fees being between 2d. and 1s. a month in the Day Schools, and between £2:10s. and £3 a year in the Boarding Schools.

Pensions.

After many efforts to improve the position of the European teachers engaged in Native work, success came in 1910, when Act 31 authorised £100 pensions for European Head Teachers and £50 pensions for European Assistants in Native work, provided applications were made by a certain date.

The question of pensions for Native Teachers does not seem to have arisen in this period

Grants.

Grants, according to Mr. Plant, were in the first place to have been given in order that the Aided Schools might sooner or later become self-supporting. This aim was never clearly stated¹, and it certainly seems to have been lost sight of, at any rate by the missionaries; but in 1896 the
new/

1. Perhaps it was never intended to be publicly stated. But Plant may have been speaking of an office tradition of unauthorised growth.

new policy of reducing the grants to long-established centres was adopted, in order that these might become more and more dependent on local resources, and so that the Government might provide for the poorer Natives in scattered communities. The actual intention in that year was to make the Natives in the older centres pay at least one-third of the cost of their schools.

For some unrecorded reason, the scale of grants (which was in the ordinary way subject to revision in July of each year) was drastically altered in 1897 without notice. All grants were then reduced¹ to the uniform rate of 15s. per head on the previous year's average attendance. The best schools were naturally those that suffered most, and many were for a time on the point of being abandoned.

In 1898 new regulations were issued. No grants were after that date to be given in respect of boys over sixteen years of age, or in respect of any pupils above Standard 4, unless these pledged themselves to teach for two years after their extra training.

The huge Mission Reserves were being taken over by the Government in 1906, and Plant hoped that upwards of £5,000 would become available for all Native schools of all denominations, instead of being controlled by four or five Missions for their own purposes without Government control. Plant was disillusioned. Some money however had become available by 1910, for in 1909 some of the new school buildings were the result of the Mission Reserve Law, which gave one-half of the taxes from the tenants on the Reserves "for the education of the children on the Reserves"; but this money does not seem

to/

1. Probably only temporarily.

to have come under the control of the Education Department, - perhaps the funds were handled by the Natal Native Trust or the Native Affairs Department.

Buildings and Equipment.

School accommodation was poor, as the Natives had been impoverished by war, locusts, and drought. The Inspector therefore suggested in 1900 the giving of small grants, if the balance were raised locally; but the suggestion does not appear to have been acted on to any great extent, for in 1905 a grant of only £306 was paid to assist various missionaries in erecting buildings together worth at least £2000. Nevertheless it was a beginning, and Mr. Plant hoped in this way to stop the practice of using churches as schools.

A further step was taken in 1906, when a circular was issued stating that the usual grants would cease after July 1908, unless separate buildings were used for schools.

The buildings, the equipment, and the attendance was in most cases poor, even in 1907; so an additional suggestion was made, to withdraw grants from all schools except those which were really progressing. (The maximum grants at the time were 30s. per pupil per annum for Boarding Schools, and 17s. per pupil per annum for Day Schools.)

In spite of these endeavours to improve matters, the condition of affairs had not improved by 1908, when many of the buildings were still wretched, even in districts, where the Natives themselves were well-off and owned large tracts of land, such as Driefontein and Inyanyadu and Jonon'sKop. At
the/

At the time the "Foreign" Missions had provided separate buildings as required by regulation, even in Zululand. Why then had not the British Missions done so? The slack Grantees were put to shame by the energy of some of the Natives, who were striving at great self-sacrifice to improve the position. A definite and general attempt to answer the call for better and separate school buildings may be said to have been made in 1909.

The Attempt to found a Government School.

In the Estimates for 1904 mention was made of £300 for the salary of the Headmaster of a New Native Industrial School at Watersmeet¹, and of £750 for the salaries of three Trade Instructors. Here we have the revival of the Zwart Kop scheme in a more elaborate form and in a different locality.

The Watersmeet Government School was to have been definitely a "trade" school, not an agricultural school; hence Watersmeet was chosen, as a trade school could not have paid its way, except in the midst of a Christian Native population demanding things that could be made in the school.

If the intention had been to make Watersmeet an agricultural school, Zwart Kop could have been tried again, especially as an afforestation scheme was already in operation there by 1906.

Nothing came of the scheme because of a technical difficulty in the transfer of the necessary land. When difficulties/

1. The present authorities in charge of Native Education in Natal knew nothing of this earlier scheme at Watersmeet, when they recently opened up an Agricultural Demonstration Centre in the very same area. They have learned with great interest of this earlier "trade" school scheme.

culties occurred in connection with the transfer of the land, it was suggested that another place might be chosen. Mr. Mudie and Mr. Plant thereupon visited Watersmeet together in 1906, and they decided to wait for transfer rather than risk failure in a less suitable locality.

The Zululand Schools.

The Zululand Schools were added to the list of Aided Schools in 1898, when twenty-five schools with about 1,100 children were taken over. There were twenty-nine Zululand Schools in 1899. Of the history of these schools before 1898 no records are available, as the manuscript documents from the Office of the Governor of Zululand are of too recent a date to be consulted by students or the public generally.

This addition of Zululand to Natal made inspection an exceedingly difficult matter, for not only was the number of schools considerably increased, but the area to be covered was almost doubled.

The Zululand Schools suffered terribly as a result of the Boer War, and none of them were inspected at all in 1900 and 1901; in fact, many of them had to close temporarily, as had many of those in Klip River County.

Before 1898 the Zululand Schools had been without any general regulations or standards, and the special attention of most of them had been concentrated on teaching reading and writing in Zulu. (1898 Annual Report.) A fact which must not be forgotten is that Zululand Native Education was fully
thirty/

thirty years behind Natal Native Education. The children's environment was often against education, and irregularity of attendance was a very common fault. The best school was at Isandhlwana; and the schools at Entumeni, Etalaneni, and Eshowe were also quite good; but the others were merely struggling in very adverse circumstances.

The Boarding Schools.

1895	6	new	schools,	with	533	pupils.
1896						
1897						
1898						
1899	26	schools	altogether,	with	2,087	pupils.
1900	25	"	"	"	2,026	"
1901	25	"	"	"		
1902	25	"	"	"		
1903	25	"	"	"		
1904	29	"	"	"		
1905	28	"	"	"	2,632	"
1906	28	"	"	"		
1907	30	"	"	"		
1908	30	"	"	"		
1909	31	"	"	"		

The opening of a new Boarding School was in this period looked upon as an event of great importance. These schools were obviously superior to the Day Schools, because of the longer hours of work, the constant supervision, and the absence of possible degrading kraal influences. The Trappist Schools/

Schools especially are worthy of mention in this respect, and reference to them was made in the previous chapter. It is to be noted that only half of these schools took boarders only.

The value of these schools received more and more recognition as the years passed by, and Mr.Plant suggested in 1909 bigger grants for boarders who could be got at the age of nine or ten.

Teachers' Conferences.

In 1905 Mr.Plant suggested the holding of Annual Conferences of Native Teachers, each conference to last for three days, lectures to be given on methods of teaching (with practical demonstrations), and discussions to take place on difficulties and how to surmount them. In 1906 Rebellion made the holding of a conference impossible, but the idea was not abandoned. Consequently in 1907 the American Board of Missions held a Conference of Native Teachers in the winter holidays, when lectures and lessons on school-work were given. This was a preliminary effort, and it was such a success that it was decided to make a more extended effort later.

Education and other Commissions.

Mr.Ludie, the Superintendent of Education, referred in his Annual Report for 1906 to the 1903 - 1905 South African Native Affairs Commission, which had proved beyond doubt the value of Mission work. There is little direct reference to educational/

educational policy or statistics in this report.

A Native Affairs Commission was appointed on the 21st of September in 1906, after the Rebellion was over. The Commission reported in 1907, but in its report little is said of Native Education. The paragraphs dealing with Education are summarised below. The Chairman of the Commission was H.C.Campbell, and the late Maurice S.Evans was a member.

According to this Report the Natives were already asking why the Government had not erected schools for them, when there were Government Indian Schools. Many Natives were leaving the Colony for the type of education they wanted, and they bitterly resented the fact that the Government was content with merely assisting the Missions. Consequently the Commission advocated the establishment of "a central training Institution", especially for teachers, but where also the sons of Chiefs and leading men" might, if they so desired, "get a plain education, and some training in industrial work". More liberal assistance to the existing training Institutions was advocated; and the springing up of uncontrolled schools of low grade was pointed out, the reason being that the strict Government demands were out of all proportion to the low grants made.

Another recommendation was the creation of a Board of Advice. This plan was adopted by the Superintendent of Education, and the result was the coming into existence of the Native Education Advisory Board.

The question of instruction in agriculture and simple trades was also discussed by the Commission, but they left the making of definite recommendations to the proposed Board

of/

of Advice.

The Education Commission of 1909 presented its report in September of that year. This report, together with the appointment of a permanent Natal Council of Native Affairs and the reorganisation of the Native Affairs Office, indicated a brighter future for the Zulu people, educationally and in other ways. Practically the only recommendation of this Commission concerning the Natives was the foundation of two Government institutions for the training of the sons of Native Chiefs. Reference to this experiment is made on a later page.

In this connection it is of interest to consider the common belief that, once the Chiefs were civilized and educated, all else would be easy. Some people believe that the Chiefs should be civilized, so that they can take their tribes over with them to Christianity and Civilisation; but the case of Khama proves that the Chief cannot go either slower or faster than his tribe will allow. Khama's father (or grandfather) was deposed in favour of Khama for being conservative; but part of Khama's tribe broke away because he was too progressive. (Summary of a few pages in Part III of the Report on Native Education in South Africa by E.B. Sargent, Educational Adviser to the High Commissioner for South Africa.)

The Native Education Advisory Board.

A Conference of Grantees met in March 1907, and promised to be a great help in the solution of the many problems of Native Education. The Advisory Committee of that Conference had the School Regulations under consideration in 1907 and

made/

made suggestions for their revision. This Committee rapidly grew into the properly constituted Native Education Advisory Board, of which a detailed account is given in the next chapter. It is a body which has done an exceedingly great amount of good work without acknowledgment¹.

1. No acknowledgment, at any rate, until quite recently.

CHAPTER VI.

1910 - 1918:

THE EARLY YEARS OF PROVINCIAL CONTROL:

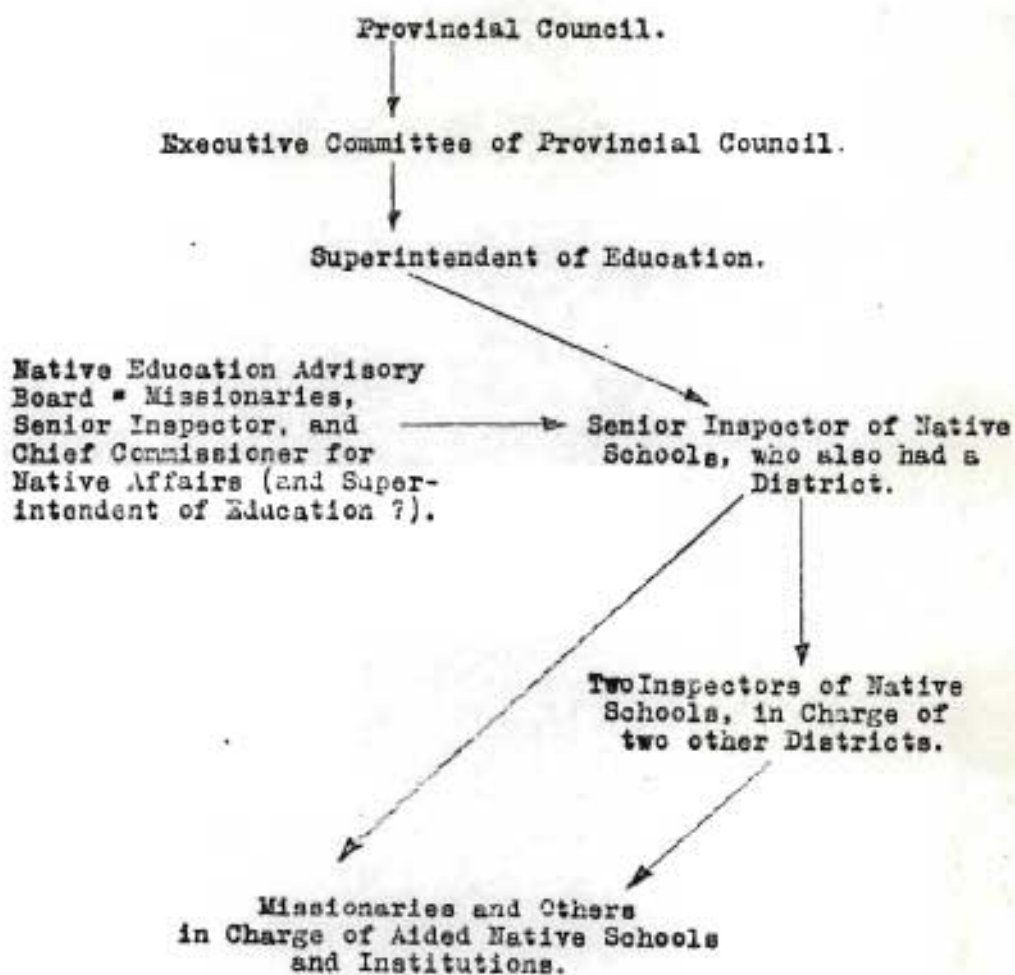
MR. W. F. GERENS :

THE NATIVE EDUCATION ADVISORY BOARD.

Contents of Chapter VI.

The Control of Native Education between 1910 and 1918.
What Effect had the Consummation of Union on Native Education
in Natal?
The Inspectorate: Personnel.
Growth and General Improvement.
Hindrances to Success.
The Training of Teachers.
Syllabuses.
Industrial Work.
The Classes of Schools.
Grants.
Salaries.
Vacation Courses.
The Locations.
Buildings and Equipment.
The Government School.
Municipal Effort.
The Government Reformatory at Eshowe.
The School for Chiefs' Sons.
The South African Native College at Fort Hare.
The Native Education Advisory Board.

The Control of Native Education
between 1910 and 1918.



What Effect had the Consummation of Union
on Native Education in Natal?

The control and administration of Native Affairs was by the Act of Union vested in the Governor-General-in-Council. The Education of Natives, however, being treated as Education (as indeed it had been treated before Union) was, under Section 85, Sub-section 3, left under the control of the Provinces. The accompanying diagram represents the system of control in Natal after 1910, but before 1918.

Agriculture, which was taken to include Agricultural Education, was assigned to the Union Government. In 1913 the Administrator of Natal (C.J.Smythe) raised the question, how far the Province should assume responsibility for expenditure connected with the Agricultural Training of Whites and Natives as a branch of Industrial Education, and as to what standard should be regarded as the limit up to which the Administration should undertake Agricultural Training. The question arose in connection with the necessary financial provision on the Provincial Estimates for an Agricultural Instructor at an Industrial School for Natives.

The Union Government replied that the Provincial Authorities should have control of and provide for all expenditure connected with Industrial Schools for Whites and Natives, and that, as the Agricultural branch of Industrial Education was most important, the Provinces should use every endeavour to meet the demand. The Union Government intended to control the Agricultural Colleges only. The Provincial Authorities were to provide for the demand for farm labourers, overseers/

overseers, or small-holders; and the Union Government's desire was that Provincial instruction be by demonstration principally, that the Provinces reduce class-work to a minimum and emphasise the practical aspects of farming (tilling the soil, sowing and reaping the crops, handling machinery and implements) - in short, should concern itself with "the how" rather than "the why".

The Natal Executive Committee declared itself unable to accept any liability on account of such training for the reason that, in estimating the financial requirements of the Province for the purposes of the subsidy provided under the Financial Relations Act, no account was taken of any such expenditure, and consequently the funds at the disposal of the Province for educational purposes were insufficient to allow of charges of this nature. This is the key to the lack of money for Industrial Training so frequently referred to in this chapter.

The Inspectorate: Personnel.

In January 1910, Mr. Plant, the Senior Inspector of Native Schools, retired on pension after twenty-one years of service; and Inspector Mr. Gebers filled his place. At the same time, Mr. Malcolm and Mr. Theunissen were appointed Sub-Inspectors. The latter resigned in 1917. An additional Inspector had been promised in 1913, but none was appointed, probably because of the financial stringency during the War. Mr. Duker was acting Superintendent of Education from April to September in 1917, and was finally appointed in October of that year. Changes

in/

in the Inspectorate were looming in 1917, and were made in 1918. They are dealt with in the following chapter, and are referred to in another section of this chapter, that dealing with the Native Education Advisory Board.

At the beginning of 1917 Dr.Loram was entrusted with the supervision and inspection of four Native Colleges, twelve Native Secondary Schools or Departments, and five Primary or Practising Schools. Owing to his influence all four Colleges in his area were working on the new syllabus (referred to later) in 1917, though Umpumulo changed over only in April of that year. Further reference to Dr.Loram's work in the Native Schools is made in a later section of this chapter. Inspectors MacLeod and Fouche (both Inspectors of European Schools) also assisted Inspector Mr.Gebers in 1917 by controlling the Training Colleges and Practising Schools at Modderspruit together with twelve Secondary Schools, all in the Northern Districts.

Growth and General Improvement.

A consideration of the tables given at the end of Chapter IX will show that there was no increase in the number of schools between 1905 and 1910. This was not due to the poor demand for education, but to the lack of really efficient teachers. In 1902 there were two hundred and seven schools, and the increase would have continued but for the regulation concerning possession of certificates.(dealt with in the previous chapter).

Another fact to be noticed in these tables is the improvement in the regularity of attendance. The year 1909

saw a jump in the average attendance from 66% to 80%, and by 1911 it had risen to 87%; since then it has seldom dropped below 86%, and never below 84%. These figures indicate the greater respect for education among the Natives. For some years the percentage was lower in the case of the European Schools, in spite of the efforts of Attendance Officers; but inaccuracy in registration by Natives must be remembered in this connection.

Yet another feature worthy of notice is the increasing demand for education, even in the most conservative of the Locations. In 1917 there were over three hundred Unaided Schools with over seven thousand pupils, conducted more often by the Natives themselves than by the Missionaries. In 1914 the Natives were contributing one-quarter of the cost of their education.

One of the appended tables indicates the results of the attempt to keep pupils longer at school. The success, though only partial, speaks well for the efforts of those who realised the problem. Mr. Gebers ascribed the encouraging slight decrease in the amount of retardation to the issue of new and detailed syllabuses for the Infant Classes, and to the more practical training which the teachers were getting. Of these syllabuses no copy seems to exist; but they were presumably issued in or just prior to 1910. The only reference to them is to be found in the published Report of the semi-official Native Teachers' Conference held at Adams in 1910.

A fact which is mentioned occasionally in the Reports is that the average ages of the classes were becoming lower. Figures are unfortunately not available, but the fact remains,

and/

and it is a clear sign of progress during this period.

There was also a steady advance in efficiency on the part of the teachers in this period, even in the small Day Schools, where there was often only one teacher to six or more classes. What must the early conditions have been like, when inefficiency in these very schools is a common cause of complaint to-day?

In spite of these improvements, Mr. Gebers maintained in 1917 that real reform in Native Education was only then beginning, as the three main wants had not at that time been met. These were:- more money to pay better teachers; courses of study, based on the particular needs of the Bantu people, and leading to certainty of employment; and a better appreciation by the Europeans of their duties to the Natives in the matter of Education.

To test the value of the existing schools and the instruction they gave, Mr. Gebers conducted in 1917 an enquiry, the results of which are given below. Statistics were collected from 5 Town Schools, 7 Country Centre Schools, and 8 Location Schools, concerning the fate of the first 15 pupils admitted to each of these schools after January 1905. The average age of these 300 pupils on admission was found to be nine years; 12 left before passing Standard 1 (before they had spent three years at school); 60 did not go beyond Standard 2; 58 left after passing Standard 3; 27 stopped with Standard 4; and 143 advanced to Secondary and Normal work. Of these 143 persevering pupils, 91 (27 males and 64 females) took up teaching, 11 learned to do carpentry or boot-making, 21 went to work in Johannesburg, 63 went to work in other towns, 114 (girls mostly) stayed at home to help their
parents/

parents, 35 had married by 1917, and 9 died in The Great War. (Interesting facts worth mentioning here are that 15 Native Teachers joined the Native Labour Contingent for service in France, that in many Native schools gardening was being voluntarily done for The Food for Britain Fund, and that leading educated Natives held concerts and other entertainments in order to be able to send "smokes and comforts" to the South African Natives in France.)

The actual increase in the number of schools is misleading. Many of the new schools were really old ones, which had lost their grants because of the regulation concerning the employment of certificated teachers. True growth recommenced after 1912, when the number of schools increased rapidly beyond the number in existence in 1902, before the issuing of the regulation just mentioned; and growth would have been rapid between 1914 and 1918, had it not been for "financial stringency". Many schools applied in vain during these years for grants.

In Native Schools it was most often the case that the girls were more numerous than the boys (ten to seven being from year to year the ratio for the whole Province). The problem was realised by Mr. Gebers, and the causes analysed; but improvement in the position was impossible, for the causes were chiefly economic and traditional. Even in the time of Dingaan, it was the girls he sent to the Mission Stations to live and receive regular instruction; the boys were sent occasionally for lessons in the day.

A factor of primary importance in any successes gained in Native Education in this period (and indeed in any period) is
 the/

the close association of education with religious work. All the Government officials bore testimony to this, except in one particular - Government reports or acknowledgments of the good work of the Native Education Advisory Board before 1918 are negligible.

Hindrances to Success.

One of these was the lack of suitable text books, especially in the Primary Schools. Special Zulu Readers were badly needed, as were English Language and Arithmetic books written expressly for Native children.

Another hindrance was the irregularity of attendance; this obstacle to success was in part removed by arousing a greater interest in education by every means possible on every conceivable occasion, and by issuing and enforcing a regulation concerning expulsion from school for six months for three unnecessary absences from school. The irregularity occurred chiefly in February and August. (Irregularity of attendance in the ploughing and weeding seasons is common in 1927, because Native Schools no longer close from November 15 to January 15, as they used to do.)

An entirely mistaken idea (which is still too common in 1927) was that certificated teachers were quite unnecessary for the Infant Classes. The effect of this idea upon the instruction given in those classes can be easily imagined.

Poor salaries and the non-existence of pensions were often responsible for the taking up of the teaching profession by inefficient people, as well as for the early leaving of the

work/

work of teaching by efficient people who could earn better salaries in other walks of life. There arose in 1917 two cases in which pensions were desirable; one woman had given thirty-three years' service, and a man had given twenty years' service. No pensions were given.

Inadequate Government support, which naturally meant inadequate inspection, was perhaps the chief obstacle to success. In 1912 a sum of £15,000 was granted for two hundred thousand children of school age. No wonder that there was in that year school accommodation for only eighteen thousand children. The expenditure amounted to less than £1 per Native pupil per year. The expenditure on Indians was generally twice as large, on Coloureds nine times as large, and on Europeans fifteen times as large. Further comment is unnecessary, especially as the Natives formed at least three-quarters of the total population.

Another great obstacle to success was (and always has been) the difficulty of the problems involved in devising an equitable and beneficial educational system for the Natives of Natal. The Natives were keen to secure positions of monetary value, and had been making such wonderful strides in scholastic pursuits, that they were very early asked for higher education; but the market for their educational attainments was very limited. Inspector Mr. Gebers believed that one step towards solving the difficulty would be the paying of more attention to, and the spending of more money on, Manual Training. More money would mean excellent Needlework and good Gardening in even the Day Schools, and well-defined courses in the Boarding Schools in Household Work, Domestic Occupations, and Farming

Crafts/

Crafts and Occupations. The Missions were willing, but unable, to pay the initial costs and the salaries of the necessary qualified instructors. Consequently the Senior Inspector of Native Schools suggested in 1913 the giving of Industrial Grants up to a sum of £1,000 on the £1 for £1 principle. His suggestion had not been adopted when he resigned in 1918.

The Great War and the Rebellion of 1914 were also disturbing factors, especially in the North. One effect was a long delay in the appointment of a much needed extra Inspector of Native Schools. The co-operation and assistance of the Inspectors of European Schools, especially in the examination of the Training College students, did not by any means make up for the absence of the necessary extra Inspector.

The examination results in the Primary Schools and the Training Colleges grew better and better as the years went by; but the results in the Secondary (now called "Intermediate") Schools did not improve at the same rate, the obstacle being misunderstanding about the "standard" of work required. Nevertheless, even in Standards 5 and 6 results did improve considerably, especially after 1915, when the "new" teachers¹ began to be employed in large numbers.

A difficulty, which is still far from being conquered, is that of making the Native pupils acquire a reasonable English vocabulary and pronunciation. As is pointed out elsewhere in this chapter, this poor command of English was then, and is now, one of the chief causes of waste in instruction, for Native pupils are on the whole very keen on schooling.

Even Zulu was not satisfactorily taught, with the result that much effort was wasted even in such lessons as permitted

of/

1. Refer to next section!

of the use of the Zulu medium. Inspector Mr. Gebers finally came to the conclusion that special emphasis would have to be put on Zulu (especially Zulu Grammar) in order to save the language from rapid deterioration.

The Training of Teachers.

The certification of Native Teachers commenced in 1887, when out of thirteen Candidates ten passed, two in the Second Class, and eight in the Third Class. These certificates were granted on Academic Knowledge only, and this system was followed until 1909.

Between 1887 and 1909, eighty-eight First Class Certificates, three hundred and ten Second Class Certificates, and six hundred and thirty-eight Third Class Certificates were issued. Where were all these teachers in 1914? Some were still teaching. Many of the girls had married. Many men had merely taken certificates, as no other course of study was open, and had become clerks or had gone to Johannesburg. Some had died. Others had been dismissed.

The years 1909 to 1912, were transition years, and the new system of training teachers was enforced in 1912, when there were demanded the ordinary studies and a systematic course in Theory and Practice of Education at one of the five properly constituted Colleges. After twelve months, a 3rd Grade Certificate was issued. After two years, a 2nd Grade Certificate was issued. After three years, a 1st Grade Certificate was issued, but not until proof had been given of two years' successful teaching. Up to the end of 1914, three

Grade/

Grade I, one hundred and four Grade II, and two hundred and thirty-two Grade III Certificates had been issued on the new system. The system, though far from perfect, was a great improvement, especially in its effect on the lower classes taught by these new teachers. The Department had early declared a new policy by stipulating that after the end of 1912 the training work should be concentrated in well-equipped Training Institutions. This policy was sound, but it proved difficult because of denominational jealousies, and because of the impossibility of providing proper equipment when the grants were so small.

Attempts to improve matters had been made before 1910, with the result that in 1910 only thirteen head teachers did not have the Class II qualification, while many assistants had the Class III qualification. Adams (the oldest of the Training Colleges, since it opened in 1853) was the mission station on which the training of teachers was first begun according to the newly outlined plans of the Department, and the Normal College there was in 1911 the leading institution of its kind; there were in that year sixty-six students in training at Adams. The Lutheran Societies were at the time planning to open their Training School for Teachers at Umpumulo in February 1912; and the Anglican Mission was arranging for its Training Schools at Modderspruit near Ladysmith and at Kwamagwaza in Zululand to open in 1913; while the Wesleyans were hoping to have their new buildings ready by 1913. Not all of these hopes were fulfilled, and in 1913 there were accordingly only three Training Colleges at work (Adams, Modderspruit, and Umpumulo). The other two opened in 1914.

In 1915 and 1916 a revised syllabus and method for the

Training Colleges was experimentally tried at Adams; and this trial syllabus, revised by the Adams' teachers and by Dr. Loram, who was then Inspector of European Schools in the Coast District, was submitted to a Conference of the Principals of the Training Colleges. The chief features of the new system were:- the co-operation of the teachers in making the syllabuses and in examining the candidates; a new syllabus, with an emphasis on essentials at the cost of the traditional subjects; the moving of the emphasis from the academic to the professional side of the course of training; and special emphasis on those Industrial Subjects which were taught in the Primary Schools. The experiment was a success because of the enthusiasm of the teachers at Adams, and the new syllabus was gradually adopted by the other Colleges.

Owing to the smallness of the Inspectorate for Native Schools, it was suggested early in 1916 that the Inspectors of European Schools should co-operate with the Inspectors of Native Schools in the supervision and inspection of the Training Colleges; this plan was adopted, and was not dropped until the appointment of Dr. Loram as Chief Inspector of Native Education in 1918.

The chief problems facing those concerned with the training of Native teachers were:- more accommodation and a better dietary; the losing of much instruction through weakness of students in English; insufficient supervised teaching practice under conditions typical of Native Primary Schools; and the absence of a third year course. Perhaps the chief of these was the difficulty of providing enough teaching practice. The old teachers in charge of the Practising Schools were not always worthy/

worthy models, and it was almost impossible to run a school with students only. One way out of the difficulty was to make the College Method Master responsible for the Practising School as well as his lectures. This method was first tried at Usapumulo, with striking success, the progress made in 1917 alone being almost unbelievable.

Reform in Native Education had rightly begun at the top, and the new teachers would facilitate reforms in the schools later on. In fact, the adoption of better and better methods of teacher-training had immediate echoes in the Primary Schools.

Syllabuses.

A new syllabus for all standards had been issued just before Union (though there is no copy of it available), and this had by 1912 begun to bear good fruit, particularly after the holding of the Conferences of Teachers to discuss it.

During 1911 a detailed Needlework syllabus was prepared for use in 1912. Its introduction was held up some considerable time by delay in England in the preparation of the necessary Teachers' Handbooks. In spite of this striving after improvement, the Annual Reports show that the Needlework (in all schools) was more or less satisfactory. But the Inspectors were men!

In the latter half of 1911 an experimental Gardening Scheme for boys in the Day Schools had been on trial. Inspector Mr. Gebers considered the trial satisfactory, and was confident that the scheme would be a success as soon as means could be found for the purchase of suitable implements and

other/

other necessaries.

Plans for the introduction of Industrial Courses were under preliminary consideration in 1912, for the benefit of those who did not wish to become teachers. Apparently it was once more the lack of time and funds that brought the plans to nothing, for some time at any rate. It was in 1917 that the Superintendent of Education authorised the carrying out of a tentative experiment with a new semi-vocational First Year High School Course, which would allow pupils to specialise in Agriculture, Industrial Arts, Commercial Work, and Domestic Arts. Alterations and improvements were to be made in the light of experience, so that the course could be standardised. The sad fact remains that in 1917 the only course open to those, who positively did not wish even to train as teachers, was to take the Junior Certificate.

Industrial Work.

Industrial Education (or Industrial Work as a part of Education) had been often criticised, but up to 1914 had never been properly considered from the Native point of view, and that of its ultimate effect on the country. Government support had always been small, and had fluctuated considerably. In 1864 a State grant of £1,000 was made for the training of carpenters, wheelwrights, brickmakers, masons, shoemakers, and for the cultivation of coffee. This annual grant steadily decreased. In 1886 a Government Industrial School was opened at Zwaart Kop, but it lived only five and a half years. Parliament continued to encourage industrial work at Mission

Stations/

Stations, and to give grants towards the teaching of the various handicrafts until 1898. By 1898 public prejudice had grown so strong, that a law was passed prohibiting the sale of work done by boys at these Institutions. As a result the teaching staffs were dismissed, plants were disposed of, and most industrial schools were closed. This prohibition was withdrawn in 1902, and opportunities were once more given to the Missionaries to open their shops; but they remembered the panic legislation of 1898, which had caused their Missions considerable loss, and were very loth to do any really good and advanced work; at any rate they began very cautiously. In 1903, £1,500 was voted for a Government Industrial School in the Driefontein district; but a technical difficulty occurred in connection with the transfer of the land. In 1913 the plan was revived, but no money was voted.

When Mr. Gebers took over in 1910, he found that whereas Needlework¹ was in many cases quite satisfactorily taught, other industrial work was poorly done because of poor financial support; and he hoped to make an effort to re-organise this work and get it going on more systematic and helpful lines in 1911. Yet the year 1912 came and went, and his plans for the furtherance of Industrial Education were still in an undeveloped state because of the lack of funds, the lack of time for drafting syllabuses, and the lack of suitable instructors. Few institutions were so fortunate as Adams, which secured the services of a Farm Instructor in 1912 and made arrangements for a course in the building of improved Native houses.

Reference is made in the 1912 Annual Report to the transfer/

1. A man's opinion, of course.

fer of spinning wheels from the Old Spinning School at Vryheid (of which no previous mention occurs) to the Eshlonhlweni Mission (S.Hilda's). This type of work has been successful, though it is doubtful whether the knowledge gained in the schools will have much effect upon the home life of the Natives.

In 1914 Carpentry was taught in four places, Stone-dressing (with Masonry) in three places, Nursery Work in one place, Needlework in nearly every school, General Housework in every Boarding School, Housewifery in two places, Laundry Work in five places, and Spinning (with Weaving) in two places. An effort was made to introduce Elementary Agriculture into every school in 1915. For all this industrial work the Government Grants totalled only £650 in 1914. Mr.Gebers had again and again asked for better grants for all forms of Industrial Work, and plans were actually drawn up for the development in 1915 of Manual Training at the Secondary Schools and the Training Colleges. The new year came, but brought with it "financial stringency", which made the proposed development quite impossible. The plans included:- (1) a Housewifery class in every Secondary School for girls, the course to be suitable for the civilised Native home and to be extended to include the training necessary for domestic servants in European households; and (2) a general course to include Brick-making, Building with bricks or stone or wood and iron, such Carpentry as would be required to roof and furnish a small cottage, and Agriculture for all boys in Standards 5 and 6. Nothing had been done by the Government by 1918 to improve the position, and in his Report for 1917, Mr.Gebers made his annual plaint concerning

Manual Work without money; he at the same time gave expression to his conviction of the folly of attempting to re-organise and scheme unless the necessary funds were forthcoming. Fate decreed that others should put on paper and carry out the schemes he had had in mind for so many years.

The Classes of Schools.

The opening year of this period saw the suggestion made to open Class IV Aided Schools. The suggestion occurred again in later years, and will be dealt with in later chapters. Inspector Mr. Gebers considered the suggestion a ridiculous one in 1910, for the teachers in those schools were too poor to be officially recognised, and more Inspectors would be needed. A way out of the difficulty was indicated - each Mission Society should establish a proper training school (or enlarge the existing one) and centralise the training of its own teachers, who would then have a good chance of getting official recognition and earning grants for their schools. This plan, as we have seen, was adopted after 1911, when four more Colleges were opened (Umpuzulo, Modderspruit, Kwamagwaza, and Edendale).

Detailed information concerning the classification of schools for grant purposes is not available. Apparently the scheme was somewhat as follows:-

- (1) Normal Schools (presumably Boarding "A" Schools).
- (2) Secondary Schools Proper (pupils above Standard 4).
- (3) Boarding "B" and "C" Schools.
- (4) Schools for Day Pupils only.

Of these there were five, eight, thirty-four, and two hundred and forty-nine respectively in 1914. In 1914 there were three thousand two hundred and fifty-six pupils in the Class III Schools, and seventeen thousand seven hundred and thirty-eight in the Class IV Schools. Constant testimony is found in the Annual Reports to the value of the Boarding Schools, for obvious reasons. All the schools were Mission Schools, except the Reverend John Dube's school at Ohlange to the north of Durban.

Grants.

Between 1890 and 1910 the grants had been more than quadrupled, but they were far from adequate to meet the demands made by the growth of Native Education.

In 1910 the smaller Day Schools could be run quite efficiently with the grant of 17s. per pupil per annum; but this rate of grant was too poor for those Day Schools with several assistant teachers; and the Boarding Schools with their heavy expenses on salaries and other things were in an even worse condition with the small grant of 30s. per pupil per annum. This was a short-sighted policy on the part of the Government, for the very schools which were most deserving of practical encouragement got least of it; especially was this so in the Boarding Schools, in most of which good industrial work (the sine qua non) was done.

One type of grant which produced good results, though it was educationally unsound, was that covering bonuses to successful teachers. The influence of these bonuses in making the teachers/

teachers anxious to excel cannot be overestimated.

Salaries.

The scales of pay in Natal were:-

Post	Male		Female	
	Min.	Max.	Min.	Max.
Principal	£40	£112	£28	£56
Senior	£36	£44	£24	£36
Junior	£24	£36	£20	£32

The figures given are per annum, not per quarter. No wonder that the Natives complained, when the Salaries for Indian Teachers were increased because of the high cost of living caused by the Great War, while no redress was granted to the Natives. This subject is referred to again in later chapters.

Vacation Courses.

A good sign in this period was that teachers and all connected with Native Education were clamouring for vacation courses as early as 1910; and Inspector Mr. Gebers waited anxiously for the Government to grant the necessary money.

A Conference of Native Teachers was actually held at Adams' Mission Station early in August 1910, and it lasted four days; one hundred and twenty-five Native teachers attended, seventy-three of them being members of the American Zulu Mission. Though the Conference was not an official one, most of the lectures given were on the new syllabus; and the most important/

important points in the different lectures were published by authority in pamphlet form, as a reminder to those teachers who attended, and as a guide to those who were unable to attend. The pamphlet contains small paragraphs on Reading, Spelling, English, Writing, Arithmetic, Geography, History, Hygiene, Drawing, and School Management.

A somewhat similar Vacation Course was held at Dundee in the 1912 Winter Holidays, and one hundred and eighty-one Native Teachers attended. Detailed information is not available.

The Locations.

Before 1910 very few schools existed in the Locations, but in 1910 the Natal Native Trust consented to grant school sites within the Locations to the Education Department. Reference to the growth of the desire for education even in the conservative Locations has already been made.

Buildings and Equipment.

Information on this matter is almost unobtainable. Occasional references are made in the Annual Reports, and are summarised below, to show that progress was being made.

- 1911 : - Several new buildings; more new ones needed; money scarce because of Tick Fever. Equipment still poor, but 25% better than it had been four or five years earlier.
- 1912 : - Eight new school buildings completed; others improved or enlarged; ten new buildings under construction.

- 1914 : - Several Building Grants of £500 each to Adams, Modderspruit, and Kwanaqwaza.
- 1915 : - Building operations came to a standstill because of the high cost of building materials. Special grant of £500 for buildings and furniture at Edendale.
- 1916 : - The cost of building materials meant that no demands for improvements, for new buildings and for better equipment could be made upon the Missionaries or the Natives.

The Government School.

The story of the Government School at Zwaart Kop and ^{at} the Watersmeet scheme has already been dealt with. The first Government School to be opened after the closing down of Zwaart Kop was due to Municipal action, and is dealt with in the next paragraph.

Municipal Effort.

Negotiations took place in 1915 between the Corporation of Durban and the Education Department in regard to a scheme that has had far-reaching consequences. The Corporation, having accumulated moneys from Native sources in the Borough, wisely determined to use part of these for the benefit of the children of the Natives living within the Borough. Accordingly an offer was made to allocate a site and erect a school and transfer both to the Government, if the Government would equip, staff, and conduct the school. The offer was gladly accepted, and this became the first Government Native School in Natal (not counting the one which had existed years before at Zwaart Kop). It was hoped that Pietermaritzburg and other centres would/

would follow the example of Durban, but no other such school has yet been built, though plans for one ^{are} well nigh mature in Pietermaritzburg. The hope that this school would become a social centre in Durban has hardly been realised.

The Government Reformatory at Eshowe.

Just at the beginning of the Great War, the Union Government Department of Justice opened a reformatory for young Natives in Eshowe. Part of the reformatory consisted of a school for the sixty boys there, and the European "Governor" had a Native assistant. For some time the Natal Education Department hoped to get control of this school, but their hopes were never realised, and the school was closed just a couple of years ago, though the reasons for so doing have not been disclosed.

The School for Chiefs' Sons.

The Natal branch of the Union Department of Native Affairs opened in the year 1918 an institution, where the sons of Chiefs and Indunas in Natal might be educated to become fit for the various duties they might be called upon to perform. The syllabus is restricted in scope and strictly utilitarian, and no attempt is made to civilise the scholars beyond their future stations. The school is at Mongoma in Zululand, and is in the charge of the Anglicans.

The South African Native College at Fort Hare.

This was opened (in the Cape Province) in 1915, and provided a much needed "crown" for the whole Natal system of Native Education. As will appear in the next chapter, a system of bursaries tenable at Fort Hare was soon after instituted for Natal Native Teachers.

The Native Education Advisory Board.¹

At a Conference held between the officials of the Education Department and the Grantees of Native Aided Schools, called by the Superintendent of Education in March 1907, it was decided that an Advisory Committee of eleven be appointed from the Grantees present before the adjournment of the Conference. The name "Native Education Advisory Board" was definitely adopted in November 1908. The first proper meetings were held in May 1907 and February 1908 to consider the existing Code and Regulations, both of which were revised and submitted to the Education Department. For the first time School Method was emphasised in the Code. It is worthy of note that the Education Department had promised not to issue any notice or regulation concerning Native Schools without the advice and knowledge of the Advisory Committee; but this rule was once broken, through force of circumstances presumably, and the result was a request from the Education Department that the Advisory Committee (already called "Board" in 1908) meet twice a year and consult with the officials concerned. In 1908, at the wish of the Board itself, both the Native

Affairs/

1. The election of members (who are nominated by the Missions and accepted by the Board) is subject to Government approval.

Affairs Department and the Education Department agreed to be represented on the Board. Mr. Samuelson (Under-Secretary for Native Affairs) and Inspector Mr. Gebors were the first Government officials to be members of the Board. Later on Mr. Justice Jackson took the place of Mr. Samuelson. After 1913 the Chief Commissioner for Native Affairs was himself the representative of the Native Affairs Department. Mr. Ludie (the Superintendent of Education) often attended the meetings of the Board. More or less permanent committees were appointed; for example, The Text-Book Committee, and the Committee on Policy.

Subjects dealt with, in addition to those already mentioned, were:-

Educational Qualifications for Natives wishing exemption from Native Law.

The Government Training College for Teachers suggested by the Superintendent of Education. (The Board recommended instead better grants to existing Colleges to increase the supply of teachers.)

Proposed Syllabuses for Primary Schools and Teachers' Certificates.

English Readers for Native Schools (by Father Bryant, or by others). (Mrs. Binyon's Readers were finally accepted; but they had by then been sold to Longmans - they were in the press in 1915.)

Text Books in Native Schools, especially Zulu Readers.

Zulu Spelling and Orthography.

Teaching of Hygiene and other subjects in the Native Schools.

Increased Grants for Native Schools generally.

Mission Schools on Government Lands (Locations).

Zululand Schools and their inability to meet the existing strict regulations.

The/

The proposed Anglican Training College for Zululand teachers.

Sewing Syllabus and Increased Industrial Grants.

Fees and sleeping accommodation in Boarding Schools.

The Education of Half-Castes.

Sanitation in Native Villages.

Grants for "Vernacular Schools" - later called "Sub-Primary Schools".

The applicability of Act 5 of 1910 ("For the Establishment of Advisory School Committees") to the Native Aided Schools. (The Attorney-General said it was possible for Native Parents to attend meetings and vote for the election of these Advisory Boards, which could by law visit even Native Aided Schools, though in fact they have visited only European Schools.)

Proposed Industrial Course for Girls.

Resuscitation of the practice of printing and publishing and distributing of reports on Native Schools.

Immorality among Native Teachers.

Date of Teachers' Examinations - June instead of December suggested.

Full Government control of certain Day Schools. (This was in 1913.)

Classification of Schools.

General policy of industrial and medical training for Natives. (The Government was called upon to formulate a definite policy for the Primary, Agricultural, Industrial, and Medical training of the Natives - the scope and method of such policy to be adapted to the needs, social relationship, and future prospects of the Natives.)

Methods of paying grants, and delays in payment.

Native Lands Bill of 1913 (especially its effect on Mission Lands).

Agriculture Schools in selected Native Areas (for boys).

Report of Commission upon the Curriculum of Native Training Colleges. (Dr. Loram was a member, and the new syllabus was to be tried at Adams in 1917.) (The Board held one meeting at Adams in 1916, when Dr. Loram was present by invitation, and the chief topics of discussion at that meeting were the new Training College Syllabuses and their financial implications.)

Allowing/

Allowing boys of school age to enter towns.

Training of Native Nurses.

Duty of State to provide Elementary Education for all children of all races, and special training for Natives in Farming, Gardening, and House-building; to erect schools eventually (but at least to rent them temporarily); to examine all school children of all races medically; and to secure emphasis on Religious Instruction in Native Schools.

Native Contributions to building of High Schools.

Possibility of Union Government taking over full control of all Primary Education.

Supply of Teachers and Financial Stringency and Union Government Policy.

Status and Privileges of European Teachers in Native Schools and Colleges.

Railway Concession Tickets for Native Pupils.

Entrance of Natal Students to the South African Native College at Fort Hare.

Withdrawal of Grants from schools conducted by German Missions in 1917.

Patriotic Holidays in the middle of the terms as ~~discouraging~~ disturbing influences.

Two notable resolutions of the Board concerned the creation of a Department of Native Education, and the appointment of a Superintendent of Native Education. Though the Natal Provincial "Executive" said it was against this; yet Dr. Loran was appointed Chief Inspector of Native Education in the following year.

Further topics discussed by the Board at other meetings were:-

Special Industrial Grants.

Opposition of Chiefs to Location Schools.

Epidemics and the closing of Schools.

Classing of Standards 5 and 6 as a Separate Class of School in Natal.

Spending of Additional Money voted for Native Education in 1917.

Better/

Better grants towards salaries in Training Colleges to allow of adoption of New Syllabus.

Amount of interest the Native Affairs Department took in Native Education.

Services to be rendered in Natal by Basuto or similar "outside" teachers trained in Natal.

Medical Certificates for Student Teachers.

Pensions for all Native Teachers.

Industrial Classes in 1918, ^{instead of} industrial Schools, on account of the smaller outlay for the time being.

A careful study of the lengthy discussions thus summarised will reveal the fact, that this body of men has done more towards formulating educational policy and correcting mistakes in the carrying out of policies, than has any other agency. Yet this is not known, for it has never been publicly declared. (The writer knows only through the courtesy of the obliging Secretary of the Board, who very kindly gave him access to all the Minutes.)

CHAPTER VII.

CONTROL BY THE PROVINCIAL COUNCIL:

THE APPOINTMENT OF A THOROUGHLY

TRAINED CHIEF INSPECTOR:

RAPID REORGANISATION.

Contents of Chapter VII.

The Control of Native Education between 1918 and 1920, and between 1920 and 1927.

The Inspectorate just before Dr. Loram left Natal.

Staff Changes.

Administrative Staff.

Organising Instructors.

Native Supervisors.

Classes of Schools.

The Government Schools.

The Sub-Primary Schools.

Buildings and Equipment.

New Syllabuses.

A new Policy in Music Teaching?

Special Weaknesses in the Teaching of various Subjects.

Manual and Industrial Training.

The Inspection of Pupils.

Retardation, a Waste of Government Money.

The Supply of Teachers.

The Certification of Teachers.

General Evils noted by Dr. Loram.

Salaries and Pensions of Teachers.

Vacation Courses.

The Place of Vacation Course Diplomas.

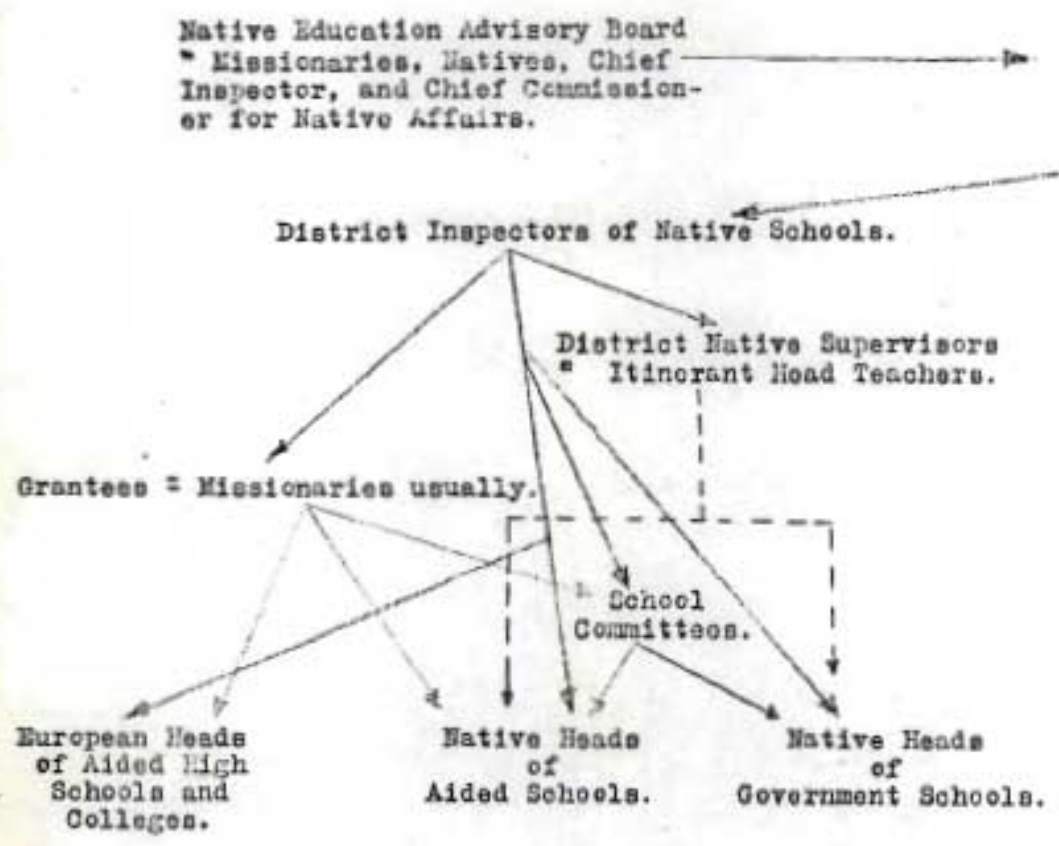
Bursaries.

"The Native Teachers' Journal".

The Native Teachers' Library.
The Native Teachers' Union.
Night Schools.
The Native Education Advisory Board.
The Grantees and the School Committees.
Co-operation with the Native Affairs Department.
Legislation.
Medical Inspection.
The Influenza Epidemic.
Summary.

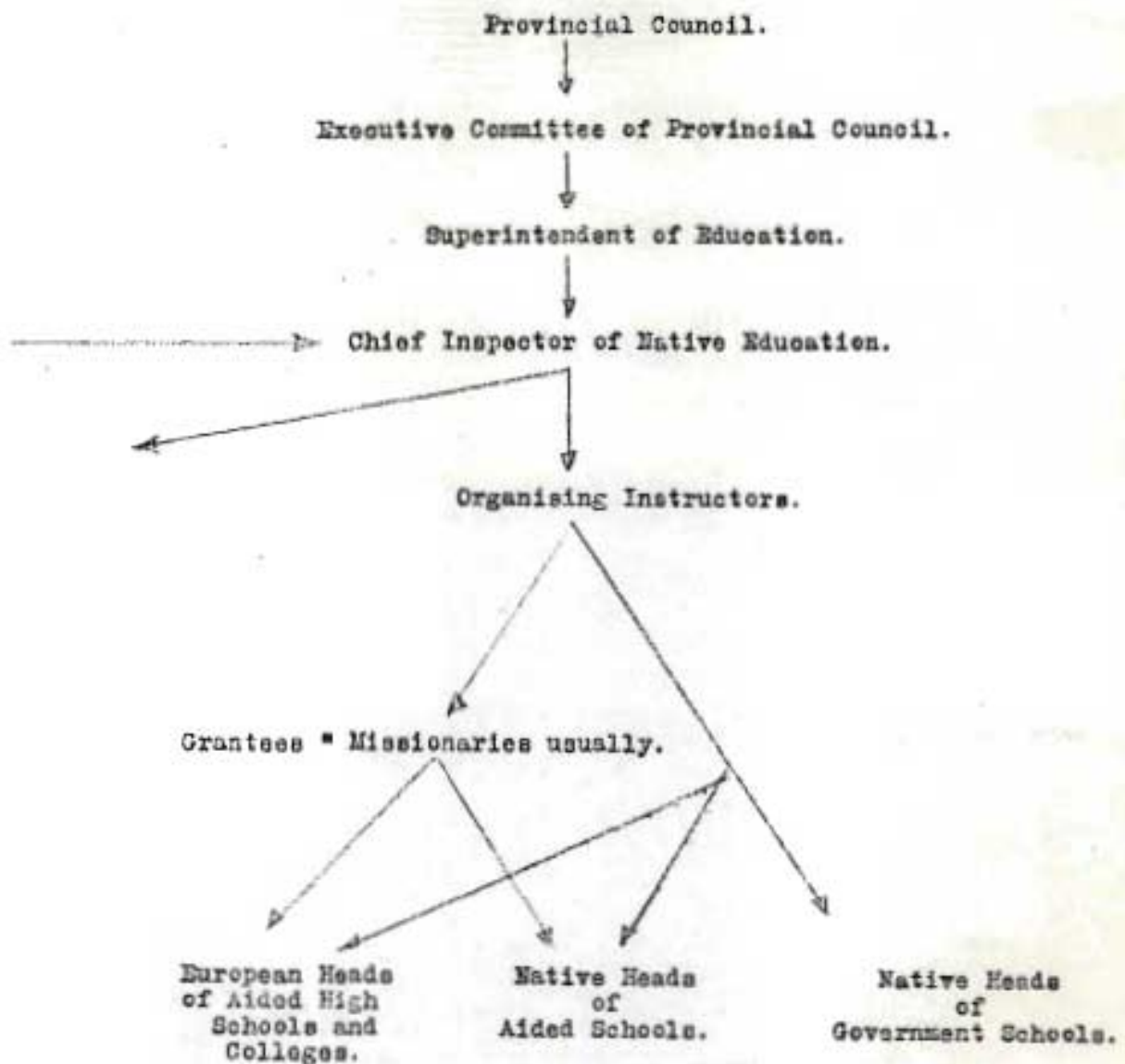
The Control of Native Education between

(This system is only now reach--
the essentials of the system



1918 and 1920, and between 1920 and 1927.

ing its full development, but
came into being in 1916.)



The Inspectorate just before Dr. Loram left Natal.

Dr. Loram, the Chief Inspector of Native Education, had special charge of High Schools and Training Colleges, and paid occasional visits to other schools.

Inspector Mr. Gebers, in charge of 100 ± schools in the North Midlands Districts.	Inspector Mr. Malcolm, in charge of 100 ± schools in the Northern Districts.	Inspector Mr. Jowitt, in charge of 100 ± schools in the South Midlands Districts.	Inspector Mr. Barle, in charge of 100 ± schools in the Coast Districts.
---	--	---	---

Miss Hopkinson, the Organising Instructress in Domestic Science, had to visit the Training Colleges and High Schools every year and as many of the other schools as possible.

The Native Training Colleges were also visited by (1) the Organising Instructor of Manual Training in European Schools and (2) the Organising Instructor of Vocal Music in European Schools.

In the 1919 Annual Report, Dr. Loram asked (1) for a fifth European Inspector of Native Schools for Zululand (as Zululand was a good deal behind Natal in Native Education and her schools needed to be "nursed"), (2) for five Native Supervisors of Schools, and (3) for a European Supervisor of Manual Work (Woodwork, Metal Work, Native Crafts, and Agriculture).

Staff/

Staff Changes.

The year 1918 was educationally a remarkable one for Natal. In May 1918 Dr. Loram was appointed Chief Inspector of Native Education. In the same year Inspector Mr. Theunissen resigned, and Mr. Jowitt¹ filled the vacancy so created.

Mr. Loram, who had been a teacher at the Pietermaritzburg College for five years, and who had been to the Cambridge Training College for a special study of education, was appointed as Sub-Inspector early in 1906 to take the place of the Assistant Inspector of Native Schools who had resigned. He was however detached to do the work of an Inspector of European Schools, who had also resigned; and for some years he had nothing to do with the Native Schools, with the result that an extra Inspector of Native Schools was asked for in 1909.

In July 1914 Inspector Mr. Loram left Natal to proceed to Columbia University (New York) in order to take a post-graduate course in Educational Administration, as he had been awarded an Overseas Scholarship by the Union Government. As Dr. Loram, he returned to duty as an Inspector of European Schools early in 1916, though it would seem that he also had charge (especially in 1917) of the Native Colleges, of the Native "Secondary" Schools, and of some of the Native Primary Schools in his district, until his appointment as Chief Inspector of Native Education in 1918. Meanwhile in 1917 he had published his book, "The Education of the South African Native". Apparently he was responsible for the revised

syllabus/

1. Mr. Jowitt had been Head Master of the Muttall Training Institute (for teachers) at Edendale near Pietermaritzburg. He has recently been appointed Director of Native Education in Southern Rhodesia.

syllabus for Native Training Colleges, which was experimentally tried at Adams in 1915 and 1916, and which was revised by the teachers with Dr. Loram ^{before} being submitted to a Conference of the Principals of the Native Training Colleges.

It would seem as though the highest officials in Natal were feeling that, though Native Education was perhaps developing on the right lines, the rate of progress was not satisfactory; and that they already had in their service a man well qualified to reorganise the system of Native Education in Natal. In the 1917 Annual Report of the Superintendent of Education, mention was certainly made of pending changes in the Inspectorate; and in 1918 Dr. Loram's appointment was made public.

NOTE! The writer is indebted to the Administrator of Natal and the Superintendent of Education for interviews granted on the subject of Dr. Loram's appointment in 1918. Both state that the appointment was a recognition of ability in an official, rather than the adoption of a new policy. The Annual Reports contain very little information on the subject of Dr. Loram's appointment.

Administrative Staff.

The Department of Native Education in Natal has always been more or less completely separated from the European and Indian work.

Soon after Dr. Loram was appointed as Chief Inspector of Native Education, the staff consisted of himself and two other Inspectors (Messrs. Malcolm and Jowitt), for Mr. Gebers went on leave/

leave. Dr.Loram therefore approached the Superintendent of Education and pointed out the impossibility of doing the work adequately, and the appointment of a new Inspector was promised. In September 1918 Mr.Marle (the Headmaster of the Umsinto Government School for Europeans) was appointed, and at the same time the part-time services of an efficient clerk were granted.

The minimum needs indicated by Dr.Loram were:- (1) A Chief Inspector of Native Education, to be specially responsible for the six Colleges and the High Schools; (2) a thoroughly efficient chief clerk for all routine work; (3) a junior clerk to be typist and Librarian of the Native Teachers' Library; (4) four District Inspectors of Schools, with not more than eighty schools each; (5) a Supervisor of Domestic Science to organise and develop Home Crafts among Native girls; (6) a Supervisor of Manual Training to organise and direct the development of Woodwork, Metal work, Basketry, and Native Crafts among Native boys and girls; and (7) motor transport for the Chief Inspector as well as the District Inspectors, to make possible at least two visits to each school, one for inspection and one for supervision.

Inspector Mr.Malcolm remained in charge of the Northern Districts, but Mr.Marle was appointed to act in the Coast Districts, while Inspector Mr.Jewitt was transferred from the Coast to the Midlands District. Needless to say, both of the latter districts suffered temporarily, for the men in charge were new to the work as well as to the districts. When Inspector Mr.Gebers returned from leave, the Midlands District was divided into a Northern and a Southern section. Each of these Inspectors had about one hundred schools to control,

though/

though Dr. Loram considered eighty¹ schools to be enough. The Inspector for Zululand, with headquarters at Eshowe, was not appointed until early in 1926.

Organising Instructors.

Miss E. H. Hopkinson was appointed as Organising Instructress of Domestic Training in 1919. Mr. A. G. Thomas, a basket expert, who for twelve months had been teaching many kinds of manual work at Adams, was appointed as Organising Instructor of Manual Training early in 1921. The nature of their work is too obvious to need description here.

Native Supervisors.

In the 1919 Annual Report, Dr. Loram said the time had come for the appointment of selected Natives as Supervisors of Native Schools. These men were to be tried and experienced teachers, who would work under the District Inspectors as itinerating head teachers. The idea was not new. The American Mission had appointed a Native Supervisor in 1914 to assist its European Supervisor, who had been appointed some years before. This Native described his work and experiences in an article in the October 1920 issue of the Native Teachers' Journal.

The development of Native Education promised in 1919 to be more rapid than ever, so that imperfectly trained teachers would for some years have to be employed; and even well-
trained/

1. In 1927 the Inspector for the South Midlands District has one hundred and fifty-five schools to control.

trained teachers, it was found, lost their ideals and therefore their efficiency when placed in remote centres. To these teachers a good Supervisor would be a great blessing. Moreover, in the remote/districts where the newer schools were situated, boarding accommodation for Europeans was quite unobtainable. Also, the relations between Native Teachers and Native Supervisors would be more friendly than they could be between Native Teachers and European Inspectors. Notwithstanding the urgent need for Native Supervisors, none was appointed until 1924, when Mr. Malcolm was Chief Inspector of Native Education.

Classes of Schools.

From the history and nature of their development, Dr. Loran thought that there was confusion and overlapping in the organisation and classification of schools. Nomenclature had not been standardised; there was competition and overlapping of effort; and aims and objects were consequently obscured. A new standardisation of schools was decided upon in January 1919 to determine and direct aims.

(a) Primary Schools (Day and Boarding). - In these there was to be the academic and manual work of all classes up to and including Standard 4. They contained most of the pupils of the Province, and their extension, development, and improvement were to be the great aim and chief function of the Native Education Department. Improvement was to come by emphasis in the Training Colleges on Manual Training and modern methods of teaching.

(b) /

(b) Intermediate Schools (Day and Boarding - thirty-four of them). - They were at convenient centres, and had Standards 5 and 6 only. Special emphasis on Manual Training was possible, because many pupils were at one centre. They were usually Boarding Schools, though Day Intermediate Schools later became more numerous. For these Day Intermediate Schools better Native Teachers were needed, hence the urgent need for a Third Year Course at some of the Training Colleges, and for the training of Native teachers of manual and domestic subjects. As usual the chief difficulty was the finding of workshops and equipment without money.

(c) High Schools (five of them). - Part^I/of the High School Courses was the same as Part I of the Teachers' Courses, but Part II was a special course. Those who did not want to become teachers could specialise in five departments (Academic, Industrial, Agricultural, Commercial, Domestic Science), but had to pass Standard 6 first as an entrance examination.

(d) Training Colleges (six of them). - Courses lasted one year, two years, or three years. Standard 6 was the entrance examination.

(e) Industrial Schools or Departments (six of them in 1918), were needed to meet the wants of the older Primary and Intermediate pupils, who desired an intensive Industrial Training. Each week between twenty-five and thirty-five hours were to be spent in Industrial Work, and the pupils would in general be required to pass Standard 4, though older pupils from the lower classes were in special cases to be admitted to these schools.

The Government Schools.

For some time signs had not been lacking that the financial burdens were becoming too heavy for the Missions; therefore it was proposed in 1913 that the Government should establish Government Schools for Natives and perhaps take over some schools from the Missions. A long-standing complaint among the Natives was that there were Government Schools for Indians, while there were none for Natives. During 1919 the Administration approved of the policy of taking over a limited number of Native Schools as Government Institutions. The general plan was for the Government to pay a small rental for the building and to pay the teachers, while the missionaries remained in charge of the buildings and were appointed Chairmen of the School Committees. Fees were collected in these Government Schools, so preventing the possible charge of unfair competition with the Aided Schools; but the collection was not an easy matter, as the Natives knew that education in European and Coloured Schools was free. The action of the Government in taking over some of the schools was appreciated by the Natives; and the Missionaries, though a little suspicious at first, have been reassured by the statement that the Administration does not propose to compel the Aided Schools to become Government Institutions.

The Sub-Primary Schools.

For years there had existed many small non-aided schools, and the Senior Inspector of Native Schools (Mr. Gebers) had on several/

several occasions in the later years of his period of office urged the authorising of small grants for, and the inspection of, these schools. Dr. Loram also asked for this in 1918, and in August 1919 the Administration approved of the recognition of a low grade of Native Schools, to be called Government Aided Sub-Primary Schools, for which the requirements were (1) an average daily attendance of twelve, (2) a teacher with a Standard 5 or Standard 6 Certificate, and (3) a limitation of the instruction up to the work of Standard 2. In 1918 there existed about three hundred of these uncontrolled schools, though in February 1920 there were only fourteen receiving Government Aid.

It soon became clear that Government supervision would help these deserving schools to become efficient. Certainly it would have been unwise to allow a large number of schools to continue to exist without Government supervision, especially as the intention was not that these Sub-Primary Schools should continue to exist indefinitely, but that their grants should be withdrawn, if they had not within three years qualified to be graded as Primary Schools. The grant in these schools was 8s. per pupil (on average enrolment) per annum.

Buildings and Equipment.

Mr. Plant and Mr. Gebers had commented unfavourably on these in several of their reports, and the problem still existed in acute form in 1918, when Dr. Loram made the following suggestions

- (1) That an Education Department pamphlet on approved plans be issued;
- (2) that the Missionaries be asked to submit plans

of/

of proposed buildings; (3) that better grants be given, if the Missions would vest the buildings in Boards of Trustees consisting of representatives of the Missions, the Natives, and the Education Department; (4) that more secure terms of land tenure should be arranged; and (5) that a small sum should be set aside every year for the purchase of desks, which could easily be made at reasonable prices in the Industrial Schools and Departments.

New Syllabuses.

The Training College Syllabus was standardised in 1918, and was expected to last for three or four years with but minor alterations.

In 1919 the "try out" of the Intermediate School Syllabus took place, but the necessity for improvement in almost all subjects was felt; and the new standardised syllabus (with a special introduction on the methods of teaching the Intermediate School subjects) was ready in 1920 to come into force in 1921. The chief alterations appear to have been: - the choosing of different Scripture passages for study; lowering the standard of Zulu to be taught; placing greater emphasis on Hygiene than on Physiology; demanding a special study of useful and harmful insects in the Nature Study lessons; demanding that the History lessons should be more directly "Native" in their content and emphasis.

There remained the problem of the Primary School Syllabus, in which the chief improvements necessary appeared to Dr. Loram to be: - (1) the division of the work in the lower classes
into/

224

into half-yearly sections; (2) the introduction of Nature Study, Physiology and Hygiene, and additional Manual Training; (3) greater emphasis on the vernacular in the lower classes; (4) a revision on severly practical lines of many of the other subjects; (5) the possible shortening of the Infant School Course by at least six months.

The principles guiding the revision of the Syllabuses were:-

(a) The excision of subjects which could not be shown to have a definite and practical bearing on Native life. Hence Algebra (except the use of symbols in problems), Geometry (except Mensuration), and Translation (except as an occasional aid to comprehension) were dropped.

(b) The inclusion of subjects of practical and demonstrable value (Physiology and Hygiene, and Nature Study), and an emphasis on the practical side of other school subjects.

(c) Emphasis on Agricultural and Manual Work. Agriculture, Woodwork, Needlework, and Domestic Science had already been properly organised and become compulsory in the Training College courses. The work of the Intermediate Schools had been rearranged so as to allow of ten hours a week for Industrial Work. In certain schools, special courses in Industrial subjects were arranged, and twenty-five hours a week had in these schools to be spent in Industrial Work. A strong (but not altogether successful) effort was also made to improve Gardening and Sewing in the Day Schools.

(d) /

(d) An improved grading and articulation of the subjects, so as to distribute the work more evenly, and by making the system more fluid to allow for an easier and quicker placing of pupils.

(e) The institution^{of} vocational courses in the High Schools, which, while placing no obstacles in the way of those pupils who desired an academic education (the only course till then available), gave an industrial and more practical bias to the work of these advanced pupils.

The method of revision employed was to draft a skeleton syllabus, to submit it to Inspectors and Head Teachers for criticism and amendment, to try it out in certain schools, and finally to standardise it.

The Training College Syllabus (with its new First Grade or Third Year course) was, as we saw, looked upon as more or less standardised by the end of 1918. The High School and the Intermediate School Syllabuses were to be tried out in 1919, and the Primary School Syllabus in 1920.

A new Policy in Music Teaching?

Doubts had existed in 1918 and 1919 as to the suitability of the musical instruction given to the Natives, though there were a few cases of careful choir training with gratifying results in 1920, when some Negro "spirituals" were well sung.

The Organising Instructor in Vocal Music (now Professor Kirby) found in 1919 that the standard of work done at the Native Institutions was no better than usual, in spite of the fact that much time and labour had been spent upon the work by

the/

the teachers concerned. He felt that they were fighting against ineradicable hereditary predispositions. It would seem that no definite policy had ever been formed with regard to the Natives and Music; and Mr. Kirby felt that a definite policy should be formed as quickly as possible, since the Natives would sing whether we wished it or not. He advocated the policy of allowing their musical development to move along the lines of natural development.

On all sides, unthinking people and others unqualified to judge praised the so-called "natural" harmony of the Zulus. This had gone on for such a long time, that the Natives believed in the idea themselves. Mr. Kirby arrived, after six years of observation, at the conclusion that this harmony was as "natural", and fitted as well, as the European clothes the Natives wore.

The instruments most in favour with the Natal Natives are the Jew's Harp, the Auto-harp, the Mouth Harmonica, the Concertina, and the American Organ. Portability and price have had a good deal to do with the choice; but it should be noted that all of these instruments are based on the European system. The Jew's Harp gives our harmonic series only, and being of fixed intonation is always in tune. The Mouth Harmonica, the Concertina, and the American Organ are also of fixed intonation (when in repair), though tuned in equal temperament. The Auto-harp (when in tune) is also in the modern European "tempered" scale of twelve semi-tones; but it is frequently out of tune, and, as it is the most popular of these instruments, it often gives the Natives a completely wrong impression of the European system. From these con-

siderations/

siderations there emerges the necessity of access by Natives at all times to instruments perfectly tuned in equal temperament, if the Natives are to be taught on European lines.

Mr.Kirby was, however, far from convinced that Natives should attempt European music; and in his report he detailed his reasons for making such a statement. Mr.F.A.Norton (in an article contributed to the Journal of the African Society in January 1919) held that the natural scale of the Bantu was of the type known as "Pentatonic". Certainly no set of even the simplest harmonies has yet been sung by any Zulu choir sufficiently well in tune to satisfy a cultured European ear. Even in the case of the common chord, the third is almost invariably flat. Tests, carried out by Mr.Kirby in the Training Colleges, seem to point to the fact, that at least several of the scale notes are vitally different from ours. Zulu rhythm, too, is radically different from that of Europe, as it depends on verbal quantity and not on metrical accent, which fact leads to the oft-criticised but ineradicable habits of "scooping" and "slurring". This is yet another reason for calling in question the present musical policy of the Natal Education Department, which is tending to a continuance of the present-day practice of singing European choral music, which was introduced in Natal for purposes of worship. Mr.Kirby considers that it is not yet too late to sing hymns to original Zulu melodies, and that a Zulu "plain song", sung in unison, would be quite in keeping with the real natural music of the Natives, if these could be brought to see that their artistic future lies in self-development, and not in blind imitation.

The Zulu demand for "four parts at any price" is responsible/

responsible for the non-existence of voice-production for the adults and of voice-preservation for the children. Even girls are still made to sing tenor and bass, when the Inspector of Schools is not in the neighbourhood.

The report ends with an emphasis on the need of a complete ethnological survey of the Natives, on the lines of those conducted by the Smithsonian Institute.

Reference must here be made to the many songs written by Heuben Caluza, a Natal Native Teacher, whose home is close to Pietermaritzburg. These songs have been sung in many places in Natal by choirs trained by the composer in his vacations, and they would long ere this have been published, had they not been submitted to the University of the Witwatersrand in the hope of securing financial assistance in publication. The decision of the University is awaited with interest,* for these songs are a definite Native attempt to do away with the dearth of suitable musical material, in the schools especially. Some of these songs possess great charm, and have already proved that they will live, especially "The Ricksha Song" and the lament over the 1913 Land Act.

Special Weaknesses in the Teaching of
various Subjects.

Dr. Loram's account of the weak features of the instruction in the different subjects is worthy of consideration, and is here summarised. Many of the shortcomings were due to insufficient supervision by Grantees and School Committees.

Scripture. The attention given to this subject depended on/

* The Composer is now publishing them at his own expense.

on the attitude of the teachers and the supervision of the Grantees.

Zulu was unsatisfactorily¹ taught in 1918, because of:- (1) the absence of standards in Zulu; (2) the ignorance of Zulu grammar shown by many teachers; and (3) the mistaken notion that Zulus know Zulu and do not need to be taught it. The position was much improved in 1919.

English was poorly pronounced, poorly comprehended, and poorly spelled; and an excessive amount of grammatical detail was entered into. More suitable Readers were introduced in 1919.

Arithmetic was not taught realistically enough, but an improvement was noticed in 1919.

History and Geography consisted of the memorising of often inaccurate statements.

Nature Study was gradually being introduced, but was very disappointing, as the teachers knew too little and good text-books were not available.

Singing was good, though it could have been better. The Natives had been unduly praised for their singing.

Drawing was considered of doubtful value to the Natives in their existing conditions, and was not therefore compulsory. It was looked upon as a recreation.

Manual Work had suffered more than any other subject because of the high cost of materials during the Great War. Mat-making, grass weaving, and simple pottery had meanwhile been introduced, and the success was gratifying and astonishing/

1. To improve this position, Zulu was made a special-subject of special study in Training Colleges and Vacation Courses, and private plans were made for the publication of suitable text-books. Of these those from the pen of James Stewart are noteworthy, as they are based upon Zulu legends and history.

astonishing. When these articles could be sold, matters improved still further. Domestic Science was almost non-existent in the Primary Schools, but Miss Hopkinson had good progress to report for 1919.

The theory of Agriculture was well taught in the Colleges, but in very few cases were the gardens really excellent.

Manual and Industrial Training.

Manual and Industrial Training showed a steady development in certain directions.

The training of domestic servants and home-makers was well done at S.Hilda's, Indaleni, and Inanda.

In Domestic Science full courses were given at all but one of the Boarding Schools for girls, and was compulsory at all Training Colleges. As soon as Native Teachers were available, Cookery and Household work generally would be introduced into the larger Day Schools. This hope was too optimistic, for nothing has been done yet (1927), though a move is now being made. According to the new syllabus for Intermediate Schools, at least ten hours a week had to be given to Domestic Science and other Manual Training.

Woodwork was taught in six Colleges and in the attached Intermediate Schools, as well as to three groups of apprentices. The aim was to provide more or less qualified carpenters for service among the Zulus. The high price of tools and materials hindered development.

In Agriculture and Gardening there was an improvement in

the/

the Boarding Schools, but very little improvement in the Primary Schools, because of the scarcity of tools, the want of fencing materials, and the extraordinary seasons. But the chief reason was that the Native Teachers did not realise the value of agricultural instruction. The Education Department actually thought of imposing pains and penalties for poor instruction in this subject.

Native Crafts were taught in special courses at the Winter Schools, and were introduced into the Teachers' courses, this being an attempt to foster Native Crafts, which were considered of great importance for four purposes:- (1) the encouragement of the Natives in the use of the plentiful supply of local materials; (2) the bringing to a higher state of excellence of the traditional arts of grass-work, mat making, ^{or} basket making, wood carving, etc.; (3) the provision of a cheap form of manual training for young children; (4) the procuring of funds for school supplies and other necessaries in an honourable and useful way.

One of the commonest criticisms levelled against Native Education by the ignorant and unthinking critic was that the Natives were learning Latin and Greek instead of Manual Work. In 1919 nearly every Native School, according to Dr. Loram, spent at least 20% of its time on Manual Work; and in six Training Colleges, three High Schools, twenty-eight Intermediate Schools, one hundred Primary Schools, and ten Sub-Primary Schools one at least of the following subjects was being taught: - Gardening, Sewing, Grass-work, Clay-work, Cane or Osier Work, Carpentry, Cookery, Laundry Work, and Dress-making. Grass Work was first introduced in 1917, yet

in 1919 the percentage of schools attempting such work was seventy-three, though no market for the articles had been established. At several schools the children paid their fees and bought their books out of the proceeds of the sale of articles they had themselves made in and out of school. The market value of the larger articles made in the Native Schools was estimated to be at least £500. In 1920 93% of the schools did Gardening and 89% did Sewing, while the number attempting Grass-Work had risen to 86%; and the market value of the articles made was much greater than it was in 1919.

The Inspection of Pupils.

The Inspectors used to be examiners as well as maintainers of standards. Much of the actual examination work was now to be transferred to the teachers themselves, and the Inspectors were to be advisers, rather than examiners. It had become impossible for the Inspectors to conduct examinations in person. By relieving them of as much examination work as possible, it was hoped to leave them more time for supervising and advising. But the teachers were not glad of the extra responsibility; and some of them unfortunately still look back with longing to "the good old days", when the Inspector examined each child in person.

Retardation, a Waste of Government Money.

By investigation Dr.Loram showed that the problem was a serious/

serious one, and his conclusion was that from £4,000 to £5,000 of Government money was spent every year on pupils who had failed to secure promotion.

He recognised five causes of non-promotion:- (1) the work of the infant classes was placed in the hands of the least capable and the least experienced of the teachers; (2) teachers did not avail themselves of the privilege of examining and promoting their infant classes; (3) foolish teachers kept children back in order to secure an extraordinary percentage of passes at the annual examinations; (4) there was an absence of true and consistent standards in teaching and inspecting; (5) pupils left one school for another on petty grounds.

The following remedies were suggested:- (1) impressing upon the teachers in the Primary Schools that Class A and Standard 4 were the most important classes in the schools; (2) forcing the teachers to examine and promote their pupils regularly, by withholding the "excellent" grant when regular promotion had not taken place; and (3) attempting to set up standards so as to reduce the failures at promotion examinations to about 10% of the entries. Needless to say, these recommendations could not be adopted and bear fruit immediately. Some of the evils mentioned have not yet been done away with.

The Supply of Teachers.

The supply of teachers, both European and Native, continued to be inadequate. The chief thing lacking was a
sufficient/

sufficient number of technically equipped European male teachers, especially in Agriculture and Industrial Work. Dr. Loram thought that special men would have to be trained for this work. Probably he meant Europeans whose outlook inclined them to take up mission work. Some of the Missions now train and employ such men, but at that time there was no way of meeting the need. Even the European schools were short of teachers. As a means of attracting a few men to Native work, Dr. Loram therefore suggested good salaries and conditions and possible transfer to European work, since experience in Native work did not then, and does not now, count ~~it~~ towards grading and salaries in the European schools.

The shortage of Native teachers was ^{due} to the comparative newness of the Training Colleges, the increase in the number of new schools, the loss through death and marriage, and to people leaving the profession or the province.

The policy of the Department was to urge an increase in the size of the Colleges, to improve the salary conditions by the establishment of an incremental scale, and to require service for a minimum period in Government or Aided Schools.

The overhauling of the system of training, begun by Mr. Gebers, soon helped in the production of more and better teachers. The granting of better pay, though not a new idea, had certainly been deserved for a long time.

The Certification of Teachers.

In all schools, except Sub-Primary Schools, it was necessary in 1919 for head teachers to be certificated; but it was
only/

only under certain conditions that assistant teachers had to hold certificates. In that year Dr.Loram investigated the position in one hundred and seventy-three schools of all kinds and found:- (1) that almost all the European teachers engaged in Native work were certificated; (2) that of the Native head teachers of the Intermediate Schools none held a certificate of lower value than the Second Grade, while only four assistants did not have Second Grade certificates; (3) that of the head teachers of the Primary Schools only 18% held a certificate lower than the Second Grade, though most of their assistants had only passed Standard 6 and were untrained; and (4) that all teachers in Sub-Primary Schools were un-certificated.

A more thorough examination of the position in 1920 revealed that of the 1,095 teachers employed in Native schools 377 (34%) were uncertificated, while many (27%) of the Head Teachers in Primary Schools were not even ranked as Second Grade teachers. The position in the Intermediate Schools had improved, and no effort was being spared to effect a similar improvement in the case of Primary Schools.

Action was taken in 1919 to secure a higher standard of attainment for admission to the Colleges, for there had been an unavoidable temporary lowering of the standard as one of the results of the Influenza Epidemic at the end of 1918.

General Evils noted by Dr.Loram.

One of the causes militating against the efficiency of Native schools was the constant change of teachers, the great majority/

majority of those teaching in 1919 having been in their positions less than eighteen months.

Dr. Loram thought the reasons for this constant change were: - (1) the difficulty of obtaining suitable board and lodging, (2) the natural desire of young people to go to new places, (3) the readiness of Grantees to accept trivial excuses for transfer, (4) the general failure to understand the educational evils caused by these frequent staff changes, and (5) in the case of European teachers the monotony of mission life and the almost unavoidable friction between principal and head teacher.

One cause of this evil he failed to analyse, namely, that many teachers were paid according to the average attendance, upon which the Government Grant depended, and over which not even the best and most popular teacher had much control. A sudden drop in attendance and salary would naturally mean migration to a bigger school, if qualifications and testimonials made appointment in a bigger school possible.

For the teacher to get to know his pupils and their parents (a difficult task for the European teachers in Native colleges and schools); to gauge the merits and defects of the work of his predecessor; to plan out time-tables, schemes of work, and courses in Manual Training suitable for his particular school; and to use all this information and these plans must always take time.

A possible remedy was suggested by Dr. Loram, but the plan has evidently not been found practicable; it was to arrange for an incremental scale of salary, on condition that a teacher changing schools within five years without satisfactory reasons should/

should revert to his or her minimum salary.

In and after 1920 transfers were discouraged in Government Schools, and they began to become less frequent in the Aided Schools; but shortness of service in one place is still a cause of much waste of effort in the field of Native Education.

Another cause of wasted effort was the early leaving of Schools by pupils. In connection with this evil, the following points should be noted:- (1) a marked tendency to change schools; (2) a "tiredness of school" following on a lack of progress, especially in the Primary Schools, where the work did not seem to have the "holding" power that the Intermediate School work had; and (3) a lack of clothes, though pupils were allowed to attend in skins. The position had not improved in 1920.

Lack of suitable employment for some of the "educated" Natives was not altogether unknown. Wise educational administration should attempt to enable the products of its system to find honourable, useful and profitable employment. It was for this purposes that in 1918 and 1919 Vocational High Schools were opened for the pupils who did not wish to become teachers; but in 1919 there were still many pupils leaving school after passing Standard 4, 5, or 6. Some were boys and soon found work. The others were girls, who would have liked to enter domestic service in the towns, but who could not because of the absence of suitable conditions (fair wages, proper indoor accommodation, and personal supervision by the European

mistresses/

mistresses).

To remedy this unfortunate state of affairs, Dr. Loram suggested the establishment of small Native Employment Boards in the towns and promised Government support. Unfortunately nothing was done then, and still more unfortunately nothing has been done yet. Probation Officers have certainly been appointed in Durban and Pietermaritzburg to deal with the evils which arise when these "educated" and other "uneducated" Native girls come into towns for domestic service in European homes; but they have no authority to prevent the evils by attacking them at the root.

Co-education was in many cases a pale and useless imitation of the real thing, especially in the Training Colleges and High Schools. A case is on record of free speech between boys and girls being allowed in the corridors and playgrounds only when Inspectors are at the school. No wonder that there is created a wrong attitude on the part of young teachers of one sex to those of the opposite sex. The question has not been studied; but it is very likely that this imitation of co-education in the Colleges is responsible for most of the disciplinary troubles in the Colleges and for some of the "black-listing" of teachers. The writer knows of a young Native man being placed in charge of two young Native women, whom he had seen at College every day for a year, but with whom he had never been allowed to communicate. He said the necessary adjustments in thought and conduct during his first month of teaching had been a terrible strain, and did not scruple to grumble at the system of training responsible for his difficulties.

Salaries/

Salaries and Pensions of Teachers.

The Mission Boards had reached their limit of expenditure; their funds were low because of war conditions in Europe; and the Grant in Aid was only £1 per pupil, though for Indians it was £2 per head.

The efficiency of any school is closely connected with the question of salaries paid. An enquiry by Dr.Loram soon proved once again that salaries were utterly insufficient. In 1919 the vast majority of Native teachers were receiving less than £50 each per annum, and few of the European teachers were receiving more than £160 each per annum. The inadequacy of these salaries was obvious, and Dr.Loram suggested that (in place of paying half the teachers' salaries up to a limited maximum, and a per capita grant) the Government pay the salaries of European teachers in full at the scales of pay in operation for European Schools, and that salaries for Native teachers be improved and be also paid in full by the Government on a fixed incremental scale. These measures would have enabled the Missionaries to retain good teachers in the profession, to reward good service, and to prevent teachers from migrating from school to school.

An additional recommendation was the adoption of a system of local allowances, the highest Scale A to apply to the larger towns, Scale B to the smaller towns, and Scale C to the country districts. Financial difficulties prevented the adoption of these recommendations. In fact, the first step (which will be dealt with later) was taken in 1923, and increments and pensions for Native Teachers have not yet been authorised/

authorised.

In 1920 the position of both European and Native teachers was still most unsatisfactory, and a feeling of unrest amounting almost to resentment was widespread. The result of this will be dealt with later.

Vacation Courses¹.

Mr. Gebers had wanted these for years! The most he could secure was a kind of Conference. In Dr. Loram's time funds at last became available..

Frequent reference occurs in the Annual Reports to the danger of excessive isolation in educational work in the case of Native teachers, and also in the case of European teachers in Native Schools and Colleges. To break down this isolation of the European teachers, to induce among them something of a co-operative spirit, and to bring teachers into touch with the latest developments in education, a special Vacation Course for European teachers was held at the Government Training College in Pietermaritzburg in January 1919. Fifty-four teachers attended. The subjects were Theory and Practice of Education, Physiology and Nature Study, Theoretical and Practical Woodwork, and Native Crafts; and the speakers were Dr. Loram, Mr. (later Professor) Reid, Mr. Tait, and Sister Ignatia. Addresses were also given by the Administrator, the Chief Native Commissioner, and the Chief Inspector of Schools. This special Vacation Course for teachers was such a success, that a similar
one/

1. These Vacation Courses are described in detail to make perfectly clear the strenuous efforts that were being made to improve the Native teachers in general efficiency.

one for Grantees and School Managers as well as Teachers was contemplated.

The first Winter School for Natives was held at Adams (Amanzimtoti) in July 1918, and did much to improve the general standard of excellence in teaching. The subjects dealt with in the lectures, demonstrations, and discussions were Principles of Education, the Teaching of Zulu, the Teaching of History and Geography, New Methods in Native Day Schools, Nature Study, The Use of the Blackboard, Woodwork, and Agriculture; and the speakers were Dr.Loram, Inspector Mr.Malcolm, Inspector Mr.Jowitt, Mr.Dumbrell, Mr. (later Professor) Reid, Mr.Gray, Mr.Rice, and Mr.van Gelder. Attendance was restricted to those who had a Second Grade or Higher Certificate, and seventy-three teachers attended and received Vacation Course Certificates. The Administration engaged the lecturers and paid the rail fares of the teachers, while the authorities at Adams boarded all at less than cost.

The Second Winter School for Native Teachers was held at Mariannhill in July 1919, and was a more ambitious undertaking than the first. The lectures were on School Administration and Principles of Education (Dr.Loram), Bases of Teaching and New Methods in the Day School (Mr.Dumbrell), Zulu History and Institutions (Father A.Bryant), Progressive Lessons in Zulu (Inspector Mr.Malcolm), Physiology and Hygiene and Economic Nature Study (Mr.Reid), Educational Subjects (Debates controlled by Inspector Mr.Gebbers), Criticism Lessons (Inspectors Messrs.Jowitt and Harle), Domestic Science (Organising In-

structress/

structress Miss Hopkinson), Agriculture (Father B. Huss), Carpentry (Brother Marcellus), Basketry and Mat-making (Sister Ignatia), and Advanced Wicker-work (Mr. Thomas). Over two hundred teachers attended, and one hundred and eighty-nine obtained certificates.

A similar course for uncertificated Native Teachers was than contemplated for January 1920, and was actually held at Centocow. It was "arranged for the direct guidance of uncertificated Native teachers", whose employment the Education Department had not countenanced. Eighty-nine teachers attended. The lectures lasted two weeks and were an unqualified success. Of this "school" not notice appears in the Annual Reports of the Superintendent of Education, but a preliminary notice and a report on it appear in the Native Teachers' Journal. It was an official venture, and teachers in Sub-Primary Schools were forced to attend, the attendance of other uncertificated teachers being expected.

The Third Winter School for Native Teachers was conducted at Adams Mission Station in July 1920, and was a great success. The large attendances at all of these vacation courses must be taken as a most encouraging sign, as they show that the Native teachers realised their shortcomings and wished to learn how to approach nearer to perfection. Over two hundred and twenty teachers attended, and over one hundred others who applied had to remain away because of lack of accommodation at Adams. The character of the work done is inadequately indicated by the following list of lectures:- The Principles and Practice of/
of/

of Education, Day School Methods, Demonstration and Criticism Lessons, Geography and History in the Intermediate Schools, Agriculture, English Literature and Phonetics, Singing, Scouting for Boys, Community Service, Scripture and Moral Lessons, Bantu Languages, Woodwork, Domestic Science, Basketry, and Advanced Wicker Work. Even a cinematograph had been brought for the lectures, and this was much appreciated, especially by these Native Teachers who had never seen moving pictures before.

The good work is at present carried on by the Roman Catholics and the Americans, and reference to their efforts is made in the next chapter.

The Place of Vacation Course Diplomas.

The success of the early Vacation Courses led to the suggestion that attendance at four or five such courses be accepted as the equivalent of a College training. This the Superintendent of Education rigidly opposed, on the grounds that it would lower the standard of the certificates and militate against the success of the Colleges. It was therefore decided to issue Vacation Course Certificates, which however would not count in place of the regular Certificates gained after continuous training at the Colleges.

Bursaries.

At the end of 1919 permission was granted for the institution/

stitution of the system of one-year bursaries, here outlined in brief:-

- 14 bursaries of £8 each to pupils who pass out of Standard 6.
- 6 " " £8 " " " " " " " the First or Second Year High School Course.
- 15 " " £10 " " students " " the Third Grade Examination.
- 10 " " £12 " " " " " the Second Grade Examination.
- 10 " " £12 " " Second Grade Teachers with two years' experience.

At the end of 1920 this system was extended by the addition of two £25 bursaries, tenable for two years at the S.A. Native College at Fort Hare in the Cape Province.

"The Native Teachers' Journal".

A great step towards drawing together the isolated Native Schools, providing further instruction and training for teachers already in the field, and raising the general ability and status of the Native teachers, was taken in October 1919, when the first number of the Native Teachers' Journal appeared. Particular care was taken that the articles should have a direct bearing upon the work of the Native teachers in its broadest sense.

Dr. Loram describes the Journal in the 1919 Annual Report of the Superintendent of Education in the following words:-

"The Journal serves as a means of communication between the Department and the teachers and Grantees; it enables us to give post-Training College instruction, especially in such subjects as Agriculture, Manual Training, Hygiene, and Domestic Work; it serves as a clearing house/

house for time tables, schemes of study, special methods, etc.; and it enables the teachers to see more of the significance of their work. A special effort is being made to secure contributions from the Native teachers themselves. No development of our Native work has met with such instantaneous success and unanimous approval as the publication of this much needed journal."

In the same report Dr.Loram urged the need for a Native paper to correspond with "The Farmers' Weekly" and its supplement "The Homestead". The few existing Native newspapers were restricted in content and contained most unsuitable advertisements of patent medicines, and they could not possibly raise the Natives in civilization and loyalty to the Government.

The Native Teachers' Library.

This appears to have been started by the Senior Inspector of Native Schools, Mr.Gebers. Dr.Loram reported that in 1918 it was being increasingly used, and impressed upon the Native teachers that reading was a valuable source of increased knowledge as well as a deterrent from sloth and evil courses. In 1918 there were 311 volumes in the Library and 165 paying subscribers¹. In 1919 there were 187 paying subscribers, and, thanks to a grant of £30 and to the acquisition of the duplicate copies belonging to the European Teachers' Library, the number of books increased to 500. An annotated catalogue was/

1. An initial fee of 3s.6d. is charged, when a teacher becomes a subscriber. No other fee is charged.

was in active preparation, though it had not been completed by the end of 1920. The present practice is for the most important of the latest additions to the Library to be reviewed in the Native Teachers' Journal, in which also a plain catalogue has recently been appearing in parts.

The Native Teachers' Union.

This body came into existence in 1919, but it is dealt with in the next chapter, as its greatest usefulness began after the cessation of the Government Vacation Schools.

Night Schools.

In 1918 the Durban Corporation considered the question of developing the Native Night Schools conducted in Durban by the various Missions, and Dr. Loram was invited to co-operate with the Manager of Municipal Native Affairs in the supervision of the Night Schools. These were supported by Corporation funds derived from the sale of the officially brewed "Kafir Beer". The schools were reorganised and placed on a satisfactory basis as regards syllabuses, registration, and payment of grants. By the end of 1918 there were at least twenty Night Schools in Durban, with an enrolment of more than seven hundred men and boys. Not all were in receipt of Corporation support. These Schools tended to the uplift of the Natives directly, and also indirectly by keeping many of them off the streets; and it was hoped that other centres would adopt this plan of co-operation with the Education Department/

partment. Pietermaritzburg soon followed Durban's lead, and in 1920 there were eight Night Schools under the unofficial supervision of Dr.Leram. At that time Ladysmith had one similar school, while Durban had fifteen of them.

The Native Education Advisory Board.

Meetings were held in April and November 1918; and the chief topics discussed were:- (1) Dates for making up school returns; (2) pensions for teachers in Native schools; (3) Government Native Schools; and (4) improved Grant conditions. In 1919 the Board met in March and September, and discussed (1) a syllabus of religious instruction, (2) Native representation on the Native Education Advisory Board, (3) fees for Boarding Schools, and (4) Equipment Grants for new schools. Its later activities are dealt with in the next chapter. This was one form of co-operation of the Missionaries and the Government.

The Grantees and the School Committees.

An equally valuable and a more productive form of co-operation was possible, because of the powers of supervision given to Grantees and School Committees. There was a time when Grantees were obliged by law to visit all of their schools at least once a quarter, but the year 1919 might be called an unfortunate one, if the lack of vigour in Grantees and School Committees be taken into close consideration. The American Missionaries had some years before delegated one of their/

their workers to act as Grantee and Supervisor of those of their schools which were staffed by Natives only. Other individual missionaries visited their schools regularly and systematically; but there were examples of Grantees who did not visit their schools for many months, - one school was not visited for three years. This was a sad state of affairs, for inspection by the Government officers was never meant to replace personal supervision by the missionaries; and the apparent lack of interest was bound to have a bad effect on the missions themselves, not to mention the schools.

Another unhappy circumstance (which still exists to-day) was the open or secret opposition of the ordinary members of the School Committees to their chairmen (the missionaries, who were also the Grantees). The outcome was the framing of regulations for the election of School Committees for Government Schools and for the conduct of their meetings.

Co-operation with the Native Affairs Department.

For many years a representative of the Native Affairs Department had been a member of the Native Education Advisory Board. The year 1918 saw the institution of definite co-operation between the Provincial Administration and the Union Department of Native Affairs. In earlier years the Secretary for Native Affairs had exercised direct control of all Government Aided Native Schools, which were visited by the Superintendent of Education and other officers only at the express wish of the Secretary for Native Affairs, ^{and the Lieutenant Governor.} But this state of affairs ceased to exist when the control of Native Education

was/

was put in the hands of the Council of Education in 1884; and from then until 1895 the only co-operation between the two Departments of Education and Native Affairs was secured by the presence of the Secretary for Native Affairs in the Council of Education.

When a Minister of Education was appointed in 1895, this inter-departmental co-operation ceased. The co-operation which recommenced in 1918 resulted in (1) the planning out of schemes for the well-being and advancement of the Natives, especially for the training of young Native women as nurses, and (2) the sharing of the costs of development of educational work in certain districts.

Legislation.

By Ordinance 4 of 1918 Medical Inspection of Schools was provided for. All schools in Natal, whether maintained or aided by the Department of Education or otherwise, were to be subject to compulsory medical inspection. This is still a dead letter as far as the ordinary Native Schools are concerned. Only the Native Colleges and High Schools are visited (occasionally). This is much to be regretted, and the lack is certainly felt to-day.

By Ordinance 10 of 1918, free Primary Education was provided for Europeans, and, by Ordinance 5 of 1919, also for "Coloureds". No such step has yet been taken in Native Education, and it is to be hoped that it will not be taken for a long time. True friends of the Natives agree with Native leaders in holding that free education would be almost an

attack/

attack on the character of the Native race. At present the attitude is: Whatever can be had for nothing is not worth having. (Strictly speaking, of course, there is no such thing as "free" Education.)

Medical Inspection.

In 1918 Dr. A. B. M. Thomson, the Medical Inspector of Schools, examined two hundred and twenty-two Native student teachers at four Training Colleges. Two students were rejected because of pulmonary tuberculosis. Many students (17.5%) were found to have defective vision. This figure was undoubtedly high, but in his report Dr. Thomson did not do more than hint that perhaps near work and bad lighting and "cramping" were responsible. Almost as many students (14.8%) were found to be suffering from different degrees of malnutrition, the high percentage being due to the high cost of living at the close of the recent Great War. To remedy the position, Dr. Thomson drew up a dietary, which was accepted by Grantees as an official one. Yet another striking fact emerged as a result of this inspection - the folly of teaching Hygiene to Native students and of expecting them in their turn to teach Hygiene to Native children, when the lack of proper sanitary conveniences at the Colleges prohibited them from forming hygienic habits. Little has been done to remedy this in some places even to-day.

Dr. Thomson resigned in ^{February} 1920. Dr. C. G. Kay Sharp, who became Chief Medical Inspector of Schools in July 1920, examined ninety-three Native student teachers in the same year. His

general/

general opinion was that the female students were physically vastly superior to the male students, but he could give no considered opinion as to the reason for this remarkable fact.

The results of his inspections are given below.

		Good	Medium	Bad
Teeth	1920	91	1	1
	1924	214	2	6
Nutrition	1920	84	9	0
	1924	179	42	1
Vision	1920	93	74	14
	1924		183	39

The Influenza Epidemic.

One cannot close this chapter without a reference to the Influenza Epidemic of 1918 and its effects on Native Education.

The Epidemic was very serious among Natives, and the schools closed one by one, until finally all those still at work were officially closed for the rest of the year. School work was thoroughly disorganised, and the first three months of 1919 had to be spent in revision. Promotions also had to be left almost entirely in the hands of the teachers, though these were always as a matter of course subject to revision by the Inspectors.

Two things appeared as a result of the Epidemic:- (1) the devotion and heroism of the missionaries, the teachers, and some of the pupils; and (2) the gross ignorance of

hygiene/

hygiene of the teachers and the pupils of the Native schools. The result was that in 1919 Physiology and Hygiene were taught in all classes above Standard 4, and in 1920 in all above Standard 2. To-day every pupil learns them.

Summary.

The Superintendent of Education, in his Annual Report for 1919, considered the chief developments in the years immediately preceding 1920 to be:- (1) the overhaul and improvement of the training given to teachers in the Colleges, (2) the encouragement of vocational and industrial work in preference to mere book work, (3) the institution of winter and summer vacation schools for the further instruction of teachers, (4) the more adequate and thorough inspection of pupils, (5) the bringing under full Government control of ten or twelve Native Schools, and (6) the advance in the teaching of Domestic Science (especially at such places as Inanda Seminary) which followed the appointment of a special officer for the purpose.

CHAPTER VIII.

1920 - 1927:

CONSOLIDATION AND ADVANCE.

Contents of Chapter VIII.



- Mr. DuKes: his Opinion of the Complexity of the System.
- Outside Opinion.
- Were "The Masses" being reached?
- General Criticism of the Schools.
- Syllabusos.
- The Night Schools.
- The Problem of the Sub-Primary Schools.
- The Development of the Government Schools.
- The High Schools.
- Progress in the Certification of Teachers.
- Winter and Summer Schools.
- "The Native Teachers' Journal".
- The School Committees.
- The Teachers' Union.
- The Native Education Advisory Board.
- Inspectorate: Personnel.
- Native Supervisors.
- The Inspectorate at the End of 1927.
- Examination by the Teachers.
- Legislation affecting Finance.

Salaries/

Salaries.

Buildings and Equipment.

An Attempt to fix Eulu Orthography.

A general Fact to be noted.

Suggestions not yet carried out.

The Present School System.

Mr. Dukes: his Opinion of the Complexity
of the System.

After a period of rapid expansion in Native (as in any other kind of) Education, it is wise to "take stock". This Mr. Dukes did in 1922 in the following words. "The system of Native Education, as it exists at present, and as the result of years of experiment and change, is much too complicated in the type of schools, rates of payment of grant, and conditions attaching to the same. Pressing need exists for sweeping the present conditions out of existence to a large extent and substituting something very much simpler. The objection to this is that vested interests might be interfered with, but it would be worth while to do that in order to reach a scheme which will require less clerical work and less complication in its details. The worst feature probably of the system as it stands is the quarterly payment of grant according to the average attendance for the quarter, a practice which has led to a very large amount of dishonesty in registration. The opportunity should be taken of doing away with this feature, as well as many others, when it is seen what help the Union Government proposes to give. The chance of cleaning the slate and making a fresh and simpler start is much too good to lose." Yet it was lost! It would seem that Mr. Dukes was in a very small minority, or something must have come to pass as a result of this severe criticism of a system which had been gradually built up by officials and missionaries, and become stabilised in a somewhat altered form by Dr. Loram. Attempts were actually made in 1922 by Mr. Dukes (Mr. Malcolm being/

being at the time on long leave) to effect a simplification. A long questionnaire was sent to all men of influence among the "educated" Natives, asking for suggestions on the possibility and advisability of eliminating certain subjects from the syllabuses. This matter will be dealt with in a later paragraph.

Outside Opinion.

The visit of two members of the African Education Commission, under the auspices of the Phelps - Stokes Fund and Foreign Mission Societies of North America and Europe, was an event of unique importance. Dr.Hollenbeck and Mr.Aggrey (a West African negro) visited Natal in April 1921, and were accompanied by Dr.Loram, one of the three members of the then newly appointed South African Native Affairs Commission. Their opinion of the system of Native Education in Natal is for obvious reasons one worthy of careful consideration. When their Report was issued, it came as an agreeable surprise, for many were at the time entertaining grave doubts about what they called "the forcing of the pace" in 1918, 1919, and 1920; some were even suspicious that grave errors might have been made unawares in the bustle of those three years.

The visiting Commissioners wrote in the following strain:-
"While the Natal system of education for the Natives is second to that of Cape Province in the liberality of financial support, it is far superior in general organisation, effectiveness, and adaptation to the real needs of the Native people. The system is undoubtedly the most effective
organisation/

organisation which the Education Commission observed anywhere in Africa. With adequate financial support and some improvements now in progress, the Natal system of Native schools should become the ideal for all other systems in Africa.

. The Natal organisation of Native education shows more regard for the special needs of the Natives than any other school system observed in Africa.

The Native people are gradually coming to understand that agriculture and hand training are vital to the effective training of their children."

Were "The Masses" being reached?

A paragraph in the 1921 Annual Report deals with this question in a very clear manner. "The supply of schools is, speaking broadly, not equal to the demands for Education made by the Native people, who nevertheless, as a race, have not yet recognised the advantages or claimed the rights of a universal system of training for children of school age. The keenness of the few who want their children educated is very often equalled by the indifference and hostility of the many who do not. There are in round figures 35,000 children attending school in Natal and Zululand out of a population of a million people and 250,000 children of school age." The largeness of the number of uneducated Natives works as a retarding factor in the development of the Native race in Natal, and is also a danger to the civilisation of the Europeans, for the European population is only 8% of the total population of Natal.

In some quarters there exists the fear that Native Education is barely keeping pace with the increase in the Native population. Such a fear is ungrounded, as a study of the following figures will show.

Year.	Area.	Total Native Population.	Number of Native School Children (Gross Enrolment)
1891	Natal alone	455,983	4,026
1904	Natal and Zululand	904,041	9,256
1911	Natal and Zululand	953,398	19,768
1921	Natal and Zululand	1,139,804 (1921 Census)	36,602

Nevertheless the Government is not doing all that it can to meet an existing need, for in 1924 there were two hundred and seven Private Native Schools with an enrolment of five thousand four hundred and thirty-nine pupils.

The year 1926 saw an attempt to reach the parents and the Native public generally, by the beginning of agricultural work on demonstration lines at three different centres. These are Reichana^k (a Roman Catholic station in the South of Natal), Etulaneni (an Anglican station near Ekandhla), and Driefontein (a Native settlement near Ladysmith). At the first of these the venture is under purely missionary control, though Government support is given; at the second the venture is under dual control; while at Driefontein the experiment is from first to last a Government effort, being the final outcome of the experiment at Smart Kop in the Eighties, and of the talk of a similar experiment at Watermeat^k (very near Driefontein) in the time of Mr. Gebers.

* Though the experiment scheme is no ^{the} little known as to have had little (if anything) to do with the present venture.

The schools generally are becoming social centres to a far greater degree than had ever been the case before. This is in a large measure due to the increased sense of responsibility with which the teachers are being imbued, and to their closer touch with educational ideals (the result of good work by Supervisors and Inspectors). This increase in the usefulness of the schools has revealed itself in the holding of agricultural shows and handicraft exhibitions. The most important of the latter was held in Durban in July 1925.

It seems probable that in the near future an effort will be made to conduct Night Schools for Native children who have in the day time to work for Europeans on the farms. The growth of Rural Night Schools is mentioned elsewhere in this chapter.

General Criticism of the Schools.

Retardation in the infant classes has existed for years, and it unfortunately exists to-day, the chief cause being undoubtedly the choice of poorly qualified assistants, because of financial difficulties. The question is one which requires careful investigation, for cases have come to light where children have been kept in the Sub-standards so long as three, four, or five years. This is thoroughly unsound, both educationally and economically. Poor teaching has been mentioned as one cause. Irregular attendance is another, while a third is a wrong conception of the requirements of the first school years. Small wonder that so many pupils leave school before they reach Standard 11.

Standards are fairly well maintained in the Intermediate and the Primary Schools, except perhaps in Geography, Physical Drill, and History, all of which are wretchedly taught.

Manual Work is well done in most schools as a result of the instruction in the Winter Schools, but in many places its educational value is obscured by its purely utilitarian and financial value. The teaching of Native Crafts is at present very good. A few years back stagnation in the matter of design was noticeable, but this tendency to crystallise ideas and thereby rob Native Crafts of a large part of their educational value has fortunately disappeared. Advances in the teaching of Agriculture are mostly due, directly or indirectly, to the enthusiasm of Father Bernard Russ of Mariannhill, and to economic pressure.

One weak spot in the system is undoubtedly to be found in the Sub-Primary Schools, information about which will be found in a later paragraph.

Another weakness lies in the predominance of formality and drill methods in the teaching; the teachers find it difficult to get away from examination methods in the class room and to treat their subjects on broad, utilitarian, and intelligent lines. Inspector Mr. Spargo writes:- "The school in which Interest rules, and in which children are prepared for Life, is rare, and the subjects added to the curriculum in recent years, in order to check the dullness and formalism, encouraged by the unbalanced syllabus and standard schemes of earlier days, are slowly but no less surely becoming a prey to the very faults they were intended to check.

Yet another unfortunate fact is that no distinction is made in syllabus and outlook between the work of the urban schools and that of the rural schools, a fact which often hinders the forging of a strong link between the home and the school, especially in the rural areas.

A pleasing feature is the frequent holding of exhibitions of craft work in the different schools to interest the parents and those sceptical of the value of education, and to impress Europeans with the industrial character of the type of education given to the Natives.

The year 1925 was one in which considerable publicity was given to the question of Zulu as a medium of instruction; but the criticism was unfounded, for Zulu was being used as much as it could be, considering its limitations. Zulu as a literary vehicle is only just beginning to exist; and its vocabulary, though rich in some respects, is decidedly ^{ed} poor as a medium of instruction, for Zulu lacks even the common-place words that are necessary in, for instance, elementary Arithmetic. The question had already been raised in 1923 by the Natal Missionary Conference, many of the missionaries being then definitely opposed to all instruction in the English Language in the Primary Schools.

Syllabuses.

It appeared in 1921 that the Primary School Syllabuses of work were badly out of date and needed replacement more than ever. The necessary changes had been indicated by Dr. Loram in 1920, and have been dealt with in the previous

chapter/

chapter. They were embodied in the Primary Schools Syllabuses revised and issued in September 1922, and further modifications appear in the present syllabuses issued in October 1924, in which (for the benefit of the least efficient teachers, especially in one-teacher schools) the work to be done in each subject is set out in great detail.

The Intermediate School Syllabuses had been revised and were tried out in 1919, the final issue coming from the press in 1920 for adoption in 1921. It was adopted in 1921, though not without criticism from Mr. Dukes, the Superintendent of Education, who wrote of them and the Training College Syllabuses as follows in his 1921 Report:- "It appears to be evident that the syllabuses of the Intermediate Schools and of the various years of teacher-training are all of them overloaded, and make calls on both teachers and students which the past few years of experience prove to be altogether too great for them. It is evident that we shall have to do less and do it better." An attempt to crystallise opinion on the simplification of the syllabuses was made, as we have seen, in 1922. Apparently opinions on this matter were too divided to make action possible, for nothing was done at the time.

On critical examination the syllabuses for the Intermediate Schools were left unchanged (in spite of the charge of "overloading"), except that a study of a Zulu literature book was demanded by the syllabuses issued in January 1924. These syllabuses have been tested, and an amended copy of them appeared in November 1927. The chief changes are:- a demand for better teaching of Singing according to an improved

and/

and more detailed syllabus; a demand for the showing of collections and other proof of practical work in Nature Study; and the inclusion of a test in the theory of Sewing or Gardening (in addition to the usual inspection of the practical work done by the candidates).

The Training College Syllabuses of work (three in number) were revised, tried out, and issued in January 1919. Dr. Loram's intention was that they should last for three or four years at the very least.

Minor changes were made and tried out in 1924 and 1925; but the new syllabuses for the Training Colleges were not issued until April 1926, when the chief changes were:- the making of Scripture a subject for Departmental (and not denominational) examination; the emphasising of the importance of English, especially in the Third Grade (or First Year); a demand for a more severely practical teaching of Hygiene and Physiology; the placing of a greater emphasis on Zulu literature (as several Zulu books had appeared since 1920); the making of Geography compulsory in the Third Grade; the postponing of History and Civics and Nature Study until the Second Year of training; the introduction in the examination for the Second Grade certificate of a special paper on School Organisation, in addition to the usual one on Principles and Methods of Teaching; the postponing of all study of English Literature until the Third Year of training (Standard 9); a demand for a more "reasonable" teaching of Geography, and for a closer correlation between the History and the Geography lessons; an insistence upon "practical" teaching in Nature Study/

Study; a cutting down of the Elementary Science Syllabus; and an appeal for careful teaching of Singing.

Apparently there is still some concern about the overloading of even these revised syllabuses, for at the head of the Second Grade Syllabus there appears the following significant note:- "Owing to the fulness of the Syllabus, teachers are advised to economise effort, by stressing essentials and omitting irrelevancies." The reason for the unwillingness to simplify this particular syllabus too much is to be found in the fact, that so many teachers begin their teaching with a Second Grade Certificate.

The authorities in charge of the Training Colleges had been complaining of their inability to do good work, because of the poor standard of educational achievement attained by the entrants from the Intermediate Schools. Consequently a regulation was issued in 1923 raising the standard of entrance to the Colleges. This would have meant that the Training Colleges would have conducted First Year High School Academic Courses for the benefit of those, who left the Intermediate Schools and wished to become teachers. At Adams Training College this practice had been in vogue some time before the regulation was issued. Another result would have been a very great drop in the number of teachers passing out of the Colleges during a period of two or three years; but even this temporary set-back was considered advisable, for the sake of the later benefit in all the common schools of the country. The change never came about!

Pressure from the S.A. Native Affairs Commission and two
of/

of the other Provinces (where an attempt was being made to "catch up" to the Natal standard in the matter of teacher-training) made Natal satisfy herself with demanding, from the beginning of 1924, a 50% pass in the Native Schools Leaving Certificate (Standard 6) Examination from every candidate who wished to become a teacher. Those who passed with less than 50% of the total marks had to take a Standard 7 (First Year High School) course, before they could begin training for Third Grade Teachers' Certificates. According to the latest Intermediate syllabuses, the time is not far distant, when a 60% pass will be necessary for candidates who wish to proceed to the Training Colleges.

A fact worth noting is that though young candidates are sometimes admitted to the Training Colleges and trained more or less successfully, the practice is discouraged by the Department, as no candidate can receive even a Third Grade Certificate until he or she has reached the age of eighteen. This rule was introduced by Dr. Loram and has ~~been~~ very wisely been adhered to. It is to be doubted whether the Principals of the Colleges would have admitted these young candidates, had not the demand for teachers been so great. There has often been the cry of "too many teachers trained"; but the fact remains that all of good character soon receive appointments.

A striking fact is the tremendous amount of revision of syllabuses during this period. Whether such frequent "pulling up by the roots" to investigate satisfactory growth is wise
remains/

27

remains to be seen. That it has taken place, is adequate witness to the "liveness" of the Inspectorate and the elasticity of the system.

The Night Schools.

Dr. Loram had been asked to supervise the Native Night Schools in Natal, and in 1923 these schools came under the control of his successor. There were then twenty-one Night Schools in Durban, eight in Pietermaritzburg, and one in each of the following towns - Ladysmith, Dundee, and Newcastle. The funds continued to be supplied by the municipalities, and in each of the two largest centres there was a Native Supervisor at work under the direction of the Department of Education. There can be no doubt about the splendid work done by these schools in the keeping out of mischief a large number of Native employees in the towns.

An extension of this system took place in 1925, when several Rural Night Schools came into being for the benefit of the Natives too old or too busy to attend the Day Schools.

At present most, if not all, Night Schools are conducted according to rules and regulations issued in May 1925 by the Hon. Director of the Native Night Schools. These regulations cover sizes of rooms, adequacy of equipment and staffing, payment of grants, scales of salaries, sick leave, keeping of registers, free tuition, inspections and visits, duties of supervisors, organisation, and syllabuses.

The syllabuses are now much more ambitious than they used to be: for Zulu, Writing, English, and Scripture (and in some cases/

cases very elementary Arithmetic) used to be the only subjects taught, whereas a reasonable amount of Arithmetic is now also attempted everywhere, and occasional lessons are given in Hygiene and Nature Study. An attempt is now being made to improve the uncertificated teachers in these schools by holding special courses for them and issuing special certificates.

The Problem of the Sub-Primary Schools.

In many cases these Schools were not fulfilling their functions, for very few of them looked like developing into Primary Schools within the specified three years; some in fact had made no progress whatever. The mere existence of a lower class of Aided School had led to the re-grading of some of the Primary Schools as Sub-Primary Schools. Had there been no lower scale of grants, every effort would certainly have been made to make every Primary School progress, in character and standard of work as well as in enrolment. Perhaps even the Sub-Primary Schools would have developed faster also.

The Inspectors have often complained bitterly of the inefficiency of the teachers in the Sub-Primary Schools. There was almost invariably a new teacher without training in charge when an Inspector came, and the visit ended in a hurried day's lecture on registers, organisation, methods of teaching, and administration. The only way of meeting the difficulty was to appoint Native Supervisors, and this step was again and again urged; but the appointments were delayed, first owing

to/

to the foolish "boycott" of the 1921 Winter School at Mariann-hill, and then because of the need of trying one or two ex-
perienced Native Teachers before the system was finally
adopted and extended.

To meet the urgent need for more frequent supervision of
all schools, but especially of the Sub-Primary Schools, which
suffered most from infrequent visitation, the appointment of
an extra Inspector with headquarters at Eshowe was urged;
but no appointment was made until the very beginning of 1926,
when Mr. Theunissen resumed duties as an Inspector of Native
Schools.

The Development of the Government Schools.

The following table indicates the increase in the
number of these Schools and of the pupils enrolled.

Years.	Gross Enrolment.	Average Enrolment.	Average Attendance.	Schools.
1918	None	None	None	None
1919	592	411	384	9
1920	3,432	2,652	2,251	50
1921	4,937	3,673	3,192	56
1922	5,190	4,023	3,285	63
1923	4,924	3,754	3,027	63
1924	5,736	4,440	3,566	64
1925	6,180	4,758	4,011	66

This policy (of taking over difficult schools, and of
opening up new ones) did not at first meet with the approval

of/

of the missionaries; but the figures above indicate clearly that suspicion of the Government's intentions no longer exists. In fact, many of the schools have been handed over, because the missions have been unable for financial and other reasons to conduct them peacefully and satisfactorily; but it is only fair to state that some schools have been handed over merely because the superiority of the Government schools has been recognised.

One effect of the creation of these schools has been to remove most of the temptations that led to tampering with registers.

Another effect in some cases has been to remove the influence of the previous Grantees altogether, and to leave the teachers under Government control only. But in some cases the Grantees have maintained, without any authority, some measure of influence over the teachers. In other cases, the former Grantees have naturally become Chairmen of the School Committees of the new Government Schools.

A third effect of the creation of these Government Schools was dissatisfaction among the teachers in the Aided Schools, because their colleagues in the Government Schools received better salaries. This feeling was not done away with until 1924, when it became possible (because of an advance of £10,000 from the Union Treasury) to level up the salaries of those Native Teachers who were receiving less pay than their Government colleagues with similar certificates and experience.

Yet another effect has been the closing down of unsatisfactory rival denominational schools, when these have been close to one another, and the absorption of the pupils in the

new/

new Government School erected in the neighbourhood.

Needless to say the Government Schools generally have had to be "nursed" by the Inspectors in the absence of Grantees.

The High Schools.

By the end of 1921 one or two of the Industrial and Household Arts Courses in the High Schools had proved quite successful, but Mr. Dukes was not of the opinion that the system was ready for courses of more than two years; and for that reason he advocated (1) concentrating upon the work selected for those two years and doing it well, and (2) delaying the conducting of a third year course for a couple of years.

A notable feature of the High Schools is that they are chiefly for girls. This fact will be obvious on a consideration of the subjects mentioned in the recently issued Draft Syllabus. For the first two years the candidates must work at Compulsory Subjects (Cookery, Laundry Work, Housewifery, Needlework and Dressmaking, Scripture, English, Arithmetic, Physiology and Hygiene, Theory of Domestic Science) and Optional Subjects (Spinning and Weaving, Basketry, Knitting, Gardening, Management of Poultry). Every week twenty-five hours must be spent in Practical Work, and ten hours at Academic Subjects. In the third year, candidates must study one major subject (Cookery or Dressmaking), one minor subject (Upholstery, Spinning and Weaving, Knitting, Management of Poultry), and four academic subjects (Scripture, English, First Aid and Home Nursing, Theory of the major subject chosen/

chosen). One wonders whether the industrial training in the Girls' High Schools is not too elaborate. If the aim of these is to produce good wives for Native ministers and teachers, the syllabuses may pass; but they certainly cannot be considered as ideal if the aim is to produce humble but able domestic servants. A girl with the amount of education indicated above will unfortunately, but none the less certainly, expect her European employer to engage an "uneducated Native boy to do the rough work" such as washing floors and windows.

For boys the tendency has wisely been towards the apprenticeship system. Probably a full syllabus for the few apprentices at Adams and Edwaleni will be drawn up in the near future. At Adams there exists a High School Course for boys and girls, who wish to take the Junior Certificate Examination and enter the South African Native College at Fort Hare. There is also at Adams a purely Agricultural High School, where such fine crops of cotton have been produced, that the Chief Native Commissioner has promised the venture the support of his Department. For boys there are Agricultural and Carpentry Courses at Adams; Carpentry, Blacksmithing and Tanning Courses at Edwaleni; Tailoring, Carpentry, and Blacksmithing Courses at Mariannhill; and Carpentry and Shoe-making Courses at Ohlange (the purely Native Institution).

In fact it seems as though there is a growing tendency for two types of High School to develop, the purely Academic High School and the purely Industrial High School. The former type is seemingly of slow growth, because of the fear of producing a scholar of no use even to himself; but its growth

is sure, because the Natives realise the bars placed in the way of really skilled Native workmen.

By 1926 it was obvious that the High Schools had come to stay, in spite of the fact that each High School worked alone, instead of in conjunction with the others. The Draft Syllabuses for the Girls' High Schools are mentioned elsewhere in this chapter. It is still true, unfortunately, that the High Schools do not form an organic part of the whole system. Inspector Mr. Spargo writes:- "The High School problem is a cause of some anxiety. Growth has been rapid, but it still remains true that the High School is not organically a unit in our system of Native Education. Aims have not been defined, nor curricula definitely established; no decision has been reached as to the necessary relation of the High School to the Intermediate School and the Training College, or to Native life in general. It would therefore seem desirable to tackle the problem as soon as circumstances permit."

Progress in the Certification of Teachers.¹

It had been the intention to have only First Grade Teachers in charge of the Intermediate Schools, but the supply of such teachers was quite unequal to the demand; consequently a concession was made allowing Second Grade Teachers to hold these responsible posts until further notice. Such notice was eventually given, with effect from the end of 1922. This fact reveals the progress that had been made in the training and certification of teachers, a progress which is shown more accurately/

1. The entrance & examination to the Training Colleges has already been dealt with.

accurately by the accompanying table of figures.* It is to be noted that there was never any remarkable increase in the number of student teachers enrolled each year; in fact there could not have been, for the Colleges were almost full and were unable to find additional lecturers. It was the steady training that gradually met the needs of the schools by creating slowly a solid body of teachers who kept to their profession. The steady, hard work necessary in the Colleges is obvious, when we read what the position was in 1921. "The supply of Trained Teachers for the schools which exist is still very inadequate, and about thirty per cent. are still unqualified. Although during 1921 one hundred and forty Teachers received full training, this number seems to be absorbed into the schools with hardly an appreciable ripple on the surface of the situation." So much for the cry of "over-production of teachers".

Progress was also steadily made in this period with the training of Industrial Teachers, and in 1927 there was issued a definite syllabus for this work, which is authorized to be carried on at three centres (St. Hilda's, Indaleni, and Inanda - all High Schools for Girls). Candidates have to possess a teacher's certificate before they can begin this specialised training, which lasts for two years. In 1925 there were twenty candidates. The idea is to furnish all Intermediate Day Schools with the equipment necessary for the teaching of Domestic Science.

In the year 1928 an attempt will be made at Adams to meet a long-felt need, a course for experienced Native Teachers who wish to become lecturers in Training Colleges or District Supervisors/

Supervisors under Inspectors. The Draft Syllabus is ready, and is very elaborate. Originally the course was planned to last one year, but the final decision was to make it a two years' course. Success in this course will entitle the candidate to what will be called a Higher Primary Certificate. Only one College may attempt this advanced work. The following outline indicates in detail the nature of the proposed course.

Academic Subjects.		Marks.	Professional Subjects.	Marks.
1st Year	Two Majors	600	Principles of Education	200
			Psychology	200
	Two Minors	400	Organisation and Method	200
			Drawing	100
			Practical Teaching	300
		1,000	1,000	
2nd Year	Two Majors	800	History of Education	200
			Psychology	200
	One Minor	200	Drawing	100
			Special Methods	200
			Practical Teaching	300
		1,000	1,000	

The Academic subjects are English (Literature, Composition, and Language), Mathematics (Arithmetic, Algebra, and Geometry), History, Physiology and Hygiene, Biology, Physical Science, Geography, Bantu Studies, Arts and Crafts (Music, Specialised Craft, and Decorative Work). English must be one major subject, and Arts and Crafts cannot be taken as a major subject. At least a one year's study of Mathematics or one of the Sciences is compulsory.

Not all of the Colleges have outlying one-teacher rural Practising Schools in addition to the usual Practising Schools near/

near the Colleges. This is unfortunate, for many of the young teachers lack humility in their teaching and are unwilling to learn, imbued as they are with ideas about their being authorities on Education. The position is rapidly improving, and small local conferences of teachers are held for the discussion of felt difficulties. Nevertheless it is still true that the Training Colleges do not produce teachers efficient in organisation and routine work. The writer's opinion is that they never will. Without meaning that Native teachers are more efficient than European teachers (for they are not), the writer maintains that in respect of the amount of practice the methods of teacher-training adopted in the Native Training Colleges are superior to those adopted in the case of the European student teachers. And it is in spite of this, that the newly-trained Native teachers are poor in routine work and organisation. For one thing, there is always someone to fall back upon at a Training College; for another, no student can get more than four weeks of full teaching practice in a year. And who can claim to be an efficient organizer after such a small amount of experience?

Winter and Summer Schools.

After Dr. Loram had left Natal, a fourth Winter School was conducted at Mariannhill in July 1921. Many teachers "boycotted" the lectures, as a protest against their poor salaries, against which they had for a long time made unavailing complaints through official channels. This untimely action almost wrecked the Winter School, and unfortunately

put/

put an end to the holding of vacation courses at Government expense. It had other unfortunate effects, as we have seen. So far the Native Teachers' Society has not as a body apologised for this disgraceful conduct, and in these circumstances there can be no talk of holding any more official vacation courses, until the Native Teachers come to regard them as a privilege instead of as a matter of course.

The Roman Catholics have conducted Summer Schools in various centres, and the Americans have conducted Winter Schools at Adams. These have done a great amount of good, but details need not be entered into here. These efforts are fortunately not altogether denominational, though needless to say the vast majority of the teachers who attend are Roman Catholics and "Americans" respectively.

"The Native Teachers' Journal."

This quarterly is steadily building up very necessary traditions, and the various numbers are becoming books of reference on all subjects. Some of the most valuable articles are in "Our Difficulties Column", in which problems and perplexities are dealt with when teachers write for advice. Some of the best contributions are:- Psychology in Everyday-Life (Father Bernard Hues), Agricultural Economics (Father Bernard Hues), What is wrong with Native Education (Mr. J. Rheinalt Jones, Mr. John Dube, Dr. Leram, Mr. Wheelwright, Dr. Roberts, and Mr. Jowitt), Games for the Native Schools (Father Bernard Hues), Music in the Training Colleges (Mr. Cyril Wright), Sociology (Father Bernard Hues), The Teaching of English/

English (Mr. Spargo), The Teaching of Geography (Mr. Jowitt), Agricultural Education (Brother Tibertius), Tuberculosis (Dr. Alan Taylor), Native Teachers and Native Health (Dr. McMurtrie). Every number also contains a fine article on some religious subject.

The School Committees.

School Committees were appointed or elected in increasing numbers throughout this period. In many cases they existed in name only, while in some instances they attempted to usurp the controlling power of the Grantees; but on the whole they proved of great help in saving schools from dying out altogether, and in keeping the teachers and their pupils "up to scratch" in the absence of the Inspectors. When troubles arise, they are largely due to petty causes and lack of vision (not always on the part of the parents only); and they sometimes result in the opening of disgracefully equipped and wretchedly staffed opposition schools, which seem nevertheless to be fairly popular. Perhaps the Committees have been most effective in the case of the Government Schools, for the secretaries are always the head teachers, who can speak at the meetings, though they can not vote.

The Teachers' Union.

The Natal Native Teachers' Union owes its existence very largely to the enthusiastic help of Dr. Lorum in its formation.

Conferences/

Conferences have been held as here indicated.

- 1919 : Durban.
- 1920 : Adams' Mission Station, Amanzimtoti.
- 1921 : Mariannhill, near Pinetown.
- 1922 : Inanda.
- 1923 : St.Chad's, near Ladysmith.
- 1924 : Edendale, near Pietermaritzburg.
- 1925 : Durban. (Industrial Exhibition also held, with Departmental assistance.)
- 1926 : Dundee.
- 1927 : Adams' Mission Station.

Since the unfortunate events at Mariannhill in July 1921, these Conferences have in some measure taken the place of the Winter Schools, as have also the Roman Catholic Summer Schools, held in various places but all organised by the Mariannhill authorities.

The Native Education Advisory Board.

This body continues its good work, and it has held meetings quarterly since January 1923. Some of the main subjects of discussion during this period have been:-

Increased Salaries for Native Teachers.

Basis of payment of Grants to Schools.

Times allowed for Final Examinations.

Native Representation on the Native Education Advisory Board.

Scripture as an Examination Subject in the Teachers' Examinations.

Falsification of Registers.

Early/

Early Leaving of School by young Pupils.
 Old Pupils in the Infant Classes.
 Age of Entry to Training Colleges.
 Standard of Entrance to Training Colleges.
 Authority of Chairmen of Government Native School
 Committees.
 Resolutions by the Natal Missionary Conference.
 Immorality among Teachers and Black-listing.
 Holidays and Dates of Examinations.
 Annual Returns for Native Schools.
 Regulations for Study for the First Grade Teachers'
 Certificates.
 Native Domestic Science Teachers and their Training.
 Late Returns.
 Native Supervisors.
 "Zulu Schools", Non-aided.
 New Native Taxation.
 New Training College Syllabuses.
 Epidemics in Native Schools.
 Agricultural Schools
 Compulsory Native Education.
 The Wisdom or Folly of the present Native Education
 System.
 Native Children as Labourers.

This list gives some idea of the usefulness of the Board
 of seventeen members in keeping the Education Department in
 direct touch with the wishes of the Missionaries and the
 Natives they represent.

Inspectorate/

Inspectorate: Personnel.

Dr.Loram was appointed a member of the South African Native Affairs Commission, which was brought into being by an Act of Parliament passed in 1920, and Mr.Malcolm became Acting Chief Inspector of Native Education at the beginning of 1921; at the same time Mr.Dumbrell became Inspector of Native Schools in the Northern Districts (which had been under the control of Mr.Malcolm), Mr.Spargo became Inspector in the North Midlands District (formerly under the control of Mr.Gebers, who resigned in April 1920), and Mr.Thomas became Organising Instructor of Manual Training. Up to that time, only the Training Colleges and High Schools had been visited by the Organising Instructor of Manual Training in European Schools. The new appointment was made in order to develop manual work of all kinds in the Primary and Intermediate Schools.

In 1924 and 1925 Conferences of Inspectors and Supervisors of Native Schools were held, and much valuable work was done at them. Papers were read, valuable experiences exchanged, and policy in general co-ordinated.

One of the chief causes of the admittedly infrequent inspections was for years the lack of transport. This evil has now ceased to exist

Native Supervisors.

Native Supervisors were first appointed in 1923, one for the Northern Districts, and one for the South Midlands District/

302.
 trict. Two more Supervisors were appointed in 1926, together with an extra Inspector for Zululand; and the appointment of more is now only a matter of time and money.

Inspector Mr. Dumbrell wrote of the experiment in the Northern Districts as follows:- "The appointment has been warmly welcomed by Grantees and teachers, and already his work has become apparent in the smaller schools. In the majority of cases he spends two or three days at a school, and the following is the general procedure. First Day: The staff is watched at work; all registers and records are checked; parents are notified of his presence at the school. Second Day: Suggestions made as a result of his inspection of the work are given effect to, and frequently he takes over complete charge of the school and teaches in accordance with a modified Time-Table, whilst the actual Head Teacher acts as an observer. Third Day: The teacher is helped to carry out suggestions given in the previous day's demonstration, and if convenient a meeting with the parents is held."

The Inspectorate at the end of 1927.

① Chief Inspector:
 Mr. Malcolm.

<u>Inspector:</u> Mr. Jovitt: 150 Schools in South Midlands.	<u>Inspector:</u> Mr. Dumbrell: 110 Schools in Northern Districts.	<u>Inspector:</u> Mr. Spargo: 110 Schools in Coast Area.	<u>Inspector:</u> Mr. Dent: 90 Schools in North Midlands.	<u>Inspector:</u> Mr. Theurissen: 100 Schools in Zulu- land Area.
<u>Supervisor:</u> Mr. Mbhele.	<u>Supervisor:</u> Mr. Kuzalo.	<u>Supervisor:</u> Mr. Kuzalo.	<u>Supervisor:</u> Mr. Makanya.	

② Chief Inspector:
 Mr. Malcolm.

Organising Instructor:
 Miss Hopkinson:
 All Schools and Colleges.

Organising Instructor:
 Mr. Thomas:
 All Schools and Colleges.

Examination/

Examination by the Teachers.

The introduction in 1921, and the rapid spread after 1921, of the practice of examination by the teachers enabled all promotions to take place on the same date in the whole of Natal. The papers were set by the Inspectors to maintain standards, but the teachers did the actual examination and promotion work; and the promotions by the teachers seldom had to be revised by the Inspectors.

The less efficient teachers disliked the extra responsibility thrust upon them, especially as they could no longer blame the Inspectors when angry parents queried the holding back of their children; but the progressive teachers with ideals were deeply thankful for this new trust placed in them, and for the experience which they gained under the new system.

Examination of pupils by the teachers themselves was necessary for many reasons, one of which was the absolute impossibility of doing successful supervision of schools as well as the examination of thousands of pupils. In 1923, when the teachers were conducting the examinations themselves, there were four hundred and ninety-six schools under inspection, and of these two hundred and fourteen were visited only once, while ninety-four were not visited at all. What would these figures have been, if the Inspectors had been saddled with examination work in addition to supervision work!

The remedy for the evil just indicated was the provision of adequate motor transport for every Inspector. This has only very recently been made - and even now there is usually a period at the end of each financial year, when travelling is impossible/

impossible, because the money voted under the heads of travelling and subsistence allowances have been exhausted.

Legislation affecting Finance.

Section 10 of the Financial Relations Fourth Extension Act (No. 5 of 1922) stipulated that every Province should expend annually on the education of Natives a sum not less than its expenditure ^{such} on/education/during the financial year 1921-1922, or such a sum as bears to the total expenditure upon education in that Province the same proportion as was borne by the expenditure on the education of Natives to the total expenditure on education in that Province in the year 1921-1922; and that the Governor General might from time to time make grants to any Province for the extension and improvement of educational facilities amongst Natives and for the adjustment of salaries of Native teachers, such grants to be made out of revenue derived from the direct taxation of the Natives. £20,000 was thus set aside in 1924-1925 as a Union Government Grant towards Native Education. The Cape got £30,000, while the others got £10,000 each - but Natal's first £10,000 was advanced as a loan from the Union Treasury in 1923. This Act also outlined in 1922 some changes in the salary scales, but no date was fixed, though the matter was one of great urgency.

Towards the end of 1925 the financial strain was eased by one of these special subsidies from the Union Government, with the result that satisfaction and optimism became more general among those chiefly concerned with the education of the Natives. There is no doubt that despondency was bidding fair

to/

to weaken the efforts of those engaged in Native work, when this welcome relief happily arrived. The immediate results were (1) an increase in the number of Aided Schools, - many schools had been waiting for Government Aid for years; and (2) the assuming by the Department of responsibility for the full amount of all teachers' salaries. An unfortunate result of the paying of full salaries by the Department was the opening up of new fields of work by the Natives with the funds so released, when these should have been used for better equipment in the existing schools and the general consolidation of the position attained. The following figures for 1925 are of interest:- Amount voted by the Natal Provincial Council for Native Education: £49,000. Amount of Special Union Government Subsidy: £75,000.

The Native Taxation and Development Tax Act (No. 41 of 1925) provides the means for the granting of these Special Subsidies. The Magistrates collect the taxes and pay the money in to the Commissioner for Inland Revenue. Some hold the opinion that it is a mistake to levy a poll tax, such as this is, of six shillings on every young man, married or single; and that it would have been wiser to increase the hut tax. The money is distributed on instructions from the Minister for Native Affairs on the advice of the South African Native Affairs Commission.

Salaries.

The Superintendent in his Report for 1921 emphasised the fact that the salaries of Native Teachers were on so low a level/

level, that most of them could have done better as house-boys or on the mines, and he praised their wonderful patience.

The position of the European Teachers engaged in Native Work was almost as bad, and Mr. Duke urged that no further injustice should be done in this connection, for without their missionary enthusiasm and zeal the Native High Schools and Colleges could not "carry on", let alone develop; and the closing of the Colleges would mean the crippling of the whole system of Native Education.

In 1923 an extra subsidy of £10,000 was made available by the Union Government, in order that grants to Aided Schools might be made on a salary basis instead of on the old system of payment according to average attendance during any quarter. The immediate effects were (1) increases in the salaries of the teachers in the Aided Schools who were receiving much less than their colleagues in the Government Schools, and (2) a slight improvement in the school equipment and in the length of service given by teachers in the same school.

The recent special subsidies have made possible the payment of all grants on a salary basis instead of on average attendance. Needless to say, this has improved the position of many a teacher, European as well as Native.

Monthly payment of teachers (instead of quarterly payment) is now an accomplished fact. Regular increments and a pension scheme cannot come ^{unless several years have passed.} for a long time to come.

Buildings and Equipment.

In the Northern Districts there were one hundred and
forty-six/

forty-six schools in 1921, and of these Inspector Mr. Dumbrell wrote as follows:- "With twenty-three exceptions, every building used as a Native School in this district has been designed to fill the dual role of church-house and school, and in the majority of cases 'the dim religious light' prevails, the consequence being that the children's eyes suffer and the mental effect on the children is the opposite of brightening. The floors are mostly made of ant-heap; windows are frequently incapable of being moved, and the window-panes generally broken, which - except in the resultant damage to maps and charts and other school apparatus - is possibly a blessing in disguise. It is generally admitted that in a school-room the area devoted to window space (light) should be one-fifth of the area of the floor space, but in most cases, especially in the Zululand area, it is only one-tenth or even less in the Native Schools. It is pleasing to be able to state that ten new school buildings, designed upon hygienic lines, have been built or completed."

It can be taken for granted that the conditions were a little (but not much) better in the other districts; but only those who have been privileged to visit the Native Schools can picture how bad the buildings can be. There is absolutely no comparison between the average Native and the average European School.

The equipment was also frequently designed so that it might be used by the adults on Sundays as well as by the pupils on week-days, and more thought was taken of the comfort of the adults than of the possibility of the children becoming

round/

round-shouldered. But the position is improving, because the Natives themselves and the Grantees supply better equipment, as money becomes available and the dangers become better understood. Nevertheless there are very few first class school buildings for Natives, even to-day; and some of the smaller schools still lack a sufficiency of suitable tools for the Manual Work, especially Gardening.

An Attempt to fix Zulu Orthography.

An Inter-Departmental Board (appointed by the Superintendent of Education) discussed this "hardy annual" in 1926. The members of the Board were Mr.D.McK.Malcolm (Chief Inspector of Native Education, Natal), Dr.C.M.Doke (Senior Lecturer, Department of Bantu Studies, University of the Witwatersrand), and Mr.Carlé Faye (Representative of the Native Affairs Department, Union of South Africa). One of the guiding principles of the Board was a realisation of the fact that the destiny of Zulu orthography (and, to a certain extent, of the Zulu language itself) is to a large extent in the hands of the Natal Education Department. The details of the report cannot be entered into here. Suffice it is to say that it is an excellent piece of work! It is to be hoped that it will be adopted by the Superintendent of Education, and bear much fruit in the immediate and the distant future.

A general Fact to be noted.

Native Education has for the most part been under the control/

control of the Missionary Societies. In consequence of this arrangement, the supervision of the education of the Natives has been made distinct from the administration of all other Native matters,- a circumstance which has inevitably resulted in the almost complete divorce of Native Education from the general Native policy of the Union Government.

Suggestions not yet carried out are:-

- (1) the introduction of a pension scheme;
- (2) the payment of increments;
- (3) the partial training of doctors;
- (4) and the appointment of itinerant Native nurses under the Chief Medical Inspector of Schools.

The possibilities of each of these schemes have been well investigated, and it is more than likely that good will result from them - though not in the immediate future, for the time does not seem to be ripe, and funds are still insufficient for other lines of development.

The Present School System.

	<u>TRAINING COLLEGES.</u>	<u>HIGH SCHOOLS.</u>
	Higher Primary Certificate. (This course is to commence in 1928.)	
<u>HIGH SCHOOLS.</u>		Courses for Industrial Teachers' Certificates after preparatory training in the Training Colleges.
Third Year Course	First Grade Certificate	
Second Year Course	Second Grade Certificate	
First Year Course	Third Grade Certificate	

Intermediate Schools:
Standards 5 and 6.

Primary Schools:
Class A to Standard 4.

Sub-Primary Schools:
Class A to Standard 2.

CHAPTER IX.MOVEMENTS TOWARDS UNION CONTROL.

The Idea of Union Control.¹

The Under-Secretary for Education submitted in 1915 that Parliament should consider the advisability of assuming control of Native Education on the following grounds:- (1) that, as four independent administrations were at the time responsible for Native Education, there was no unity of policy; (2) that the Education Departments concerned were responsible to the Provincial Councils, while the various branches of the Native Affairs Department were directly responsible to a Minister and therefore to Parliament; (3) that, if the education of the Natives came under the control of the Union Department of Education, Native Education and other Native Affairs would be under the same ultimate control, with the result that a consistent policy could be adopted for the whole of the Union, and many grievances and anomalies be removed. The Under-Secretary held the desirability of such a co-ordination to be self-evident.

Some Natives were not satisfied with the types of education possible, and they were therefore compelled to find facilities independent of the existing Provincial systems. In some cases this meant study overseas, most frequently in colleges which provided instruction fatal to those who had left South Africa to receive it, as well as useless to the land of their birth. A satisfactory general policy in regard/

1. This chapter is intended merely as an indication of possible future developments. To give a full account of the implications of Union Control would be to leave the realms of history and enter those of policy.

These remarks are made as a result of considering in addition to other documents the Reports by the Under-Secretary for Education for 1910, 1912, 1913, 1917, 1918 (two volumes), and 1919 (two volumes).

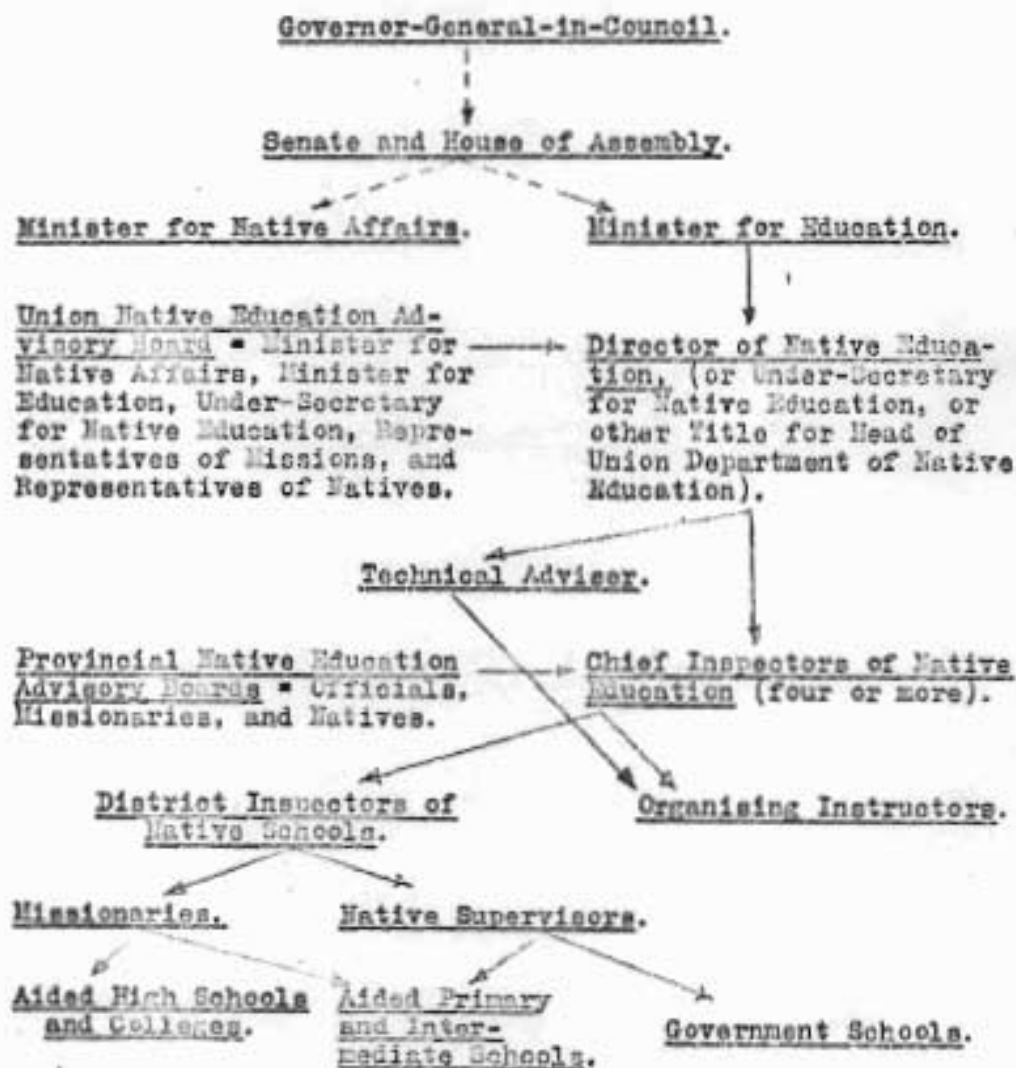
gard to Native Education would undoubtedly hasten the dropping of this undesirable practice on the part of a few Natives guided by unhappy motives. Mr. Hofmeyr pointed out that the whole question became more urgent, when it was remembered that the Europeans had assumed the role of guardians of the best interests of the Natives of South Africa.

It is interesting to note that the South African Teachers' Association had suggested as early as June 1913 the appointment of a Commission on Native Education - to consider the moral, intellectual, and industrial education of the Native peoples of the whole of the Union; and to construct a system of education and educational organisation to meet the existing moral position and economic aspirations of the Natives.

The South African Native Affairs Commission, which was appointed late in 1920, strongly recommended in its first Annual Report (for 1921) that Native Education should be controlled and administered by the Union Government, in view of the existing Provincial anomalies and the inadequate financial provision made under the system then in force.

Several Inter-Provincial Conferences of officials representing the various Education Departments have been held at Cape Town, in order to ensure the gradual removal of anomalies in the Provincial systems, and with an ultimate view to later control by a department of the Union Government.

A possible System of Union Control
of Native Education.



APPENDICES.

- Appendix I : Expenditure on Native Education.
- Appendix II : Attendance.
- Appendix III : Attendance in recent Years.
- Appendix IV : Private Schools.
- Appendix V : Recent Increases in the Number of Schools.
- Appendix VI : Teachers Employed.
- Appendix VII : The Training of Teachers in recent Years.
- Appendix VIII : Distribution of Pupils in the various Classes according to Average Attendance (or according to Presence at School in November of each Year?).
- Appendix IX : Native Contributions in Cash.
- Appendix X : Sir Theophilus Shepstone.
- Appendix XI : The Natal Native Trust.
- Appendix XII : Individual Tenure of Land by Natives.
- Appendix XIII : The South African Native Affairs Commission of to-day.
- Appendix XIV : Native Conferences.
- Appendix XV : Superintendents of Education and Inspectors of Native Education.
- Appendix XVI : Bibliography.

Appendix I.

Expenditure on Native Education.

<u>Years.</u>	<u>Pounds Sterling.</u>	<u>Cost per Pupil.</u>		
		<u>£.</u>	<u>s.</u>	<u>d.</u>
1891	3,998 ¹	1:	8:	10
1892	3,489	1:	3:	8
1893	3,396	1:	4:	3
1894	4,440	1:	2:	8
1895	4,826	16:	0 ²	
1896	4,958	17:	11	
1897	4,853	15:	11	
1898	5,569	14:	6	
1899	5,659	14:	1	
1900	5,570	14:	0	
1901	6,353	15:	0	
1902	6,509	15:	9	
1903	2,797 (six months)			
1904	6,180	17:	8 ³	
1905	6,238	15:	11	
1906	7,043	18:	0	
1907	7,327	17:	9	
1908	7,600	16:	6	
1909	8,926	17:	9	

1910/

1. In 1885: £3,866. In 1886: £3,618. In 1887: £3,700.

2. Drop partly due to the abolition of the expensive Council of Education and Native Education Committee, but more to a sudden improvement in the average attendance. Possibly the basis of calculation was altered.

3. £1:1s.8d., including the Cost of Inspection.

<u>Years.</u>	<u>Grants in</u>	
	<u>Pounds Sterling.</u>	<u>Cost per Pupil.</u>
		<u>£. s. d.</u>
1910	10,341	18: 8
1911	11,779	17: 9
1912	14,775	18: 7 ¹
1913	17,304	19: 6
1914	21,889	
1915	21,587	1: 2: 5
1916	22,214	1: 1: 11
1917	24,329	1: 3: 1
1918	26,004	
1919	30,742	
1920	36,195	
1921	39,986	1: 1: 10 ²
1922	44,163	
1923	51,657	
1924	54,312	
1925	64,021	

1. Per Indian child: £2:2s.7d. Per Coloured child: £4:6s.0d. Per European child: £6:12s.7d.

2. Per Indian child: £2:9s.6d. Per Coloured child: £9:9s.5d. Per European Child: £15:19s.0d.

Appendix II.

Attendance.

In 1864: 28 schools: average roll = 1,190; Grants = £1,738.
 In 1865: 34 " ; " " = 1,700; " = £1,909.
 In 1877: 42 " ; " " = 2,390; average attendance = 63%.

<u>Years.</u>	<u>Gross Enrolment.</u>	<u>Average Enrolment.</u>	<u>Average Attendance.</u>	<u>Average Attendance per centum.</u>	<u>Aided Schools at end of each year.</u>	<u>Schools receiving Aid at any time during each year.</u>
---------------	-------------------------	---------------------------	----------------------------	---------------------------------------	---	--

1885	3,817	2,294	53 ¹	70 ¹		
------	-------	-------	-----------------	-----------------	--	--

1. Drop caused by Industrial Training Regulations.

1886/

Years.	Gross Enrolment.	Average Enrolment.	Average Attendance.	Average Attendance per centum.	Aided Schools at end of each year.	Schools receiving Aid at any time during each year.
1885	3,817		2,294		53	70
1886	2,889		1,891		54	
1887	2,943		1,936	67%	54	
1888	3,1 ⁰¹ 86		2,005		57	
1889	3,307		2,491		63	
1890	Figures included in 1891 Report.					
1891	4,026		2,777		76	
1892	3,896		2,945		73	
1893	3,829		2,802		60	73
1894	5,064		3,913		91	93
1895	6,790		6,056		130 ¹	133
1896	7,049		5,789		132	145
1897	8,542		6,452	75%	157	159
1898	10,248		7,615		182	184
1899	10,723		8,042			188
1900	10,618		7,940			186
1901	11,071		8,491			196
1902	11,032		8,232		191 ²	207 ³
1903	10,154	9,120	6,629		156	210
1904	9,256		6,995		139	158
1905	10,150		7,985	78%	158	165
1906	11,071		7,851		155	165
1907	12,246		8,256	67%	162	170
1908	14,056		9,234	66%	166	168
1909	15,335	12,484	10,048	80%	166	178

1910/

1. Many old schools received their Grants again.
2. Drop due to Regulations concerning Teachers' Certificates.

Years.	Gross Enrolment.	Average Enrolment.	Average Attendance.	Average Attendance per centum.	Aided Schools at end of each year.	Schools receiving Aid at any time during each year.
1910	17,016	13,452	11,078	82%		175
1911	19,768	15,286	13,283	87%		200
1912 ¹	22,462	17,852	15,796	88%		231
1913		20,098		88%		267
1914	27,080	21,595	19,218	89%		296
1915	25,905	21,700	19,246			302
1916		22,692		89%		315
1917		25,797	21,081	89½%		331
1918	27,205	25,016 ²	19,617	85%		342
1919	28,055	22,400 ²	19,732	88%		409
1920	32,616	25,579 ²	22,275	86%		437
1921	36,602	28,596	24,279	84%		507
1922		28,420	24,246	85%		501
1923		28,654	24,414	85%		499
1924		29,728	24,868	83%		493
1925		30,722	26,180	85%		492

1. 180,000 out of school.

2. Some returns missing.

Appendix III.

Attendance in Recent Years.

Government Schools.

Years.	Schools.	Gross Enrolment.	Average Enrolment.	Average Attendance.
1918	None	No Government Schools in 1918.		
1919	9	592	411	384
1920	50	3,432	2,652	2,251
1921	56	4,937	3,873	3,192
1922	63	5,190	4,023	3,285
1923	63	4,924	3,754	3,027
1924	64	5,736	4,440	3,566
1925	66	6,180	4,758	4,011

Aided Schools.

Years.	Schools. ¹	Gross Enrolment.	Average Enrolment.	Average Attendance.
1918	342	27,205	23,016 ?	19,617
1919	400 (377?)	27,463	23,875 ?	19,348
1920	436 (418?)	29,827	23,111 ?	22,927
1921	451	31,665		21,067
1922	478 (438?)	31,088		20,961
1923	436	32,165		21,387
1924	429	32,506		21,302
1925	426	33,067		22,169

1. These numbers often included schools which lost their grants in the various years, though their names still appeared on the published lists - at any rate, until 1923.

All Schools.

Years.	Schools.	Gross Enrolment.	Average Enrolment.	Average Attendance.	Average Attendance per centum.
1918	342	27,205	23,016 ?	19,617	88
1919	409	28,055 ?	22,400	19,732	88
1920	487	32,616 ¹	25,579	22,275	86
1921	507	36,602 ¹	28,596	24,279	84
1922	501	36,278 ?	28,420	24,246	85
1923	499	37,089 ?	28,654	24,414	85
1924	493	38,242 ?	29,728 ²	24,868	83
1925	492	39,247 ?	30,722 ²	26,180	85

1. Estimate = 200,000 Natives of school age.

2. 15% of the children of school age.

NOTE!

It is often suggested that progress in Native Education is not keeping pace with the growth of the Native population. Figures quoted in proof must be wrong, for the school population has doubled in a very short period of time.

Appendix IV.Private Schools.

Years.	Schools.	Enrolment.
1910	181	3,750
1911	About 200	
1912	About 200	5,000 to 6,000
1913	Many	About 7,000
1914	Many	About 8,000
1915	About 100	About 9,000
1916		
1917	307 ¹	7,500

1. Very few conducted by Missionaries. Most run by the Natives themselves. All of them very poor as regards quality of work done.

Appendix V.Recent Increases in the Number of Schools.

Years.	High Schools. ¹	Intermediate Schools: ² Aided. Govern- ment.	Primary Schools: ³ Aided. Govern- ment.	Aided Sub- Primary Schools.	Totals. ⁴		
1918	5 ?	25	None	306	None	None	342
1919	4	26 ⁵	9 ⁵	304 ⁶	None	13	409
1920	6	32 ⁵	7 ⁵	381 ⁶	43 ⁶	42	487
1921	7	31	7	408	49	?	507
1922	7	38	11	388	52	?	501
1923	7	37	11	387	52	?	499
1924	5	42	11	377	53	?	493
1925	5	43	12	373	54	?	492

1. Enrolment: 91 in 1919; and 245 in 1920.
2. Enrolment: 1,025 in 1919; and 1,385 in 1920.
3. Enrolment: 359 in 1919; and 1,263 in 1920.
4. These figures include the Training Colleges. The figures are also misleading, for a school might appear on the published list, though it may have lost its grant in the middle of a year.
5. According to one source of information, 26 and 9.
6. According to one source of information, 340 or 343 and 1.

Appendix VI.Teachers employed.

Years.	Europeans.	Natives.	Totals.
1889			
1890	36	63	101
1891			
1892			
1893			
1894			
1895			
1896	73	170	243
1897	82	195	277
1898	79	246	325
1899	69	245	314

Years.	Europeans.	Natives.	Totals.
1900	72	256	328
1901	78	278	356
1902	88	258	346
1903	81	209	290
1904	87	226	313
1905	91	244	335
1906			
1907	83	242	325-(25 pupils per/
1908	72	277	349-(169 Female
1909	88	291	379 Native Teach-
1910	89	303	392 ers)
1911			
1912	80	440	520
1913			558 ¹ -(181 Uncertifi-
1914			--- cated Teach-
1915	89	516	605 ers)

1.	Men.	Women.
Certificated	163	214
Uncertificated	15	166

Appendix VII.

The Training of Teachers in recent Years.

Training Years.	1st Year:		2nd Year:		3rd Year:		Grand Totals.	Total		
	Colleges.	Men.	Women.	Men.	Women.	Men.		Women.	No. of Men.	No. of Women.
1910										
1911							66			
1912										
1913	3									
1914		- 146	- -	- 36	- -		182			
1915							182			
1916							177			
1917		85	100	50	26		285	135	126	
1918	6	95	118	52	36		301	147	154	
1919	6	93	131	67	62	6	2	361	166	195
1920	5	81	117	69	66	19	6	358	169	189
1921	5	104	116	64	60	18	11	373	186	187
1922	5	95	136	63	51	26	14	385	184	201
1923	5	110	131	56	59	20	11	387	186	201
1924	5	80	93	71	55	34	20	353	185	168
1925	5	80	90	56	67	41	18	352	177	175

NOTE:

1. Certification of Teachers began in 1887.
2. The sudden drop in 1924 was due to the regulation concerning a 50% pass in the entrance examination.

Appendix VIII.

Distribution of Pupils in the various Classes according to Average Attendance (or according to Presence at School in November of each Year?).

Years.	Infants.	Standards 1 to 4.	Over Standard 4.
1914			419
1915			776
1916	12,716	9,288	993
1917	11,436	9,434	1,080
1918	12,497	9,421	1,049
1919	13,918	9,957	1,689
1920	14,024	7,349	1,738
1921	14,600	7,763	1,906
1922	14,473	8,154	1,757
1923	15,514	7,927	1,882
1924	15,308	7,891	1,817
1925	16,380	8,089	1,961

Classes.	1910	1911	1912	1913	1914	1915	1916
Zulu Classes.	48%	51.6%	61.6%		45%		38%
Standard 1 and 2nd Year Infants.	29%		13%		35%		34%
Standards 2 and 3.	16%		8.8% 5.9%		9% 6%		17%
Standard 4.	4% ¹		5.7%		5%		6%
Standards 5 and 6.	3% ¹		3.3%		0.5% 0.2%		5%

1. These figures, though low, were an improvement on previous years, we are told.

Appendix IX.Native Contributions in Cash.

1887	£489
1897	£711
1907	£2,248
1910	£3,293
1911	£3,508
1912	£5,308
1913	£4,729
1914	£6,139

Appendix XSir Theophilus Shepstone.

January 1835: Appointed head-quarter interpreter of the Kafir language at the Cape.

Served on the staff of Sir Benjamin D'Urban (Governor and Commander-in-Chief) during the Kafir War of 1835.

1836: Appointed Clerk to the Agent-General for Native tribes on the frontiers of the Cape Colony.

1838: Sent to accompany the first military expedition from the Cape to Natal.

Created justice of the peace as far as 25 degrees South Latitude (under Acts 6 and 7 of William IV).

1839: Returned to the Cape Colony.

Appointed Resident Diplomatic Agent to the Hlambe tribes, and Superintendent of Fingoes at Fort Peddie, on the frontiers of the Cape Colony.

1845: Appointed "Diplomatic Agent" to and over the tribes inhabiting the Colony of Natal on the formation of the civil establishment of that colony, the designation of which office was altered in 1853 to "Government Agent for Native Affairs".

1848: Appointed Captain-in-Chief of the Native Force in Natal.

Captain of the Native Police Corps, Natal, from its creation in 1848, to 1851 (1854) when it was disbanded.

1849: Appointed to control, revise, and direct the administration of justice among the Natives in Natal, according to Native Law.

Proposed and personally carried out a scheme for the taxation of the Native population - about £10,000 the first year, and about £16,000 in 1874.

By Ordinance 1 of 1855: appointed Judicial Assessor, Natal.

Engaged on various special missions and services in the Colony of Natal.

1856: Appointed Secretary for Native Affairs.

1857: Became ex-officio member of the Executive Council and the Legislative Council, by the Charter of 1856.

1859: C.M.G.

1876: K.C.M.G.

Knighted probably late in 1874 or early in 1875, or even in 1876.

1873: Proceeded on special mission to crown the King of Zululand.

August 1874: Repaired to England to confer with the Secretary of State on the Native policy of the Natal Government.

Returned to Natal in December, 1874.

Selected by the Secretary of State to attend the conference of delegates from South Africa held in Downing Street in 1876.

Appointed Her Majesty's Special Commissioner for certain purposes in South Africa.

1877: Annexed the Transvaal to Her Majesty's dominions, and assumed the administration of the government thereof on the 12th of April.

Retired in 1879.

January 1883: Superintended the installation of Cetwayo, the Dulu King, on his return to Zululand.

NOTE:

J.F. Shepstone was Acting Secretary for Native Affairs from 1877 to 1884.

H.C. Shepstone (son of Sir Theophilus Shepstone) became S.N.A. in Natal in 1884, and retired in 1893, when Natal got Responsible Government and a Minister for Native Affairs was appointed.

Appendix XI.

The Natal Native Trust.

This body was constituted under Letters Patent dated 27th April, 1864; and it administers 3,862,000 acres of Location Lands and 144,192 acres of Mission Reserve Lands for the benefit of the Natives living thereon.

No rent is payable by Natives living on Location Lands, who are liable only for the usual Hut Tax of 14s. per hut per annum; but Mission Reserve Natives, in addition to the Hut Tax referred to, pay a rental of £1 per annum, of which half is remitted to the missionary bodies for educational purposes, the remaining half being held in trust for the Natives.

Act 49 of 1903 transferred the trusteeship of the Reserves to The N.N.T.; before that time the missionaries in charge did almost as they pleased - e.g., the Americans at Table Mountain, according to the Native Mission Reserves' Commission of 1895.

Prior to Union, the members of the Executive Council of Natal for the time being were ex officio members of the N.E.T.; but Act 1 of 1912 makes provision for the delegation by the Governor General to the Minister for Native Affairs of the administration of all such matters as were on 31st May 1910 and after that date administered by any legally constituted Native Trusts.

Both Locations and Mission Reserves are held under deeds of grant from Government, the latter being tracts of land in various parts of the Colony, set apart in order that the missionaries might have a fixed population among which to labour.

These grants were made between 1862 and 1887. (Some seem to have been made by Scott before 1862.)

Up to 1890 no rents were collected in the Mission Reserves except for a few store sites; but in most of the Reserves the Natives had to pay considerable sums of money for wagon-loads of fire-wood. One Reserve was practically a wilderness as a result within a short period of years, - Table Mountain.

A rule was passed in 1883 requiring payment of rent from new tenants as a condition of allowing them to enter the Reserves, but no rents were collected before 1890. The amount of rent varied from time to time and in different Reserves; it was fixed in 1919 at £1 per annum, payable by the occupier of each hut.

See Appendix XII for N.E.T. activity in connection with individual tenure of land by Natives.

Other activities of the N.E.T. are the Mooli River Irrigation Works, the Tugela River Irrigation Works, and the Zwart Kop Afforestation Scheme.

The N.E.T. in 1887:- Chief Justice. the
Officer Commanding/Troops.
Colonial Secretary.
Colonial Treasurer.
Attorney General.
S.M.A.
Colonial Engineer.
Mr. Greenacre, M.L.C.
Mr. T.J. Nel, M.L.C.

Appendix XII.

Individual Tenure of Land by Natives.¹

The first steps in this direction were taken before 1860 in the time of Lieutenant Governor Scott.

During 1918 a definite step was taken towards introducing individual/

1. This question has already been dealt with in Chapter 4.

individual tenure of land into the Native areas in Natal.

A beginning was made in the Mission Reserves, and the preliminary survey of the Ifafa Reserve is complete, while others are proceeding. The conditions under which residents will be attached to these surveyed holdings are somewhat as follows.

With a view to introducing some form of individual land tenure on the Mission Reserves in Natal, approval was given to a preliminary survey and investigation of the Ifafa and Amanzimtoti Reserves. The Ifafa Reserve is 6,209 acres in extent; and Amanzimtoti is 8,077.

- (a) For monogamous residents, lots were surveyed to the extent of 13 acres.
- (b) The title of occupation would be issued in respect of each lot.
- (c) A minimum rental of £1 per annum per lot was to replace the usual Hut Rent rental.
- (d) The cost of the survey was borne by the Mission Reserve Funds.
- (e) Steps were taken as soon as legally possible to form Advisory Boards.

The Impanala Lots - Certificates in respect of these lots were issued in 1913, authorising occupation on payment of a rental of 2s. per annum per acre, and 10s. per annum towards the estimated cost of survey, until the total cost of survey had been paid in full. Seven out of eighty-five lots were still vacant quite recently. The extent of the plots varies from 9 to 35 acres, with a total area of 2,638 acres. There are 13 commonages evenly distributed over the whole settlement varying in extent from 11 to 150 acres, with a total of 684 acres, leaving for actual occupation 1,944 acres, on which are resident the Christian Natives or their descendants who migrated there in 1866, mostly from the Natal American mission stations.

Appendix XIII.

The South African Native Affairs Commission of to-day.

This Commission has had a big influence on Natal. It was created under the Native Affairs Act (23 of 1920), and is an Advisory Body consisting of three members, though there can be five members. It is appointed by the Governor General, and is presided over by the Minister for Native Affairs. Members may be M.L.As. or Senators.

Its duties are the consideration of any matter relating to the general conduct of the administration of Native Affairs and to legislation in so far as it may affect Natives, except matters of departmental administration. Its recommendations must always be submitted to the Minister for Native Affairs. Its functions are merely advisory, but its views always come before the Cabinet and Parliament, even if the recommendations are not adopted. Regulations concerning its method of carrying out its duties were published in Government Notice 2,004 of 1920.

The following were appointed in 1920:-

Senator the Honourable A.W.Roberts, D.Sc., F.R.S.E.,
F.R.A.S.;
Brigadier-General L.A.S.Lemmer, M.L.A; and
C.T.Loram, M.A., LL.B., M.D.

Activities began in April of 1921.

The first principles of their policy are:-

- (a) The Commission is primarily and essentially the friend of the Native peoples, and should consider sympathetically Native aspirations and progress;
- (b) The Commission is an Adviser to the Government in matters affecting the interests of the Natives;
- (c) The Commission should win the confidence of the Natives;
- (d) The Commission should educate public opinion so as to bring about the most harmonious relations possible between Black and White.

The Commissioners have travelled widely for a closer study of problems, and for contact (personally) with Native views; they have dealt with specific matters of Native administration; and they have investigated special matters of Native interest referred to them by the Government and general questions of policy such as:- Native taxation and Education; pass laws; control of Natives in town; land administration; extension of the system of Local Native Councils contemplated by the Act under which they were appointed. One of their chief duties to-day is to give advice on the allocation of the moneys raised by the Native Taxation and Development Act.

Appendix XIV.

Native Conferences.

The Chairman is usually the Secretary for Native Affairs.

In September 1922, Bloemfontein was the meeting-place. The proposed Native (Urban Areas) Bill was discussed.

In September 1923 the delegates met at Pretoria and

discussed/

discussed two things:- The Native Registration and Protection Bill, and a Native Marriage Bill.

In September 1924 Pretoria was once again the meeting-place. The introduction of a uniform system of Native Taxation was discussed.

Later Conferences have dealt with General Hertzog's Native Bills.

Appendix XV.

(1) Superintendents of Education.

- | | | |
|---------------------------|---|---|
| Dr. Robert James Mann | - | was appointed at the end of June 1859; left Natal in April 1866; resigned in June 1870. |
| Mr. T. Warwick Brooks | - | acted after Dr. Mann left Natal; was finally appointed early in 1873; died in April 1876. |
| Mr. Robert Russell | - | was appointed Associate Inspector in 1875; became Acting Superintendent in April 1876; was finally appointed in January 1878; resigned early in 1902. |
| Mr. P. A. Barnett | - | became Acting Superintendent of Education in October 1902; left Natal in October 1904 after serving his contract. |
| Mr. C. J. Mudie | - | became Superintendent of Education when Mr. Barnett left; resigned early in 1917. |
| Mr. E. R. Duke | - | became Acting Superintendent of Education in April 1917; was finally appointed in October 1917; retired in January 1923. |
| Mr. H. Bryan ¹ | - | became Superintendent of Education early in 1923. |

1. Dr. C. F. Loram acted for six months in 1923. Mr. F. Hugo has acted on several occasions since Mr. Bryan's appointment.

(2) Inspectors/

Mr. Bryan retired on 21/12/30, and Dr. C. F. Loram became Superintendent of Education on 1/1/31. On 1/7/31 Mr. F. D. Hugo became Superintendent, as Dr. Loram left at the end of July to take up his new post as Professor of Education at Yale.

(2) Inspectors of Native Education.

- Mr. Fred B. Fynney - April 1885 to June 1888 - Inspector of Native Education.
- Mr. Robert Plant - October 1888 to January 1910 - Inspector of Native Education; later Senior Inspector of Native Schools.
- Mr. W. F. Gebers - January 1910 to May 1918 - Senior Inspector of Native Schools.
- Dr. C. T. Loram - May 1918 to December 1920 - Chief Inspector of Native Education.
- Mr. D. McK. Malcolm - Acting Chief Inspector of Native Education until early in 1924, when final appointment was made.

Appendix XVI.Bibliography.

Books and Documents consulted
(mostly in The Natal Education Office and
in The Natal Archives).

(1) For Period 1: 1835 to 1842:-

The Reverend F. Owen's Diary. (The van Riebeck Society.)

"Miscellaneous Papers" in the Natal Archives.

"Bird Collection" of Miscellaneous Papers in the Natal Archives.

Russell's "Natal: The Land and its Story".
(P. Davis and Sons, 1911.)

(2) For Period 2: 1842 to 1857:-

Imperial Blue Books - 1843 to 1857.

Natal Ordinances - 1845 to 1856.

Natal Government Notices and Proclamations - 1848 to 1856.

Government House - Despatches Sent - 1849 to 1857.

Natal Blue Books, Statistical - 1850, 1852, 1854 to 1856. (1851 and 1853 missing.)

Colonial Office - Natal Papers - 1845.

Colonial Office - Cape Despatches - 1845 to 1849.

Colonial Office - Letters Despatched - 1846 to 1853.

Colonial Office - Missionaries - 1846 to 1852.

Colonial Office - Churches and Schools - 1849 to 1852.

Imperial Blue Book - Native Affairs Commission Report: 1852 - 1853.

Natal Blue Book on Natives - 1858.

The Natal Witness - 1850.

Russell's "Natal: The Land and its Story."

(3) For Period 3: 1857 to 1894:-

Government House - Despatches Sent - 1857 to 1879.

Government House - Confidential Despatches Sent - 1857 to 1880. (Later Despatches are not available to the public. The Secret Despatch Books are not available at all.)

Natal Laws - 1857 to 1884.

Natal Government Notices and Proclamations - 1857 to 1867.

Parliament - Votes and Proceedings - 1857 to 1880.

Natal Blue Books, Statistical - 1857 to 1859, 1861 to 1883. (1860 missing.)

Imperial Blue Books - 1857 to 1875.

Parliament - Select Documents Presented - 1857 to 1874.

Sessional Papers - 1876 to 1884.

Legislative Council Debates - 1879, 1880, 1883.

Colonial Office - Letters Received - 1856.

Miscellaneous Papers - 1857, 1858.

Secretary for Native Affairs - Papers re Umvoti Sugar Mill - 1862 to 1878 (two volumes).

Colonial Office - Separate Letters - 1858.
 Colonial Office - Letters Despatched - 1859, 1860.
 Secretary for Native Affairs - Reports etc. to 1879.
 Education Reports - 1860 to 1884.
 1873 Education Commission Report - Parts dealing with
 Native Education.
 Report of Select Committee on the Supply of Labour: 1873.
 Natal Gazettes - 1879.
 Report of the Natal Native Commission: 1881 - 1882.
 Russell's "Natal: The Land and its History."

(4) For Period 4: 1884 to 1894:-

Natal Laws - 1884 to 1893.
 Sessional Papers - 1885 to 1896.
 Natal Blue Books, Statistical - 1884 to 1894.
 Natal Blue Books, Departmental Reports - 1884 to 1894.
 Educational Reports - 1884 to 1893.
 Council of Education - Minutes - 1878 to 1894.
 Inspector of Native Education - Reports on Zwaart Kop
 Industrial School.
 Inspector of Native Education - one Letter Book. (The
 only one preserved.)
 Report of the Special Native Committee of the Council of
 Education: 1892.
 Natal Native Commission Report: 1881 - 1882.
 Natal Mission Reserves Commission: 1885.
 Education Commission Report, with Appendices: 1891.
 Report of Commission on Miscellaneous Native Affairs:
 1892.
 Natal Native Trust Papers - 1892.
 Natal Gazettes - 1885, 1889.
 The Natal Record - a Roman Catholic Weekly - 1889.
 The Natal Mercury - 1889.
 Russell's "Natal: The Land and its Story."

(6)

(5) For Period 5: 1894 to 1910:-

Natal Acts - 1894 to 1910.

Education Reports - 1894 to 1910.

Natal Blue Books, Departmental Reports - 1895.

South African Native Affairs Commission Report:
1903 - 1905.

Technical Education Reports, with Appendices: 1905.

Technical Education - Report by Professor Hele Shaw.

Native Affairs Commission Report: 1906 - 1907.

Education Commission Report: 1909.

Natal Native Education Advisory Board - Minutes -
1903 to 1910.

Russell's "Natal: The Land and its Story."

(6) For Period 6: 1910 to 1918:-

Natal Ordinances - 1910 to 1918.

Education Reports - 1910 to 1918.

Natal Native Education Advisory Board - Minutes -
1910 to 1918.

Old Teachers' Examination Question Papers.

(7) For Period 7: 1918 to 1920:-

Natal Ordinances - 1918 to 1920.

Education Reports - 1918 to 1920.

Native Teachers' Journal - Volumes 1 and 2.

New Syllabuses for Native Schools (in pamphlet
form).

Old Teachers' Examination Question Papers.

Natal Native Education Advisory Board - Minutes -
1918 to 1920.

Dr. C. T. Loram: "The Education of the South African
Native." (Longmans.)

(8) For Period 8: 1920 to 1927:-

Natal Ordinances - 1920 to 1927.

Education Reports - 1920 to 1925. (1926 Report not
yet in print.)

- Native Teachers' Journal - Volumes 2 to 7.
 New syllabuses for Native Schools (in pamphlet form).
 Old teachers' Examination Question Papers.
 Natal Native Education Advisory Board - Minutes -
 1920 to 1927.
 Ed. R. T. J. Jones: "Education in Africa." (Phelps
 Stokes Fund.)

(9) For General Information:-

- Dr. A. T. Loram: "The Education of the South African
 Native." (Longmans.)
 Ed. R. T. J. Jones: "Education in Africa." (Phelps
 Stokes Fund.)
 Ed. R. T. J. Jones: "Education in East Africa."
 (Phelps Stokes Fund.)
 Reverend H. J. Batts: "History of the Baptists in
 South Africa." (Maskew Miller.)
 Dr. Edgar H. Brooks: "History of Native Policy in
 South Africa." (Masionale Pers.)
 Pister Nielsen: "The Black Man's Place in South
 Africa." (Juta.)
 J. F. Gibson: "The Story of the Zulus." (Davis &
 Sons.)
 J. Y. Gibson: "The Evolution of South African Native
 Policy." (Davis & Sons.)
 Maurice Evans: "Black and White in South East
 Africa." (Longmans.)
 Native Teachers' Journal: Volumes 1 to 7.
 E. B. Sargent (Education Adviser to The High Commission-
 er for South Africa) - "Report on Native Educa-
 tion in South Africa: Part III: The Pro-
 tectorates." (The Union Archives and The
 London Record Office were unable to furnish
 the writer with a copy of the Part dealing with
 Natal.)
 Board of Education (England) - Special Reports on
 Educational Subjects - Volumes 12 to 14 -
 Cd. 2377 to 2379.
 South African Native Affairs Commission - Reports.
 (First Report was issued for 1921.)

Under/

Under Secretary for Education - Reports - 1910,
1912, 1913, 1917, 1918 (2 volumes), 1919 (two
volumes).

Official Year Books of The Union of South Africa.

Colonial Office Lists - Imperial Annual Publications
- for whole period. (Many numbers missing.)
