

STELLA AURORAE

The background of the cover features a photograph of a large, classical-style university building with a prominent dome and a tall clock tower. Overlaid on this photograph is a red, hand-drawn sketch of the same building, creating a layered effect. The sketch is more detailed, showing architectural features like windows, columns, and the texture of the building's facade.

THE HISTORY OF A SOUTH AFRICAN UNIVERSITY

Volume 1
Natal University College
(1909–1949)

Bill Guest

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Stella Aurorae: The history of a South African university
Volume 1: Natal University College (1909–1949)
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Dedicated to the memory of my parents
William James Guest 1897–1941 B.Econ (SA)
for his sacrifice

and
Marguerite Ellalaine Guest (née Dawe) 1908–1980 BA LLB (UCT)
for her encouragement and example

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ABBREVIATIONS

ACIS	Associate of the Chartered Institute of Secretaries
APC	Alan Paton Centre (UKZN, PMB Campus)
ARCA	Associate of the Royal College of Art
BA	Bachelor of Arts
BA (Hons)	Bachelor of Arts (Honours)
B.Sc.	Bachelor of Science
B.Sc. (Agric)	Bachelor of Science (Agriculture)
B.Sc. (Hons)	Bachelor of Science (Honours)
CSIR	Council for Scientific and Industrial Research
CUP	Cambridge University Press
DAR	Durban Archive Repository
DBN	Durban
DHS	Durban High School
D.Phil.	Doctor of Philosophy
Dr	Doctor
D.Sc.	Doctor of Science
ed.(s)	editor(s)
Fr	Father
HSRC	Human Sciences Research Council
KCML	Killie Campbell Museum Library
KZN	KwaZulu-Natal
LLA	Lady Literate in Arts (St Andrews)
LLB	Bachelor of Laws
MA	Master of Arts
MBA	Master of Business Administration
MBE	Member of the Order of the British Empire
M.Comm.	Master of Commerce
MP	Malherbe Papers (in KCML and UKZNA)
M.Sc.	Master of Science
n.d.	no date
no.	number
NU	Natal University
NUC	Natal University College
NUDF	Natal University Development Foundation
NUSAS	National Union of South African Students
PAR	Pietermaritzburg Archives Repository
Ph.D.	Doctor of Philosophy
PMB	Pietermaritzburg
Rev.	Reverend
SABC	South African Broadcasting Corporation
SALA	South African Library Association
SCA	Students Christian Association

SRC	Students Representative Council
UCT	University of Cape Town
UG	Union Government
UKZN	University of KwaZulu-Natal
UKZNA	University of KwaZulu-Natal Archives (PMB campus)
UN	University of Natal
UNESCO	United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation
UNISA	University of South Africa
UNP	University of Natal, Pietermaritzburg
vol.	volume
Wits	University of the Witwatersrand
YMCA	Young Mens Christian Association
YWCA	Young Womens Christian Association

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FOREWORD

I am honoured, in my extreme old age, to be asked to write a brief foreword to this history of the Natal University College.

My own association with the college began in 1945, when I assumed the post of Professor of English and head of that department. It was a time of urgent challenges, from the sudden increase of student numbers caused by returning war veterans, from the growing needs of African and Indian students in Durban, and from limited funding and staffing. Along with other members of the department I found myself working very long hours both during the week, and at weekends, in both Pietermaritzburg and Durban. There was a spirit of hope and enthusiasm; the very scale of the challenge engaged our energies, under the inspiring leadership of E.G. Malherbe, whose appointment as Vice-Chancellor coincided with my own as professor.

Prejudices and racial divisions were still embedded in the academic structure, a constant threat to the free play of intellect; but among those of us who worked in the college at that time there was a heartening spirit of goodwill and a strong hope for the future. I am proud to have been a part of that endeavour.

Geoffrey Durrant

Richmond, British Columbia, July 2013

[Professor Durrant celebrated his 100th birthday on 27 July 2013]

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I am indebted to the staff of the Alan Paton Centre and the University of KwaZulu-Natal Archives (Pietermaritzburg campus), the Killie Campbell Museum Library (Durban) and the Durban and Pietermaritzburg Archives Repositories for assisting me in locating relevant research material. I am grateful to all those persons listed in the bibliography who shared with me their reminiscences concerning some of the Natal University College staff members who are mentioned in this book. As on previous occasions, I am hugely indebted to my wife, Cynthia, for tolerating yet another extended research enthusiasm and for contributing her computer expertise towards its completion.

My interest in the history of the Natal University College and its successor the University of Natal began one broiling summer morning in February 1959. I was in a 'Freshers' registration queue that snaked its way up the steps in front of Howard College Building and around the statue of King George V which stared impassively over our heads at Durban harbour. The Principal, E.G. Malherbe, delivered his welcoming address in the Hall, supported by an impressive cohort of staff in full academic garb. One senior member who caught my eye was dressed in a pin-striped suit with bulbous toes staring balefully over the edge of the stage from a pair of casual sandals. Marvellous! I had already heard about eccentric, absent-minded professors, little realising that I was embarking on a journey that would eventually lead me into their ranks (without the pin-striped suit and sandals!).

My student years (1959–1962) on the Stella Bush Ridge included lectures in temporary structures that had been erected during World War II with Roman-Dutch Law classes and end-of-year examinations conducted in the noisy downtown City Buildings, which, as the name might imply, were beleaguered by street traffic. This was followed by a temporary lectureship (1963) that provided some acquaintance with the University's more sedate 'other campus' inland and eventual tenure in Durban (1967–1976) and Pietermaritzburg (1977–2000). The extended experience nurtured a gradual familiarity with the complex dual-centred, racially segregated multi-campus structure of the institution. It included lecturing some of the last of the University's non-medical black students still registered in the harbour city before their eventual disappearance in compliance with the National Party government's segregationist legislation.

The cumulative effect was a belated resolve on my part to explore my alma mater's origins and early development in more archival detail than had thereto been attempted. The available records have been used in the knowledge that these are not necessarily entirely accurate and leave much unsaid with regard to the role played by many students and staff members. In the latter category this applies not least to those who contributed to the institution's development in an unsung administrative or technical capacity. Unfortunately, there are now all too few survivors of the 1909–1949 era available to expand this account by offering personal perspectives on the old Natal University College.

My thanks are also due to the Trustees of the Natal Society Foundation for accepting a book that unfashionably celebrates a colonial-era creation and whose warts and all appearance in published form might otherwise not have seen the light of day. In addition, the substantial contributions of Peter Croeser, Phila Msimang, Sally Hines, Christopher Merrett and Jo Marwick in undertaking the tasks of editing and page layout are gratefully acknowledged.

W.R. (Bill) Guest
20 December 2012

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THE ESTABLISHMENT OF NATAL UNIVERSITY COLLEGE (1853–1909)

IT IS COMMON KNOWLEDGE that many of the world's universities have long and distinguished histories. Plato's Academy (*c.*387BC) and Aristotle's School at the Lyceum (*c.*335BC) aside, Europe's earliest emerged between the ninth and thirteenth centuries. Africa's first, in Alexandria on Egypt's Mediterranean coastline, pre-dated them by more than a thousand years, being established around 300BC. At the other end of the continent similar institutions appeared much later and were not easily achieved.¹

No tertiary centres of learning were founded within the first century and a half of European settlement in southern Africa, unlike the New England colonies of North America. There Harvard (1636), Yale (1701), Princeton (1746), Columbia (1754) and Brown (1764) were soon joined by a host of other reputable institutions. Similar developments occurred in Canada with the establishment of the universities of New Brunswick (1785), St Mary's (1802), Dalhousie (1818), McGill (1821) and Toronto (1827). By the mid-nineteenth century either technical institutes or university colleges had also been opened in the British colonies of Malta, Tasmania and Queensland. In Australia universities followed in Sydney (1852), Melbourne (1855) and Adelaide (1876), and, in the case of New Zealand, in Dunedin (1869), Canterbury (1873), Auckland (1882) and Wellington (1899).

The quest for university education at the Cape

Not surprisingly, the more settled and affluent British Cape Colony led its neighbours in that direction in the African subcontinent. The long era of Dutch East India Company and Batavian Government rule, beginning in 1652, was characterised, educationally, by the slow development of nothing more than elementary schooling. A few private secondary institutions were launched in the European tradition but, for the most part, educated expertise was recruited from the mother country when required. The Cape was still regarded as little more than a refreshment and repair outpost for shipping en route to and from the spice islands of the Far East. The frontiersmen of the interior were too

focused on consolidating and protecting themselves on the land to have need of anything more than rudimentary education.

There were some improvements after 1806 when the Colony came under permanent British control and the settler community began to feel the need for locally provided professional skills. Few could afford to send their offspring abroad for advanced education and qualified immigrants were in short supply. By 1839 the colonial government had begun to assume responsibility by establishing an education department and developing a system of state and state-aided schools. The provision of tertiary education at the Cape had been envisaged for at least a decade when, in 1829, Rev. Abraham Faure, James Adamson and others founded the Athenaeum in Cape Town. This came to be known as the South African College with the intention that it should offer advanced studies. Consequently, the teachers were duly called ‘professors’ though initially it was, at best, a secondary school whose pupils were still in need of elementary education.

The standard of schooling advanced very slowly. In 1850 a Board of Examiners and system of written examinations was set up specifically to screen candidates for the Colony’s civil service. In this way an attempt was made to ensure that henceforth appointments were made on the basis of ability rather than patronage. In 1858, in response to the need for more professional expertise, the Cape Colony took the first meaningful step towards the creation of a university in southern Africa when it established a Board of Public Examiners. Its function was to examine and, where appropriate, issue two classes of certificate to candidates who were prepared for assessment by local secondary schools.

The optional fields of study were Literature and Science, Law and Jurisprudence, Land Surveying, Engineering and Navigation. In common with the 1850 Board the evaluations of the new examining body were undertaken by means of much more searching written rather than the traditional oral examinations. This followed the example set by the University of London, founded in 1836, whose methods were well known at the Cape by the 1850s. The broader examining Board launched in 1858 was clearly intended to pave the way for a university based on the model provided by that institution. The same was true of similar bodies already established in Dublin, Toronto and in what were then known as Bombay, Calcutta and Madras.

The two categories of certificate issued in both Literature and Science were meant to correspond to London’s MA and BA qualifications. A subsequently introduced third-class certificate was similar to that institution’s matriculation

qualification and replaced the Cape's main civil service examination. For most individuals in the Colony the latter constituted the ultimate educational achievement. The local availability of degree-standard examinations nevertheless did help to raise the overall quality and geographical spread of education offered at secondary school level.

Among the new institutions that appeared in the wake of the Board's foundation was Graaff-Reinet College (1860), Diocesan College (1867, previously Diocesan Collegiate School) in Cape Town and Gill College in Somerset East (1869). The recently established St Andrew's College in Grahamstown (1855), Grey College in Bloemfontein (1855) and the Grey Institute in Port Elizabeth (1856) also benefited from the new Board's existence. The latter two institutions were both named for Cape Governor Sir George Grey who, during his term of office (1854–1861), enthusiastically promoted education in the region.

Grey College in Bloemfontein was to provide the nucleus for the University of the Orange Free State, as St Andrew's did for Rhodes University. This followed the tradition established by the South African College, which gave birth to the University of Cape Town, and the Victoria College (1866), which subsequently developed into the University of Stellenbosch. Similarly, the Arts Department of the Burgersdorp Theological Seminary (1869) later spawned the Potchefstroom University for Christian Higher Education.

As the Cape Colony emerged from the economic recession of the 1860s and progressed from representative government to the attainment, in 1872, of responsible government within the Empire, the need for a fully fledged university of its own was much more strongly felt. The Board of Public Examiners lacked that status and its certificates were still largely unrecognised abroad. Moreover, the University of London was now accepting examination candidates from overseas including, from 1871, the Cape Colony. This raised the prospect of the latter forever remaining a mere reservoir for student recruitment by British tertiary institutions.

Early in March 1873, within months of the implementation of the Colony's new political status, a vigorous campaign was initiated for the establishment of a local university. It culminated in the Cape Parliament's Act no.16 of that year that launched the University of the Cape of Good Hope. In common with institutions in other parts of Britain's Empire, it was modelled on the University of London with no teaching facilities of its own. It was essentially an examining body, like the earlier Board of Public Examiners, with prescribed syllabi being drawn up by the 'professors' of its affiliated colleges. All its

students were prepared for evaluation by secondary schools such as the South African College in Cape Town and the Victoria College in Stellenbosch.

The new university was empowered to confer degrees in Arts, Law and Medicine (though it never did so in the latter category) and to award certificates in Law, Land Surveying, Civil Engineering and Navigation (though none were ever issued in the last two fields). It was to be an English-medium institution, with no religious restrictions on staff recruitment or student intake. The Cape House of Assembly provided an unspectacular annual financial grant, which ranged from the equivalent of R3 000 at the outset to slightly more than twice that amount in the final year of British colonial rule.

In 1877 Queen Victoria granted the University a Royal Charter. Theoretically this endowed its degrees with the same status as those conferred by its British counterparts and by institutions that were similarly awarded charters in other parts of the Empire. In practice, recognition abroad was not readily achieved and many aspiring graduates in the Cape still preferred to study overseas, or at least do so for advanced degrees. The new university nevertheless did much to promote the cause of white male tertiary education in the Colony. From the 1880s it did so for white women too and, eventually, for black candidates as well.²

University education for Natal

A university for the younger, neighbouring Colony of Natal was first envisaged in the mid-nineteenth century. From the beginning, given the colonial time and place, the objective was to advance exclusively white male education. The major issue of contention was not one of admission but of locality, i.e., whether such an institution should be sited in Durban or in Pietermaritzburg. An unlikely compromise might have been found in the village of Greytown, situated 76 kilometres north-east of the colonial capital. At an early stage no less than 16 erven were set aside there with which to endow a ‘collegiate institution’ that was intended to be more advanced than a secondary school. The remoteness of the town, particularly from Durban, was an obvious disadvantage, though in retrospect perhaps not much more so than Grahamstown and Potchefstroom for the establishment of a quiet centre of learning.

In September 1853, five years before the Cape established its Board of Public Examiners, William Campbell, an 1850 Byrne settler, led a group of prominent citizens in establishing the Durban Mechanics Institute in a wood-and-iron building on a central site near St Paul’s Church. Within three years, when a new home was under consideration, H.W. Currie expressed the hope

shared by several other prominent colonists, including S. Pinsent, that it might develop into a ‘young man’s university’.

By the 1850s there were already more than 600 Mechanics Institutes in Britain. They had originated in Glasgow for the purpose of providing working men with part-time adult education. Campbell was one of their success stories, having been obliged to find work on the Glasgow-Paisley Railway at 14 years of age following the death of his father. Prior to emigrating he had risen to managerial level and enjoyed further success as an engineer and sugar planter in Natal where his progeny were to play a prominent role in university development.

The Durban Mechanics Institute did not meet with similar good fortune. Like so many of its counterparts elsewhere, it became no more than a literary, recreational and social club before its subsequent closure. It did, however, provide the basis for the city’s first public library. In Pietermaritzburg the Natal Society, founded in 1851, had also launched a library. It was already fulfilling another part of its own self-imposed brief by offering courses of lectures intended to provide ‘full and accurate information on the region’s physical resources, its social condition and the practical advantages it offers the European settler’.

In 1849, soon after Natal’s annexation as a British colony in the mid-1840s, a Board of Education was formed, a Superintendent of Education appointed and two government schools were opened, one in Pietermaritzburg and the other in Durban. The new colony did not achieve responsible government status until 1893. Even then it still lacked the financial resources to contemplate seriously the expense of establishing its own university. In 1859, when its system of grants to private schools was initiated, government spent only £700 (R1 400) to provide the most rudimentary education for white children. By 1869 there were more than 2 000 such pupils, mostly in primary schools, at a cost of £3 985 (R7 970) to the public exchequer. In Britain a national schooling system was only launched the following year.

By the early 1870s Natal’s white population numbered barely 18 000 and its narrow tax base relied heavily on revenues extracted from its black population of between 250 000 and 300 000. It was nearly two long decades after H.W. Currie’s optimistic proposal before aspiring Natal graduates could at least take advantage of the 1875 Cape University Extension Act, which empowered the University of the Cape of Good Hope to hold examinations outside that Colony.

By then the political confederation of southern Africa under the British flag was a distinct possibility and there was already talk in London of enlarging the Cape's tertiary institution to become the University of South Africa. Interest in establishing closer ties with that university was being expressed in both the Orange Free State and in Natal. The latter's Superintendent of Education, T. Warwick Brooks, had favoured such a move as early as the 1860s and his opinion was affirmed by the August 1874 Report of the Barter Commission on Education. The Natal Government had appointed it at the insistence of elected members of the Colony's legislature who were pressing for an improvement in local educational facilities. Indeed, Robert Russell and Fleetwood Churchill arranged no less than four deputations to persuade Lieutenant-Governor Sir Benjamin Pine of the need to promote higher education in the Colony during his second term of office (1873–1875).

The Natal Government eventually indicated its willingness to allocate land for this purpose and the Pietermaritzburg and Durban municipalities agreed to grant £5 000 (R10 000) each to launch a tertiary college. Unfortunately, it was calculated that three times as much would be needed and that there were barely 25 young (white) men in the Colony at the time whose parents would be willing and able to pay for the sort of education it might provide.

In 1877, the year in which the University of the Cape of Good Hope was granted its Royal Charter, Natal's new Lieutenant-Governor Sir Henry Bulwer (1875–1880) briefly diverted his attention from the looming crisis that was to culminate in the 1879 Anglo-Zulu War to act on the recommendations of the Barter Report. This resulted in draft legislation intended to uplift both primary and secondary education in the Colony but also to launch a Royal College of Natal. It was envisaged that this would have its own rector and be linked to the University of the Cape of Good Hope. Bulwer anticipated that such an institution would eventually provide Natal's settlers with access to university-level education on a par with that available at the Cape and in Britain. He proposed that the Collegiate Trust, established in 1861 to promote education in the Colony by launching the Collegiate Institutions in Durban and Pietermaritzburg that the Natal Parliament had envisaged when it passed Laws 18 and 19 of that year, should be deployed to maintain it.

I do not agree with those who think that the time has not yet come for such an Institution. The Colony is young, and the community numerically small, but we can scarcely begin too early in such matters as these – affecting the education that will furnish the class of educated men needed for the learned professions, for the public service, and for the many public and social requirements that the growth of the Colony will unquestionably bring with it.

Natal's cost-conscious white elected representatives rejected this proposal as premature, although they accepted the legislation designed to improve primary and secondary schooling under a new Council of Education. The outcome was hardly surprising, for by 1878 there were barely two dozen secondary school pupils in Pietermaritzburg and 46 being taught in an old granary at the eastern end of what was then Smith Street in Durban. It was reckoned that less than a dozen boys in the Colony had a reading knowledge of Latin. An earlier notable exception was Thomas Bromwich who, at 16 years of age, matriculated at the University of the Cape of Good Hope and went on to become senior wrangler at Cambridge.

The colonial legislature did at least agree to finance a 'home university exhibition' (scholarship) to send promising local students like Bromwich for tertiary training in Britain on the strength of their results in the University of the Cape of Good Hope's examinations. In 1885 Robert Russell Junior, a future Superintendent of Education in Natal, was one of the early recipients of this award, enabling him to study at Merton College, Oxford. In 1909, as the Colony's acting Agent-General in London, he was to play an important role in the selection of the first professorial appointees to the Natal University College (henceforth NUC).

In reality, the Colony was not yet ready for a university of its own. The standard of schooling was low, there was little incentive for book learning in a pioneer environment, many teachers still lacked academic qualifications and there was no local teacher training facility. The first elementary school had only been established in 1849, a few years after British annexation. The first to offer an education at secondary level, Dean Green's Grammar School, was opened in 1858, to be followed by Maritzburg College (1863) and Durban High School (1866), under Robert Russell's principalship. As late as the 1890s government was reluctant to invest in education because schooling still seemed to be regarded primarily as the responsibility of parents rather than of the state.

Formal education for the Colony's substantial black majority was available only at the mission stations, with the American Board for Foreign Missions providing a school for them as early as May 1837 at Mlazi near Durban. By 1860 there were 30 such institutions in Natal, subsidised to the extent of £1 370 (R2 740) by the colonial government, with Adams Mission (1853) and Hermannsburg (1856) leading the way. By 1887 there were 54 of these schools in receipt of grants, with a total attendance of 2 943 pupils. Even so, by the end of the nineteenth century there were no buildings at all that

the government could claim to have erected for ‘native’ education. In theory the first two government schools, in Pietermaritzburg and Durban, were non-racial but no black children actually attended.

Indians had been arriving in Natal from 1860 onwards but by 1872 there were still only four schools for their children, enjoying a princely government grant of £68 (R136). Others followed but the first secondary school for Indian boys, established privately in 1911, closed during World War I. Senior classes were added to some primary schools although high school education only really became available from early in 1929 when Sastri College was opened in Durban.

Clearly, during the nineteenth century what limited aspirations there were for tertiary training in the Colony were focused on its small white population and, more specifically, on young white males. Sentiment in favour of a much closer association with the University of the Cape of Good Hope did gain momentum towards the end of the century in English-speaking Natal but less so elsewhere on the subcontinent, where that institution’s unilingual policy created some resentment. The Colony of Natal’s Council of Education and its first post-1893 responsible government Prime Minister, Sir John Robinson, both expressed support for such ties.

The subsequent 1896 Cape University Incorporation Amendment Act broadened the range of degrees offered and extended membership of the University’s Council to Natal, Orange Free State and South African Republic nominees, in exchange for annual contributions to its expenses. The Natal Government immediately took up the offer at a cost of £400 (R800) a year and from 1897 had three representatives on the Council, two of them based in the Cape, the third being Robert Russell.

By then several of the Colony’s high schools were providing post-matriculation tuition for local Cape of Good Hope candidates. These included the Durban Ladies College (established in 1877, later Durban Girls College) and the aforementioned Durban High School, where in 1901 the future South African Governor-General E.G. Jansen became a BA graduate. Others preparing examinees were Michaelhouse (1896) in the Natal Midlands, and in Pietermaritzburg St Charles College (1875) and Girls Collegiate (1876) as well as Maritzburg College. It was the latter institution, the oldest of them all, that was to provide NUC with its nucleus and first modest accommodation.³

The campaign for a Natal University College

By the end of the nineteenth century the demand for tertiary education was growing in southern Africa, with talk of establishing a residential university in the Cape and a technical equivalent on the Witwatersrand. Industrial development had been stimulated there by the burgeoning gold mining industry, which made it the only other region on the subcontinent able seriously to contemplate such an expense. Further progress was disrupted by the prolonged Anglo-Boer War (1899–1902).

In 1903, in the immediate wake of that conflict, the Transvaal Technical Institute was established in Johannesburg as a possible step towards launching a technologically focused residential university. The Cape was beginning to lose its monopoly on tertiary training as co-operation among the other three British colonies in the subcontinent, the Transvaal, Orange Free State and Natal, was proposed. It could even have led to the creation of a federated northern university, though agreement on linguistic policy might have been a stumbling block.

When Natal's government at last, in its twilight years, recognised the need for locally based tertiary education its immediate concern was similarly to provide appropriate technical training. However, in July 1903 the member of Parliament for Newcastle, Dr C. (Charles) O'Grady Gubbins, a medical graduate from Trinity College Dublin who had arrived in the Colony in 1879 as a surgeon with the 17th Lancers, did at least suggest to the House of Assembly that it should consider establishing a university. His proposal was unsuccessful but what Edgar Brookes has described as 'a surprisingly utilitarian bias' at the time was really quite understandable in view of the efforts that had been made in that direction since the 1850s and the practical needs of a colonial economy struggling to emerge from the severe post-Anglo-Boer War recession.

In 1904 the Natal Government sought the opinion of Mr Hele-Shaw with regard to the prospects for technical education in the Colony. He was a Professor of Engineering from Liverpool who was then technical adviser to the British Crown Colony governments in the Orange Free State and the Transvaal. His encouraging observations aroused public interest and in November of that year the Natal Technical Education Commission was appointed.

It comprised an even balance of technical/commercial and professional representatives. It was chaired by Sir David Hunter, manager of the Natal Government Railways, which was then the largest employer in the Colony. Other members with technical and/or commercial interests were Peter Davis

(proprietor of the *Natal Advertiser* and *Natal Witness* and also a leading bookseller), J. Ellis Brown (a prominent businessman and Mayor of Durban), John Fletcher (Durban's Borough Engineer), R.G. Kirby (an architect and engineer) and T.R. Sim (Conservator of Forests).

Those with a non-technical frame of mind were A.W. Cooper and F.A. Laughton K.C. (both advocates), Dr Archibald McKenzie (a medical doctor) and Rev. T.G. Vyvyan (a clergyman), with Dr H. Lyster Jameson as secretary. Other non-technical members were W.J. (William) O'Brien (a stockbroker and Mayor of Pietermaritzburg), who was later to feature prominently in local university development, and C.J. (Charles) Mudie, Natal's Superintendent of Education, who was also based in the colonial capital. His liberal arts background induced him to withdraw from the commission before it had completed its deliberations and subsequently to submit what proved to be an influential minority report.

The commission exposed the extent to which Natal was lagging behind comparable British colonies with regard to the provision of higher education and vocational training, which was still largely in the hands of private commercial academies and organisations like the Railway Institute. It was clearly not preoccupied exclusively with the Colony's requirements in terms of technical training. The commission expressed itself firmly in favour of the notion of a single teaching university in South Africa, with colleges offering both higher and technical education in those colonies in which the proposed Teaching University was not based.



C.J. (Charles) Mudie was born in 1857 in Dundee, Scotland, and educated there and at the University of Edinburgh. He taught at several schools in Scotland before being recruited into service with the Natal Government in 1883 in preference to a number of other applicants. He worked as assistant master at the Boys Model School in Durban, Headmaster of Estcourt School from 1886, Assistant Schools Inspector from 1890, Inspector from 1898, Acting Superintendent from 1902 and Superintendent of Education in Natal from 1904 until his retirement in 1917. Mudie also served

on the Council of the University of the Cape of Good Hope and on the Natal Advisory Board on Technical Education. He was a strong supporter of the Natal Technical College, in addition to his deep commitment to the establishment of a University College in Pietermaritzburg. He died in 1920.

It also proposed that these colleges should be recognised as ‘integral parts’ of the University and that the disciplines offered should include an eclectic mix of English, Classics, History and Philosophy, as well as business and medical training, plumbing, sanitary engineering and telegraphy. The commission recommended the immediate appointment of lecturers in Modern History and Literature as well as in Chemistry and Metallurgy, Natural Science, Physics and Electronics, and Pure and Applied Mathematics.

There was unanimity that, as far as Natal was concerned, a University College should be established in Pietermaritzburg. However, the commission’s report of May 1905 recommended that the teaching staff based there should also meet ‘the requirements of Durban’ and that there should be an administrative complement in both centres. This served to reinforce the dualism that had already characterised the debate about tertiary education in the region. It was a concession to the traditional and sometimes acrimonious rivalry between the sedate colonial capital and the brash, fast-growing and commercially minded port. This tension had become much stronger since the 1870s when the population of what was initially regarded merely as a climatically unhealthy landing station exceeded that of the inland seat of government and headquarters of the resident British garrison.

Mudie disagreed with the majority report. He pointed out the prohibitive cost of duplicating adequate teaching facilities and the time that academic staff would spend travelling between the two centres, arguing that ‘two imperfect halves cannot be entertained’. Indeed, there was little in the way of obvious sources of funding for tertiary education, the train journey took four to five hours and the road was untarred and tortuous. Earlier in 1904 Horace Rose, editor of the *Natal Witness*, had taken five hours to complete the journey in his four-horse-power Orient motor car. Although both means of transport subsequently improved, inter-city travel was indeed later to become a perennial expense in the life of the still unborn University College.

It was on these grounds that Mudie firmly advocated one university campus, in the Colony’s capital, with the provision of bursaries for promising Durban matriculants to attend there. ‘The students,’ he insisted, ‘must come to the professors and not vice versa.’ In his view, Maritzburg College, with its current crop of eleven post-matriculation scholars and six masters serving as lecturers, could provide the obvious nucleus for such an institution, though he subsequently favoured the establishment of an entirely separate university college in Pietermaritzburg. Mudie was not opposed to the inclusion of technical subjects and vocational training but argued that such education

should really be provided by means of post-school continuation courses and evening classes organised by local education committees in each town.

Several of those who gave evidence before the commission were doubtful that a local university college would attract sufficient interest to justify the expense of importing the necessary teaching expertise. They argued that Natal's (white) boys, in whose exclusive interests tertiary education was still being considered, lacked the application and inclination towards further education in the absence of compulsory schooling, which was only introduced in January 1910. Moreover, they believed, climatic conditions induced 'Natal Fever' and made local youngsters more inclined towards the great outdoors. Many parents seemed to regard early wage earning as more important than extended years of study and employers did little to encourage them to think otherwise.

In a far-sighted supplement to the commission's report F.S. Tatham K.C. recommended the immediate establishment of a chair of History and Political Science and another in Comparative Ethnology. He argued that the colonists' retarded 'mental development' could be attributed to 'the absence of historical knowledge and a disinclination to acquire such knowledge'. Rev. H.C. Dobrée sensibly suggested that an ethnologist should be employed to offer lectures in Zulu.⁴

The commission pleaded with the Natal Government not to be discouraged by the likelihood of initially small student numbers that would be attracted to a new university college, pointing to the early registration figures at other institutions in southern Africa and abroad. It was all in vain, for the commission's report, together with Mudie's submission, was simply shelved without being discussed in Parliament. This was possibly due to indecision about how the expectations of the Colony's two main urban centres might be reconciled, but was more likely attributable to a severe shortage of government funds. There had been ambitious expenditure on public works during the earlier wartime boom as well as on reorganising colonial defences under the 1903 Militia Act. The following year an additional financial burden had been incurred in counteracting a major outbreak of east coast fever.

To make matters worse, public income was £647 000 (R1 294 000) less than estimates for the financial year 1904–1905 due to a decline in customs and railway receipts, while expenses incurred during Bhambatha's 1906 uprising increased the deficit. While government was obliged to implement severe financial cuts, the Pietermaritzburg Municipality reduced its expenses

by extinguishing street lighting at midnight and white unemployment was sufficiently severe to induce some emigration to Argentina.

Hostility to the idea of a local university college was still strong, for intellectual pursuits were considered irrelevant amidst the dominant frontier mentality of the interior and the commercially focused preoccupations of the port. In 1907 a member of the Legislative Assembly even objected to the expenditure of public revenue on secondary education because he considered it unsuitable in preparing boys for life in the Colony. Another expressed the conviction that high schools produced snobs!

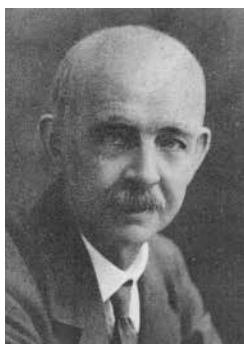
There was still no statutory school-leaving age, with most parents opting to withdraw their children at the end of Standard IV (Grade 6). There were 52 government-maintained schools serving a white population of 92 000 but the Superintendent of Education had no idea how many children were not receiving any education at all. Sir Frederick Moor, the Colony's last Prime Minister, who viewed the issue from a personal background of diamond digging and farming, believed that the financial situation and climate of opinion was such that the introduction of compulsory schooling could not be justified.

Dr S.G. (Sam) Campbell, son of William Campbell who had launched the 1853 Durban Mechanics Institute, inherited his father's ability to compose satirical verse (as did his own progeny Roy) and applied it to publish his derision of the opinions aired on this matter in Parliament. He included an imaginary account of Saint Peter's reaction to his own arrival, as an educated man, at the 'Pearly Gates' and the Devil's subsequent response when he vainly sought alternative admission below.

He turned up my name, and scanned the page,
Then glared on me in a withering rage,
Said hoarsely, in accents elevated,
'I see, on Earth, you've been Educated.
Which made you unfitted to earn a "bob",
And turned you into a fearful snob.
If e'er I see again your ugly face
I shall knock you into endless space.'
... Arrived at the gates of Hades, I knocked
Old Nick responded and said he was shocked,
... 'The only place open for men so bad
Is over the way, across the street
But before you go there, come in! You'll meet
A host of fellows who lived in Natal'...
... I crossed the road as the portal slammed
And viewed the realms of the Doubly Damned.

In April 1907, apparently undaunted by his gloomy prospects in the life-hereafter and while earthly officialdom prevaricated, Campbell convened an enthusiastic seminal meeting of more than 20 Durban citizens in the dining room of his Berea home. Chaired by prominent businessman Sir Benjamin Greenacre and with Sir David Hunter in attendance, its purpose was to discuss the establishment of a 'Technical Institute', which, it was hoped, would be funded by 'the Corporation and Government'. According to Campbell's daughter Ethel it was at this 'Meeting of Twenty-four' that 'the Technical Institute was founded and the "Holy War" was started against the powers of Darkness that infested Natal'.

Since 1884 classes had been available in Durban for railway apprentices and a continuation school had subsequently been established in an effort to meet the city's increasing need for vocational training, but this proved quite insufficient. Campbell now made it his single-minded mission to persuade increasing numbers of his fellow colonists that extensive tertiary technical and professional education was essential for the economic future of Durban and of the whole country. The gathering at his home was a clear expression of the port city's growing perceived need for practical tertiary training.



S.G. (Samuel) Campbell was born in 1861 on his father William's sugar estate Muckle Neuk on the Natal north coast. He was educated at the mission school at Hermannsburg and at Bishop's College in Pietermaritzburg before studying medicine in Edinburgh between 1877 and 1882. There he was medalist and prizeman in Surgery and then worked at the Pasteur Institute in Paris as well as in Vienna and Berlin. On his return to Durban he developed a successful practice and subsequently returned to Edinburgh to become a Fellow of the Royal College of Surgeons. He also served as

Medical Officer to the Stanger medical circle for Indians, District Surgeon of Inanda and as a British Medical Officer during the Anglo-Boer War (1899–1902). 'Dr Sam' became a prominent and popular member of Durban society who was actively involved in the community and took a particular interest in the welfare of its youth. This led to his vigorous promotion of both technical and university education in the city, becoming president of the Durban/Natal Technical College from 1907 to 1926. His son, Dr George Campbell, later became chairman of the Councils of both the Natal Technical College and the University of Natal. Another son, Roy Campbell, was one of South Africa's best-known poets.

A few months later, in July 1907, the Durban Technical Institute came into existence in temporary downtown premises in Russell Street. Charles Mudie, who readily accepted the need for technical as well as university education, was called upon to perform the formal opening, presumably in his capacity as Superintendent of Education. In 1909 B.M. Narbeth was appointed principal and in 1912, after at last moving into its own permanent building, the Institute also began to produce part-time candidates for examination by the University of the Cape of Good Hope.

It is evident that as early as 1907 Campbell and several of his associates hoped eventually to establish not only a trade school but also a university in Durban, with full-time courses of its own. However, the initial demand for such classes, which were offered in modern European languages, English, History, Latin, Chemistry, Botany and Mathematics, proved to be very small and they were abandoned after two years. It was, nevertheless, another early indication of the dualism that was to characterise university education in Natal. In 1915 the Technical Institute was renamed the Durban Technical College and in 1922 it became the Natal Technical College.⁵

A University College in Pietermaritzburg

While university-level classes struggled to get off the ground in Durban and Natal's post-war economic recession gradually eased, the resolute Charles Mudie seized the initiative. A 1908 Inter-Colonial Conference on University Education, which seemed to envisage a federation of affiliated academic colleges in the various British colonies of southern Africa, served to clarify his thoughts and galvanise him into action. There were strong environmental, cultural and ethnic grounds to justify a separate university college for Natal but Mudie was more immediately concerned to improve teacher training in the Colony. He envisaged replacing the pupil-teacher tutoring system, which had functioned since 1874 in Durban and Pietermaritzburg schools, with an institution that could provide more adequate academic training and also reduce the necessity of importing teachers from abroad.

To that end in January 1909 he persuaded his friend Dr Charles O'Grady Gubbins, now his superior as Natal Colonial Secretary and Minister of Education (November 1906–1909), to appoint yet another Education Commission. R.D. (Robert) Clark, former head of Maritzburg College, chaired this body. Its membership comprised J. Ellis Brown and F.A. Laughton K.C. from the 1904 Commission, along with Sam Campbell, C.D. (Charles) Don, a journalist and editor of *The Times of Natal*, and two Afrikaans-speaking members of the

Natal Parliament, F. Fergg and E.J. Nel, the former an Anglo-Boer War veteran and ex-prisoner of war in the Cape and India. David Robb, a civil servant who was subsequently to become NUC's Registrar, acted as Secretary.

Seven months later, after Mudie had fed it detailed proposals and the government had already clearly indicated its intentions in Parliament, the commission reported in favour of establishing a University College in Pietermaritzburg. It made no mention of building on the foundations already laid at Maritzburg College, or of extending similar facilities to the port despite the presence of Sam Campbell in its ranks. As Mudie explained in a March 1909 memorandum, he envisaged an all-embracing institution that would admit both sexes and 'would belong to, and be supported by, the whole Colony, and would attract its students from every part of it from the Drakensberg to the Indian Ocean'.

Mudie's proposals were publicised in an article in the *Natal Witness* on 14 June 1909, two and a half months before the commission formally submitted its report. They included the creation of 'double' or even 'treble' chairs in the traditional fields of (1) Classics, English and Philosophy or History, (2) Modern Languages (including Dutch) and History or Philosophy, (3) Physics and Chemistry, (4) Botany, Geology and Zoology, and (5) Law. The implementation of this idea was to create difficulties in the future but, to be fair, Mudie did envisage all of these eventually becoming single-discipline chairs as funds became available, with others being added. A *Natal Witness* editorial queried his suggestion that 'holiday courses' might be given in Agriculture, contending that 'in a country like ours, agriculture should be made the subject of a "chair" of its own'. It was an early salvo in what was to become a prolonged campaign for the establishment of a Faculty of Agriculture in Pietermaritzburg.

In the same year another blow was struck for tertiary education when a Teachers Training College was established in the colonial capital, initially housed in the old YMCA Building opposite Buchanan Street. By then there were clear indications of an economic upswing in the region, to the extent that, with South African unification imminent, the Colony's government had a £30 000 (R60 000) surplus to spend on the university project. The mood in Parliament had changed dramatically. No members were opposed to such expenditure and several spoke in favour of it, even insisting that Classical Studies, which had previously been considered snobbish, should be offered by the proposed institution.

Mudie's 1909 memorandum raised the attractive prospect of some savings on future educational expenditure by pointing out that, with the establishment

of a University College, the post-matriculation classes offered at certain high schools would no longer be necessary. He suggested that the interest earned from the Collegiate Trust, which had been established in 1861 and Bulwer had hoped in 1877 would sustain a 'Royal College', could help to reduce the cost of both tertiary and secondary education in Natal, having been worth £58 265 (R116 530) when it was abolished by an Act of Parliament in 1903. He also optimistically anticipated that 'some public-spirited citizen' would be found to finance the necessary Chemistry and Physics laboratories at the proposed college while students from outside Pietermaritzburg would be able to find lodgings in the high schools where they had previously been boarders.

There had been further encouragement when, in 1908, the Pietermaritzburg City Council indicated a willingness to provide land in Scottsville for the envisaged college. In addition, the Law Society had offered to reduce the substantial staffing costs by contributing to the establishment of a chair in Legal Studies. The only proviso was that the first incumbent should be its own appointee who was currently lecturing candidate attorneys in the Colony's two major centres.

The first sitting of the National Convention leading towards South African unification was held in October and November 1908 in Durban. There was now increasing concern that, although its electorate was decidedly unenthusiastic about the impending political merger, Natal should be able to hold her own educationally, as in other respects, with her partners in the new Union. In some quarters it was still felt that the available funds would be better spent on technical education in Durban. When it was subsequently discovered that the outgoing colonial government had left nothing at all by way of a building grant for that city's Technical Institute, it was interpreted as another example of the capital's indifference, if not hostility, towards educational advancement at the port. For better or for worse, the focus was now decidedly on the development of such facilities in the other centre.

On 6 April 1909 Thomas Watt, a political associate of Gubbins, moved in the Natal Legislative Assembly 'that in the opinion of the House Government should favourably consider the necessity of establishing a University College in Pietermaritzburg as soon as possible'. Gubbins himself pointed out that

one of the principle objects in having such a College is that we will be able to retain our own sons and daughters in our own Colony, and give them an education in our own Colony which, I trust, will be second to none that may be obtained in any other Colony in South Africa. It will mean a large saving of expense to the parents, and not only that, but you will have your sons and daughters for a longer period under parental control during the time which, I think, is most dangerous to them.

The University College Bill took only a fortnight to pass through both houses of Parliament. Speed was of the essence if the matter was to be resolved before the colonial government gave way to that of the Union, which was to come into existence on or after 31 May 1910. Even before the Bill's passage was complete Gubbins had requested Sir William Arbuckle, since 1904 the Colony's Agent-General in London, to invite applications for the first professorships. Advertisements were duly placed in British and other foreign journals in an effort to ensure that the college could begin functioning early in 1910.

Clause 19 of the Natal University College Act clearly stated that no religious test would be applied to the appointment of any staff member or admission of any student. In this way the new University College avoided the religious discrimination that had characterised the history of several European institutions. Crucially for the future, the Act was not similarly explicit with regard to the non-exclusion of applicants on racial grounds. It is significant that the Natal Legislative Assembly had been voted into office by a white male electorate and represented a white population, which in 1909 numbered 92 600 or only 7.4% of the Colony's inhabitants. The vast majority of this small settler community, 61.33% according to the 1911 census, had been born in southern Africa, 30.13% in Britain, 3.47% in other parts of the Empire and 5.07% elsewhere.

The Afrikaner families in the northern districts aside, white Natalians shared a distinct sense of social and cultural separateness from the rest of the subcontinent, and from other ethnic groups on their own side of the Drakensberg range. In 1909 coloureds comprised 7 100 (0.6%), Indians 118 700 (9.5%) and Africans, who were still predominantly rural and illiterate, 1 030 100 (82.5%) of the Colony's total population of 1 248 500. In view of this demographic profile, which was not significantly different in 1893, it was not surprising that Natal, a mere 91 608.3 square kilometres in extent, was one of the last of Britain's white settler colonies to achieve responsible government.

The legislative record of the Natal Parliament following the attainment of that milestone indicates that the British Government's concern at the time for the future of the black majority was justified. The first Natal Ministry, led by *Natal Mercury* editor Sir John Robinson (1893–1897), had immediately mounted a campaign of discriminatory legislation against the local Indian community. This was designed to withdraw the franchise from those of its members who qualified for it, to terminate non-indentured Indian immigration, and to restrict Asian trading activity that already posed a serious challenge to

white commercial dominance. Small wonder it was Robinson's opinion that 'the interests of the Colony demand that the control of its destinies should continue in the hands of men of European descent and race'.

After 1897, when white farmers constituted a majority in all Natal's Cabinets, legislation was introduced to control the still rurally based African population. The intention was to induce them to work on white-owned farms in greater numbers by denying them access to land, discouraging their independent economic enterprises and making it difficult for them to seek employment outside the Colony. This and other legislation, including a fiscal policy that continued to rest upon the heavy taxation of Africans, had ensured that the Colony was governed in the best interests of the white minority. Far from exercising a restraining influence on racial tendencies, by its own admission in 1893 the Legislative Council (upper house) regarded itself as more of a 'Board of Directors, than men having to do the work of statesmen'. By 1905 only three Africans had been granted the vote in the Colony of Natal.

It was against this background that Gubbins still managed to resist the suggestion to include an explicit legal colour bar with regard to student enrolment at the proposed University College. When J. Kirkman, member of the Legislative Assembly for Alexandra County, asked whether the issue of race had been considered in formulating the relevant legislation and 'whether there will be any limit to the colour that may come in', Gubbins responded that he did not consider it 'advisable to discuss that matter now'. He also pointed out that no government school in the Colony was 'supposed to have any colour bar'. D. (Dan) Taylor, a cartage contractor, well-known sportsman and City Councillor representing Durban County, took up the cudgels. A forceful lieutenant-colonel in the Natal Field Artillery and veteran of the Anglo-Boer War (1899–1902) and Bhambatha uprising, he retorted:

All the more reason why this should be defined more clearly. This colour question has been the cause of a good deal of contention, and now is the opportunity to do something in this direction, so that there may be no misunderstanding afterwards ... Unless we face the question of colour there will be a difficulty in connection with the College. Now is the time to make the necessary provision to prevent that particular trouble which, I am sure, will come about.

Taylor was correct in insisting that the matter be clarified but the members of the Legislative Assembly spent surprisingly little time discussing it, giving much more attention to the composition of the University College Council and to the claims of various stakeholders to be represented on it. Perhaps in his haste to secure its passage and because the qualifications for admission were

not specified in the Act, Gubbins accepted Taylor's compromise amendment, which became clause 20 of the final version. This empowered the Council 'to refuse admittance to any applicant, should they consider it to be in the interests of the University'.

When the Bill reached the Natal Legislative Council Marshall Campbell (Durban County), Sam Campbell's brother, took 'great pleasure' in supporting it. He was doubtless also pleased to add, on behalf of the family, that it had 'always been, in my view, a disgrace to Natal that it has not had an institution such as it is now proposed to establish, many years ago'. But it was his Durban colleague, C.G. (Charles) Smith, who suggested that unsuccessful applicants to the new college should be entitled to appeal, considering 'the wide range of thought that will probably be represented on that Council, and the possibility at times of narrow views prevailing'. However, no such recourse or any requirement to provide unsuccessful applicants with reasons for their refusal was included in the final Act.

Apart from Kirkman, Gubbins, Taylor and Smith, Natal's parliamentarians may not have considered the exclusion clause to be particularly important at the time but this later proved to be a highly significant provision when Council and, on occasion, even Senate invoked it in order to maintain an exclusively white student intake. Those two bodies, like clause 20 itself, were able to reflect prevailing white public opinion on matters of racial exclusivity without being obliged in terms of the Act to articulate them. As Alan Hattersley, NUC's first Professor of History, later observed:

Senate's attitude in the early years was governed by academic traditions of long validity in Great Britain, from which country most of the original staff had been obtained. But what may be described as colonial prejudices in questions of colour were strongly entrenched in the early Councils.

In 1909–1910 the issue may not yet have been of much practical significance as there were still very few so-called non-European matriculants in the region. However, the Natal Indian Congress recognised the immediate and long-term implications. After holding meetings in Durban on 19 and 20 December 1909, it forwarded a petition to the Secretary of State for the Colonies objecting to the introduction of the amending clause 20 into the Act. It argued that it was not part of the original Bill that had been published on 11 November and that it was clearly 'intended to render it impossible for subjects other than Europeans to take advantage of the benefits of the University College'.

It was to no avail. The Natal Cabinet agreed with Colonial Secretary Gubbins that 'every University has, and must necessarily have, the right to exercise discretion as to who may or may not be admitted as students'. Disingenuously, it also concurred that he could not 'hold himself responsible for the interpretation which the petitioners put upon the clause'. As British colonial rule drew to a close, Natal's last Governor, Lord Methuen (January to May 1910), concurred with his immediate predecessor, Sir Matthew Nathan (1907–1909), when he counselled the Secretary of State that this was 'not a case in which his Majesty should be advised to exercise his powers of disallowance'. The die had been cast. The subsequent application of clause 20 in exactly the manner that the Natal Indian Congress had feared meant that, although NUC later accepted persons of colour in segregated classes, it and its successor, the University of Natal, would not join the University of Cape Town (UCT) and the University of the Witwatersrand in claiming to be one of South Africa's so-called open universities. Even in those institutions it was some years before integration extended to residential accommodation and sports clubs.

NUC's policy was also in striking contrast to the quiet, non-segregationist admissions policy that was consistently practised by two contemporary institutions in Pietermaritzburg, the Natal (now KwaZulu-Natal) Museum founded in 1904 and the Voortrekker (now Msunduzi) Museum opened in 1912. They followed the lead set by the city's Natal Society (now Bessie Head) Library, which had been established in 1851. However, the services they offered the general public were very different to those of a tertiary teaching institution.

Not surprisingly, in view of the colonial Parliament that created it, NUC's Council proved to be an inherently conservative body. The Act required that it should comprise not less than 16 or more than 25 members. Five of them were to be nominated by the Governor, two by the city councils of Pietermaritzburg and Durban, one jointly by the town councils of Newcastle, Ladysmith and Dundee, one by the boards of the Northern District and Zululand, and one each by the Natal Law Society, the Girls Collegiate and St Charles College in Pietermaritzburg, the Ladies College in Durban, the Huguenot High School in Greytown, and Hilton College and Michaelhouse in the Natal Midlands.

After extensive debate in the Legislative Assembly, both formal and informal proposals for representation on Council were denied, among others, to the Weenen County College, the Natal Medical Council, the Natal Mine Managers Association, the Agricultural Union, Alfred and Alexandra counties, the Ixopo Division, the Dutch Reformed Church and even the Tattersalls Subscription

Rooms! The Durban Chamber of Commerce expressed the hope that one of the Governor's five nominees would be drawn from the 'Commercial Community' in order to ensure that it had representation. Two Council members were to serve on the Senate, along with the appointed professors, to superintend instruction and discipline in the college and doubtless also to exercise a restraining influence, if necessary, on its as yet unknown membership.

On 11 December the Natal University College Act (no. 18 of 1909) was promulgated, shortly before the colonial Parliament ceased to exist in favour of Union on 31 May 1910. In this way NUC was formally established as a state institution initially without any independent sources of income or private endowments. It was not quite the 'young man's university' envisaged in the 1850s in that it also admitted females but in practice, though not in law, it catered exclusively for whites. In terms of Council's ruling at its meeting on 8 April 1910, the matriculation examination of the University of the Cape of Good Hope was to be NUC's entrance qualification and it was considered 'desirable' that undergraduates should not be under 16 years of age. It was subsequently successfully argued that this ruling should be relaxed in the case of underage applicants who had matriculated first class.

NUC joined seven other colleges in presenting candidates for examination by the University of the Cape of Good Hope. These were the South African College in Cape Town, the Victoria College in Stellenbosch, the Huguenot Seminary (1874) in Wellington, Rhodes University College (1904) in Grahamstown, the Transvaal University College (1906) in Johannesburg (in 1910 renamed the South African School of Mines and Technology), Grey University College (1907) in Bloemfontein and the Transvaal University College (1910) in Pretoria. University-level education had at last been launched in Natal.⁶

ENDNOTES

- 1 Some of the information in the early chapters of this work appears in Edgar Brookes' groundbreaking *history of the University of Natal* (Pietermaritzburg: University of Natal Press, 1966), which, surprisingly, is unsubstantiated by footnote references or even a bibliography. The sources have had to be tracked down and his account of the University's origins has been fleshed out with additional information from elsewhere. In this connection a valuable reference has been, in the University of KwaZulu-Natal Archives (UKZNA), H 1/2/1–2 University of Natal: A.F. Hattersley, 'The University of Natal, 1910–1960' (typescript). See also Maurice Boucher, *Spes in Arduis: A history of the University of South Africa* (Pretoria: University of South Africa, 1973); *Natal University College Magazine* (NUC Magazine): Commemoration Number 1949; and Wyn Rees, *The Natal Technical College 1907–1957* (Pietermaritzburg: Natal University Press, 1957).

- 2 *Statutes of the Cape of Good hope Passed by the first Parliament, Sessions 1854–1858* (Cape Town: Saul Solomon, 1863) see Act 4 of 1858: 325; *Statutes of the Cape of Good hope 1652–1905* (Cape Town: Cape Times, 1906) see Higher Education Act 16 of 1873; Boucher, *Spes in Arduis*: 1–75; Rees, *The Natal Technical College*: 2–3; Hattersley, ‘The University of Natal’: 1–4; UKZNA H 1/3/2 History of the University of Natal: D.C. Lötter, ‘University education in Natal: the movement for it and its attainment’ (typescript, 1964): 1; R.F. Currey, *Rhodes University 1904–1970* (Grahamstown: Rhodes University, 1970): 13; *The New Encyclopaedia Britannica*, Vol. 12 (Chicago: Encyclopaedia Britannica, 2005): 165–168.
- 3 UKZNA Malherbe Papers STP 6/10/4: A.F. Hattersley, ‘The early years of the Natal University College’ (typescript, 1948): 1–2 and STP 6/10/6: Mary C. Dick ‘The University of Natal: a sketch of its historical development’: 1–4; *Natal Star* 5 March 1856; Hattersley ‘The University of Natal’: 1, 4, 5, 50–52; Lötter, ‘University education in Natal’: 2–3; Rees, *The Natal Technical College*: 3, 9–12; *Natal Government Gazette 1861*, laws 18 and 19: 78, 84, 93, 98, 217–219, 241–243, 396, 424; Edgar H. Brookes and Colin de B. Webb, *A history of Natal* (Pietermaritzburg: University of Natal Press, 1965): 1–2, 78, 360; D.W. Krüger and C.J. Beyers (eds), *Dictionary of South African Biography* Vol. III (Pretoria: HSRC, 1977): 130; *Jubilee historical Sketch of the Durban Public Library and Reading Room* (Durban: Josiah James, 1903): 12; *Statutes of the Cape of Good hope, 1652–1905* see University Extension Act 9 of 1875 Vol. 1: 1362 and University Incorporation Amendment Act 6 of 1896; Boucher, *Spes in Arduis*: 22, 75–84; D. Hobart Houghton and Jennifer Dagut (eds), *Source Material on the South African Economy: 1860–1970*, Vol. I, 1860–1899 (Cape Town: Oxford University Press, 1972): 36; Bill Guest, *A Century of Science and Service: The Natal Museum in a Changing South Africa 1904–2004* (Pietermaritzburg: Natal Museum, 2005): 2; Z.A. Konczacki, *Public finance and Economic Development of Natal, 1893–1910* (Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press, 1967): 165–166.
- 4 Hattersley, ‘The University of Natal’: 5–6, 9, 36–37; Lindsay Young, ‘The N.U.C. in retrospect’ *NUC Magazine* Commemoration Number 1949: 1; Rees, *Natal Technical College*, 2–6, 60–62; Boucher, *Spes in Arduis*: 86–102; Brookes, *University of Natal*: 3–6; Bill Guest “‘It was the best of times, it was the worst of times’”: Natal and the Anglo-Boer War of 1899–1902’ *Natalia* 29 (1999): 23–49; *The Natal Who’s Who 1906* (Durban: Natal Who’s Who Publishing Co., 1906): 32, 67, 110, 114, 127, 143, 180; W.J. de Kock and D.W. Krüger (eds), *Dictionary of South African Biography* Vol. II (Pretoria: HSRC, 1972): 499–500; R. McClelland, C.E. Axelson and T.H.J. Esterhuizen (compilers), *The Pietermaritzburg Technical College 1910–1960* (Pietermaritzburg: Pietermaritzburg Technical College, 1960): 40.
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IT TOOK NUC NEARLY 40 years to achieve full university status. During the first decade its survival was uncertain, but in 1910 no time was wasted launching the new College and preparing candidates for examination by the University of the Cape of Good Hope.¹

The NUC Administration

Little more than a month after the College came into legal existence its Council met for the first time on 21 January 1910, in the Examinations Hall of the Education Office in Longmarket Street. On the motion of Pietermaritzburg's Mayor, Councillor D. Saunders, Sir Henry Bale, Chief Justice of Natal, was unanimously elected chairman. He was, according to one Council member, 'a tall, bearded, venerable man, ever conscious of his justice-ship'.

Physical appearance aside, it was an appropriate though all too fleeting choice. Born in 1854 in Pietermaritzburg, Bale had practised as an attorney and then as an advocate, subsequently declining the premiership of the Colony on two occasions but serving as Attorney-General and Minister of Education (1897–1901). After being appointed Chief Justice in 1901, when he was knighted, Bale had become renowned for his extensive legal knowledge and incisive judgments. His active interest in community work and in education had earlier led him to serve on the Natal Council of Education (1886–1893) and, in 1902, as a Natal representative on the Council of the University of the Cape of Good Hope.

Bale chaired NUC's Senate as well as Council until his premature death in December 1910, setting a sober and very conservative tone in both bodies. He was succeeded by the statesmanlike Hon. John Dove-Wilson both as Judge President of the Supreme Court of Natal and as chairman of Council from 1911 to 1930.

R.D. (Robert) Clark, a Classics scholar and highly successful former Principal of Maritzburg College, was the first vice-chairman and a helpful counsellor to Senate until May 1917 when he died in his bed in the Victoria

Club. Rev. Dr L. (Leo) Sormany, another influential and sobering member of Council, succeeded him as vice-chairman. Sormany was a Father in the Oblates of Mary Immaculate and Principal of the Catholic St Charles College in Pietermaritzburg before it was taken over by the Marist Brothers. Other Christian denominations were indirectly represented on Council in the form of the aforementioned representatives of Michaelhouse (Church of the Province), the Huguenot College in Greytown (Dutch Reformed Church), Girls Collegiate (Non-Conformist) and Hilton College (closely associated with Methodism).



J. (John) Dove-Wilson was born in Scotland in 1865, the son of an eminent judge and professor of Law. He was educated at the universities of Aberdeen and Edinburgh, where he had a successful practice before being appointed third puisne judge of Natal in 1904. In 1911 he became Judge President of the Natal provincial division of the Supreme Court of South Africa, in which capacity he was respected for the fluency and exactness of his judgments. He was knighted in 1918 and, on his retirement in 1930, returned to Edinburgh where he died in 1935.



W.J. (William) O'Brien was born in Roscrea, Tipperary, and emigrated to Natal in 1878 where he served in the Natal Light Horse during the 1879 Anglo-Zulu War. Initially he worked for a draper in Pietermaritzburg but from 1888 practised as an accountant. He eventually became the Colony's leading stockbroker, served on the boards of several gold mining companies and was a member of the Johannesburg Stock Exchange and a friend of Ernest Oppenheimer. O'Brien served on the Pietermaritzburg City Council from 1897 and was Mayor in 1903–1904. In 1918 he became a member of Parliament and from 1939 until 1948 he served in the Union Senate. He was also prominent in several other capacities, including the Councils/Boards of the Botanical Society, the Natal Society, the Maritzburg Technical College and, for 52 years, Grey's Hospital. In 1946 he became a freeman of the city of Pietermaritzburg and the University of South Africa awarded him an honorary doctorate. He died in 1959 at 99 years of age.

It was recorded that by 1941 Council had not been divided on more than half a dozen occasions since assuming office. This was a tribute to its careful leadership but also pointed to its conservative like-mindedness on most of the issues that it discussed, including the non-admission of ‘non-European’ students. Meetings were held during term in the morning on the second Friday of each month. Initially this was to suit Dr H.A. Dumat, a government nominee who was also a member of the Medical Council, which met on Friday afternoons. It set a precedent that was retained until 1948. Punctuality depended on the tram service from the centre of Pietermaritzburg to Scottsville, though subsequently some meetings were held in a committee room of the Durban City Hall, long before university classes were conducted in the harbour city.

William O’Brien was an important addition to Council in 1913. A former Mayor of Pietermaritzburg who subsequently represented the city in Parliament and became a member of the Union Senate, he had been instrumental in acquiring the initial Scottsville site for NUC. He served Council for 41 years until 1954, for a term as its vice-chairman and then as chairman from 1941 to 1953. As an experienced stockbroker his advice to the College on financial issues proved invaluable and in 1946 the University of South Africa awarded him an honorary doctorate. In 1961 the William O’Brien Hall of Residence, housing 408 male students and costing R660 000, was opened on the Pietermaritzburg campus and named in his honour.

Relations between Council and Senate were mostly cordial, due partly to the urbane influence of John Dove-Wilson. They improved further after 1920 when amended legislation allowed for the inclusion of two professors as full Council members. Following Bale’s death the chair of Senate was occupied in rotation for varying lengths of time by different heads of department until 1930 when NUC’s first Principal was appointed.

Appropriately, Charles Mudie, assisted by J. (Jock) Robertson, served as the College’s Acting Registrar. He was succeeded, briefly, by J.A.P. Feltham (popularly known as X), a Cambridge graduate and qualified attorney who had worked as private secretary to Cecil Rhodes but proved to be somewhat disorganised in his administrative methods. Following his resignation in August 1911 due to ill health David Robb assumed the post. He was a former Hansard writer for the Natal Parliament who had been secretary to the 1905 Technical Education Commission. Thankfully, Robb proved to be much more reliable and steadier than Feltham in that crucial office. In gratitude, on his retirement in 1925 he was rewarded with a presentation walking stick and an engraved photograph of the College.²

The academic staff

Council's first four monthly meetings were mostly concerned with filling academic posts. At first there were seven but eventually eight of these, which, at O'Grady Gubbins' request, had been advertised locally and abroad even before the University College Bill had passed through the Natal Parliament. Initially Council decided against appointing members of staff who were over the age of 40, presumably either for financial reasons or on the grounds that the new College needed youthful leadership. All applicants had to submit certificates covering medical conditions ranging from headaches, vertigo, asthma, hernia, defective hearing, speech impediments and poor eyesight to convulsions, serious disease, nervous exhaustion, mental derangement and insanity in the family. A certain level of eccentricity was presumably acceptable in the case of professorial staff although this was not specified. It is also not clear whether female applicants would have been considered, for it was only in 1931 that the first woman was employed in an academic as distinct from a clerical position.

Sir William Arbuckle, Natal's Agent-General in London, cabled coded reports on the British applicants to Pietermaritzburg after calling upon his junior colleague Robert Russell and J.W. Peck of the London County Council's Education Department to assist him. From February 1910, on receipt of these, a 'literary' and a 'scientific' sub-committee of NUC's Council made final recommendations.

In the same month six Maritzburg College masters, under the authority of the Natal Education Department, started lecturing the first 30 registered undergraduates. Classes were accommodated in a two-roomed, wood-and-corrugated iron building set aside for this purpose on school property. It was situated near the stables behind which schoolboy disputes were traditionally settled with fisticuffs and it later became the drying room for the school laundry. There NUC's students began to explore scholarly debates in a rather



D. (David) Robb was born in Edinburgh in 1860 and worked on the *Glasgow herald* before emigrating to Natal in 1885. After working as a reporter on the *Natal Witness* he spent some time on the Witwatersrand goldfields but in 1888 returned to Pietermaritzburg where he practised as a sharebroker. In 1901 he served as secretary on three commissions of inquiry, and then joined the staff of the House of Assembly in 1904 before transferring to the staff of the Legislative Council.

more genteel fashion with all issues of disagreement coming out in the wash of academic discussion.

The equipment in each of the allocated rooms was spartan, comprising a chair and small table for the lecturer and a trestle table for the use of students. It was no wonder that the building was later put to use for drying laundry as the summer heat soon drove classes into the much cooler tile-roofed school building. There Arts students repaired to the carpentry room while their Science counterparts spent as much time as possible in the Chemistry and Physics laboratory. Whenever available, other areas, such as the Prefects' Study and the Reception Room, were used for smaller classes like Senior Greek (two students) and French (one).

The new University College had good reason to be grateful to the schoolmasters who held the fort for the first term of its existence. They were led by E.W. (Ernest) 'Pixie' Barns (French) who later served as Registrar, and included W. (William) 'Fluff' Abbit (Mathematics), E.H. Lawrence (History), J.H. Lawlor (English and Latin), subsequently Chief Inspector of Schools, S.R. Edminson (Chemistry and Geology) and a Mr Morris (Physics). NUC was also particularly fortunate in the quality of the inaugural teaching staff that it attracted, primarily from Britain. It was what Rev. Dr Leo Sormany described as novice's luck, though at least one professorial appointee proved to be suitably absent-minded, subsequently leaving his luggage in a rickshaw outside the railway station in his haste to go on summer holiday.

The College Council assumed control from the Natal Education Department in April and by the end of May it had chosen its eight foundation members of staff. By then only two of the overseas appointees, Professors A. (Alexander) Petrie (Classics, 1910–1946) and R.B. (Robert Beckett) Denison (Chemistry 1910–1938 and Physics 1910–1912) had arrived. Petrie was still a bachelor and Denison had only been married for four days when they embarked on the *Kenilworth Castle* for Durban. They became close friends en route, playing deck games on board and golf at Port Elizabeth, where Denison demonstrated his superior prowess – presumably with his adoring wife admiring from the rough.

The date of their departure from Britain (26 March) and of their arrival in Durban (17 April) were to become what Petrie later described as 'mild anniversary celebrations'. On those occasions the two of them would reminisce about 'the cradle days of the NUC' as the years rolled by and their original colleagues of 1910 passed away leaving them, the first two to arrive, as 'the last survivors of the original college of eight'.



A. (Alexander) Petrie was born in 1881 in Inveravon, Banffshire in the Highlands of Scotland and at 18 years of age graduated at the University of Aberdeen with first-class honours in Classics. He then went to Trinity College, Cambridge, on the strength of a prestigious Ferguson Scholarship and acquired a first in the Classical Tripos Part I, became a major scholar of the College and in 1907 obtained Part II of the Tripos as well as a Blue for athletics. He taught Greek at Aberdeen University before being appointed in 1910 to the chair of Classics at NUC just short of his 30th birthday. Despite his heavy teaching load he published extensively and in 1927 was a co-founder of the Classical Association of South Africa, in 1930 being elected its president. After retiring in 1946, the last of NUC's foundation staff, Petrie became Professor Emeritus and in 1950 was awarded an honorary doctorate. He returned several times to teach in a temporary capacity in Natal and at other universities and died in 1979 at 98 years of age.



R.B. (Robert) Denison was born in 1879 in Huddersfield, attended Bradford Grammar School and the Yorkshire College of Science (Leeds University from 1904) where he graduated with a B.Sc. and was awarded an 1851 Exhibition Research Scholarship. In Germany he conducted research in Aachen, acquired a Ph.D. at the University of Breslau and then, on the strength of an unusual renewal of his scholarship, worked in Berlin and at University College, London. He was awarded the D.Sc. of the University of Leeds, published several papers in Physical Chemistry and taught at Heriot-Watt College in Edinburgh, rising to the level of assistant professor. He married in 1910, shortly before emigrating to Natal where he occupied the chair of Chemistry at NUC until 1939. He was Dean of the Faculty of Science (1924–1926), served as chairman and was a much-respected member of Senate, and was a member of the Joint Matriculation Board for 15 years. He was Principal of NUC from 1938 until 1945. The following year the University of South Africa awarded him an honorary doctorate and he died on 27 March 1951, 41 years almost to the day that he and Petrie had sailed from Southampton.

Petrie and Denison reached Pietermaritzburg by train on the evening of 18 April 1910, accompanied by ‘Jock’ Robertson (later Secretary to the Natal Education Department) from the Registrar’s Office. They were accommodated at the Camden Hotel in Pietermaritz Street and started teaching the next day, after Sir Henry Bale had transported them in his carriage to Maritzburg College. Years later Petrie recalled how, after exchanging a few pleasantries, Bale beamed down upon them from his lofty height and observed, benignly, ‘I’m beginning to think professors are not so formidable people after all!’ Somewhat taken aback that the first of their ‘genus’ in Natal were apparently unable to ‘inspire a little awe in the inhabitants’, Petrie consoled himself during the sightseeing tour of the city en route to College with the knowledge ‘that the two things that had made Scotland great were John Knox and hard knocks!’

Following their arrival, student registrations, including females, began to increase. In common with other members of the foundation staff, or what Lawlor dubbed the ‘NUC aboriginals’, Petrie carried a heavy teaching load. This included both Greek and Latin language and literature, Classical history and culture. He also initiated the Principles of Classical Civilisation course but had to wait until 1935 before acquiring any lecturing assistance. He nevertheless found time to publish extensively. Among his books were *A Latin Reader for Matriculation and Other Students* (1918), which was prescribed in Natal schools for at least six decades thereafter, *Lycurgus: The Speech Against Leocrates* (1922), *An Introduction to Roman history, Literature and Antiquities* (1918 and reprinted several times), and *An Introduction to Greek history, Antiquities and Literature* (1932 and also reprinted).

Much later, in his retirement, Petrie amused himself writing books on Scottish humour to be savoured alongside his celebrated tribute to ‘The immortal memory of Robert Burns’. Long before then he became a pillar of the local Presbyterian Church and of the Caledonian Society. On campus he immersed himself in most aspects of College life serving, at various stages of his career, as president of the Dramatic Society, vice-president of the Students Christian Association, president of the Athletics Club and of the Rugby Club, and vice-president of the Mens Hockey Club.

An early student tradition was to compose a ‘college song’ or ‘pro-song’ about each member of staff. Mercifully, perhaps, the melody has been lost in the mists of time but these contained verses that were not always entirely polite. On Petrie the verdict was:

A gentleman of culture
Who never would insult yer
Here’s to good old Petrie, yes, yes, yes.

His reputation for scrupulous courtesy and a ready sense of humour soon extended far beyond the lecture theatres in which he endeared himself to his students. Both qualities were evident in equal measure when, after a hectic Rag weekend, a student fell asleep during one of his first-year classes. So as not to disturb the slumbering giant the professor obligingly delivered the rest of his lecture in a whisper, like the legendary Odysseus outlining to his followers a plan of escape from the cavern of the sleeping Cyclops!

Petrie anecdotes became legendary. On another often-remembered occasion when he left the classroom door open to catch the breeze on a hot summer's day a large dog wandered in before flopping down in front of the lectern. In his strong, slightly faltering Scots accent Petrie observed to his expectant audience, 'Aah weell, tis better to let the dogs come to Latin than let Latin go to the dogs!' When end-of-year examinations approached he liked to remind students not to rely on sure 'spot' questions because 'the examiner has this advantage over the leopard – he can change his spots'. At the preview of a well-known artist's exhibition that did not appeal much to him he declared, with a characteristic twinkle in his eyes under ever-expressive eyebrows, that this was surely a case of 'art for sherry's sake'!

In 1946, when Petrie retired at 65 years of age, it was gratefully pointed out that he had never forgotten the usually limited personal contact between students and their professors that prevailed at most British universities. Consequently, at NUC he had consciously taken advantage of the initially small numbers and always 'made friends of his students'. Over the years many of them were drawn by him and his wife into 'their family circle where they found an atmosphere of simple hospitality and friendship and happiness which was to serve as an ideal example for the rest of their life'. It was small wonder that 'students at NUC spoke of him as of a loved and honoured relation'. His humour was obviously infectious. One of his protégés, Robin Savory, pointed out to him years later that the primary advantage of a classical education was 'that it teaches you to do without the money it prevented you from acquiring'.

Petrie continued to be highly regarded by his peers. In 1948 he became Professor Emeritus of Latin and Greek and in 1950 was awarded an Honorary D.Litt. When the Classical Association of South Africa was established in 1956 he was elected as an honorary president, having been a founder member of the earlier Classical Association founded in 1927 in Cape Town. His post-retirement birthdays were regularly observed on campus. They were characterised by his wise and witty speeches, without resort to notes, the length of which unfortunately reduced some of the celebrants to a state of collapse!

Once asked what he fancied by way of a present, Petrie gave the matter some thought before reputedly suggesting an evening with the well-known blonde bombshell film star Marilyn Monroe! At his 95th birthday party he revealed that the secret of his longevity was that he had been ‘a moderate eater all my life and my friends have always ensured that I should be a moderate drinker’. On another occasion he advised Michael Lambert, a future senior lecturer in Classics, that he should ‘read some Greek every morning’ to ensure a long life. Despite suffering from deafness, Petrie’s witticisms, knowledge of Scots folklore and infectious laugh made him the life and soul of any company. As Alan Hattersley, one of his somewhat reserved early colleagues, put it he was a ‘born raconteur, warm-hearted and full of good stories’ who ‘won on all sides affection and regard’.

In 1970 Petrie Residence for women was named after him on the Pietermaritzburg campus. In his later years, until shortly before his death in 1979, he lived at the Victoria Club in town, where the Indian staff treated him with great fondness and his humorous conversational exchanges with another resident, Colonel J. (James) Turnbull, similarly passed into local legend. Petrie also became a well-known figure in the streets of central Pietermaritzburg when he took his afternoon walks. In 1974 a special dinner was held in honour of the Victoria Club’s mascot, the tortoise Durando, which had spent 60 years on the premises. Equal to the occasion, having often been given to verse, the professor wrote a poem in Durando’s honour. This was subsequently framed and given pride of place on the wall.

In the 1970s Petrie attended the inaugural lectures of two successors to his chair, David Raven in 1973 (when he was 92 years of age) and Magnus Henderson in 1978 (when he was 98). His £50 (R100) bequest has increased substantially in capital value while still providing the Petrie Prize awarded annually to top students in Classics. The *Natal Convocation News* remembered him as ‘the liveliest and most lovable academic this University has known’. His portrait, by the well-known artist and NUC staff member Rosa Hope, adorned the Pietermaritzburg campus Council Chamber for many years and was rescued by the Classics Department following its removal from there in 2010.

Petrie’s colleague Robert Beckett Denison may, in part, have been attracted to Pietermaritzburg’s climate for health reasons. He too was a dedicated and demanding teacher, helping to raise the general level of Science instruction in local schools and seeking to make his students aware of the needs of society and the ways in which Science might meet them. Affectionately known on

campus as ‘Beckett’, several of his protégés subsequently distinguished themselves in industry and research in South Africa and abroad.

Denison was relieved of having to teach Physics in addition to Chemistry after slightly more than a year in office. The subject was still widely regarded as little more than an appendage to the latter discipline but he was grateful for the arrival as lecturer of P. (Paul) Mesham (1912–1947), an M.Sc. graduate and staff member from the University of Liverpool. His initial salary of £300 (R600) was half that of the first professorial appointees and by 1914 Mesham was pleading for an increase. This was based on emoluments paid elsewhere and on his own strenuous efforts to establish the discipline at NUC with virtually no apparatus or furnishings. Mesham remained in harness even though, in common with ‘identical cases at other Colleges’, the Union Department of Education could not see its way clear to raising his post to the level of a chair in the absence of ‘improved conditions of revenue’.

When Denison was eventually provided with a laboratory of his own it was equipped with little more than fume hoods, adequate ventilation, piped gas, a few items of glassware and work benches with storage cupboards. Students were not charged for the use of the limited apparatus but were required to pay for breakages. For his own part, Denison soon realised that, in the absence of sophisticated laboratory equipment and scientific journals, there was little scope for meaningful research. He had planned to explore the industrial potential of Natal’s raw materials, but with barely enough equipment to conduct his teaching effectively he abandoned the idea.

Denison subsequently focused so heavily on his teaching that the publication of three papers in 1912 proved to be more or less the end of his career as a research chemist. He did, however, serve as Borough Analyst, mainly testing milk samples and, from 1914, was involved in developing a new motor fuel named Natalite. It was a sugarcane by-product that, it was believed, could undercut and eventually replace petrol. In 1917 Natal Cane By-Products Ltd bought the patent rights but it was only used for other specific purposes after the petrol price dropped.

For many years Denison served as chairman of the Committee of Studies in Chemistry of the University of South Africa and was a foundation member of the South African Chemical Institute as well as being one of its early presidents. In his 1918 presidential address he observed, revealingly:

Our chemical departments are usually understaffed and insufficiently equipped. In some cases the departmental staff consists of one individual with the title of professor ... it is apparent that until our present conditions are changed there can be but little research in

South African universities. It is a pity that a man of proved ability, who comes to this country full of ideas to be worked out, is so overburdened with teaching work that he has to stand aside and see his plans carried out by others in other lands. He becomes a teacher pure and simple and his teaching suffers because the enthusiasm for his subject has departed.

As Petrie commented years later, while in his own discipline he could cope initially with only a blackboard, chalk and a few prescribed texts, Denison 'had to pay the price which most others have to pay, and must count on paying, who take up similar posts in a comparatively young country: research had to give place to teaching, pure and simple. Fortunately he was as capable in the latter role as in the former.'

Denison also served on several NUC committees and a term as president of the NUC Athletics Union. His particular interest in rugby was reflected in the trophy bearing his name for which NUC's Maritzburg and Durban campuses later competed. He was a keen golfer most of his life, winning several trophies at the Scottsville Club and for 20 years representing Maritzburg in the annual inter-town competitions against Durban. After proving himself as Faculty Dean and chairman of Senate, he was to retreat from teaching as well as research to become a full-time administrator when, in 1938, he assumed the principalship.

Petrie and Denison were joined in August 1910 by other soon-to-be local legends in J.W. (John William) Bews (Botany and Geology 1910–1938), W.N. Roseveare (Pure and Applied Mathematics 1910–1930), O. (Osborn) Waterhouse (English 1910–1943 and Philosophy 1910–1938), G.J. (Gerrit) Besselaar (Modern Languages 1910–1932 and History 1910–1911), R.A. (Robert Arthur) Inchbold (Law 1910–1916) and E. (Ernest) Warren (Zoology 1910–1930). The unusual combinations of disciplines with which some appointees had to contend were largely attributable to Charles Mudie's initial proposals. These, as Petrie later commented, were 'an impossible arrangement, in practice', with the result that the 'breaking-up process, as was only to be expected, started almost immediately, this taking the form not of the creation of new Chairs but of Lectureships, which were gradually, in many cases, erected into Chairs'.

The chair of Chemistry and Physics was a case in point. Botany and Geology was another, for while there were several applicants few had impressive qualifications in both disciplines given the already established tendency abroad towards specialisation. Bews seemed to be the most versatile applicant at a time when NUC was as much in need of that quality as of expertise. A 25-year-old B.Sc. graduate of the University of Edinburgh, he had majored in Botany after laying a broad academic foundation in the best tradition of the

Scottish universities. He and Denison had met at Edinburgh University where both had been members of the Research Club.

Despite his obvious brilliance, Bews must have realised that salaries and promotional prospects in Britain were poor. On arrival at NUC he immediately discovered what proved to be an abiding research interest in his new sub-tropical environment. Medley-Wood, Sim and Henkel were the current experts but, as Sim later observed, ‘in no time the pupil became the master’. Bews began to produce a stream of publications beginning with ‘The vegetation of Natal’ in the Natal Museum’s *Annals of Natal* (Vol 2, 1912), followed the next year by ‘An ecological survey of the midlands of Natal, with particular reference to the Pietermaritzburg district’ in the same journal.

His interest in Botany soon extended to a much broader fascination with Ecology, which was reflected in his teaching and in the publications that established his international reputation. These included *The Grasses and Grasslands of South Africa* (1918), *An Introduction to the flora of Natal and Zululand* (1921) and *Plant forms and Their Evolution in South Africa* (1925). By that stage Bews was recognised as one of the leading ecologists in the British Empire, with extensive international contacts. He followed this up with his widely acclaimed *The World’s Grasses – Their Differentiation, Distribution, Economics and Ecology* (1929), the last of his botanical publications.



J.W. (John) Bews was born in 1884 in the Orkneys and enjoyed the benefit of a broad education before graduating in 1907. He lectured briefly at his alma mater, the University of Edinburgh, and at Manchester before spending the rest of his academic career in Natal, apart from a 20-month sabbatical at Newcastle-on-Tyne. Rejecting the option of a career in Britain, this interlude confirmed that his future as a scientist lay in southern Africa. He was awarded a doctorate by the University of Edinburgh for his research on the ecology of the Natal

Midlands and published more than 30 articles and books, which established his international reputation as an ecological scientist before he became principal of NUC in 1930. In that capacity he established another reputation as an incisive and diplomatic leader in difficult times. He also served as a member of the Botanical Survey, president of the South African Association for the Advancement of Science (1930–1931), recipient of its South African Medal and leader of its delegation to the 1931 Centenary of the British Association as well as chairman of the Joint Matriculation Board (1934–1935). Bews died prematurely in 1938.

By then he had initiated a strong research tradition in NUC's Department of Botany and paved the way for further work on methods of veld management in South Africa. By the 1930s, when Bews ('Bewsy' to his friends) was Principal of NUC, his ecological interests had embraced human society and the philosophy of holism, of which his friend General J.C. (Jan) Smuts was a devotee. This was reflected in the publication of *human Ecology* (1935), for which Smuts wrote the foreword, and *Life as a Whole* (1937).

While heavily committed to teaching and research, and later to administration, his interests were fairly broad, finding time to enjoy bridge, poetry, detective yarns and theatre, though he never danced. Bews was often casually attired and had a liking for coloured waistcoats. Students were amused by his habit of taking his pocket watch out several times during lectures before placing it on the table. He became a familiar sight riding down Longmarket (Langalibalele) Street most afternoons en route to the then Natal Society Library, with his coat open, his hat well back on his head and his pipe clenched in his mouth.

By the time of his premature death in November 1938 Bews had not only acquired an international reputation as a scientist but locally as an inspiring teacher and one of the acknowledged architects of university studies in Natal. George Gale, later his biographer and the Secretary for Public Health, wrote of him:

He was then styled Professor of Botany, but already he was the brilliant exponent of the ecological and holistic viewpoint in the whole field of humanistic as well as purely scientific studies which he remained to the end of his days. I was his student for five glorious years, and the inspiration of those years is with me yet.

The 1911 Thomson Commission appointed to investigate higher education in South Africa recognised NUC's need for a lecturer in Geology, though not for any other additional posts. Bews was eventually granted teaching assistance in Botany in the form (briefly) of R.D. Aitken and then of his own students Dr (later Professor) A.W. (Adolf) Bayer and Dr B.S. (Beryl) Fisher. They continued to run the Botany Department when he assumed the principalship. Under his and their direction a major contribution was made to the discipline not only in terms of research output, but also in the number and quality of graduates.

By 1945 these included R.A. Dyer and L.E. Codd, future directors of the Botanical Research Institute in Pretoria, Professor H.B. Rycroft, who became director of the National Botanical Gardens of South Africa, Professor E. Schelpe of the Bolus Herbarium, Dr W.E. Watt, Director of Forestry in South

Africa, Dr J.E. Vanderplank, chief of the Division of Plant Pathology, Dr F.N. Howes, Director of Museums at the Royal Botanic Gardens at Kew, and Dr C.R.C. Heard, who lectured in Physiology before becoming engaged in medical research in London.

The NUC Council made an early exception to its own decision not to appoint staff over 40 years of age when it settled for the 46-year-old W.N. Roseveare from a field of eleven candidates for the Chair of Applied and Pure Mathematics. These included no less than seven who had secured first-class passes at Oxford, Cambridge or Dublin. Roseveare was born in 1864 at Monmouth in the Wye Valley, entered St John's College, Cambridge, in 1882, rowed in the first 'Lady Margaret' boat and gained his colours for rugby. In 1885 he graduated as sixth wrangler at Cambridge where he took his tripos, obtained a first in Higher Mathematics and was elected to a fellowship at St John's College two years later. He taught temporarily at King's College in the Strand, at Westminster School and then at Harrow until 1906. He was also a member of a commission that investigated the teaching of Mathematics in England, and had held temporary posts at Stellenbosch and Huguenot College in the Cape, where he became enamoured with South Africa.

Roseveare was a dedicated mathematician with a deep concern for his students. What little he published was mainly on elliptic functions. Somewhat hesitant in his speech, unconventional and occasionally suffering from lapses of memory, in 1914 he nevertheless became Senate's first representative on the Council but without a vote. Like most of the initial members of staff he participated in several aspects of College life, including rugby coach (1913–1924) and club vice-president (1925–1928) having narrowly missed a blue at Cambridge, cricket coach (1920–1921) and club president (1919–1920), Literary and Debating Society vice-president (1919) and Scientific Society president (1926–1928) and vice-president (1929).

Roseveare was particularly devoted to his small home-made observatory. According to at least one of his students he was often unshaven, obviously tired and somewhat distracted when he gave his morning lectures after 'a long night with the stars'. He joined the Astronomical Society in Durban and was instrumental in having a four-inch refractor telescope brought to Pietermaritzburg in the 1920s. Edmund Nevill, the Government Astronomer (1881–1912), had used it before it was first given in 1917 to the Durban Technical College. The telescope was subsequently entrusted to NUC's Physics Department. In 1927 Roseveare eventually gave a highly successful public lecture on 'The stars', prefaced by general observations on science.

The chair in 'English and Philosophy or History' proved to be the most difficult to fill in view of Mudie's unusual combination of disciplines. Osborn Waterhouse (MA Vict.) was offered the post at NUC after two Scotsmen, Andrew and Dewar, had withdrawn their applications for medical reasons and a petition from NUC students that a Dr A. Miller be appointed was rejected. Waterhouse agreed to teach Philosophy as well as English and while he proved to be energetic, he was considered a little 'pushy' and not a particularly inspiring lecturer. He had previously taught at Posen in Germany before accepting a senior lectureship in English at the University College of the South-West in Exeter.

During the course of 32 years' service at NUC, which ended with his retirement in 1944, Waterhouse acted temporarily as Registrar (1926) and contributed significantly to the teaching of English language and literature in the province. In 1927 he gratefully shed responsibility for Philosophy but continued to be involved in the training of teachers in collaboration with the Natal Teachers Training College. He also had a strong extramural interest in music.

The last three foundation staff members were already in South Africa when they were recruited. Gerrit Besselaar, a 36-year-old Hollander born in 1874 in Rotterdam, was an MA graduate of the University of the Cape of Good Hope. He subsequently acquired a doctorate in Literature from the University of Gent, with J.L.M. Francken (subsequently Professor of French at Stellenbosch) lecturing at NUC during 1913 in his absence abroad. Besselaar had taught Dutch, French and German in high school for a dozen years and was lecturing at the Transvaal University College in Pretoria prior to his appointment in Pietermaritzburg. At NUC he occupied what he called 'a settee' rather than a chair, though in the early days it was by no means the only 'professorial sofa' at the College.

During the course of his career in Pietermaritzburg Besselaar served as Professor of Modern Languages and History (1911), Modern Languages (1912–1928) and Dutch and German (1929–1932). His command of languages extended far beyond his brief, though few students registered for French and even fewer for German, especially during World War I (1914–1918). Described by Brookes as 'the stormy petrel of Senate', he was certainly a man of strong convictions who was sometimes given to excessive sarcasm that extended to the classroom.

He could also be inspiring. Leif Egeland, subsequently South Africa's High Commissioner in London, recalled Besselaar exhorting first-year students, in

his capacity as chairman of Senate, ‘to remember that “students” was a present participle’. Some 25 years later, when Egeland re-opened the South African Legation at The Hague, he found that Besselaar had returned to Europe and become ‘a devoted missionary amongst his own people of South African ways and culture’.

In October 1910 the Minister of Education rejected NUC’s application to establish a separate chair of History. Instead, in February 1911 M. (Maurice) Franks, a Masters graduate from the Cape, was engaged as lecturer (1911–1912). This was not, as Brookes has suggested, because Besselaar declined to teach that discipline in addition to an already heavy workload of 22 classes a week, which was actually only two-thirds of the teaching required of him. It was really in response to concern expressed in the Durban press at the prospect of the subject being entrusted to a Hollander.

Franks was succeeded by H.H. Lund (1912–1915) from Weenen County College. In 1916, after he resigned for active service in World War I, A.F. (Alan) Hattersley was employed at a salary (like Mesham) of £300 (R600) a year. By virtue of his date of appointment in May 1916 he was not one of NUC’s ‘aboriginals’ but soon became very much part of the early establishment. Like Bews he was eventually to plunge into a local research interest, finding that



A.F. (Alan) Hattersley was born in 1893 in Leeds, England, where he attended Leeds Grammar School before acquiring a BA at Cambridge in 1915 and arriving at NUC the following year as lecturer. In 1919 he became a fellow of the Royal Historical Society and in 1923 was promoted to Professor of History (and eventually Political Science), a post he held until his retirement in 1953. During that period he published more than 20 books, as well as numerous monographs and articles for newspapers and magazines. Most of his work was concentrated on British settlement in Natal, and on the socio-economic and political development of the Colony until 1910. Off-campus he had a keen interest in the cultural life of the community, serving on the Council of the Natal Society Library (1926–1953) and as its president (1930–1933) before becoming its first fellow in 1972, the year in which he became a freeman of the city of Pietermaritzburg. Hattersley also helped to start the Boy Scout movement in the province. The University awarded him an honorary doctorate in 1957 and he died in 1976 in Pietermaritzburg.

in Pietermaritzburg ‘the path that lay ahead for aspiring historians was clearly signposted’. The complete records of the Colony of Natal were ‘awaiting the attention of the historian’ in the strong rooms at the recently completed Colonial Building in town, later to be moved to the Archive Depot in Pietermaritz Street.

From the 1930s, supplemented by sabbaticals and summer vacations spent in the Public Records Office in London, Hattersley was subsequently to research this reservoir of information, emerging as the first professional in a part of the world in which amateur historians had previously held sway and distinguishing himself primarily as the historian of British settlement in Natal.

NUC’s first Professor of Law, Robert Inchbold, was born in 1879 in Leeds and settled in the Cape Colony. There he became a BA, LLB graduate of the University of the Cape of Good Hope and from 1906 an advocate at the Cape Bar. The Natal Law Society had subsequently employed him at a salary of £600 (R1 200) a year to teach candidate attorneys who were studying part-time for the Natal Law Certificate. He did so in alternate weeks in Durban and Pietermaritzburg, for which he was also paid his railway fare as well as an additional £25 (R50) a year in fees received from the students.

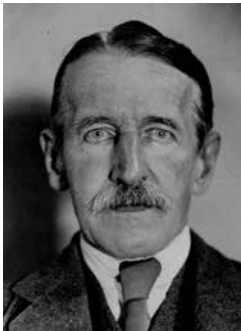
NUC took over the payment of his salary, with a subsidy from the Law Society, as well as the additional £25 (R50) as a travelling allowance, with student fees henceforth being paid directly to the College. In Durban classes were initially held at the Natal Law Society Library and, from 1911, in the City Hall. In Pietermaritzburg the City Hall similarly provided a venue in 1910–1911 but thereafter they were held at an ‘Education Office’ in town. Inchbold was a quiet, studious and well-liked lecturer who in 1913 was admitted to the Natal Provincial Division of the Supreme Court as an advocate. He acted briefly as prosecutor but did not really feature in the local courts of law, devoting himself to his students and enjoying a game of tennis with them when he had the time.

However, the rail travel between the two centres soon proved to be exhausting, much as Charles Mudie had earlier predicted. In March 1914 Inchbold requested permission to pay, out of his own salary, a recent and very capable student, a Mr Lewis, as his assistant to conduct the lectures in Durban under his supervision. He pointed out that this arrangement would give the (current) two students in Durban and seven in Pietermaritzburg ‘a continuous course of lectures instead of a week with lectures and a week without’. It would thereby encourage them to maintain their studies while relieving him, a married man, of his ‘oscillatory’ lifestyle.

Unfortunately for him, if not the Durban students, the Law Society did not approve the suggestion. Inchbold continued to oscillate, doing much to raise the standard of training for candidate attorneys in the province although student numbers were low. Sadly, his service to NUC was cut short in December 1916 by his premature death as a result of enteric fever. His loss, coupled with declining student numbers following the outbreak of World War I, induced government to substitute his chair with a lectureship in Law.

Ernest Warren's career at the new College was much longer. He had arrived in Pietermaritzburg in 1903 to assume the post of director of the Natal Museum (now the KwaZulu-Natal Museum) and he only subsequently accepted the concurrent post of Professor of Zoology at NUC. It was an arrangement that Council was encouraged to believe would work following the successful example of Professor J.E. (James) Duerden who was employed both at the Albany Museum and Rhodes University in Grahamstown. It also gave NUC its eighth professorial appointment instead of the initially envisaged seven.

Warren was the only one of the 'aboriginals' who started teaching in February 1910 with the Maritzburg College masters. He conducted all his classes at the Museum 'in front of the specimens in the cases' from 2 to 4 pm three afternoons a week, with demonstrations from 4 to 5.30 pm. It was the ideal venue in which to teach Zoology and also enabled him to keep his promise to the Museum trustees that his work for them would not fall below



E. (Ernest) Warren was born in 1871 in Canterbury. His brilliant student career at South-East College in Kent, University College Bristol and University College London led in 1894 to a first-class honours degree in Zoology and an appointment as demonstrator in that discipline. In 1898 he completed and published his doctoral thesis, was elected a fellow of University College London and became a life member of the University Convocation. A year later he was appointed assistant lecturer and museum curator at University College and

in 1900 assistant Professor of Zoology. This experience proved appropriate for the dual career he was to follow at the Natal Museum and NUC, first assuming the headship of the former in 1903 and retaining it until his retirement in 1935. The greatest of his many achievements there was the development of a magnificent Mammal Hall, which subsequently bore his name. He returned to Britain in 1934 and died there in 1946.

the ‘usual Civil Service hours’. On most days he worked until 6 pm anyway, and on public holidays.

Reticent by nature, Warren was less comfortable with undergraduates but a keen researcher and postgraduate supervisor. There were seldom more than eight students a year in his classes, with no more than 12 who majored in Zoology under his tutelage and two who completed an M.Sc. Alexander Petrie recorded that he had ‘never known a man who gave one the impression of living so much for, and with, his work; nay, if necessary, he might even sleep with it’, remembering that ‘in the course of a close and lengthy observation of the habits (I think) of a certain spider he had a bed made up for himself in his laboratory’.

Dr Sidney Skaife, later governor of the South African Broadcasting Corporation (SABC) and chairman of the Fisheries Board, remembered Warren as ‘an indefatigable worker, full of energy, enthusiasm and initiative’ and ‘a privilege and an inspiration to work under’ as an M.Sc. candidate. Skaife continued:

I was amazed at the catholicity of his interests. He was no narrow specialist. Whilst I was under him he was investigating certain queer little insects that are found only in termites’ nests, also the heredity of foxgloves, the anatomy of some little creatures like sea anemones found off the Natal Coast, and several other problems as well. I learned from him not to be afraid to tackle anything new ... I spent many happy hours in that little museum in Pietermaritzburg.

Warren’s own research projects indeed reflected a wide diversity of scientific interests. These included moths, termites, marine organisms, non-aquatic tadpoles, African toads, spider eggs and slugs. Many of his findings were published in the *Annals of the Natal Museum*, which he founded and edited, helping it to gain an international reputation and attracting contributions from a variety of reputable scientists, including John Bews.

In 1914 Warren began to experiment with foxgloves and nasturtiums in an effort to reassess Fr J.G. Mendel’s research on the inheritance of characters. He subsequently extended his research to work on hybrid daisies and aloes, fertile mules and hybridisation experiments that were being conducted in the interior between eland and domestic cattle. This led him into research on the chromosome mechanism of inheritance and to the conclusion, based on his own work on spiders and other Arachnida, that the chromosome hypothesis of heredity required substantial modification.

By the time of his return to Britain in the mid-1930s Warren had published more than 70 scientific papers, nearly half of them in the *Annals*, as well as 30 popular articles. As early as 1908, in recognition of his work, he was elected

fellow of the Royal Society of South Africa. In 1919 he became president of Section D of the South African Association for the Advancement of Science and in the following year the Association awarded him its medal and grant in recognition of his exceptional contribution to Science in South Africa. In 1925 he received the Captain Scott Senior Medal for scientific research. He continued to publish research findings for several years after his retirement.

All of NUC's 'aboriginal' professorial appointees proved to be notable for their loyalty and, apart from Inchbold, longevity of service to an institution whose survival was, for some years, decidedly uncertain. Apart from Roseveare, Besselaar and Warren, all were less than 30 years of age at the time of their appointments. Their £600 (R1 200) a year professorial salaries were a decided improvement on those attached to the junior posts in which they might otherwise have remained for some years in British universities, but there was initially little in the way of library or laboratory facilities to assist their research. Sabbaticals aside, they found themselves far removed from the latest developments in their respective fields of expertise. Nevertheless, Bews, Hattersley and Warren all discovered sufficient inspiration and ample local material with which to pursue highly successful research careers while Petrie published quite extensively in the field of Classical studies.

For the rest the emphasis was heavily on teaching as regular attendance at lectures was expected of all undergraduates. There was a major stir when, in April 1914, a member of staff was faced with an empty classroom! While students expected lectures to relate closely to end-of-year examinations the professors consciously attempted to stimulate and broaden their minds. Small student numbers greatly facilitated close interpersonal contacts until well into the 1930s. Under the administration of the University of the Cape of Good Hope, Natal students could opt to sit the written examinations in Pietermaritzburg and perform any required practicals in Cape Town, or undertake all of their examinations in the Mother City.

To varying degrees, the foundation staff all readily assumed the role of academic pioneers and established a careful balance between the Arts and Sciences in the courses they initially offered. They also eventually produced a number of distinguished graduates through their diligence and the high standards they set as lecturers. In the early years no appointments were made to teach Geography and Education. In order to enable candidates to meet the requirements for the Union Government's first-class teacher's certificate, Waterhouse offered tuition in the Psychology of Education while Hattersley undertook to give lectures in Geography and the History of Education.

In 1913 Trinity College Dublin recognised NUC's courses in Chemistry, Physics, Botany and Zoology as qualifications for the preliminary scientific examination in its Medical School. It was not until February 1916 that NUC gained recognition from Oxford University in terms of its statute 'On Colonial and Indian Universities'. The delay was attributed to the fact that the College had only been in existence 'for a short time'.

Despite heavy teaching loads, as early as 1912 extension lectures were planned in order to develop a closer association with local communities. Senate proposed the establishment of local committees to select lecture courses from those offered by staff members though the first of these were one-off presentations. On 12 September 1913 Bews addressed a Durban gathering on 'Plant life in Natal', followed a week later by Lund on 'The Industrial Revolution' and Petrie on 'Life in Imperial Rome'.³ By then the College campus was beginning to take shape.

Campus development

NUC was not only fortunate in its choice of inaugural staff. It also acquired an imposing site on which to develop a permanent home when the Pietermaritzburg City Council provided 17.8 hectares of town lands in Scottsville, though the title deeds proved difficult to locate. They were eventually found in the office of Natal's Surveyor-General but, after being transferred from the City Council, in August 1920 they were still registered in the name of Charles O'Grady Gubbins, the Colony's last Colonial Secretary and Minister of Education, who had died in 1911!

Scottsville was an emerging suburb on the Durban side of town, which, as Hattersley put it, 'was peculiarly the product of the municipality's enterprise in transportation'. Suburban expansion had thus far extended to Alexandra Road where there were only a few houses in addition to the red-brick barracks in which the Natal Mounted Police had been based. The City Council was proud that Pietermaritzburg was the first town in the Colony's interior to introduce electric trams, which departed from the City Hall in four different directions 'with a great clanging of bells and blowing of whistles' on the quarter-hour. The rest of the street-traffic comprised primarily bicycles, rickshaws, hansom cabs and other horse-drawn vehicles.

There were very few motor cars and bikes, both of which were still novelties, though motorcyclists were already being fined for exceeding the six mile an hour speed limit and there was a policeman on point duty outside the City Hall to control the traffic at peak hours. Council successfully extended the tram

service and promoted suburban expansion by erecting a steel bridge across the Msunduzi River and offering building sites on either side of the main (dirt) road to Durban, which was five hours away by train.

The £30 000 (R60 000) the Natal Government allocated shortly before its demise was used to construct the College's first building on the highest point of the Scottsville campus, known locally as The Ridge. The trams had already been running for five years in place of horse buses and electric lighting had replaced oil lamps in the streets when construction began. On 1 December 1910 Dean Barker conducted the service and the Duke of Connaught, who was in South Africa to open the first session of the new Union Parliament, laid the foundation stone of the College Building. Edmund Laughton, who was in his late teens at the time, recalled that it was 'a very grand affair – mayor and councillors in their robes, professors in their robes, the military represented, and all the leading lights of the town and visitors from Durban'.

Rev. Dr Leo Sormany spoke on behalf of Council, in the absence of Sir Henry Bale, who died on that memorable day. Still in his mid-thirties, Sormany had 'felt a little nervous' but William Falcon, Principal of Hilton College, made a point of congratulating him. In keeping with the city's Voortrekker roots, the protective cylinder that contained the illuminated address presented to the Duke to mark the occasion was made from a yellowwood off-cut taken from the old Church of the Vow. At the time that historical edifice was undergoing restoration to become, on 16 December 1912, the Voortrekker Museum (subsequently the Msunduzi Museum) after years of neglect.

The construction of the NUC Building was difficult in view of Scottsville's shale and clay soil, just beneath the surface, which is the cause of the cracks to be found in the walls of numerous homes in that area. On Sunday afternoons many of the city's youth, some future graduates, arrived on site to inspect progress amidst stacks of bricks and mounds of earth. Meanwhile, the College's classes had to be conducted elsewhere.

Mudie had initially hoped that the Legislative Council Building, only recently vacated by the Natal Government, would be available but lectures still had to be held, temporarily, in the less gracious two-roomed wood-and-corrugated iron accommodation provided in the grounds of Maritzburg College. It was what Petrie later described as 'a "tin shanty", which froze one on a winter morning and baked one at mid-day'. While he, as a classicist, 'could be happy on a desert island' as long as there were 'enough texts to go round', Denison had the use of a somewhat inadequate laboratory for

university-level Chemistry and Physics practicals between 9 and 11 am every morning and from 1.30 to 5.30 pm every afternoon except Fridays.

This was at no small inconvenience to the school and in October 1911 the Principal, Ernest 'Pixie' Barns, insisted that the arrangement could not continue into the next year, with two mornings and four afternoons after 3 pm being the most that he could sacrifice. The situation must have severely tested his friendship with Denison but use of the laboratory was only concluded in July 1912. Much more conveniently, Warren continued to hold all his Zoology classes amidst the appropriate specimens at the Natal Museum where he could satisfactorily also meet his obligations as director.

Following the arrival of Bews, Roseveare and Waterhouse in early August 1910 the rest of the College moved to six rooms on the first floor of the City Hall. Council had hoped to rent Government House at the top end of Longmarket (now Langalibalele) Street or the imposing Parliament Buildings lower down at a cost of £200 (R400) a year but government would not agree to anything more than a monthly tenancy. The City Council proved much more obliging in offering accommodation on a long-term basis although the noise of trams, trolleys, taxi hooters, traction engines and rickshaw bells from Church Street below proved distracting and, as Petrie put it, 'made sleep difficult even in the Latin classes'. The occasional motorist also 'did not seem to care two hoots, or even three, that an earnest attempt was being made to conduct the Higher Education a few feet above their blatant horns'.

Lectures were subsequently conducted in four relatively quieter rooms on the second floor and two on the first, facing Commercial (now Albert Luthuli) Road, which had previously been used by the Technical Institute. In Petrie's words, these 'lent a little more enchantment to the din'. There Bews was provided with a so-called Botany laboratory, which had no gas or water supply. At least one member attributed the fitness of the College rugby team to the exercise involved in moving across the southern part of town from one venue to another to attend classes. Prior to World War I staff and students either walked or used bicycles as there were no motor vehicles on campus and only three motorcycles – Professor Denison's Red Indian, student Bertram Vanderplank's Rudge and future Rhodes Scholar Gordon Johnstone's Triumph.

The Registrar borrowed tables and desks for the classrooms from the provincial Education Department and initially had to store all his own files on his desk, making additional items of furniture for his office out of packing cases. Initially there were no books for students to read, other than a few

basic texts, though works of reference could be consulted at the nearby Natal Museum and at the Natal Society Library. There, students aged between 18 and 20 could register as junior members for 7/6d (75c) a year while those under 18 years of age could use the facilities for 5/- (50c).

This may have met their immediate needs but the lack of adequate resources severely handicapped teaching and research. At its first meeting on 2 August 1910 Senate agreed to apply for £1 000 (R2 000) with which to launch an NUC Library. Towards the end of that year a modest start was made, with the recently appointed Registrar, J.A.P. Feltham, in charge but it was too late to be of much help to Arts students who had been previously registered with the University of the Cape of Good Hope and were already in their final year of study.

Despite the adverse conditions but probably aided by the individual tuition that small classes facilitated, almost all the students passed the Cape of Good Hope BA and intermediate examinations at the end of that first year. S.E. (Errol) Lamond recalled how a thunderstorm plunged the final year Literature examination, held in the City Hall Supper Room, into darkness and how each of the three candidates dutifully stood at separate windows and watched the spectacle outside while the presiding examination officer groped his way to the caretaker's room to fetch candles with which to illuminate the proceedings.

These difficult circumstances were greatly eased when, on 9 August 1912, the Union Minister of Education, F.S. (François) Malan, opened the as yet unfinished stone and red brick Clock Tower or Old Main Building on the Scottsville Ridge. In the absence overseas of the chairman of Council, Sir John Dove-Wilson, the vice-chairman Rev. Dr Leo Sormany gave an address, as he had done when the foundation stone was laid and was to do again when NUC celebrated its 21st anniversary.

The building had been designed by local architect J.C. Tully of the firm Tully, Waters, Cleland and Smith, whose plans won the £250 (R500) prize in competition with other architects. The style was loosely described as 'English Renaissance', being a Neo-Classical edifice that contained Doric, Romanesque and even Gothic elements. There was general agreement that its open inward facing balconies and high ceilings were appropriate to the prevailing climatic conditions but the College Council had played no part in its design. The Public Works Department had taken the matter in hand even before that body was constituted and contracts were subsequently signed in May 1910. When Council was informed that no structural alterations could

be considered, it objected that it was ‘extremely unfortunate that the matter should be so hurriedly carried out’.

Estimates suggested that the £30 000 (R60 000) that the Natal Parliament had voted would already be exceeded by at least £6 000 (R12 000). Fortunately, some modifications were effected through the intervention of J.C. Smuts (Minister of the Interior, Mines and Defence, and later of Finance) when he visited Pietermaritzburg in September. In response to a deputation that pointed out the problems of cracking and slipping caused by the composition of Scottsville’s soil he declared that ‘money would have to be found’ for the necessary underpinning. Thereafter, according to Rev. Dr Leo Sormany, an additional verandah and pilasters were added on the eastern side of the building.

The open central courtyard that Council wanted, with an assembly hall constructed elsewhere, did not materialise. Instead the Main Hall was flanked to the east and west by much smaller courtyards, which at least provided light and ventilation for it and for the lecture rooms and laboratories on each side of the building. The Hall, with its imposing vaulted and plastered ceilings painted white, had three entrance screen doors, as well as emergency doors on each side into the east and west courtyards. It had a 450-seating capacity, with room for another 90 seated in the gallery. The Hall was opened on 30 August 1912 with a students’ dance, with males approaching females to make bookings (theoretically not more than two per partner) on their programmes in the time-honoured tradition.

All the doors of the building were made of teak glazed with antique Flemish glass. Unfortunately, there were initially insufficient funds, a mere £2 500 (R5 000), to furnish the interior adequately despite the best efforts of the Registrar, J.A.P. Feltham, and subsequently David Robb. As a result, large parts of NUC’s new home, including the Hall and Chemistry lecture theatre, could not be fully equipped.

Denison managed to acquire yellowwood and poplar fittings for his two new laboratories but the Government Treasury refused even to supply carpeting for the Registrar’s Office and Council Chamber, or linoleum for the concrete floors in professorial studies down in the cold basement. Consequently, these initially looked and felt decidedly like prison cells. There were eight 50-seater tiered lecture theatres as well as laboratories for Botany, Physics and Chemistry, from which traditional offensive odours occasionally emanated. Even so, in 1913 final practicals in the latter discipline had to be conducted in Cape Town due to the shortage of apparatus.

Provision was made for the Principal's and Registrar's offices to be situated close to the north-facing main entrance. The Staff Room, Library and adjacent Reading Room were located upstairs, with fine views across town towards Zwartkop from the north-facing balcony. This became a popular informal gathering place for basking in the winter sunshine and, decades later by special arrangement, the site of a nocturnal marriage proposal. It is to be assumed that the knee-buckling vista of a moonlit Maritzburg, with Bushmansrand providing a shimmering backdrop, ensured that this romantic enterprise proved successful!

By 1913 the College's library stock comprised 2 200 volumes, broadly divided into Arts, Science and Law. Nora Buchanan's extensive research into the Library's development has revealed that by 1916 the growth of the collection prompted Senate to follow the then standard practice of other South African universities when it elected a member of its professorial staff, Osborn Waterhouse, as Honorary Librarian in place of the Registrar. Opening hours were restricted to between 9 am and 4 pm on Mondays to Fridays, excluding public holidays, giving students only 35 hours a week to make use of the facilities.

All books were regarded as the property of the relevant departments and students therefore required the permission of a staff member to borrow any of them. As in many British and American universities, such demands were few in the early years because teaching techniques still relied heavily upon lectures and little in the way of independent reading and research on the part of students.

The new building was also equipped with male and female student common rooms on opposite sides of the ground floor. As numbers increased these soon became overcrowded and noisy, with the walls of the men's common room being decorated with oval shapes from the repeated impact of rugby balls. There was a small porter's office and a telephone room on either side of the entrance but no accommodation was included for a caretaker, cleaners or laboratory assistants. Edmund Laughton recalled that there was a caretaker's cottage on the corner of King Edward Avenue and Golf Road. W.A. (William) Clarke, a 44-year-old former carpenter and wagon builder of Berg Street, who was decidedly elderly compared with most of the professorial appointees, was selected from the 150 applicants for the post of caretaker.

In 1934 a new wing extending southwards at the back of the building on the east side was added. Initially the whole edifice looked square and bleak on The Ridge, for there was little else in Scottsville apart from bare veld, a few thorn

trees and four privately owned homes. Two of these were in Leinster Road, one on the corner of New England and Durban (now Alan Paton Avenue) roads and one near the Race Course. As yet, there were no gardens or trees on campus, the first improvements being the addition of tennis courts immediately to the east of the building (on the site of the current central Administration block), a rugby field (where William O'Brien Residence now stands) and an avenue of trees down towards the main entrance on Durban Road (Alan Paton Avenue).

The 1910–1911 Commission appointed to investigate higher education in South Africa met some but not all of NUC's financial expectations. It recommended £1 500 (R3 000) of the £1 620 (R3 240) it requested for initial equipment and materials, £750 (R1 500) of the £1 200 (R2 400) proposed for Library equipment, £75 (R150) as an annual Library grant instead of the hoped for £250 (R500), £300 (R600) by way of annual departmental grants instead of £340 (R680), £84 (R168) for laboratory attendants instead of £180 (R360) and £1 300 (R2 600) for miscellaneous expenses instead of £1 391 (R2 782). It also recognised the need for a caretaker's lodge but it was not until 1913 that the Old Main Building's basic furniture requirements were met, excluding carpets.

Nevertheless, from August 1912, amidst the din of workmen completing the final touches, almost all classes were conducted there. The exceptions were Zoology, which continued to be held at the Natal Museum, and Law courses, which were offered in town for the convenience of candidate attorneys. Most of these were part-time students employed nearby either in attorney's offices or in government departments. The 1913 academic year was the first to begin in the new building but in February 1912 Council had been informed that there were no funds available to install a clock, estimated to cost another £200 (R400), with the result that the circular spaces in the tower had to be filled with teak panels.

This adornment was eventually added in 1920, for the benefit of both staff and student punctuality. Sixty years later the clock was struck by lightning and its cylindrical counter of leaden weights crashed through the reinforced ceiling of the room below (originally the Library and Reading Room), embedding itself halfway through the floor. The then occupant, J.A. (John) Benyon, Professor of Historical Studies, had only just left the danger zone but suspected local pretenders to his chair were not even questioned after it was established that independent contractors were responsible. While repairing the dome's stonework they had temporarily removed the lightning conductor from

the lapstone, as a result of which the lightning strike had severed the steel cable holding the clock counterweight!

The room was redecorated at a cost of R1 200 and the ceiling reinforced against a possible repetition of what was dismissed as a freak act of nature. Undeterred, Benyon bravely continued to occupy his office for another 18 years without any precautionary rearrangement of the furniture, possibly fortified by the new reinforcing above but certainly not by the dubious notion that lightning never strikes the same place twice!

Until 1930 all Senate meetings were held in the comparative safety of Ernest Warren's room at the Natal Museum where there was no clock tower and where, in 1911, he served as its chairman following Sir Henry Bale's brief tenure in that capacity. Alexander Petrie recalled how early arrivals would be shown some item upon which Warren was working, or an interesting newly acquired specimen. Thereafter, the long table was cleared and, in an era when pipe and cigarette smokers still ruled the roost, a tobacco jar appeared along with various receptacles that served as ashtrays for the smoke-filled duration of the meeting.

At the first gathering of Senate in August 1910 a sub-committee (Waterhouse and Besselaar) was appointed to draft rules for that body and another (Roseveare, Inchbold and Denison) proposed a schedule of terms and vacations. All the professors were involved in drafting a daily timetable for their various year-long courses and optimistically listed their initial requirements in the hope of ensuring the effective functioning of their departments in the face of a steady increase in student numbers.⁴

Students and student activities

Initially the future at NUC seemed as tenuous for students as it was for the staff. There were only 33 white candidates who passed the 1910 matriculation examinations in Natal but there were no scholarships or exhibitions to assist them and the first crop of students had to pay 30 shillings a month (R3) to attend lectures. Half-price railway tickets were a small concession to those who travelled from out-of-town to study in Pietermaritzburg. In common with the other university colleges established after the turn of the century NUC was, from the outset, open to white women as well as men and attracted an initial eight female (14% of registrations) and 49 male students.

In the first academic year male and female students held separate meetings to choose the University colours and elected committees visited a local firm of outfitters to select patterns. A subsequent open meeting opted, perhaps

predictably, for the male committee's choice of bottle-green, later (in 1924) to be changed to green, black and light blue stripes. In the early days students identified with the new institution by wearing ties and hatbands in these new College colours.

In October undergraduate caps and gowns were ordered through a local firm and subsequently became fashionable but not compulsory garb at lectures. Members of the academic staff set the standard by adhering to the time-honoured practice of donning their gowns. Eventually, on the recommendation of Rev. T.G. Vyvyan, a member of the College Council, all students (including part-time law candidates) were required to wear the traditional undergraduate short black stuff gown and college cap to class, except when working in the laboratories. Messrs McKenzie Bros. of Church Street became the approved stockists.

A sense of campus identity was understandably slow to develop as students only had casual contact with each other outside the lecture theatres. In 1910 Council took the decision not to accept responsibility for the accommodation of undergraduates, leaving that problem largely to the discretion of parents. The Anglican Bishop of Natal, F.S. (Samuel) Baines, did unsuccessfully suggest converting the old St Anne's College into a men's hostel under a different name and under the wardenship of an ordained minister who had previously taught at Maritzburg College. There was some disagreement about the housing of women, for while the all-male Council believed that the opposite sex were not inclined towards 'residing in groups', Senate proposed that a house should be rented in Scottsville and parents persuaded to send their daughters there.

In the absence of any on-campus hostel, out-of-town students initially had to lodge in the private dwellings that were being built in the campus neighbourhood. This accommodation had to have the prior approval of NUC's Senate although there was no means of exercising effective supervision. Among the first of these was the home of the aquiline Miss Caroline (Mother Carrie) Walker, in New England Road, opposite the entrance to the Race Course at the end of King Edward Avenue. Appropriately renamed University Villa, it accommodated six students and was conveniently close to what was then the terminus of the tram line into town.

In February 1910 the Acting Registrar, Charles Mudie, recorded that 17 students were living with their parents, four at the YMCA in Longmarket Street, two at the Girls Collegiate School and two with a master at Maritzburg College. The YWCA in Pietermaritz Street also became a popular place of residence and a little later the Teachers Training College hostel at the former

Government House also offered rooms. As Petrie subsequently described it, 'students were scattered in lodgings throughout the town – a fact which was illustrated by the unexpected sources from which missing library books were sometimes recovered'.

The 1911 Thomson Commission appointed to investigate Higher Education in South Africa concluded that the Training College provided adequate accommodation for female students at NUC and that while the latter might consider renting a private residence for males there was, for the foreseeable future, no 'great' need to construct a hostel on campus. In the University College's 1912 Calendar six private dwellings were listed as approved by Senate. These were situated in College Road and in Loop, Prince Alfred and Chapel streets. All students not residing at home had to satisfy the Senate that they were living in quarters approved either by that body or by their parents.

High school headmistresses, who were doubtless still coming to terms with the existence of a local university institution, explained the relatively low numbers of females registering at the College by pointing to the 'undignified conduct' of some members of the student body over whom there was little effective control and to 'the undue familiarity, however innocent, between men and women students' on and off campus.

Students who lived in town usually walked to Scottsville or used bicycles. The most direct route was via the Commercial (now Albert Luthuli) Road tramway, which then extended only as far as Alexandra Road (or to the Race Course on race days). From there they went past the police barracks along the rough footpath that became Lindup Road, across a plank over the spruit at the bottom of the dip and over the veld to a gate near the caretaker's cottage on King Edward Avenue.

A small student body did make for much closer interpersonal relationships with staff members and more individual tuition than was later to be the case. In 1910 NUC's 57 registered students, nearly half of whom were engaged in legal studies, compared with 53 at Huguenot, 73 at Grey, 93 at the Transvaal University College in Pretoria, 113 at the School of Mines, 125 at Rhodes and nearly 300 at the South African College in Cape Town and at the Victoria College in Stellenbosch.

Academic results were generally good, with a 77% success rate (27 ex 35 candidates) and one achieving Botany honours in the 1911 University of the Cape of Good Hope examinations. In that year there were only three major scholarships open to NUC students, all reserved for men – the Rhodes Scholarship to Oxford, the Natal Home University Scholarship and the Natal

Mining Scholarship. Book prizes, valued at £20 (R40) each, were available to both sexes, as was the Caledonian Society Bursary to the value of £15 (R30). This was offered from 1913 to students of Scottish descent and first awarded to Miss J. Maxwell. From 1914 the College provided a postgraduate scholarship to the value of £150 (R300) a year for three years with which the best BA student of either sex could pursue further studies in Europe. From 1919 the Queen Victoria Memorial Scholarship, valued at £200 (R400), became available to women every three years.

By then several other scholarships were open to both male and female students. Following prolonged discussions with NUC's Administration a City Council resolution of 7 July 1916 empowered the Durban Municipality to offer two annual bursaries for BA or BSc candidates in Pietermaritzburg. The strength of post-war sentiment was such that the subjects of World War I enemy and neutral countries who had become naturalised South Africans were ineligible for these awards, as were their children.

Limited student numbers in what was still a small, quiet city probably helped to focus the mind on serious study. Even a withdrawn confirmed bachelor like Alan Hattersley found that 'Pietermaritzburg was not a lively town' when, in May 1916, he first arrived from idyllic Cambridge. He recalled that after dark its quiet streets were 'no better illuminated than many English towns under blackout conditions'. While Hattersley kept largely to his books, students did need to develop more boisterous forms of entertainment for themselves, both off and on campus. There were several early acts of mostly harmless schoolboy misbehaviour, some deemed serious enough to necessitate special meetings of Senate!

Professor Gerrit Besselaar's austere and querulous manner attracted more than its fair share of unwelcome student attention. In November 1912, as an end-of-term prank, a group comprising Cecil 'Bill' Payn, Hugh Rymer, Charlie 'Station' Norman and 'Hillie' Franks, utilised the existence of a trap door to the basement in Besselaar's ground floor lecture theatre to disturb one of his French classes with subterranean noises that, as Petrie put it, 'competed with the master's voice'. Unfortunately, the incident was reported in the local press, where it was grossly exaggerated. All four students involved were duly fined the not inconsiderable sum of £1 (R2) each after a special meeting of Senate concluded that they were 'guilty of conduct that brought disgrace upon the College'.

The Clock Tower presented the most obvious challenge for nocturnal escapades. From time to time flags, underwear and, on at least one unspecified

occasion, a chamber pot was attached to the lightning conductor above the dome. After student members of the Natal Mountain Club performed a similar feat on the more daunting City Hall tower it attracted much more publicity, especially when the municipal fire brigade proved reluctant to rise to the occasion and retrieve the offending item.

The establishment in 1912 of a Students Representative Council (SRC) was a more acceptable and enduring development. It included two women and six men, and four of each sex in 1914, with females in the majority four to three the following year. Other important innovations during the course of 1912 were the formation of the student Literary and Debating Society and the Rugby and Tennis Clubs. Except for rugby they were open to female members. The Athletics Union, founded in March 1913, comprised representatives from all the sports clubs, which by that stage included not only rugby and tennis but also association football, cricket and men's hockey. The Union determined the distribution of available funds among them.

Later in 1913 a Ladies Hockey Club was formed and in September 1918 a Students Christian Association (SCA) was established. All but the SRC and SCA appointed members of the academic staff as their presidents. In her study of women on campus Arlene Gibson established that female students filled several prominent positions in cultural and social organisations. These included the Literary and Debating Society, in which Winifred Palmer (NUC's first female graduate) was the 1911 vice-president, and the SCA in which, by 1919, 23 of the 36 members were female.

Students were allowed the use of an old tennis court in town at the corner of Gallwey Lane and Pietermaritz Street and relevelled it themselves. Rugby was played informally on campus as early as 1911, with several NUC players being included in the local team for the inter-town match against Durban and the captain R.H. (Raymond) Lazarus being selected at fullback for Natal. The NUC Rugby Club was initiated in February 1912 at a meeting in the Pietermaritzburg City Hall, with Professor Roseveare as its first president and Professor Petrie (later president for many years) and Council member William Falcon as vice-presidents. In April, at the beginning of the rugby season, Senate made a major concession when it agreed to rearrange the lecture timetable in order to release Tuesday afternoons after 4 pm for sports practices.

The Club was only narrowly accepted into a sceptical Maritzburg Rugby Union (24 votes to 22), with some other clubs reluctant to lose student players who were already registered with them. Its team was immediately slotted into the local senior league on the strength of its performances the previous year.

With only 23 playing members, it astonished the experts by defeating Hilton (which had supported its admission into the Union) 46–0 in its first official match. The Club went on to become runners-up in Maritzburg's York and Lancaster Cup competition and reached the finals of the provincial Murray Challenge Cup. Initially all games were played in Alexandra Park and, as there was no turf, knee guards were the order of the day as protection against 'gravel rash'.

Prior to the arrival of NUC's jerseys from England the rugby team played as 'All Blacks' by wearing their old 'hair shirt' school cadet jerseys made from the hair of Shetland ponies. Among the early stalwarts of the rugby team were Betram Vanderplank (future Springbok), Elliot MacMillan (later principal of Highbury), Hugh Rymer (subsequently a medical doctor), Charlie 'Station' Norman (a future preparatory school principal at Balgowan) and the burly Bill Payn. The latter was selected to play for Natal in 1912 at 18 years of age, and subsequently became a Springbok player in multiple sports and a legendary master at Durban High School (DHS). When NUC opened in 1910 he began his final year (sixth form) at Maritzburg College. Nearly 30 years later he recalled that it was there that

if anyone was ever talked into a University career it was I. The legendary Fluff Abbit was our form master and we boys suspected him of being a recruiting agent for the nascent University. Mr William Abbit seemed to divide the world into two groups of men – a superior group who could boast that they had attended a University and a baser group of outsiders and cads who could make no claim to such a distinction. If I did badly in a form order he would pass his hand over his face and say: – 'Here, here, Bill Payn, my boy, this will not do! When the others go out to the University in caps and gowns you will be standing in sackcloth and ashes wistfully looking at them.'

Abbit's dire warnings had the desired effect. Although Payn later acknowledged that his subsequent time at NUC 'was memorable more for the support I gave its rugger side than for any academic success I gained', he did acquire a wife on campus. Rumour had it that their romance began at the inaugural dance on 30 August 1912 in the Main Hall (though Payn may have sneaked in more than the permissible two dances to ensure its successful launch).

On enlisting for World War I he had to supply his own footwear as the army had nothing that was big enough for him. In 1922 he ran the Comrades Marathon from Durban to Pietermaritzburg in rugby boots, completing the distance in 10 hours and 56 minutes after a hearty breakfast of eggs at Hillcrest, a curried chicken casserole lunch at Botha's Hill, a cold beer (or two) at Drummond, as well as several oranges and other drinks, including a glass of

home-made peach brandy offered to him en route. Discomfort caused by foot blisters necessitated the application of brilliantine hair cream during breakfast but the next day Payn had to play a club rugby match wearing sand shoes.

A couple of years later he and NUC teammate Bertram Vanderplank were selected to play for the Springboks against the touring British side. Two of Payn's daughters enrolled at the College as 'the first students of the second generation'. Although they doubtless contributed nothing to the rugby team other than vociferous support he probably credited his wife's genes with the fact that one of them gained the rare distinction of being awarded two Scott memorial medals for Botany and Zoology.

Among the numerous DHS pupils who were later to retain fond memories of Payn was the internationally renowned poet Roy Campbell, son of Sam Campbell. He did not otherwise have particularly happy recollections of his school days but in his *To My ex-Schoolmaster, Bill Payn of the DhS* he paid as fine a tribute as any teacher could hope for:

You say you are no poet, but
Your'e more than one, great Bill!
The whetstone, though it cannot cut,
Can sharpen swords that will.

William Martin, son of 'aboriginal' student A.C. Martin, could claim to be 'the first graduate offspring' on the grounds that Payn did not actually graduate, with Marjorie Symonds, daughter of 'aboriginal' Errol Lamond a close second. Like Payn, Lamond had been a pupil at Maritzburg College and subsequently became a member of its staff. As NUC held its first classes at the school he could boast on retirement to have spent his entire life there from 12 years of age, except for 18 months during the 1920s when he taught at Durban Boys High School. His second daughter, Nelida, was later to become Professor of Nursing in Durban.

While rugby was the most high-profile student sport, cricket struggled to find its feet, partly because the focus in early summer was on end-of-year examinations and when students returned to College at the beginning of the following year the cricket season was almost over. In the absence of a suitable pitch on campus, matches were played on the new oval in Alexandra Park where the game had been played since 1872. Prominent NUC stars included Raymond Lazarus, who captained the Western Province team after World War I, and Vivian Pearse, who was awarded a cricket blue at Oxford.

Among the many NUC ‘aboriginals’ who were memorable for non-sporting reasons were the aforementioned A.C. Martin and Errol Lamond, who were to give distinguished service to Durban High School and Maritzburg College respectively. Another member of the student body in the early years was D.G. (Denis) Shepstone, a future Administrator of Natal and Chancellor of the University.

The Pennington family had particularly strong NUC ties, the first of the ‘famous five’ brothers from Michaelhouse completing their degrees during the first few years of the College’s existence. Eric Fawcett Pennington served in South West Africa (Namibia) during World War I, graduated in 1918 and was ordained as an Anglican minister in England before eventually emulating his father by becoming Dean of St Saviour’s Cathedral in Pietermaritzburg. After graduating in 1917 his brother Kenneth Misson joined the Royal Flying Corps and escaped after being shot down behind Turkish lines. He subsequently qualified as an attorney but in 1925 embarked upon a 34-year teaching career at Michaelhouse where his elder son Rex later became Rector. Kenneth also established himself as a recognised authority on the butterflies of southern Africa, his collection eventually being moved from the Natal to the Transvaal Museum. Younger Pennington brothers were still to find their way on campus.⁵

Finance

Small student numbers unavoidably generated little in the way of income from fees. Finance proved to be a recurring nightmare for NUC, extending beyond its infant years. At the 1908 Inter-Colonial Conference in Cape Town there were vague assurances that sufficient funds would be provided for it but at the College’s launch its future means of support was still decidedly uncertain. The outgoing Natal Ministry had only assumed responsibility for the initial capital outlay on the building and had appointed Petrie and Denison but, following the inauguration of Union on 31 May 1910, the Colony’s Department of Education was no longer responsible for the payment of salaries and compilation of estimates. Subsequent appointments had to be authorised by the new Union Minister of Education, François Malan, after establishing that NUC staff were indeed henceforth to be regarded as civil servants.

In 1911 68.5% of total expenditure was devoted to academic salaries and another 7.1% to clerical and other wages. This compared with only 15.9% spent on departments, 6.2% on scholarships and bursaries, and 2.3% on general expenses. All expenditure henceforth required the prior approval of

the department. Initially state funding was provided on the basis of an annual ad hoc parliamentary grant but was almost always in short supply.

In 1911 each of NUC's students cost an estimated £110 (R220) to maintain at the College, the latter bearing £15 (R30) of it and the State £95 (R190). This compared favourably with Grey University College's estimated £128 (R256) for each of its 85 students, of which the College provided £18 (R36) and the State £110 (R220), and the Transvaal University College's £207 (R414), of which the College found £12 (R24) and the State £195 (R390) for each of 65 students. A more appropriate comparison in terms of courses taught (though not in relation to donations and endowments) was Rhodes University College, where in 1911 its 140 students cost an estimated £106 (R212) each, £56 (R112) of which the College met, leaving the State to pay the balance of £50 (R100).

While Rhodes was clearly financially well-endowed, NUC was not. Moreover, not only its student numbers but the fees they paid were uneconomically low, being the equivalent of R3 a month for tuition in 1910. By 1912, when student registrations were down to 48, this had risen to £3/15s (R7.50) per quarter plus a five shilling (50 cent) laboratory fee for each science subject, and £5/5s shillings (R10.50) per quarter by 1913, but this still did not balance the books. Council was reluctant to raise fees any further as most students were on tight budgets and every effort was made to maintain what Hattersley described as 'the old Scottish tradition of cheap education'.

As little as 10.2% of NUC's estimated £7 050 (R14 100) income for 1911 was derived from fees and 86.6% from government grants. Only the Transvaal University College (94.3%) was more dependent on the latter while Rhodes derived only 46.9% of its income from that source. In contrast to some of the other South African university colleges, NUC's other means of income were almost non-existent, a mere 3.2% of its estimated income for 1911 being derived from donations with nothing at all from endowments. This compared with the South African College's 9% from donations and 10% from endowments, Rhodes University College's 10.2% and a whopping 24.2% (from the Rhodes Trust) and Huguenot College's 13.7% and 12.1% respectively.

A notable exception in NUC's case was the contribution made by the Natal Law Society towards the salary of the Professor of Law. It was hoped that the Natal Collegiate Trust, established in the early 1860s to promote education, would also provide some assistance, until it was remembered that in 1903 this had been abolished by an Act of Parliament. Among other economies, the registration of NUC's armorial bearings with the College of Heralds had to be delayed for lack of funds although they had been designed as early as 1910.

From April 1913 NUC became a ‘state-aided’ instead of a ‘state’ institution, which meant that its Council became a corporate body vested with ownership of NUC’s property. It could at last assume complete financial control but was confronted with a £150 (R300) deficit for the first year and little prospect of any improvement in the next five years. Council could now retain the revenue derived from fees but had to pay from its monthly maintenance grant for the services previously rendered free of charge by government departments. Prior to May 1910 all expenditure had required the Colonial Treasurer’s approval, on the advice of the Superintendent of Education, and thereafter had needed that of the Union Secretary for Education. After 1913 the state grant for maintenance and general expenses was on a £1 for £1 (R2 for R2) basis and £3 for £1 (R6 for R2) for professorial salaries.

Council now established its own Finance Committee and opened a College bank account from which to pay debts previously met by the Department of Education. Government recognised that until student numbers and private endowments increased the Union’s smaller colleges would need special grants. In 1913 NUC did receive £1 000 (R2 000) to meet the cost of equipment but, without any private endowments and otherwise heavily reliant on student fees, the College now compared very unfavourably with most of its southern African counterparts.

In August 1913 the Union Under-Secretary for Education suggested that Natal’s municipalities should be approached to make annual donations. He pointed out that Stellenbosch currently contributed £100 (R200) a year to the Victoria College and the Divisional Council £200 (R400), Bloemfontein £500 (R1 000) to Grey University College, Johannesburg £1 000 (R2 000) to the School of Mines, and Cape Town £2 000 (R4 000) to the South African College, while the inhabitants of Grahamstown had also contributed substantially to the establishment of Rhodes University College. Acting on this suggestion, NUC tried to raise either annual municipal grants, or at least individual bursaries of £70 (R140) to cover fees, board and lodging for each of three sessions to enable students who came from the various towns and districts of the province to complete a degree.

By February 1914 Ladysmith had responded with a £70 (R140) bursary, Durban and Pietermaritzburg were considering making £80 (R160) donations, Greytown was also contemplating the proposal while Dundee, Vryheid, Estcourt, Harding, Charlestown, Verulam, Paulpietersburg, Utrecht and Umkomaas had declared themselves unable to oblige either individually or in combination. The outbreak of World War I did not improve the prospects of

securing any assistance from those sources. While Pietermaritzburg eventually decided that it could afford to contribute, Durban wavered about the legality of spending funds outside its own borough even though A.S. (Aubrey) Langley, the principal of Durban High School, pointed out that there were several recent matriculants who could not afford to continue their education at NUC.⁶

World War I (1914–1918)

The College suffered even more severe financial hardship during World War I. Early in August 1914 the Department of Education gave notice of impending cuts to financial grants ‘in view of the European crisis’. Pietermaritzburg student enrolments declined from 72 in 1913 to 33 by mid-1915 and 36 in 1916 as some left for military service in German South West Africa (Namibia) and later for Europe without completing their degrees. The crisis was compounded for NUC when many prospective students joined up straight from school, including the author’s father. In August of that year, probably out of concern for the declining numbers and quality of students, the 16-year minimum age limit was relaxed in the case of first-class matriculants. By 1918 student numbers had risen to 91, 39 of whom (nearly 43%) were women compared with the national average of 25% at university institutions in 1917.

Despite the dire financial situation, there was no relaxation of the unofficial admissions policy in the case of ‘Non-European’ students. In March 1916, M.H. Wahed, an Indian residing in Pinetown, enquired of the Registrar ‘whether Asiatics are allowed to attend some particular class’ with specific reference to Law courses. It was not clear whether his was a query of principle, or if he actually wanted to register as a student. It was established that, at that stage, two coloureds had attended classes at Victoria College in Stellenbosch, another had graduated at the South African College in Cape Town and a matriculated African had been refused admission at Rhodes University College.

Council may have taken further refuge in the knowledge that no Asian had, as yet, been admitted to any South African university and that, from 1916, a possible (though for most impractical) alternative was coming into existence for them with the establishment of the South African Native College at Fort Hare. On 12 May 1916 Mr Wahed was advised that Council was ‘not prepared to entertain the proposal’. No explanation was given for this decision as none was necessary in terms of clause 20 of the 1909 Natal University College Act. More such enquiries were to follow after the war.

If Wahed and other non-European applicants had been accepted it may have helped to revive Inchbold’s Law Certificate classes. By late 1914 those

in Durban had already ended as the last of the candidates joined the armed forces and his Pietermaritzburg students soon followed suit. By August 1915 it was calculated that 37% of NUC's students were on military service, most with the Union forces but some with the British. H.H.B. Lund, previously a History lecturer, was known to be serving with the former while Dr J.L.M. Franken, interim Professor of Modern Languages, had become a prisoner of war following the siege of Liège. The overall decline in student numbers during the war years, which was also due partly to poor matriculation results (especially in Dutch), had severe financial implications at a time when income was heavily dependent upon fees.

Altogether, 77 NUC students and ex-students volunteered, winning two DFCs and six Military Crosses while 13 were killed during the conflict. Their names are to be found inscribed on a bronze tablet, which was eventually unveiled in 1923 at the entrance to the Main Hall. Edwin Pope, Walter Little and Errol Tatham were among the first to make the supreme sacrifice, followed by A.W.S. Brown, a member of Council and Principal of Michaelhouse, who was killed on reaching the trenches in France. P.H.S. Bezuidenhout distinguished himself by holding up the roof of a destroyed dugout while all his wounded comrades were evacuated.

The NUC Senate warmly welcomed and thanked ex-servicemen returning from the South West African (Namibian) campaign. In individual letters to them it declared that 'we who have stayed at home cannot forget that in offering yourself to your country you have done the utmost that a citizen can do; and we shall remember the debt we owe you and your comrades'. However, no financial provision was made to assist ex-servicemen who wished to study after the war. Student numbers nevertheless crept up to 91 in 1918 compared to 56 at Huguenot, less than 150 each at Grey and Rhodes, 179 at the School of Mines (nearly 900 in 1921 when it became the University of the Witwatersrand) and 250 at Pretoria. Needless to say, there were many who struggled to readjust to civilian and to College life.

While NUC optimistically joined Rhodes in August 1914 in an appeal for immediate increases in university staff salaries, strict economies were imposed on College expenditure, as the Department of Education had warned. A few months later its £550 (R1 100) maintenance and general expenses grant from government was further reduced. Among other wartime economy measures Council decided to meet only every second month. At an emergency meeting in August 1917 it resolved to offer the Scottsville Clock Tower Building to the Union Government for temporary use after Colonel Price, chairman of

the Government Medical Commission, indicated its intention to commandeer it. With the exception of its science laboratories, the building became a military convalescent hospital. A wooden spiral staircase (still in existence) was installed in the south-west corner to allow independent access to Bews' laboratory on the upper floor.

In October 1917, amidst unlikely rumours that a chair of Engineering was planned, Arts courses were transferred to the former Natal Government Railways offices in Loop Street, which later became a police station. None of the eleven rooms available were big enough for large classes, which created problems in 1918 when student numbers increased. Zoology remained next door, in the Natal Museum, while Chemistry, Botany and Physics stayed on the Scottsville campus, with some rearrangement of the limited available facilities. There was no library at the Loop Street premises, with the limited book stock remaining largely in the possession of the teaching staff. Decades later George Gale remembered his student days:

The Great War was raging then, but it was a war of nations and not ideologies. Russia was still under the Czars. Women had no vote, either in Britain or South Africa. Broadcasting was still unknown. Petrol cost 5/- (50c) a gallon, not that the price mattered a bit to either professors or students of the N.U.C. in 1917. None of us owned a car, or even a motor cycle. We walked or rode pushbikes, even the profs. The entire teaching staff could be numbered on the fingers of one hand ... Yet, for all its smallness, the N.U.C. of 1917 was already a true home of the University spirit and outlook. Indeed, perhaps its very smallness helped to that end. Each student was in practical, personal contact with his professors and as I look back across 30 years, I realise how fortunate we were under the band of men who pioneered University education in Natal.⁷

A new dispensation

Until 1917 NUC continued to prepare its students for the intermediate and final BA examinations in Arts and Science of the University of the Cape of Good Hope. In that final year the top three students in the intermediate category were all from Pietermaritzburg. In April 1918 NUC became one of six constituent colleges of the new University of South Africa. This was established in Pretoria to replace the University of the Cape of Good Hope after the two Western Cape universities, Stellenbosch (formerly Victoria College) and Cape Town (formerly the South African College), had gained their independence in 1916, effective from 1918. Both had been strengthened by substantial endowments and, in the latter case, it was the belated realisation of Cecil Rhodes' earlier ambition to establish a fully fledged residential university at Groote Schuur.

What Sir Carruthers Beattie of UCT condescendingly referred to as the ‘rump’ was placed under the University of South Africa’s federal control. It comprised, in addition to NUC, the Huguenot, Rhodes, Grey and Transvaal University Colleges, as well as the South African School of Mines and Technology. This arrangement was only reached after the Union Government, looking to cut costs, had seriously debated closing down the smaller university colleges, not least NUC, and consolidating the limited available financial and academic resources into one national teaching university situated in the Western Cape. NUC was the most expensive to run at that time, to the extent that it was argued at the Cape that its students could be less expensively sent to Oxford than educated in Natal.

It really was, as Council member Rev. Dr Leo Sormany recalled, ‘a question of life and death’, with Council itself initially divided as to whether or not the College should continue. It recognised that the standard of the matriculation examination was too low and that the overall quantity and quality of teaching staff at the smaller colleges needed to be significantly improved. It was clearly essential to relieve their professors of having to cover such wide interdisciplinary teaching fields and to facilitate their engagement in research and effective postgraduate supervision. A consolidated national university offered decided advantages, including economies of scale. On the other hand, Bews and Denison contended that disparate colleges might be better placed to stimulate appropriate regional research, not least in a geographically distinct area like Natal as the former was discovering in his own field of expertise.

In 1913 Sormany and Denison represented NUC Council’s views before a Parliamentary Select Committee chaired by the Minister of Education François Malan in Cape Town for the purpose of discussing the possible formation of a new national university. In December 1915 Sormany and Roseveare had to represent the College at yet another inter-collegiate gathering before the crisis passed. At the end of July 1918 NUC returned, gratefully and permanently, to its Scottsville campus. The exceptions, as before, were Zoology, which was offered at the Natal Museum until 1930 when Warren vacated the chair, and Law, in which classes continued to be held in the city centre until 1972. Senate strongly resisted a request that military hutments that had been erected in the College grounds might be used as a hospital for infectious diseases, arguing that this would result in the withdrawal of students from the campus, with ‘disastrous’ consequences for its future.

With the conclusion of the war NUC had survived the most tenuous years of its existence and its ‘aboriginal’ professorial staff complement was still in office, but for the death of the unfortunate Inchbold.⁸

ENDNOTES

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Staff, 1913

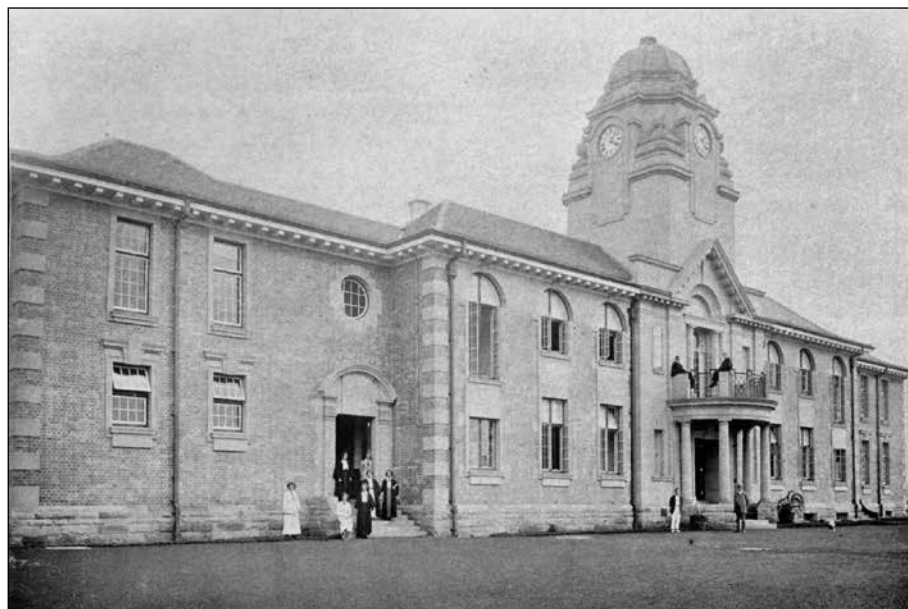
Back row (left to right): *Professor Roseveare, Professor Inchbold, Mr Lund, Professor Mesham.* Front row: *Professor Besselaar, Professor Warren, Professor Petrie, Professor Bews, Professor Denison*



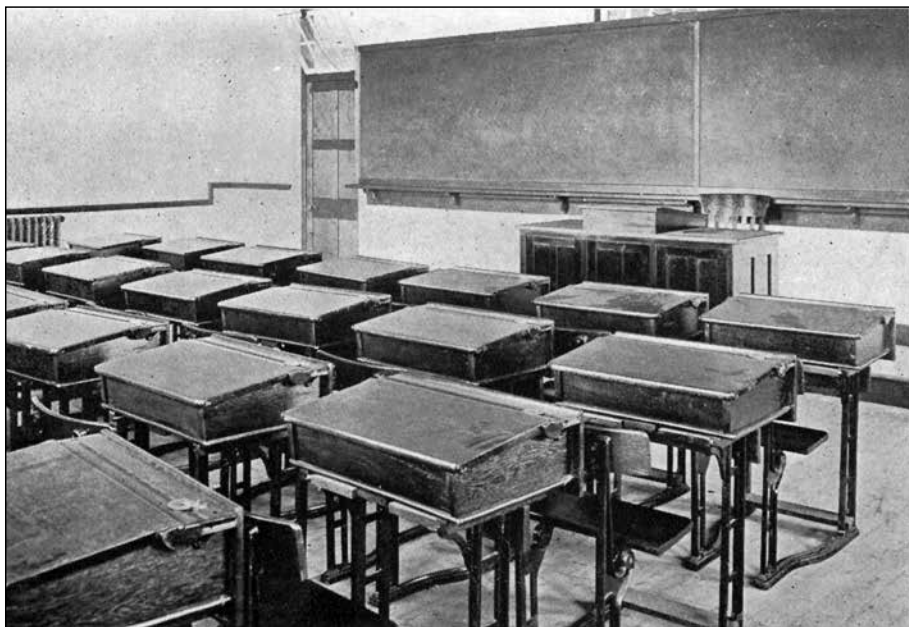
O. Waterhouse



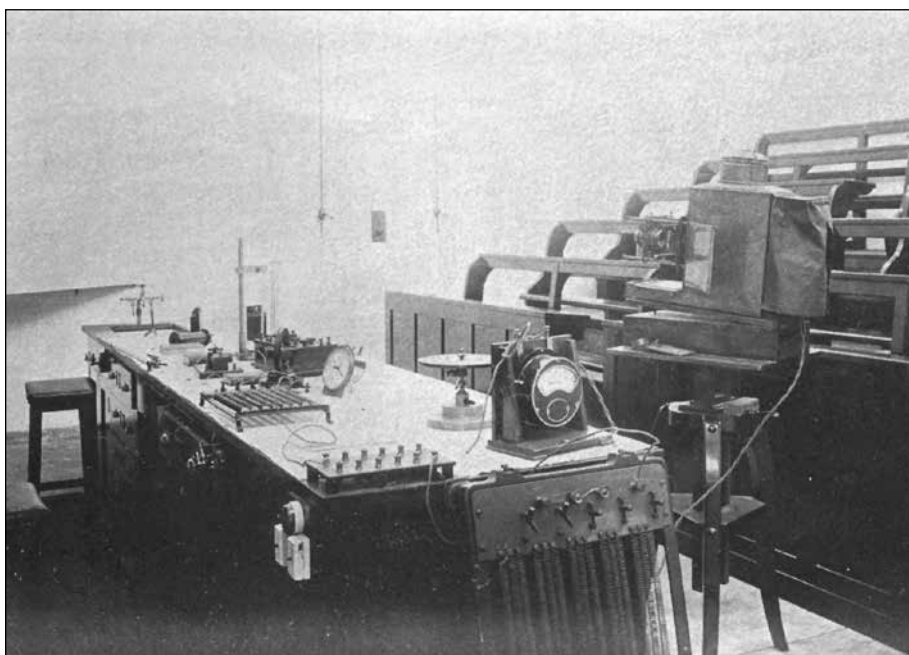
*Laying of the NUC Clock Tower foundation stone by
the Duke of Connaught on 1 December 1910*



Old Main Block (front entrance)



Early NUC lecture room



Early NUC Physics laboratory

3

POST-WAR EXPANSION (1919–1928)

THE WAR YEARS WERE FOLLOWED by a phase of significant expansion at NUC, in terms of both staff and student numbers. The opening of on-campus residences, the adoption of new University colours, improved library facilities, a new science block and a gradually widening range of subject options all contributed to the development of a stronger collegiate identity and a greater sense of confidence in NUC's future. Dr Sam Campbell, who had done so much to establish university education in Durban and had enjoyed composing his own satirical verse, would probably have forgiven his son Roy the scathing lines he published in 1928 about his place of birth in *The Wayzgoose*:

Where pumpkins to professors are promoted
And turnips into Parliament are voted ...

Certainly by then NUC, if not Parliament, had been peopled by enough achieving appointees to disprove Roy Campbell's assertion. His own perfunctory attempts, in Natal and at Oxford, to secure a university education were unsuccessful but forgiven. In 1954 NUC's successor, the University of Natal, awarded him an Honorary D.Litt. in recognition of his poetic achievements.

In the early 1920s there were still no more than ten departments in the College, each with only one member of staff. In the ongoing absence of private endowments or any increases in state grants additional staff appointments were hard to achieve. Nevertheless, the academic complement had increased to 17, comprising nine professors and eight lecturers, rising by 1926 to 23, including 16 professors and seven lecturers. There were still only 23 staff members in 1928, employed in 18 departments that catered for a 273-strong student body of which little more than a third was female. This constituted an overall student:staff ratio of nearly 12:1 but there were, as yet, no women on the academic staff complement.¹

The NUC Administration

NUC continued to operate under the federal control of the University of South Africa until March 1949. The South African School of Mines and Technology gained its independence as early as 1921 and the new Potchefstroom University College became affiliated in the same year. In 1930 Pretoria University also gained full status. The South African Native College, which opened in 1916, remained outside the federal structure but was closely associated with it. From 1923 its syllabuses were largely determined by it and from 1937 the College's academic staff members were regarded as internal examiners of the University of South Africa entitled to draw up their own syllabuses. In 1953 the institution was renamed the University College of Fort Hare. By then all the constituent colleges that comprised the University of South Africa had attained full autonomy, except for Huguenot College, which closed in 1950.

The greater level of independence that NUC enjoyed under the umbrella of the new University of South Africa from 1918 promoted a much stronger sense of self-direction and individual identity. The earlier intermediate class and BA first- and second-year categories were replaced and consolidated by a three-year Bachelor's degree and the teaching staff more or less constructed their own syllabi. The reports that were introduced on each student from 1916 developed, under the new University's regulations, into 'college records' that could be decisive in determining whether or not courses were passed.



F.B. (Frank) Burchell was born in 1882 and educated at Muirhead School near Greytown. In 1900 he took an intermediate BA at Cape Town before going overseas for specialist assistance in connection with his chronic deafness, which was brought under control but not cured. He acquired an MA LLB at Cambridge before being admitted to the Bar at the Inner Temple. On his return he was admitted in 1907 to the Natal Bar and practised as an attorney at Camperdown. Frustrated by his deafness in court, he began teaching law part-time at his home and, in so doing, became the first individual in South

Africa to provide training for candidate attorneys and to offer a correspondence course as his students dispersed elsewhere. Between 1910 and 1919 he assisted some 40 civil servants with their legal studies before being appointed lecturer at NUC, part-time from 1920 and full-time from 1922. He retired from the chair of Law in 1955 and was 78 years of age when he died in 1960.

In addition, promotions from one course to the next were now based on internal tests. Instead of staff assisting students in ‘spotting’ questions that were set at each level by remote strangers, candidates now only sat for the University of South Africa’s examinations in final courses with their NUC professors serving as internal examiners. This made for much greater flexibility in teaching and greater confidence on the part of students in the guidance of their professors. At the same time the continued existence of external examiners and the annual meetings of the central Senate still ensured some measure of uniformity over all the constituent colleges of the University.

Within a few years, NUC was authorised to conduct graduation ceremonies in Pietermaritzburg instead of observing the old ritual of dispatching qualified candidates by train to Pretoria, an annual occasion which was always a cause for much student celebration all the way to the railway station.

NUC also played a part in the central administration of the University of South Africa as its Council included a representative from the council and senate of each constituent college. In addition, its professors became members of the new University Senate. At least one of their number (J.W. Bews) became chairman for two two-year periods in 1922 and again in 1934, even though much of its business was by then being conducted in Afrikaans. Bews also represented NUC on the central Council from 1917 until his death in 1938. Council and Senate meetings were periodically held at the various college centres, which gave members a greater opportunity to interact with each other. Among the faculty deans that NUC provided the University were Orlando Oldham (Commerce 1927–1937 and 1942–1944) and F.B. Burchell (Law). Honorary doctorates were awarded to some of its office bearers, including Robert Denison, Gerrit Besselaar and Orlando Oldham.

Closer to home, in 1926 the diminutive Ernest ‘Pixie’ Barns succeeded David Robb as NUC’s Registrar, a post that he was to occupy until March 1933. A BA graduate of London University (1887), he taught for ten years in Sheffield and completed an MA in French and German before becoming French master and later acting head at Durban High School. In 1902 until 1925 he was principal at Maritzburg College prior to embarking on his new career as Registrar, Council member and chairman of the General Purposes Committee at NUC.²

Academic staff

There were also significant changes to the academic staff. The disciplines of Botany and Geology were separated, doubtless to the relief of John Bews.

At the end of March 1921 the lively and humorous R.U. Sayce assumed the new post in Geography and Geology, which were now combined in the same department. In 1912 he had graduated in Modern Languages at the University College of Wales in Aberystwyth, followed by a first-class University Diploma in Geography. He was subsequently awarded a research scholarship in Geology but his work in that field in Wales was cut short by war service in France where he commanded a company of the South Wales Borderers. In 1919 Sayce accepted a lectureship in Geography in Aberystwyth and was awarded an MA the following year as well as the Prince Llewellyn Bronze Medal and Memorial Prize. Early in 1921, before departing for NUC, he was elected a Fellow of the Royal Geographical Society.

On subsequently being promoted to professor, Sayce became the first of what almost amounted to an apostolic succession of Welshmen to the chair of Geography in Pietermaritzburg. His primary interest in material culture led him into the study of stone implements in the province's river valleys. In 1927 he returned to Britain where he assumed a post in Ethnology and Physical Anthropology at Cambridge before eventually becoming director of a museum in Manchester. In 1929 another Welshman, R.M. Jehu M.Sc., succeeded him to the lectureship in Geography and Geology at NUC, eventually occupying the chair in Geography until 1962, after which O. (Owen) Williams, yet another Welshman, succeeded him.

J.G.W. Ferguson (MA Oxon and St Andrews) studied Classics, Economics and Philosophy before occupying chairs at the University of Allahabad (Philosophy) and Hong Kong (Education). In May 1921 he embarked upon a 30-year career at NUC when he assumed the new chair of Education. From 1924 Alexander 'Sandy' Reid (MA B.Sc. Aberdeen), principal of the Teachers Training College, brought his remarkable encyclopaedic knowledge to bear as associate professor of Education until his death in 1944. His involvement formalised the important close association between the two institutions, for as NUC moved into the 1920s teacher training became a major aspect of its work. In 1924 the Union Government's First Class Certificate, for which the College had been preparing students since 1917, gave way to the University of South Africa's Higher and Lower Diplomas in Education. In 1926 no less than 95% of NUC's students, excluding those taking Law courses, were intending to become teachers. Ferguson's new department was therefore soon to have a beneficial impact on the province's matriculation results as it trained increasing numbers to staff its high schools as well as others further afield.

In 1922 Advocate F.B. (Frank) Burchell (MA LLB Cantab.) followed Ferguson onto the full-time staff, in his case as lecturer in Law after serving part-time since 1920. E.A. (Edmund) Selke had preceded him in that capacity, having been appointed part-time in 1917 following the premature death of Robert Inchbold. Selke was born in 1890 in England and educated in Johannesburg and at Oxford. In 1915 he was called to the Inner Temple and in 1917 to the Natal Bar following his return to practise as an attorney. He lectured at NUC until 1922, when he went back into practice, took silk in 1929 and served on the bench from 1938. Like Inchbold before him, Selke was only required to teach small numbers of candidates for the Natal Law Certificate. Nevertheless, he was instrumental in pointing to the growing need for NUC to appoint a second lecturer in Law to provide classes for prospective LLB candidates as a clearer distinction came to be drawn in the profession between those who practised as attorneys and those who were called to the Natal Bar as advocates.

NUC accepted this proposal with the appointment of Advocate Burchell to take responsibility for LLB candidates. As it was initially a part-time appointment he was permitted to continue his practice in Camperdown. It became a full-time post from March 1922 when he also began to teach the Natal Law Certificate candidates following Selke's resignation. In August 1923 his efforts were duly rewarded when he was appointed professor and in 1924 the first Law Faculty Dinner was held in his honour. In the same year, as numbers and enthusiasm grew, the Natal Law Students Juridical Society was formed with branches in both Durban and Pietermaritzburg. Its purpose was to supplement legal theory with practical exercises. To that end, various moot court trials and legal debates were organised as well as annual inter-town contests.

Formal law classes were initially held in one lecture room in Greene's Chambers in Change Lane, Pietermaritzburg, where Burchell and his partners had rooms. They later expanded to two offices and three lecture rooms, the larger two seating 12 students each with inconvenient and disruptive access to one of them via the smallest.

'Binkie' Burchell, as he was affectionately known by friends and students, also provided prospective lawyers all over the country with correspondence courses and final 'brush-up' lectures every November prior to the year-end examinations. He even arranged accommodation in Pietermaritzburg for the thousands of distant candidates who, in the course of several years prior to World War II, completed their legal training with his assistance. Burchell's

workload was substantial, for he was required to spend several days each fortnight in Durban and delivered an average of 20 lectures a week at each centre. His need of assistance was eventually acknowledged with the appointment in 1926 of a Law lecturer (G.M.J. Sweeney) in Durban.

In 1947 Burchell assumed the new James Scott Wylie Chair of Law and held it until his retirement in 1955 when he was awarded an Honorary Doctorate of Law. During that time he attracted increasing numbers of students and also played a leading role in drawing up the Charter and Statutes for NUC's successor, the University of Natal. In his younger days he was a keen all-round sportsman, playing for the College 1st rugby XV and captaining the cricket team. Over the years Burchell endeared himself to students and colleagues with his enthusiasm for the law and ready sense of humour. On one occasion he confiscated the keys and rotor arm of a student's flashy sports car, with such a remarkable improvement in the owner's academic performance that he eventually qualified as an advocate!

Burchell continued to teach until his death in 1960, by which stage ten of his former students had been appointed to the Bench, several others were serving as magistrates all over South Africa and numerous graduates were working as advocates, attorneys, public servants and university lecturers. An annual Frank Burchell Memorial Lecture was instituted in his honour and the Law Library that was named after him featured his portrait, commissioned by the students on his retirement, and an oak desk that they had presented to him in 1936.

In the same year as Burchell's appointment as professor of Law (1923), Alan Hattersley was also promoted to a professorship. His lectureship in History had been confirmed in May 1919 and he had then applied in terms of the prevailing regulations to the Minister of Education for an extra £50 (R100) a year in salary as a non-professorial head of department. A 1921 application to have him promoted was again refused, though it would only have given him a salary of £650 (R1 300) a year instead of £575 (R1 150). His subsequent elevation to a chair at last resolved what the NUC Council and Senate had regarded as an anomalous situation that unfairly gave his discipline an inferior status on campus.

Hattersley also served, from 1919, as NUC's honorary librarian and later as the first warden of the first men's residence. He proved to be a rather dour lecturer but, according to one of his students, the Pietermaritzburg historian Dr Ruth Gordon, he enjoyed the ironies of history and was decidedly more relaxed with senior students in seminar discussions. There were, as yet, no

Honours courses but in 1930 he supervised the department's first MA thesis, B. van Rensburg's 'The Langalibalele Rising'. As Milner Snell's MA research has shown, by the mid-1950s 15 such theses had been submitted on Natal's nineteenth-century settlers, politics and socio-economic development.

At both undergraduate and postgraduate level Hattersley was a stickler for attention to detail and the careful use of sources, while shunning historical theories. On arrival in Natal he had found the standard of History teaching to be poor. In high schools it was 'largely a routine process of accumulating facts, without any attempt to grapple seriously with problems of the past and present'. At university college level, he argued:

It was possible for a student to get through his first two courses without having worked at a single document or primary source ... Text-book history seemed to me of no value as academic discipline. What was required was not so much popular lecturing as insight into the nature and methods of historical investigation.

Milner Snell has also pointed out that as sole member of his department Hattersley developed the three-year 'major' curriculum to his own satisfaction, with a heavy emphasis on European (particularly British) history and a course in South African history as one of three sections at third-year level. This remained virtually unchanged until his retirement in 1953. Seven years after assuming the chair of History Hattersley was also given responsibility for the teaching of Political Science. It was to prove a popular subject and its association with History was to remain close for many years.

At Senate's behest, he also became trustee of a local branch of the International Relations Clubs promoted by the Carnegie Foundation. From 1930 the Pietermaritzburg club held lectures, developed a Carnegie-endowed library and debated the international issues of the day. Hattersley recorded that the post-World War I mood was pro-the League of Nations, in whose foundation Smuts had played a role, and was generally pacifist throughout the 1920s until Nazism began to emerge in Europe.

In addition to his teaching and other responsibilities, Hattersley more than justified his promotion to a chair with a veritable stream of publications. These were initially in imperial and European history, the field in which he had been trained at Cambridge. His first book *The Colonies and Imperial federation* (1919) was followed by *A Short history of Western Civilization* (1927) and *A Short history of Democracy* (1930), both of which were prescribed texts for the first-year course until the late 1950s. His *Western Civilization* proved to be his best seller, running to several editions and being translated into Spanish.

In the early 1930s, with the publication of *The Great Trek, 1835–37* (1931), Hattersley began to concentrate his research interest on southern Africa. Like other professional historians at that time this was possibly in response to the segregationist policies that were being introduced in the 1920s and 1930s and in criticism of earlier interpretations of the subcontinent's history. *South Africa* (1933) and *history Teaching in Schools* (1935) were followed by more narrowly focused regional works. These may have been influenced by the growing separatist movement in the province but probably also by the rich mine of archival records on Natal's colonial era that he found still largely unexploited in the archival repository in town.

In conscious continuation of John Bird's *The Annals of Natal* (1888), he initially made heavy use of reminiscences and other British settler-related documents to produce *More Annals of Natal* (1936), *Later Annals of Natal* (1938), *Pietermaritzburg Panorama: A Survey of One hundred Years of an African City* (1938), *further Annals of Natal* (1940), *Portrait of a Colony: The Story of Natal* (1940), *hilton Portrait: South African Public School 1872–1945* (1945) and *The Natal Settlers, 1849–1851* (1949).

Hattersley's magnum opus on the settler theme was *The British Settlement of Natal: A Study in Imperial Migration* (1950), which the Natal Provincial Council funded as part of the Natal settler centenary celebrations, on whose organising committee he served. By that stage his reputation as *the* historian of British settler history in the province had been firmly established. This was further reinforced by *Carbineer: The history of the Royal Natal Carbineers* (1950), *Portrait of a City: Pietermaritzburg* (1951), *The Natal Society, 1851–1951* (1951), *A hospital Century: Grey's hospital, Pietermaritzburg* (1955), *The Victoria Club, Pietermaritzburg, 1859–1959* (1959) and *A Camera of Old Natal* (1960). Reverting to a broader theme, perhaps his most important work was *An Illustrated Social history of South Africa* (1969). In addition, he contributed several articles to the *Dictionary of South African Biography*.

Hattersley disliked telephones and motor vehicles, his preferred means of communication being correspondence and mode of transport either bicycle or (for long distances) train. His cycling trips into town, holding an umbrella in one hand and clutching the handlebars in the other, then plodding back up Durban (Alan Paton) Road, were fondly remembered, as were the students' many 'Hattie' jokes. As a single man and later as warden, he was perhaps an obvious target but the anecdotes were never unkind and few were believed to have any real substance. A favourite had it that, though a confirmed bachelor, on one occasion when he did take a shine to a young lady and invited her out

to a function in town he conveyed her in a rickshaw while cycling alongside! If true, this unromantic arrangement, complete with labouring chaperone, was hardly a transport of delight but it must at least have been preferable to perching on 'Hattie's' handlebars. Moreover, it offered the object of his attention a strong sense of physical security while affording her admirer the opportunity to maintain his fitness level. The return journey back up Durban Road to Scottsville must be left, even more, to the imagination.

It was appropriate that Hattersley served on the Archives Commission (1948–1964) and on the Union War Histories Advisory Council for, as his publication record demonstrates, he was a pioneer in the field of Natal's social history. But his reclusiveness did isolate him from much of what was happening around him and racial issues did not loom large in his considerable and otherwise thoroughly researched publication output. As Snell has argued, he sometimes romanticised British settlement in the Natal Colony, reflecting perhaps the nostalgic environment in which he lived, with no mention made of its class divisions and little attention given to its negative aspects such as land expropriation, race-based legislation and the harsh treatment of labour.

Hattersley seldom spoke at academic meetings and when he did it was always from a carefully considered conservative perspective that did not easily accept changes. Examples of this were his surprising reluctance to embrace the post-World War II proposals to establish chairs of Divinity and Philosophy. He maintained an almost life-long interest in scouting, continuing to be actively involved in the local movement in his old age. One former scout recalls that he regularly invited pairs of youngsters for sleepovers at his home during which they were taught skills such as map reading, taken on cycling trips and treated to lunch downtown. He also remembers as an 11-year-old being beaten on his bare buttocks over Hattersley's lap in the professorial bedroom after committing some displeasing infraction!

In 1976, on his death at 83 years of age, Hattersley left R1 000 and his collection of British Parliamentary Papers and Natal Almanacs to the University Library, which he had served so loyally in its early years. At a symposium held later that year in remembrance of him, an acquaintance, Dr John Clark, recalled that he was a 'reserved man – always courteous but most reticent and reserved', not given to frivolous conversation, his deadpan lack of animation making him appear 'a dull man when in fact he had much that was important and significant to say'. Apart from his enthusiasm for scouting, he was also very much a loner, who liked to be left 'with his thoughts, his books, and most of all his writing'. Although markedly different in personality, Hattersley, like Petrie, laid important foundations for the humanities at NUC.

There were also significant post-World War I developments in the science departments. In 1920 the College again tried to have Paul Mesham's lectureship in Physics raised to the level of a chair, as it did a year later for Hattersley. It was pointed out that, at that stage, no new chair had been created at NUC since its opening in 1910, that Physics was 'unquestionably one of the largest and most important science departments' on campus, and that it was demeaning for it and its over-worked staff member to be the only one in the Union not to have a chair. Mesham was duly promoted the following year.

In March 1924, in an effort to reverse the declining student numbers in Applied Mathematics (for Roseveare was a pure mathematician), A. Lang Brown (BA Cantab.) was appointed to a lectureship in that field, and in Physics. Two years later Roseveare retired and J. (John) McKinnell (MA B.Sc. Glasgow), the archetypal absent-minded but likeable professor, replaced him as head of Mathematics and Applied Mathematics.

In Botany John Bews' postgraduate student G.W. (George) Gale, who had just been granted a £130 (R260) research scholarship, gained some teaching experience when he was appointed temporary lecturer during his supervisor's absence on sabbatical during the first half of 1920. In 1925 Bews, who had declined a chair at Pretoria University, took an even more extended eighteen months' sabbatical to widen his scientific contacts at Armstrong College, Newcastle-upon-Tyne. He had been offered a similar position there and while in Britain was able to compare his findings on the evolution of South African flora with those of other scientists who had worked elsewhere in the world. Fortunately for NUC, Bews resisted the temptation to remain in the scientific



G.W. (George) Sweeney was born in Dublin and educated at Bishop's in Cape Town, Boys Model School in Durban and Maritzburg College. In 1891 he became the first BA graduate from Natal at the University of the Cape of Good Hope and in 1897 the first to be awarded an LL.B. He taught at Boys Model and Maritzburg College before joining the Crown Solicitor's Office where he served in various capacities and was involved in drafting the Act that brought NUC into existence. He also launched the first lectures given under the auspices of the Natal Law Society and in 1914–1915 taught briefly in the History Department at NUC before eventually being appointed as lecturer in English. He retired in 1932.

mainstream and returned in 1926 to continue his research on the grasslands of the Natal Midlands.

With limited funds, the College faced a difficult choice between offering students important new fields of study and developing the short-staffed departments that were already in existence. In 1919 government had initiated a provident fund to provide university staff with a pension scheme comparable to that attached to other professions. NUC itself introduced small salary increases in an effort to retain its staff and attract the additions that it could afford. By 1923 staff salaries had improved appreciably over those pertaining in 1910. Professors (male) were on a scale from £650 (R1 300) to £900 (R1 800), with their still non-existent female counterparts being paid £450 (R900) to £650 (R1 300). Male senior lecturers were also earning £450 (R900) to £650 (R1 300) with females on a £400 (R800) to £500 (R1 000) scale and lecturers £400 (R800) to £500 (R1 000), with women offered £300 (R600) to £400 (R800) at that level.

The unexplained gender discrepancy with regard to salary scales was presumably based on the traditional but increasingly shaky assumption that female staff members were not primary breadwinners. While women were not yet in evidence in NUC's academic staff complement at any level this distinction was particularly dubious after the heavy loss of manpower suffered during World War I.

Other academic staff appointed during the immediate post-war decade included R.D. (Douglas) Aitken (1920) and then A.J.W. (Adolf) Bayer (1925), both NUC M.Sc. graduates, in Botany; A.D. Mudie (MA B.Sc. St Andrews) in Chemistry (1920); G.W. Sweeney (BA LLB) in English (1921); J.H. Snow (BA London) (1920) and then P.A. Guiton (BA London) (1922) in French (so that Besselaar could concentrate on teaching Dutch); J.J. Dekker (MA University of South Africa, D.Phil. Vienna) in Modern Languages (1927); and J.R.H. Coutts (M.Sc. London) in Mathematics and Physics (1927). All provided much-needed help to short-staffed departments.

Biographical information is available on only some of these appointees. Born in 1883 in Montrose, Scotland, A.D. Mudie went to St Andrews University at 16 years of age, coming second in the entry bursary competition, winning a medal in Chemistry and Applied Mathematics and the Forester Prize in Chemistry as an undergraduate. This was followed by a medal for Advanced Natural Philosophy (Physics) and the Neil Arnott Prize. He completed his MA in 1905, taught in secondary schools and returned to university in 1912 where he conducted research under (later Sir) James Irvin on the structure of amino-

sugars and had (later Sir) William Haworth, a future Nobel Prize winner, as a fellow student and golf companion. Mudie gained further awards in Chemistry before completing his B.Sc. (Special) and was awarded a Carnegie Scholarship (1913–1915).

On arrival in Natal in 1915, after his studies had been disrupted by the outbreak of war, he assumed the post of Science master at Maritzburg College but left for active service in East Africa the following year. He returned to his post after demobilisation in 1919 and was appointed lecturer in Chemistry at NUC the next year. Mudie was promoted to senior lecturer in 1940 and retired in 1948. ‘Kurruk’ as he affectionately became known for his Scottish pronunciation of ‘cork’, proved to be a dedicated and popular teacher in the Denison mould, helping to lay the foundations upon which others could build the department’s research reputation. He died in 1959 and a laboratory was named after him.

G.W. Sweeney became something of a legend among students of English Literature, some of whom considered him a more effective teacher than Waterhouse because he often offered ‘priceless gems, dropped as asides about the vagaries of life’. P.A. Guiton had moved at the age of 19 from France to Britain where he switched from training as an engineer to teaching French at various schools. He subsequently studied at Freiburg University and completed a BA (first-class Honours) at the University of London. After service in World War I he taught again in England and in Rhodesia (Zimbabwe) from whence he joined the staff of NUC.

J.J. Dekker’s career at the College was very brief, lasting only through 1927 and 1928. During that time he was responsible for teaching German and was such a popular lecturer that attempts were made to lure him back after he left on promotion to Grey College in Bloemfontein. When Besselaar’s chair fell vacant in 1931 it was unsuccessfully offered to him. In 1928 the Department of Modern Languages became that of Dutch and German to reflect student demand more accurately, though French had also been offered for a number of years.

During his tenure in Pietermaritzburg Besselaar actively tried to promote Afrikaans language and culture, and to establish an Afrikaans-medium school in the city. He was also a pillar of the Dutch Reformed Church and in the 1920s, under his direction, Afrikaans was developed as a major discipline in its own right at NUC, and as a language in which students could write their examinations if they chose to do so. The cause was further advanced in 1923 when the Natal Provincial Council eventually accepted Afrikaans as a subject

and as a medium of communication in its schools. Two years later Parliament formally recognised it as an official language.

J.R.H. Coutts completed a B.Sc. (1920) and Honours (1923) degree at London University and worked as a soil physicist in Rothamstead before accepting a lectureship in Physics at NUC in Pietermaritzburg. He served under the College's first head of Physics Paul Mesham (1912–1947) and spent some of his time teaching Mathematics before assuming the chair of Physics in 1948 and resigning it in 1950 to become senior lecturer in Soil Physics at the University of Aberdeen. He retired in 1971 and returned as temporary lecturer in Physics (Durban) in 1974.

While the initial lectureships in History, Law and Physics in Pietermaritzburg had been successfully converted to chairs, only Botany, Chemistry, Education and English/Philosophy could boast two staff members, with J.R.H. Coutts oscillating between Physics and Mathematics. From time to time a chair of Music was mooted but not established, probably for financial reasons, even though the City Council contemplated combining this with the post of Borough Organist. In 1926 the Minister of Education quashed the proposal to offer Music on campus and in 1934 F.S. Tatham's suggestion that the City Council should endow a chair in that field was seriously discussed but not pursued. Similarly, Maurice Webb's proposal to launch the study of inter-racial issues was regretfully rejected. It was decided that part-time classes were to be extended, with Law courses still predominating although languages and a science were also to be made available.

The major deficiency in NUC's course options on the Pietermaritzburg campus was in Philosophy. Although Waterhouse was nominally responsible for it, little serious effort had been made to offer courses in that field – a victim of Charles Mudie's personal choice of discipline combinations when the College was first launched. Another casualty, although also a well-established traditional field of university study, was Latin. It continued to be offered as an option, but in 1928 was abolished as a compulsory ancillary for students majoring in a modern language.

In view of the large numbers of students intending to pursue teaching careers, it was not surprising that, apart from Latin, secondary school subjects attracted the most registrations while Economics and some of the social sciences initially did not. Subject choices were eventually to change but, in any event, significant further additions to the staff had to await the mid-1930s and the introduction of Philosophy had to wait even longer, to the disadvantage of students.³

Students and student activities

Despite the limitations of NUC's course offerings student enrolments took an immediate post-war upturn. They rose to 91 in 1918 (including 39 women) and 115 in 1919, which was still fewer than the number of pupils studying at nearby Maritzburg College. No less than 33 of the 81 white pupils who matriculated in Natal at the end of that year registered at NUC in 1920 when there were 141 students in total. By the mid-1920s there were more than 250 students on the Pietermaritzburg campus, of whom 43% were women in 1926. Residence in town, at places like Walmsley House for £5 (R10) a month, full board and lodging, or in private homes, was still commonplace.

Noisy student behaviour, on- and off-campus, was a recurring problem, readily acknowledged by the culprits themselves. As a contributor to the *NUC Magazine* put it:

Beneath this stone poor Goody lies
At rest from all his labours:
He's resting now in lasting peace
AND SO ARE ALL HIS NEIGHBOURS!

Towards the end of World War I, as student numbers revived, several new on-campus societies and sports clubs were formed, including the aforementioned Students Christian Association (September 1918), which attracted most of the campus leaders and some of whose members came from missionary families. Its birth owed much to George Gale but its first president was Eric Pennington,



A S. (Alan) Paton was born in 1903 in Pietermaritzburg and, after completing his studies at NUC, worked in several schools before being appointed principal of Diepkloof Reformatory where he was very successful in rehabilitating juvenile delinquents. In 1948 he became world renowned with the publication of his novel *Cry, the Beloved Country*. This was followed by *Too Late the Phalarope* (1953) and other lesser-known works, including biographies of Jan Hofmeyr (1968) and Geoffrey Clayton (1973), an autobiography *Towards the Mountain* (1980) and the semi-biographical *Ah, But Your Land is Beautiful* (1981). He lectured extensively abroad and was a co-founder in 1953 of the South African Liberal Party, of which he was president from 1955 until its enforced dissolution in 1968. In 1960 the National Party government withdrew his passport. He died in 1988.

who was also SRC chairman and captain of the Rugby and Tennis clubs. The SCA organised several study groups as well as Sunday morning meetings held in town at the YWCA. Some of its leaders of the 1921–1923 era subsequently arranged highly successful schoolboy and schoolgirl holiday camps that led to the acquisition of a property at Anerley on the south coast and even attracted J.H. (Jan) Hofmeyr's supportive attendance.

Other campus organisations founded in the late war and post-war period included the revived Literary and Debating Society (1917), the Dramatic Society (1919), the Magazine Publication Committee (1919) and the Scientific Society (1923).

The Literary and Debating Society, re-constituted in March 1917 with 31 members, met until June 1918 in the YWCA Hall in town and subsequently in the Main Building on campus. Meetings were held every Friday evening in one of the lecture rooms with a professor in the chair and traditional debating procedure strictly observed. Arts and Science students competed annually against each other for the Inchbold Trophy, Robert Inchbold having been the early moving spirit.

In 1921 the students, represented by Rico Titlestad and George Gale, debated for the first time against the Pietermaritzburg Parliamentary Society. This took place in an upstairs room at the Creamery Hotel with the Hon. Mr Justice Broome adjudicating. The students lost but on another occasion they won, when represented by Alan Paton, later famed novelist and leader of the South African Liberal Party, and Irene (Snib) Cochar-Hall, future wife of Professor Maurice Sweeney whose father chaired the meeting. In August 1925 Messrs Bayer, Goldberg and Nuttall defeated the visiting representatives of the National Union of Students of England and Wales on the vote of a hopefully not too parochial 700-strong audience in the City Hall. Such was the nature of public entertainment in those days.

Women and women's concerns played a prominent role in the Society, with several of them holding senior positions on its committee and several of its sessions devoted to women's interests. In 1920 Miss Brock won her debate against George Gale on parliamentary votes for women, a victory that was attributed to the large female contingent in the audience although the issue was successfully raised again in 1927, three years before white women did acquire the vote in South Africa. In 1923 Miss Cheesman spoke in 'Defence of Women Authors' and in 1924 Miss Noble successfully opposed the motion that 'women students should be totally prohibited from visiting, attending or in any way disturbing the peace and tranquillity of the N.U. College'. In the same

year another debate focused on the contention that ‘woman is an economic burden’ and in 1926 ‘the modern girl devotes too much time to sport and to the pursuit of pleasure’ was discussed.

In 1922 the light-hearted NUC Higher Mind Society held its first meeting, at which ‘Professor John Wingle, B.F.’ delivered a paper on ‘My Work on Luniography’ and the audience ‘applauded with vigour whenever they recognised a word’. The NUC Choral and Instrumental Society, led by its president ‘Mr Swig de Beer’, also ‘rendered choice items at intervals’ and ‘Rev O. Pears’ (Reg Pearse) read some poems.

The more serious Scientific Society, founded the following year, was intended to ‘stimulate interest in matters of general popular scientific interest’. Its first president, the newly arrived appointee in Geography and Geology, R.U. Sayce, gave the first paper on ‘Some Bantu Conceptions of the Soul and the Other World’. The second, a lecture on X-rays in the X-Ray Theatre at the Sanatorium, attracted so much interest that it had to be repeated.

The students’ *NUC Magazine*, which made its first appearance in 1919, was ‘written by students for students’ with the intention, as its first editor Miss K.A. Laffan put it, of stimulating ‘that *esprit de corps* which it is essential to foster among members of a young institution’. To that end, it included personal reflections on university life, the reminiscences of alumni and news of their achievements, recollections of the recently concluded Great War, obituaries honouring former students, book reviews, letters to the editor and reports on the activities of campus societies and sports clubs as well as on the National Union of South African Students (NUSAS) and other student conferences.

The *Magazine* also featured student poetry and prose of varying quality, some of a serious academic nature. This included articles relating to literary, educational, scientific and social issues but there was surprisingly little pertaining to the current political debates of the 1920s, 1930s and 1940s on matters such as the national flag, the authority of provincial councils, the proposed devolution of power to them and, not least, Natal separatism. It was perhaps a reflection of the fairly cloistered existence most students still enjoyed.

Laffan produced three volumes of *NUC Magazine* prior to November 1920 when she was succeeded by M.C. Hewitt who served two terms in office. In a still small student body that understandably provided few contributors, articles and poems were often published under nom de plumes so as not to reveal the extent to which the survival of the publication depended upon the editor and a handful of assistants. From 1924 an ‘Extra-Mural Section’ was added to the *Magazine* in order to involve the 42 law students who were studying part-time

in downtown Pietermaritzburg. One of these was Margaret Fraser, Natal's first female candidate attorney.

When, in 1919, the Dramatic Society was established, its first production in the Main Hall was written by Maurice Sweeney, future professor of Law, and Wilfred Whitelaw, its characters being 'skits' on well-known student personalities. Another successful early production was J.M. Barrie's *The Admirable Crichton* with Alan Paton, though far too short, as Crichton, because there was always a shortage of willing males and he did have a certain stage presence. Percy Hardaker, future headmaster of Northlands Boys High School and also short in stature, played Ernest, with Brian Colam, future principal of Glenwood High School, as Lord Loam and 'Snib' Cohar-Hall as Lady Mary.

A wire strung between two wattle poles on each side of the Main Hall stage provided support for a curtain while the scenery and costumes were similarly makeshift. Small rooms on each side of the stage served as change rooms but there were no hooks or nails on which to hang costumes. This production attracted an audience of nearly 300 and was followed by a much more ambitious and successful staging of Arnold Bennett's *Milestones* in the YMCA Hall in town. Paton also wrote and directed *Mort d'Professor*, which was staged in the City Hall. In the 1920s some productions even went on tours of northern Natal, to the benefit of NUC's public image. Such was its success, by 1922 the Society's membership exceeded a third of the total number of students registered at the College, including a large number of women.

In 1919 sociability had to give way to academic need when the noisy common room for male students was displaced, as what was meant to be 'a temporary measure', from its original site in the Main Building to make way for a balance room for the Chemistry Department. It was transferred to a spartan ex-military wood-and-iron structure on Ridge Road that was furnished with a few nondescript tables, chairs, benches and lockers. Reminiscent of the building in which NUC had initially been accommodated at Maritzburg College, it was unbearably hot in summer and icy in winter. Hence 'William's' lengthy 'Ode to Our Common Room', published in the new *NUC Magazine*, began:

See! There is our Common Room – that thing made of tin!
 Guaranteed to kill all who venture within!
 For should a man do so, be there any so bold,
 He'll sustain serious injury from what he'll behold,
 For the conditions obtaining in that filthy den
 Are enough to destroy even the strongest of men.

While a petition was launched for the establishment of a new facility the better appointed room for women remained in the Main Building. There tea could be taken and was made available to men on the adjacent verandah on the east side. Academic dress was still required for attendance at lectures and females were expected to wear their hair ‘up’. One daring young woman attended class (only once) in hockey gear, without a gown!

Societies, clubs and common rooms (and perhaps even academic dress) helped to foster a stronger sense of campus identity. So, too, did the composition of various student songs. Also, in April 1918 Rev. Dr Leo Sormany produced the College Anthem *Natale solum canimus* in response to Professor Bews’ request. As Sormany explained, perhaps in defence of his tortured and unfathomable command of Latin, it was not ‘couched in the measure of Horace, but is after the ruder manner of those who have spread the Latin tongue over the wide world, as they celebrate in the streets, in villages, and in temples, now the exploits of heroes, now the commonplace deeds of the vulgar’. Mercifully, in 1919 the *NUC Magazine* published Petrie’s more intelligible English translation for the benefit of its student readers:

Fair Natalia’s land we hymn,
Where Phoebus holds his sway benign,
Our Alma Mater’s praise declare,
And venerate the Morning Star.

(Chorus) Gracious Mother, live for aye,
Thou that dost dower us bounteously!
For ever chanting with great glee
Vivat, vivat N.U.C.!

(Men) Here we, youths, seek learning’s store,
And tune our hearts to Wisdom’s lore.

(Women) We maidens, too, the home’s high pride,
Whate’er it be that we divide.

Though from hence we take our ways,
Still to Scottsville memory strays;
Still to Umsinduzi’s streams
Chain our steps and haunt our dreams.

Sormany expressed the hope that the students would ‘like the melody, which has been adopted from early sources’. Perhaps with World War I strongly in mind, he explained his description of female students as the ‘pride’ of the home with a reference to the *Vulgate*, ‘which directs that, when the soldier

returns, the pride of the house shall divide the spoils (Psalm LXVIII. v. 12. A.V. “Kings of armies did flee apace: and she that tarried at home divided the spoil.”)’.

The melody (alas, seemingly lost to posterity) may have been more attractive than the lyrics. George Gale recalled how he and his fellow students struggled ‘to master the majestic cadences of the tune’ under the baton of Professor Waterhouse. The Anthem survived long enough to be performed on 15 March 1949 at the inauguration of the University of Natal but it did not prove as popular as the more universally known and time-honoured *Gaudeamus Igitur*.

In 1920 ‘R.O.P.’ (probably the student R.O. Pearse) may have believed that he could improve on Sormany’s effort (and probably did), though the melody of his *Vivat N.U.C.* is also unrecorded:

Star of the Morning, Oh Stella Aurorae,
All hail to thy brightness that shines from afar!
For thee do we gather and lift up our voices.
For thee is our anthem, oh bright Morning Star.
Though young in the annals of honour and glory
Thy name shall resound in the pages of Time;
So gather ye students, ye men and ye maidens,
And cleave the blue skies of our fair southern clime:

(Chorus) ‘O vivas in aeternum vivas,
Alma Mater quae nos ditas!
For ever chanting with great glee,
Vivat, vivat N.U.C.!’

Thou standest afar on the summit of Scottsville,
Where fair Umsinduzi flows dreamily by,
While ’neath thee the City lies dim in the smoke haze,
And opposite, Zwartkop leaps up to the sky.
Thou standest afar like a sentinel guarding
The scenes that thou lovest – kloof, river and hill –
While ever around thee thy students shall gather
And sing to thy praises the old chorus still.

And so, though we part from thy care and thy shelter
Thy vision shall ever rise up to our view,
The College that stands for the lofty and noble,
The College that stands for the right and the true.
And memory shall call up the vision of Zwartkop,
And fair Umsinduzi, soft murmuring by,
And all the world over, wherever we gather,
Thy dearly-loved chorus shall rise to the sky.

Student solidarity was also promoted in other ways. In 1919 students conducted a nocturnal post-war ‘NUC Peace Procession’ from the campus entrance on Durban (now Alan Paton) Road through the streets of Pietermaritzburg. The participants were equipped with academic gowns, mortar boards, a large Union Jack, the College Banner and, somewhat incongruously, illuminated their way with Japanese lanterns. Popular ditties were accompanied by various musical instruments ranging from bugles and dinner bells to mouth organs and paraffin tins, interspersed with the student ‘War Cry’:

Who are, who are, who are we?
 We are, we are, we are the
 Students of the NUC,
 ‘Var-’Var-’Varsity.

One of their songs included a verse devoted to each staff member, including Denison who was always accompanied by his white terrier.

Here’s to good old Becket
 With his poodle oodle-ooo,
 Down the college pathway
 They both toodle, oodle-oo.
 Here’s to good old Becket
 The Chairman of the Senate
 He’s got a brainy noodle-oodle-oo.

On arrival at the Athenaeum, a popular downtown eatery that was rather less sedate than the London club of the same name, a vociferous ‘three cheers for the King’ was followed by ‘Snib’ Cochar-Hall’s table-top speech in praise of NUC



R.O. (Reg) Pearse matriculated at Ladysmith High School and after graduating at NUC worked for the Natal Education Department in various capacities, becoming best known as principal of Estcourt High School where he served for 25 years before retiring in 1965. He became a recognised authority on the Drakensberg and in 1961 was a member of the four-man team that was the first to photograph the lammergeyer in the Lesotho mountains. He was also founder-chairman of the Drakensberg Boys Choir. Among other works, he published *Sable and Murrey* (a history of Estcourt High School, 1946), his popular *Barrier of Spears: Drama of the Drakensberg* (1978) and *Joseph Baynes Pioneer* (1983).

and of those students who had returned from military service. The College was toasted (with tea), more songs were sung, accompanied by a small orchestra and concluding with 'God Save the King' before the procession marched out again through an interested if somewhat bemused throng of spectators.

The students were again much in evidence the following year when Field Marshal Earl Haig visited the city. They brought his vehicle to a standstill when it passed the bottom of the campus on Durban Road to render three hearty cheers despite the horrors of the Great War in which he had been so prominently and contentiously involved. Haig later recalled the incident as one of the most pleasant experiences on his South African tour.

In 1921, when Senate appealed to students to contribute to a campus War Memorial Fund, the SRC resolved to collect at least half of the required £150 (R300), though this was not easily achieved. In October of that year a sports day was held to raise funds for the cause. In 1925 H.R.H. The Prince of Wales was given the same treatment as Haig en route to visiting the city, though Council vetoed the students' plan to accompany him in rickshaws from the Victoria Club in the centre of town to the Royal Agricultural Society's Show Grounds.

There may have been other earlier processions but the one that took place on 7 April 1920 in honour of the NUC graduates who were catching the overnight train (free second class) to receive their degrees from the University of South Africa in Pretoria thereafter became an annual event known as Rag. The first parade of students 'dressed in humorous or grotesque fashions', waving College flags and riding on decorated trucks and rickshaws was preceded by two motor vehicles bearing the prospective new graduates, followed by a male voice choir, which led the singing of student favourites, including the new College Anthem, performed in public for the first time.

These proceedings, which attracted much amused public attention, started on the corner of Prince Alfred Street in Pietermaritzburg and moved along Commercial (now Albert Luthuli) Road and Church Street to the railway station. There the graduates were carried shoulder-high onto the platform and treated on departure to another rousing rendition of the College Anthem. Those who remained then repaired to the Athenaeum in town for non-alcoholic lubrication, further songs and hoarse attempts at speeches.

Dinner at that establishment, the Creamery or the Imperial Hotel subsequently became an annual ritual for the graduates prior to departure to Pretoria. On arrival there the NUC delegation usually walked proudly in the

procession to the Pretoria City Hall behind a home-made green, blue and black banner bearing the College's coat of arms.

In 1922 a contributor to the *NUC Magazine* still complained:

At the present moment the inhabitants of Maritzburg are dimly aware that a University College is actually in existence in this City. They have seen, and perhaps admired, the buildings from afar off, and have regarded the University as an institution set apart and attached, self-contained and self-governing, having no vital connection with the life of Maritzburg. They regard it in much the same way as they do the Mental Asylum or Isolation Hospital.

Between 1925 and 1930 the annual Rag procession helped to change that perception, becoming part of a 'Gala' programme at NUC. This involved a series of money-raising functions intended to assist the campus building fund and contributed towards the construction in 1929 of the first men's residence, Lodge. In 1927 a 'Nucifête', involving most of the students, generated a record £220 (R440) as well as improving the *esprit de corps* of the College. In August 1926 the first Rag publication, *The NUC Gala Bulletin*, made its appearance (the forerunner of *Nucleus*) to collect funds for that purpose. It was sold at 'prices left to the generosity of the public', though some students were bold enough to ask for silver!

During the 1920s there was also concern to maintain a sense of loyalty among alumni. On 3 September 1920, with the College now a decade old and boasting increasing numbers of graduates, the Natal University College Students Union was established at a meeting in the Imperial Hotel, with Dr H.T. (Hugh) Rymer as its president. Its purpose was to promote academic and social contact between students and alumni. A 10 shilling (R1) tax on each student helped to finance the first reunion of former students, which was celebrated that year with a lunch, tennis tournament, evening ball and river party the next morning. This was at a time when the nearby Msunduzi River was still quite picturesque, unpolluted and a favourite picnic spot for both town and gown.

Reunions became an annual event, with membership rising to 75 by 1922, comprising 68 former and seven current students. Copies of the new *NUC Magazine* were distributed among members as a means of keeping in touch with events on campus. The Union became moribund in 1924 but in 1927 efforts were made to revive it, not merely as a social club, but as a means of promoting the interests of NUC through branch unions at the coast, in the Midlands and in the northern districts of Natal.

In 1920–1921 the SRC was more effectively reorganised. In 1920 a female held the post of treasurer for the first time, in 1921 women served as assistant secretary and assistant treasurer and in 1925 they occupied four of the 13 positions on that council, though its presidency remained a male preserve. Their presence did not prevent the revamped SRC from recruiting the co-operation of a rather raucous, beer-drinking group of men that had emerged on campus. This was achieved with the help of Douglas Saunders, a popular student recently returned from Harrow and the only one at that time who owned a car. His powers of persuasion were such that he was also able to convince Alan Hattersley that an extra lecture a week on Saturdays was not a good idea and that even Sundays would be preferable.

As before the Great War, student pleasures were simple and mostly inexpensive, for the majority survived on tight budgets and many still walked between the campus and their digs in town to save the tram fares. Dances were held regularly in the Hall, although Denison stopped one prematurely because the prior permission of Senate had not been sought! In 1919 students collected £12 (R24) towards the purchase of a College piano, while the SRC also held what became an annual Grand Ball at 7/6d (75 cents) a ticket, with the usual shortage of willing campus men being compensated for by inviting bank and articled clerks of slight acquaintance. Such occasions always ended with a rendition of 'God Save the King' before journeying back to town on a specially ordered late tram or in walking groups that had to run the unromantic gauntlet of the night soil carts doing their grim but essential early morning rounds.

Other student treats included trips to Oxenham's Bakery to collect newly baked crusty loaves and occasional visits to Scotts Theatre in Theatre Lane. There a hard seat up in the 'gods' (the highest circle of seating at the back) cost as little as 1/9d (17.5 cents) to see productions that were sometimes as distinguished as those of Sir Frank Benson's visiting Shakespearian Company. That august body spent a whole week in Pietermaritzburg and some members of the campus Dramatic Society had the honour of serving as extras in the crowd scenes. Another highlight of the early twenties was the 1921 snowfall on Zwartkop when students bunked lectures and walked to the top for the thrill of sliding down again on trays.

Yet another memorable occasion, for a dozen students at least, was a weekend journey to Durban (to watch an international rugby match) on a Model T Ford flat lorry that had to be pushed up most of the hills between Mayville and Polly Shortts on the way back. The departure of those who had completed degrees

for the graduation ceremony in Pretoria, preceded by a dinner in their honour, continued to be a highlight of the year until it was replaced by NUC's own graduation functions, which also provided cause for celebration.

When James' Toy Shop burnt down in Pietermaritzburg students seized the opportunity for yet another public 'event'. They staged a mock funeral procession along Church Street for the city fire brigade and sang a dirge, which Alan Paton composed.

Here's to our old Fire Brigade,
 The pride of Sleepy Hollow.
 When fires do spread
 They are in bed,
 But later on they follow.

 They ring the bell
 And swear as well,
 Then don their various armours.
 Those made of tin
 They can't fit in,
 So just wear their pajamas.

The following morning Pietermaritzburg's inhabitants awoke to find Queen Victoria's statue in front of the old Colonial Parliament Building adorned with a fireman's helmet. The City Council took the hint and subsequently acquired a more effective motorised fire engine.

Sport continued to provide a popular and more acceptable outlet for student energy. The increase in post-war registrations improved NUC's prospects in most codes, though in 1922 Senate expressed its strong disapproval of tennis tournaments being played in the morning 'to the neglect of studies'. In 1927, after a student referendum indicated substantial support, Council at last agreed that social (but not tournament) tennis could be played on Sunday afternoons on the College courts.

The Men's Hockey Club (started in 1912 and formally founded in 1922) easily topped the league, with the initial help of outsiders in view of its small membership. It eventually had to operate under the name 'T.N.T.' because all league matches were played on Sundays, which was unacceptable to Senate. Women's hockey matches (originating in 1913) were played, more acceptably, on Saturdays on two hard earth grounds known as the Police Grounds, opposite the barracks in Alexandra Road. After their matches Varsity teams usually made their way down to the rugby field in Alexandra Park to shout themselves hoarse in support of NUC's Rugby 1st XV.

The Rugby Club (dating back to 1912) enjoyed mixed fortunes. In 1921 it got round to drawing up a constitution and appointing a controlling Committee of Five with Professor Petrie as its new president. In that year, with barely 40 members, it was strong enough to field two league teams and several of its members gained provincial selection. By 1923 membership had declined and so many stalwarts were injured that it was proving difficult to continue raising two sides. The following year no teams were entered in the leagues and only friendly matches were played as several members joined town clubs. In 1925 the club's numbers revived and it rejoined the leagues.

As the student body in Pietermaritzburg increased the demand for on-campus sports facilities also gathered momentum. The 'when will the playing fields be ready' question now joined the 'SRC piano' and the 'gowns-to-lectures-on-hot-summer-days' controversies. In September 1919 the NUC Cricket Club was formally established (though also started in 1912) with Professor Roseveare as president. Its initial 30-strong membership assisted in constructing a practice pitch on campus before entering a team in the senior league of the Maritzburg Cricket Union.

As in the more informal pre-war days it proved difficult to raise a side during the long summer vacation when so many students were absent from campus and the club actually dissolved in 1922 only to be revived in 1925. The absence of a home ground on campus still proved to be a decided disadvantage, as was the absence of an on-campus men's hostel, from which to recruit players more easily.

In 1920 an invitation from the Transvaal University College's Athletics Club to assist in inaugurating inter-College athletics competitions had to be declined due to the lack of training facilities in Pietermaritzburg. Council responded with a £300 (R600) grant for the development of student athletics. It was used to resurface the tennis courts and enlarge them from three to four, to level and re-grass the rugby field and to prepare a new hockey field.

A meeting of the student body subsequently resolved that all registered students should henceforth automatically become subscription-paying members of the Athletics Union. This gave the latter body an annual income in excess of £100 (R200), as a result of which it was able to reduce the subscriptions payable by individual club members. In 1921 the first campus sports day was organised and notwithstanding the rainy weather raised £10 (R20) for the College War Memorial Fund. 'Bob' Morin, a popular personality on campus, won the sprints but was tragically killed a few years later in a motorcycle accident.

By 1928, in addition to an Athletics Union, there were aforementioned athletics, cricket, women's and men's hockey, rugby and tennis clubs, to which boxing was added in 1925. By 1923 the women's hockey and tennis teams were already participating in the Transvaal in inter-collegiate competitions. In 1924 the Athletics Union, founded in 1913 and presided over by Professor Denison, appointed a committee to modify the College sports colours. It settled on a green, black and light blue striped blazer with the college crest on the pocket to replace the previous bottle-green blazer with NUC monogram. These blazers became a familiar sight around town for many years to come. In addition, guidelines were drawn up for the award of honour caps and colours in the various sports.

The initiation of first-year students into campus life certainly began much earlier but the first formal references to it were made in 1924 with a Freshers Concert and 'Ducking in the Duzi', whose pollution had not yet reached dangerous levels. During the first week of term male freshers were required to wear 'SRC official pants, suitably branded', red ties and 'hats well on to their eyebrows' while females had to wear red bows and 'hats well back on the head'. An 'Apparel Committee' was appointed to enforce these sartorial regulations.

Beginning in 1921 the president of the SRC addressed the student body on Opening Day and made a special appeal to new students to enter fully into the life of the College, after which representatives of the various student societies addressed them and a Freshers Dance was held. In 1925 the horse trough near



N. (Neville) Nuttall was born in Durban in 1903 and educated at Highbury Preparatory, Kingswood College and Durban High School. After graduating with a BA (1923), MA in English (1924) and Higher Education Diploma (1925), he served the Natal Education Department for 38 years as an inspiring teacher, rising to Inspector of Schools and principal of the Natal Teachers Training College. After his official retirement he taught at Hilton College and in 1973 was ordained as an Anglican priest. In addition to poetry and various anthologies, he published four books. *Trout Rivers of*

Natal: A fisherman's Philosophy (1947) was followed by *Proud River* (1965), *Lift Up Your hearts: The Story of Hilton College* (1971) and *Life in the Country* (1973).

the City Hall was substituted for the 'Duzi as the venue for ducking male freshers, avowedly 'in the interests of cleanliness', though it was considered unlikely that they 'appreciated the greater publicity of proceedings incidentally gained'.

On a more serious note, in July 1924 Neville Nuttall and V.A. Titlestad represented the student body at a conference in Bloemfontein where NUSAS was formed. Nuttall was elected a member of its council and in 1927 that body met in Pietermaritzburg. In the same year a group of European students, touring South Africa under the aegis of NUSAS, were feted in Pietermaritzburg both by NUC and the municipality.

Among NUC's Pietermaritzburg students of the immediate post-war era who were subsequently to become prominent were Nuttall's close friends Alan Paton, sometime secretary of the SRC and its president in 1922, and R.O. (Reg) Pearse, future head of Estcourt High School. The latter two enjoyed long walks together, as far from campus as Ladysmith and Durban. Contrary to the unsmiling photographs of Paton published in later life, Pearse was to remember his friend as 'impish and fun-loving'. All three intended to pursue careers in teaching and Paton had some brief on-campus experience when he served in the Physics Department as Paul Mesham's leave substitute.

The friends were all stalwarts of the SCA and Dramatic Society as well as frequent contributors to the *NUC Magazine*, sometimes under nom de plumes to conceal the extent of their involvement. The three, whose friendship proved to be life-long, were also enthusiastic members of the Debating Society. Paton, who enrolled in 1919 and was in third year when Nuttall arrived on campus in 1921, recalled 30 years later that he

was a noble friend and used to let me say in the debates, 'Mr. Nuttall has not the brains of a grasshopper,' on which he rose in a great passion and called for a withdrawal. I then could say, 'Mr. Chairman, I withdraw. Mr. Nuttall has the brains of a grasshopper.' This caused an annual sensation amongst the new students, and was regarded as wit of no common order.

Paton also raised howls of derisive laughter at the 1922 Freshers Debate when he thanked 'Professor Wongle', the fresher Norman Ingle, for his presentation on 'The future of radio' and unwisely derided his predictions. Undeterred, Ingle continued his experiments with home-made equipment.

Elsewhere Paton recorded that 'my life at the University was by no means all religion, high purpose, literature, and study. I joined the Dramatic Society. I also joined the Rugby Club, and played with much enthusiasm but not so

much distinction.’ Cricket and tennis were also among his many pastimes and he readily acknowledged the formative effect of his student days at NUC, though he had wanted a medical training in Cape Town or Johannesburg his father could not afford.

After graduating in Physics and Mathematics, I really began to use my mind when I took postgraduate studies in Education under Professor Ferguson. I look back to that, and to the influence of my friends, notably S.R. Dent, as the most important things that happened to me. It was because of these things that I went to the Diepkloof Reformatory, and it was because of the Diepkloof Reformatory that I wrote my book about South Africa, ‘Cry The Beloved Country.’

Paton remembered that it was ‘at the Natal University College that I fell under the spell of the word, and I have been under it ever since’. A common love of literature lay at the root of his friendship with Neville Nuttall, reinforced by evenings of literary discussion and mutual encouragement at the Creamery Hotel, where Nuttall first recognised his friend’s ‘spark of genius’. While this spark inspired Paton to become an author of international repute, Nuttall later published four books of his own. His locally popular *Trout Streams of Natal: A fisherman’s Philosophy* (1947) appeared just a year before Paton’s famous *Cry, the Beloved Country* (1948).

As students Paton and Reg Pearse frequently critiqued each other’s poetic efforts, several of which appeared in the *NUC Magazine*. In Paton’s poem ‘Trilemma’, published in that journal in 1932, Professor M.Z. Malaba has identified an awakening of the compassion for South Africa’s deprived and underprivileged that was to shape the rest of his life. Other members of Paton’s circle of literature-loving friends were Cyril ‘Army’ Armitage (later principal



S.F. (Frank) Bush was born in 1902 in Pietermaritzburg where in 1921 and 1924 he achieved a first-class B.Sc. and M.Sc. at NUC. In 1924 he won a Rhodes Scholarship with Ernest Warren’s strong support and in 1928 completed a D.Phil. in Zoology at Oxford under the supervision of Professor Julian Huxley and Dr C. Douglas. He worked in the tsetse research department in Tanganyika before becoming lecturer and head of the Zoology Department at NUC in 1931 on Warren’s recommendation. He was subsequently appointed Professor of Zoology (1942–1967), University Orator (1949–1967) and part-time Vice-Principal of the Pietermaritzburg campus (1962–1969). He died in 1969.

at Port Shepstone), Vic Harrison, Douglas Aitken and the aforementioned S.R. (Raylton) ‘Joe’ Dent, an older student who made a particularly deep impression on him. In 1949, as Chief Inspector of Native Education in Natal, Dent proudly reported that no less than nine of his ten inspectors of schools were also NUC graduates.

Other Pietermaritzburg students of his and Paton’s era included S.F. (Frank) Bush, later professor of Zoology and University Vice-Principal, Mildred Holderness, who married him, the aforementioned A.W. (Adolf) Beyer, another of Warren’s students and subsequently professor of Botany, Dr Sidney H. Skaife, also (as previously mentioned) Warren’s student and subsequently chairman of the Fisheries Board and a governor of the SABC, Maurice Sweeney, later professor of Law, and his future wife, ‘Snib’ Cochar-Hall who spent many years teaching handicapped children, Phyllis Bangly, who later lectured in Mathematics and Statistics, Mary Leiper, subsequently Mrs Niddrie and head of NUC’s French Department, C.P. Dent, later principal of Fort Hare University, E. (Eric) Axelson, future professor of History at UCT, Bews’ protégé G.W. (George) Gale, who became Secretary for Health and Dean of the Medical School in Durban and Audrey McKenie (Gale’s future wife).

Also among their number were Leif Egeland, who subsequently studied Jurisprudence at Oxford with great success and was later South African High Commissioner in London, Rico Titlestad who became professor of English at Potchefstroom University, E.R. (Ruth) Guy and M. (Margie) Martin, future headmistresses of Pietermaritzburg and Durban Girls High School respectively, Noel Langley, playwright and novelist who made his theatrical debut with the Dramatic Society in *Mrs Moonlight* and *The Wandering Jew*, W.L. (William) Howes, later Town Clerk of Durban, Mary Hewitt, who eventually took charge of the Children’s Library in that city, and J.E. Vanderplank, who followed up his 1928 M.Sc. in Botany at NUC with further degrees at Rhodes and London before becoming an internationally renowned plant pathologist and plant breeder. In 1978 he returned to Pietermaritzburg to receive an honorary doctorate.

At that time the student body also included the last three of NUC’s ‘famous five’ Pennington brothers. Maurice Edgar Pennington, who in 1912 had won the first scholarship offered at Michaelhouse, returned in 1919 from war service with the Royal Flying Corps to complete majors in English and Latin (1919–1921). He also captained the NUC cricket, rugby, hockey and tennis teams and went on to represent Natal in the first three of these sports as well

as distinguishing himself at golf, badminton and squash. Pennington worked at Cordwalles School from 1922 until 1959 and then at Merchiston until 1970. He served as an instructor during World War II and organised sport for 60 000 Italian prisoners of war.

His brother Douglass de Candole Pennington was unable to play much sport after suffering infantile paralysis but was prominent on campus during the mid-1920s as SRC president, secretary of the Dramatic Society, for which he produced plays, and secretary of the Athletics Union. It was he who suggested the Union's new striped blazer and who designed the famous 1924 Rag Caterpillar, which required 16 men to mobilise it. It was suspected that he took his rightful place in the head 'since he was the brains of the whole thing'. Douglass subsequently taught at primary schools in Durban, returning in 1932 to complete his BA at NUC before continuing his career in education.

The youngest of the brothers, Gerald Owen Mancaster Pennington, served as secretary of the Debating Society, much to his father's disapproval, and on the SRC, as well playing for the 1st XV and captaining the hockey team during his term as an undergraduate (1925–1928). He, too, interrupted his teaching career to complete his BA in 1931 and thereafter worked primarily at Cordwalles (1931–1953) before teaching in Southern Rhodesia (Zimbabwe) with his brother Douglass.

During the 1920s NUC students performed exceptionally well in the University of South Africa's annual degree examinations, particularly in 1925 when there was a 92% pass rate in the 354 subject examinations written. In 1927 NUC achieved a 100% success rate in all degree examinations. As Paton observed: 'It was a small place then ... but what they lacked in quantity they made good in quality.'

Much of this quality was provided by female students who still comprised a minority of NUC's student body (barely a third in 1928). Arlene Gibson's research has shown that, in 1920 for example, they scooped five of the eight College Medals awarded to first-year students (for Botany, Dutch, English, History and Latin with Chemistry, Mathematics and Physics being awarded to males) and two of those bestowed upon third-year students (History and Mathematics with Botany, Chemistry, English and Latin going to men).

In 1921 women won eight of the 11 first-year medals and the following year five of the seven third-year awards. Between 1924 and 1928 seven of the 20 students registered for postgraduate degrees (MA, M.Sc. and M.Ed.) were female and they won two (Botany and French) of the five Masters bursaries granted. It was clear that women were succeeding in both arts and science

courses and were poised to branch out into other fields. By 1921 there was an £80 (R160) a year Durban Municipal Bursary available for female students at NUC as there had been for men since 1917. Tenable for three years in order to assist in the completion of a degree, applicants had to have been resident and educated in the Durban Borough for at least three years prior to matriculation. Occasionally special bursaries were made available for study at institutions other than NUC, such as the Transvaal University College.

Academic and sporting achievements were an obvious source of pride to the now close-knit staff and students of the College. In June 1924 the editor of the *NUC Magazine* was able to say of the Pietermaritzburg campus:

considering our lack of funds and the absence of the Men's Hostel, our activities can bear comparison with those of any College in the Union ... and though we may be regarded by sister-colleges as somewhat 'slow,' there is no one of us that does not cherish in some innermost and probably seldom revealed corner a love for the Alma Mater that can never be eradicated.

George Gale recalled 'how many more memories there are ... all of them coming instantly to life at the mere mention of three magic letters – N.U.C.!' ⁴

Library

Student academic success depended heavily on adequate library resources but, as Nora Buchanan's research has shown, the shortage of funds unavoidably had an impact on book stock as it did on all aspects of NUC's development. The Library did receive a substantial boost when, in 1921, Mrs Peter Davis donated nearly 4 000 books from the private collection of her late husband Peter Davis Junior. He was a Pietermaritzburg businessman who had been Natal's most prominent bookseller and a member of the 1904 Technical Education Commission.

Library accommodation had previously not presented the College with a serious challenge because of its limited book stock and the space initially designated for this purpose in the Main (Clock Tower) Building had been reallocated. However, the 3 971 volumes acquired from the Peter Davis collection more than doubled NUC's holdings to 7 320. Many of the donated items were review copies sent to the *Natal Witness*, which Davis had owned, and were primarily focused on art, biography, current affairs and travel.

It now became necessary to move the furniture out of the Reading Room upstairs and house the enlarged collection in the Main Hall, which was certainly more spacious though its wooden floors and high ceiling made it much noisier.

The Library was not to acquire its own building until July 1937. In the interim, during dances and Dramatic Society performances the books were obscured with curtains, which students soon found convenient for other extra-curricular purposes. For example, during a 1928 stage performance a cigarette smoker inadvertently set a curtain ablaze, though fortunately no damage was done to the book stock.

The Davis donation included £480 (R960) towards a librarian's salary with which to launch a fully fledged Library on campus. The role of Honorary Librarian filled by members of the academic staff, Osborn Waterhouse and then Alan Hattersley, now gave way to a part-time Librarian. He was Captain D.A. Henry, a war veteran who was secretary to Hattersley's scout group committee. He had emigrated from Scotland in 1897 and served in the Royal Field Artillery during World War I in German South West Africa (Namibia) and on the Western front before using his gratuity to buy a smallholding on the outskirts of Pietermaritzburg. In common with most librarians in South Africa at that time, Henry had no prior qualifications or experience in that field. He also assumed responsibility for all the periodicals the Registrar's Office received and for book acquisitions but accounts remained the Registrar's responsibility, possibly because of the part-time nature of his post.

Henry was appointed at a meagre £10 (R20) a year and performed his duties in conjunction with running his Scottsville dairy farm and playing polo. As an ex-military man he was an abrupt and strict disciplinarian who maintained complete silence in the Library. He was concerned by the nonchalant attitude of some students with regard to the regulations and took pride in systematically reducing the number of missing books. In April 1924 the increasing workload led to his full-time appointment. It is uncertain whether he then relinquished his farming interests but there was an immediate increase in book loans and a pleasing afternoon attendance of students using the Library despite his strict regime. Henry held the position until his retirement in 1944.

Senate appointed a Library Committee that met for the first time on 11 October 1921, which a subsequent University Librarian, R.A. (Ron) Brown, later described as the 'official birthday of the library'. Under Professor Besselar's chairmanship, with Professors G.W. Ferguson (Education), Alan Hattersley (History) and Paul Mesham (Physics) as members and Captain Henry as secretary, the committee formulated regulations that were based loosely on those of the Natal Society and Natal Education Department libraries in town.

At Hattersley's suggestion the library resources were to be divided into a section for lending, another for reference and a third 'to be kept by teachers in their rooms and to be under their personal supervision'. The latter category already existed and may have been convenient for serious researchers like himself but, as Buchanan has argued, this arrangement formally opened the door to the development of departmental libraries. Augmented by donations from staff members, these were to create administrative and financial difficulties in subsequent years as such holdings were still regarded as part of the Main Library's book stock.

At the committee's second meeting it was resolved that it should become a Standing Committee of Senate. Thereafter, for the next 70 years, the Librarian was to report all the minute details of Library management to Senate and Council for decision, where necessary, via the Library Committee. With the appointment of a part-time Librarian, opening hours were extended to include Saturday mornings but reduced overall to a mere 20 hours a week until early in 1923 when they were again extended in response to objections from the SRC. In March 1923 the Library Committee resolved to introduce the Dewey Decimal Classification system but the decision was reversed the following year in favour of idiosyncratically allowing each academic head of department to organise his section of the collection as he saw fit, even though most of the books remained together in the Main Hall. Despite ongoing discussion about this arrangement it remained in place until the mid-1930s with loan and reference being the only library services offered. In 1925 NUC Council members were also granted free Library membership while non-College members could join on payment of £1/1s (R2.10), subsequently reduced to £1 (R2).

Initially (1923–1927) the NUC Council managed to find £250 (R500) a year for Library expenditure, excluding salary and furnishings thanks to Hattersley's foresight. In terms of an agreement reached in April 1924, this amount was shared by all of the then 18 departments on the basis of a £15 (R30) annual allocation to arts departments offering major courses, £10 (R20) to Law and each of the sciences, an additional £5 (R10) for each postgraduate course and to departments offering minor courses, with £50 (R100) held in reserve for special contingencies and the needs of departments attracting unusually large enrolments. In 1927 Wits spent £1 859 (R3 718) on its Library and UCT £2 563 (R5 126) but in 1928 NUC's expenditure on this vital facility was reduced to an annual £180 (R360) for the next four years due to financial stringency, with all departments suffering a drastic 10% cut in their book allowances.⁵

Finance and facilities

As this suggests, for some years after World War I, as before, NUC was in desperate need of financial assistance from the public. A departmental committee appointed by the Minister of Education in November 1919 to investigate grants made to universities criticised the fact that, in common with some other tertiary institutions, the College did not attract financial support from the local community as was the case in the Cape and on the Witwatersrand. In 1920 Denison, who was emerging as NUC's financial expert, returned from a meeting in Pretoria convinced that during the previous decade Natal had become a neglected backwater while other colleges had enjoyed substantial staff increases and building expansions through the acquisition of large amounts of capital. Government grants were henceforth to be determined primarily by the extent of local support but this had been slow in coming as the Natal public seemingly remained still largely unconvinced of the necessity to provide university education.

Despite NUC's financial difficulties in 1919 Council managed to raise a £13 000 (R26 000) government loan to erect the first dedicated Science Building on the Pietermaritzburg campus and another £5 000 (R10 000) for equipment. Designed by local architect C.H. Stott, it provided an additional 13 000 square feet (3 962 square metres) of space, comprising a hall, four large laboratories, the biggest being 62 x 40 feet (19 x 12 metres), private laboratories for the staff, a library, and a lecture theatre as well as preparation, balance, gas and analysis, optical, minerals, map, combustion and furnace, store, apparatus, workshop, dispensary and switchboard rooms. It was opened in 1921 to house Chemistry and the new Department of Geography and Geology, the occasion being celebrated with a dance in the laboratory before the benches were installed.

Indeed, several staff members must have been in the mood for dancing because its opening also eased the congestion in the Physics Department. Thereafter a familiar sight, from time to time, was Professor Denison emerging from his laboratory in the new building to continue what had been his war-time testing of fuel samples in a nine-speed motorcycle still kept for this purpose. This created even more of a stir when he actually rode it. Botany also enjoyed improved facilities, in the form of a reconstructed greenhouse and extra laboratory space.

The construction of the Science Building was followed in February 1922 by a two-storey women's residence, after NUC had tried unsuccessfully to find a suitable house to rent off-campus for that purpose. Also designed by C.H.

Stott, it cost an estimated £10 000 (R20 000) and faced Milner Road. There was some debate as to what it should be called, with students' suggestions ranging from a dignified The Hall of Residence for Young Women Students to a less reverential Blighty. Eventually the College settled on University Hall and it offered accommodation for 30 students, complete with a library and treasured piano in the common room. Initially it was not readily filled, with only 24 residents in its first year as parents gradually came to terms with entrusting their daughters to the care of the College.

Miss M.E. Tennant was installed as matron after Council had deliberated the respective virtues of installing 'a lady of education and refinement' or a 'working housekeeper'. She later agitated to be known as Lady Warden and was assisted by a housekeeper, the post eventually being occupied by her sister. During the first few years the local police were periodically summoned in response to nocturnal alarms, which Miss Tennant and her young charges raised, doubtless caused by prowling males who were attracted by the novelty of such a concentration of females residing on campus.

Eventually the irritated Chief Constable suggested that NUC should employ night guards – perhaps the genesis of a campus police force. Mrs H. Mason succeeded Miss Tennant in 1928. More serious than the imagined breaches of security were the cracks that appeared in the walls of University Hall. The architect was well aware of the hazards of Scottsville shale but it was many years later before an underground stream was discovered, which traversed the campus.

The SRC celebrated the construction of University Hall whose previous absence, it contended, had 'seriously hindered the development of corporate student life', but it pointed out that NUC was still the only College in South Africa that did not have a hostel for men. University Lodge only opened, at last, in March 1929 to provide accommodation for 35 male students but was eventually absorbed by University Hall. Its construction was prompted primarily by a perceived need to establish more effective discipline over the rowdy element whose exuberant and sometimes destructive behaviour in private lodgings was impossible to control, despite occasional professorial inspections. It was a source of concern that this aspect of student life had attracted unfavourable publicity to the College.

As chairman of Senate at the time, Hattersley had some say in the design of Lodge, though financial constraints made it impossible to erect what he envisaged as accommodation for 120 students in three residential blocks around a grass quadrangle. This would have been in imitation of the typical

Cambridge College of his own student experience, which was his ideal. Instead of several staircases leading to sets of rooms, less expensive long, noisy corridors provided access on two storeys to more modest study-bedrooms. These were furnished with spring-less beds and fitted writing shelves that served as tables. First-year students were accommodated three to a room with seniors enjoying the relative luxury of single quarters.

Hattersley did succeed in securing the construction of an elegant dining hall to ‘worthily express the dignity and solidarity of communal life’. While candlelight dinners and embossed tableware was out of the question, the facility was furnished with solid teak tables and benches as well as chairs for the high table – one of them bearing NUC’s coat of arms.

Hattersley served as warden there from 1929 to 1942, during which time he occasionally invited other members of the academic staff to the formal dinners and tried in various ways to replicate the college lifestyle he had experienced at Cambridge. In the absence of any in-house tutoring in that tradition it proved difficult to interact with residents on an individual basis. Hattersley’s own restrained personality may have weakened his well-meaning attempts in this regard, though his greatest difficulty was with parents. In the early years, some who still thought in high school terms were under the impression that the warden was responsible not only for their sons’ conduct but also for their study habits. Strict gender segregation was maintained in the hostels, without even a reception room being provided for visitors to Lodge. Still, the construction of student residences did mark the beginning of a more intimate collegiate lifestyle on campus.

These financially brave but necessary developments involved substantial loans at a time of ongoing economic austerity. They were secured by handing over a mortgage bond to the Secretary for Union Education, along with the elusive title deeds to NUC’s land in Scottsville once they had been traced to the provincial Surveyor-General’s Office in Pietermaritzburg.

In 1925 David Robb, the Registrar, retired and was replaced by Ernest ‘Pixie’ Barns, the recently retired principal of Maritzburg College, and then by H. (Hugh) Bryan, former Vice-Chancellor of the University of South Africa and Director of Education in Natal. Assisted by the able Miss F. Newberry, they brought experience and competence to NUC’s Administration, though they lacked the level of financial expertise that was needed at that time. NUC continued to attract small donations, like the annual £10 (R20) the Synod of the Dutch Reformed Church in Natal granted towards the teaching of Higher Dutch and a small annual grant from the Pietermaritzburg City Council that Bews

tried to have increased. Unfortunately, these contributions bore no comparison with some of those that the other South African colleges were attracting. For example, there were five pages of them listed in Rhodes University College's Calendar, ranging from £5 (R10) to £50 000 (R100 000).

While the NUC authorities bewailed the absence of the large private endowments and generous municipal grants that had advanced tertiary education in Britain, North America, Australia and India, they had to recognise that the province's potentially large-scale benefactors were almost all based in Durban. There the Technical College had a much stronger and more appealing claim to private donors. For most members of the public, NUC was still a relatively unknown institution based in the distant interior. Instead of competing with it, NUC's Council was gradually drawn to the conclusion that the inescapable alternative was to collaborate with the Technical College in a joint public appeal to fund a combined tertiary development programme in that rapidly expanding city.⁶

Dualism: the development of university education in Durban

For some years after Pietermaritzburg had been chosen in 1909 as the site for NUC's campus it had been assumed that students from Durban would attend classes there, possibly with the assistance of bursaries in deserving cases. But in the harbour city there were also significant post-war developments in the field of tertiary education. A dual pattern, not unlike the new Union's twin political capitals, began to emerge, with important long-term implications for the rate of NUC's expansion in Pietermaritzburg.

It was not surprising that leading Durbanites, like Dr Sam Campbell, should wish to see the establishment of a university, probably with a technological emphasis, in their own growing commercial and industrial hub. There, in 1912, the Technical Institute Building had been opened a day after the Clock Tower Building in Scottsville, while its 1915 renaming as the Durban Technical College was intended to improve its educational image. In that year B.M. Narbeth, the principal, indicated his ongoing primary concern for the upliftment of the working man when he established a branch of the Workers Educational Association in Durban. It faintly echoed the ambitions of the Durban Mechanics Institute of the 1850s.

This paved the way for the launch in 1917 of a Department of Tutorial Studies to which Mabel Palmer, soon to become well known at NUC, was appointed tutor three years later. As early as 1912 coaching was provided towards the completion of teaching diplomas and for the external Lady Literate

in Arts (LLA), which St Andrews University offered as a distance learning qualification for women. This was another small step towards the realisation of a university campus for the city. So, too, was the remodelling of the Art School to become the Durban School of Art under the direction of John Adams, later assisted by NUC's future Professor of Fine Arts in Pietermaritzburg, O.J.P. Oxley.

Some Durban matriculants went on to study at the University of the Witwatersrand but in 1918, one bold youngster, R.D.J. Scott, enquired if he would be able to take a full-time engineering course at a more advanced level at the local Technical College. He subsequently acquired a diploma and worked on harbour developments in Durban, Mombasa and Zanzibar but, unfortunately, was lost at sea during World War II.

In the same year Sam Campbell and the Technical College Council again punted a proposal for a Durban University. Supported by a series of public lectures, a Memorial University and Technical College was envisaged, to be controlled by a single Council and situated within a World War I Memorial Park. A public appeal for £100 000 (R200 000) was planned, similar to the fundraising drives for university development that were then being launched in Cape Town and Johannesburg. A possible site, to be donated by the Durban City Council, was identified at the northern end of the Berea Ridge, another at Stamford Hill, which was closer to town, and a third at Stella Bush Ridge, towards the southern end of the Berea. It was anticipated that any one of these would provide ample room for expansion that would include residential accommodation for students.

Unfortunately, there were still strong doubts in Durban as to the necessity for university education, not least on financial grounds. Instead of a tertiary institution the City Council erected a cenotaph in the centre of town as a World War I Memorial. Undeterred, in 1919 NUC's Senate investigated the feasibility of closer relations with the technical colleges in both Pietermaritzburg and Durban with a view to offering degree courses in Engineering and Commerce. It concluded that, while the former did not have the facilities and staff for university-level work, the prospects were much more promising at the latter institution. If the reverse had been the case university development in Natal might well have remained focused, at least for a while longer, on Pietermaritzburg.

In June 1918 the Pietermaritzburg Technical College Council had debated a proposal that the City Council be urged to ensure that Pietermaritzburg's future as a leading educational centre be secured. Particular reference was

made to advancing the arts, domestic science and science with Council giving the assurance that the College would do what it could to assist. It was not to be, for the Pietermaritzburg Technical College simply did not offer as big a range of course options as was already on offer in Durban. Moreover, the worldwide influenza epidemic seriously reduced its student numbers, forcing temporary closure, there was ongoing post-war difficulty in attracting appropriate staff and the chronic shortage of funds was such that it became necessary to sell the college's foundry plant in order to buy essential equipment.

In contrast, by 1920 more than 300 students at the Durban Technical College were 'higher education' candidates, studying at university level. This compared favourably with current attendance figures at NUC in Pietermaritzburg but, although technically well qualified, some of the Tech's students were still having difficulty finding employment because they did not have degrees.

However, the Provincial Administration and Auditor-General both objected to any further expenditure on such courses at the Technical College. In July 1920 the Union Minister of Education, François Malan, made it clear to the Technical College that the establishment of a seventh constituent college of the University of South Africa, such as it appeared to want for Durban, was out of the question. He insisted that, instead, it should seek affiliation with NUC as far as recognition of its university-level courses was concerned.

There was initial uncertainty on both sides, with Narbeth even suspecting that NUC was planning to establish a chair of Engineering in Pietermaritzburg. On 28 August 1920, following an approach by Sam Campbell to the chairman of Council, Sir John Dove-Wilson, a seminal meeting of Durban Technical College and NUC representatives was held, under Campbell's chairmanship. On that occasion it was eventually resolved to apply to the University of South Africa for recognition of the Technical College's post-matriculation classes in Engineering and Commerce, as approved by the NUC Senate.

Although he was a member of the NUC Council, Rev. Dr Leo Sormany spoke in his private capacity when he went so far as to advocate 'the development of our own University ... the University of Natal' with 'three different sections' in Pietermaritzburg, Cedara and Durban. Clearly, courses in Agriculture, Engineering and possibly Commerce were very much part of his thinking. There were other minds turning in this direction, for a few months earlier, in May 1920, NUC Council's General Purposes Committee had already suggested that it was time for some development towards an independent University of Natal.⁷

Initially all that the Durban Technical College really sought was recognition of its first-year courses. Two years later, when it became the Natal Technical College and was formally recognised by an Act of Parliament as ‘a centre of higher learning’, the NUC Council decided to establish Departments of Engineering and Commerce there for a transitional five-year period. In effect, it took over what the Technical College had already initiated under the aegis of the Provincial Administration. Academically these departments were to form part of NUC and fall under Senate’s control while financially they now came within the ambit of the NUC Council. There was, however, ongoing concern within NUC’s Senate about academic standards at the Technical College, where staff members were engaged in both pre-and post-matriculation teaching.

Nevertheless, in 1923 three new chairs were created in Electrical Engineering (Hugh Clark), Civil and Mechanical Engineering (James Neal) and Commerce (Orlando Oldham), together with a lectureship in Auditing, initially occupied by A. Atkinson and subsequently, from 1928, by C.S. Richards (M.Comm.). These appointees were employed by the Technical College but became members of the University Senate. In that year the Department of Fine Arts at the Tech was also recognised, its students under Professor Oxley becoming the first in South Africa to work for degrees in that field. In addition, tutorials in other university disciplines were still held at the Technical College for candidates sitting the University of South Africa’s examinations.

NUC’s first head of Electrical Engineering, Hugh ‘Tubby’ Clark was born in 1888 in Southsea, England, and attended Portsmouth Technical College before studying at the City and Guilds College of the University of London. There he



J.H. (James) Neal was born in 1885 in Plymouth and served an apprenticeship as a fitter at Devonport Dockyard while studying at the local Technical College (1901–1907) where his father was principal. He was awarded a Whitworth Exhibition and studied at the Royal College of Science in London (1907–1910) where he gained an associateship. Between 1910 and 1914 he worked as a lecturer at the Birmingham Technical College, a research scholar at the National Physical Laboratory, chief technical assistant at Handley Page Aircraft and head of the Technical Department at

Doncaster Technical College before assuming the post of head of the Civil and Mechanical Engineering Department at the Natal Technical College in 1914.

acquired the Hons B.Sc. (Engineering) degree and the associateship of the City and Guilds Institute. Following an apprenticeship between 1904 and 1906, in 1911 he served a pupilage with the Western Electric Company and was then appointed lecturer in Electrotechnics at the Natal Technical College. In 1920 he returned to his alma mater to do postgraduate work and was awarded the diploma of the Imperial College.

In 1921, as head of the Department of Electrical Engineering, Physics and Mathematics at the Technical College, Clark read an influential paper on the possible electrification of the province's main railway to the Natal Institute of Engineers and also managed to secure a great deal of useful equipment for the College through inexpensive purchases or outright donations. He was to occupy his chair until 1953 and died in 1960. Clark was a man of ample dimensions who was much respected and loved by his students. When Maritzburg-style 'pro-songs' gained currency in Durban his ran:

Here's to good old Tubby,
With his gentlemanly talk,
Here's to good old Tubby,
With his agitated walk.
And don't forget to mention
His enormous third dimension,
He looks as if he's always eating pork.

Clark's counterpart in Civil and Mechanical Engineering, James Neal (ARC Sc. London), was dean of the Faculty of Engineering for 20 years and held office in several professional engineering associations as well as serving on the Council of the Natal Technical College. 'Jimmie' Neal endeared himself to his students with his gentle, friendly manner and puckish sense of humour, interviewing new students with his feet up on his desk (he had an injured leg). When one batch declared that they hoped one day to emulate him, 'with our feet on the table', he responded with a typical, high-pitched giggle and 'you'll have to work, my lads'. Not surprisingly, he, too, was favoured with a 'pro-song':

Here's to good old Jimmy,
Think it out, think it out,
Here's to good old Jimmy,
What's he think so hard about?
Here's to Jimmy Neal,
With his hair like orange-peel,
Here's to good old Jimmy
Once again his pipe's gone out.

In 1946 Neal became professor of Mechanical Engineering when it was separated from Civil Engineering and held the post until his retirement in 1950 when he became professor emeritus.

Orlando Oldham (ACIS), the first head of Business Management and Accounting, was born in Hyde, Cheshire, and emigrated to South Africa in 1912 where he was initially employed as an assistant at the Natal Technical College. He seemingly had no qualifications at all, though he did arrive with considerable practical experience from the industrial north of England. He eventually served as head of the Day School of Commerce until 1935 and, following his 1923 appointment as professor of Business Management and Accounting at NUC, he became professor of Accountancy from 1931 as well as dean of the Faculty of Commerce from 1936 until his retirement in 1945. Genial and well liked by colleagues and students, he died in 1968 in Durban at 89 years of age. His ‘pro-song’ emphasised his busy, overworked schedule:



T.B.F. (Thomas Benjamin) Davis was born in 1867 in Jersey, the son of a fisherman. At 14 years of age he ran away to sea and, although shipwrecked and cast adrift, survived to interrupt his own memorial service. He retained his love of the briny and acquired his masters certificate. When his ship docked at East London during the Anglo-Boer War he took employment with a stevedoring business and subsequently moved to Durban where he took over and developed an existing stevedoring firm into a highly successful company. He was deeply interested in education, having had little of

it himself, and his personal friendship with Sam Campbell and B.M. Narbeth led to his becoming a major benefactor. According to his great-grand nephew, Atholl Swainston-Harrison, in the 1920s Davis also helped to launch the South African Navy by purchasing an ex-World War I vessel in London and skippering it to Cape Town, an event that was subsequently celebrated annually in Simonstown. ‘TB’ was given to using rough sea-faring language but he demanded high standards of those in his employment. On one occasion during the 1930s he was so shocked to witness ‘after-party’ remnants at Howard College that he banned such functions on the site during his lifetime. Among his many acts of generosity, in 1940 he established the Howard Davis War Fund with a £100 000 (R200 000) donation to assist World War II ex-servicemen. He died in 1942.

Here's to good old Oldham,
 He counts up the L.S.D., (Pounds, Shillings and Pence)
 Here's to good old Oldham,
 Of the Commerce faculty.
 He's certainly no fool,
 But he's as stubborn as a mule,
 Here's to good old Oldham,
 He's as busy as a bee.

O.J.P. Oxley, later to move to Pietermaritzburg where he became head of Fine Arts, was born in 1888 in Yorkshire, studied at the Royal College of Art in London and emigrated to South Africa in 1919 to assume the post of art organiser for the Natal Education Department. In 1921 he joined the School of Art at the Natal Technical College and succeeded John Adams as its head in 1923, becoming professor when NUC initiated a degree in Fine Arts, avowedly the first at a South African University.

He subsequently became honorary curator of the municipal art gallery in Pietermaritzburg, chairman of the Pietermaritzburg branch of the South African Association of Art and president of the St John's Ambulance Association for Northern Natal. Between 1941 and 1945 Oxley held the rank of major as staff officer for Occupational Therapy at the Royal Naval hospitals and at the Imperial military hospitals in South Africa. In this capacity he enjoyed great success and gained international recognition at a time when there were no professionally trained occupational therapists in the country. This was by no means a case, as Petrie had once put it, of 'art for sherry's sake!' He resigned from NUC in 1952 and died four years later.

In 1923 there were 16 students enrolled for the new university-level courses in Engineering and Commerce at the Technical College, marking the beginning of the Durban-based university education Sam Campbell had so longed to achieve. Early that year the Council of the Natal Technical College (as it was now named) acted on the recommendation of a joint committee of Council and staff to establish a 'propaganda committee' whose function was to promote a public appeal for funds with which to develop university studies further.

In the same year the cause of tertiary education in Durban enjoyed a decisive financial boost. T.B.F. (Thomas Benjamin) Davis, owner of a local stevedoring company operating between Durban and Mombasa (no relation to Peter Davis), donated an initial £50 000 (R100 000) for the construction of what became known as Howard College. It was erected in memory of

his son Howard Leopold Davis who was killed on the Somme front during World War I. Davis' interest was really in the promotion of technical training, suited to the industrial and commercial requirements of the harbour city, but Campbell and Narbeth persuaded him to make his contribution available for the erection of the university college that they still had in mind and which would be independent of NUC. Davis agreed, on condition that the Durban City Council provided a suitable site for it.

In 1925 the city fathers agreed in principle to do so and in December 1927, after prolonged negotiations, they eventually ratified the grant of land at the southern end of the Berea Ridge, though the legal transfer of the property took another four years to complete. By that stage the promotion of university studies in that centre had become a joint College venture. The Davis endowment, which was much more than NUC in Pietermaritzburg had ever attracted by way of private donation, helped to focus prospective Durban donors on university rather than technical college expansion. It also virtually ensured that, for better or for worse, the province would eventually experience dual campus development as far as university education was concerned.

In 1925 the first three degrees in Engineering were awarded to James Savory, 'Buck' Shepherd and Mervyn Steel who had started studying Civil Engineering together in 1922. Registrations for university-level courses in that field and in Commerce now rose to 45, with 43 women enrolling for B.Comm. degrees between 1924 and 1928, constituting 22% of the students registered in that field. There were none in Engineering, a field not yet considered appropriate for females, although there was nothing to restrict them from entering it. In 1927, in response to public demand, part-time classes in Commerce were also started at the Technical College.



G.M.J. (Maurice) Sweeney (the son of G.W. Sweeney) was born in 1900 in Pietermaritzburg and graduated from NUC with a BA and LLB. From 1927, when he was appointed sole lecturer in Law there, he did much to develop legal studies in Durban and taught several students who later became prominent in legal circles. After being promoted to the professorial ranks he served as dean of Law (1949–1954 and 1958–1959), continued to teach until 1977, long after his official retirement in 1960, and was awarded an honorary doctorate in 1978.

In the same year there were important developments in the Law Department when G.M.J. Sweeney, the son of G.W. Sweeney of the English Department in Pietermaritzburg, embarked upon what proved to be a 50-year career. Indeed, a colleague, Professor A.S. (Tony) Mathews, was later to describe him (Inchbold aside) as ‘the creator of the Faculty of Law in Durban’. He had qualified with a BA and LLB (NUC) in 1923 and practised in Pietermaritzburg and Durban as an attorney before being appointed as lecturer to an initial 15 Durban students. They sat around a modified table tennis table in a room situated over the garage of Temple Chambers in Masonic Grove, just off the Victoria Embankment. Most of them were Natal Law Certificate students but LLB candidates were enrolled soon afterwards, including a woman who signed up in a class of nine in 1928, following the 1923 legislation that permitted females to practise law. Future Judge of Appeal G.N. Holmes was in the first class to graduate in 1931.

Prior to Sweeney’s appointment Frank Burchell had travelled to Durban from Pietermaritzburg, as Inchbold had done, to lecture students taking the Attorney’s Admission Examination. Thereafter, Sweeney taught all the courses on offer in that city, except for Civil and Criminal Procedure, and served as dean of the University of South Africa’s Law Faculty for two years while NUC was still an affiliate. He was supplied with an initial seven books from the NUC Library in Pietermaritzburg and subsequently shared his own purchases with the students as and when he could afford them, including the *South African Law Journal*.

For the rest, Law students had to make use of the Law Society’s Library while Commerce students used that of the Natal Technical College or the Durban Municipal Library. Years later the Law Library in Durban was given what Sweeney described as ‘a tremendous boost’ when it acquired Advocate J.J.L. Sisson’s collection. While all members of staff in Durban were permitted to borrow books from the NUC Library in Pietermaritzburg their students there were not, with the result that the extension of classes there initially had a minimal impact on its resources. This was not to remain the case for long.

Sweeney continued to work single-handed in the Durban Law Department for many years, including World War II. In 1946 he was somewhat belatedly promoted to associate professor and eventually retired in 1960 as professor emeritus. Following a long motoring holiday in Europe, he was back in harness as acting head for a few years and then as part-time lecturer for another 15 years, with the equivalent of a full-time lecturing load. Popular among staff and students for his dedication, sense of humour and calm temperament,

Sweeney was also a keen mountaineer and was awarded a gold medal by the Mountain Club of South Africa for mapping part of his beloved Drakensberg. In 1978 he was awarded an honorary doctorate and two years later the G.M.J. Sweeney Law Library in Durban was named in his honour.

Other appointees in Durban during the post-war period included Dr H.C. Coblans who was tasked to teach first-year Chemistry courses to Engineering students and later became NUC's Librarian. D.B. (David) Hodges was appointed in Physics, E.P. (Ernest) Reim, a 1910 student 'aboriginal', in Engineering and P. Stein in Mathematics. One of Stein's small class of Civil Engineering students, James Savory, remembered that he

was, judging by his writing on the blackboard, a brilliant man – having written a few lines which we couldn't read, he frequently couldn't either! After trying to drum some Einsteinlike theory into our thick heads, he would grin and say 'let's have tea', and the four of us would troop over to the little café nearby.

Stein was an obvious candidate for a 'pro-song':

Here's to good old Stein,
He's a man with such a brain,
Here's to good old Stein,
Such a brain, such a brain,
He wears those horn-rimmed glasses,
And he thinks all girls are asses,
Here's to good old Stein,
What a brain, what a brain.

In the 1920s NUC's offerings in Durban were still very limited and it was difficult to generate a sense of collegiate identity amongst what were still largely part-time students. Even so, as early as 1922 Engineering, Commerce and Fine Arts students at the Technical College got together to form the nucleus of what was to become the NUC Rugby Club in that city. On 21 May 1925 the first inter-varsity rugby match between the two centres was played in Pietermaritzburg with the home side winning 15–5. In 1928 the NUC Durban Rugby Club was formally constituted and began playing in the local second division.

In 1925 the Durban students formed their own SRC, as well as a branch of the SCA, and held their first annual dance. That year the Pietermaritzburg SRC initiated co-operation with its new Durban counterpart. In the wake of a successful NUSAS congress in the harbour city in 1927 a joint Durban-Pietermaritzburg NUC council was formed to foster still closer ties between the two centres. To that end, and at the behest of the Durban students, the

section of *NUC Magazine* that had been devoted to them since 1925 was merged into the rest of the journal. As a further gesture of solidarity a 30-strong party of Durban students travelled to the Pietermaritzburg campus to attend the ‘Nucifête’ and annual ball.

In 1926 Debating, Literary, Scientific and Tennis clubs were formed in Durban, as well as an Economics Society for Commerce students and an Entertainment Committee charged to stimulate the social life of all students and promote interaction with staff. In 1926 a handful of students initiated the city’s first Rag procession as part of Freshers Week organised to induct first-years as students of the University College. The parade proceeded in academic gowns from the Technical College (Howard College had not yet been built) up what was then West Street and down Gardiner Street to the Dick King Statue where, as the tide was out, students enjoyed a mud lark between the Victoria Embankment and the jetty.

A year later the procession up West Street was highlighted by a rendition of the students’ ‘War Cry’ on the steps of the City Hall before the return journey down what was then Smith Street. Rag certainly engendered a greater sense of student identity and in 1928 Durban’s first Charity Rag took place with the constructive intention of raising funds for needy causes.

In 1928 the Students Societies Union amalgamated what were termed the ‘intellectual’ student societies in Durban for their mutual support while the emerging sports clubs became affiliated to an Athletics Union similar to that on the Pietermaritzburg campus. This now entitled Durban students to wear the NUC blazer. By then, the formation of Athletics, Boxing, Cricket and Rowing clubs were also under consideration, although there were no more than 83 students from which to draw their membership.

Despite limited student numbers, by the late 1920s a university presence was clearly beginning to make itself felt in Durban. In October 1927 the Technical College’s concern that it was now being disadvantaged with regard to the raising of donations for building extensions in competition with the University College in Pietermaritzburg was mollified by a compromise agreement that henceforth the two institutions would make a joint appeal to raise funds for the ‘development of higher education in Durban’. It was based on an earlier June 1924 agreement between their two Councils that the ‘propaganda committee’ recently initiated at the Technical College was ‘to be called the Natal University Foundation Fund Committee’. The Governor-General agreed to become patron of the fund, for which trustees were duly appointed.

It was the beginning of what was to become the Natal University Development Fund, which eventually came into existence in place of the earlier fund on 14 September 1928. Its initial progress was slow as South Africa's post-war boom lost momentum, there was resistance to the further extension of expensive university facilities, and much depended upon John Bews, the prime mover behind the fundraising campaign. He had not yet shed his heavy academic commitments with regard to teaching and supervising research in Botany.⁸

Dualism: planning for the future

It was still not clear which institution would actually acquire title to the land that, it was understood, the Durban City Council intended granting for tertiary education purposes. In April 1927 Sir John Dove-Wilson moved from the chair in NUC's Council:

The Natal University College, as the corporate body in control of university work in Natal, will welcome any donations in money or in land for the purpose of encouraging and developing university work on its technological side in Durban. But it must, of course, be clearly understood that all buildings erected for university purposes in Natal, and all funds devoted to these purposes, must be the property, and under the sole control, of the Natal University College Council, so long as the care of university education is vested in it.

Understandably, business interests in Durban were not likely to favour the transfer of land to a College based in Pietermaritzburg and Dove-Wilson's sentiments were hardly calculated to attract funds from that quarter. For these reasons the Technical College Council withheld this statement both from the City Council and from Thomas Davis. Dove-Wilson subsequently went to Durban for discussions both with Technical College representatives and the mayor. In October 1927 it was agreed that the two institutions would continue to collaborate in developing 'a university college unit' to which the City Council's land grant would in due course be transferred. In the interim, as previously mentioned, they would continue with a joint appeal to raise funds to that end.

However, a new Minister of Education, Dr D.F. (Daniel) Malan, made it clear that he was strongly opposed to the expense of more than one university centre in Natal and the government-appointed J.G. van der Horst Commission of 1927 confirmed this view when it duly recommended against the further extension of university college status to technical institutes. While NUC reported that the running of university classes at the Technical College during the previous years had been 'unsatisfactory in many ways', including the provision of classrooms and equipment, the Tech argued that collaboration

between two such institutions was well established in Britain and was financially viable. The commission nevertheless rejected the College's longstanding efforts to promote university as well as technical education in Durban and firmly favoured a complete severing of the link between NUC and the Natal Technical College.

In September 1928 John Bews, still NUC's professor of Botany, initiated the now necessary disentanglement of the two institutions. He had permanently returned from his extended sabbatical in Britain, was now chairman of Senate and was soon to be appointed as NUC's first Principal (1930–1938). He began the process at an historic meeting of representatives of the Technical College and NUC Councils held at Inchanga, halfway between the two centres.

Bews was not a particularly fluent speaker but was always clear and objective in his opinions. Already highly regarded by both Councils, his carefully worded recommendation that NUC should immediately assume full responsibility for all university-level classes in Durban was accepted, along with the tactful proposal that NUC's Council should be enlarged to give the port city greater representation. In January 1929 he was also able to persuade an inter-university conference in Cape Town that NUC would be able to assume both academic and financial responsibility for the classes offered in Durban.

A satisfactory representative balance in both Council and Senate was to become a recurring issue of contention between Durban and Pietermaritzburg. While the plans for Howard College could now be drawn and construction at last initiated in 1929, Pietermaritzburg's wavering representatives at Inchanga also needed reassurance that a dual campus university was indeed viable. After all, the previously federated Victoria University of Manchester had successfully split into the independent universities of Leeds, Liverpool and Manchester while the federal University of Wales (1893) had also been subjected to stresses and Belfast had very successfully gained independence from the National University of Ireland.

Bews had no personal difficulty with the notion of dual campuses. He had seen such structures functioning effectively at St Andrew's, to which the university college in industrial Dundee had been affiliated since 1892, and at Durham University, which in 1874 had incorporated what was originally a science institution at Armstrong College, Newcastle-on-Tyne. He recognised that a single-campus institution would be far less expensive but that it would not meet the needs of the whole province. During his sojourn in Manchester he had also become familiar with a modern university campus situated in and

interacting with an industrial-commercial community, as was now envisaged for Durban.

As organising secretary of the new University Development Committee Bews undertook to promote a four-point NUC expansion strategy, which, it was estimated, would require £250 000 (R500 000) to realise. It envisaged the further development of the University College in Pietermaritzburg, which would primarily teach and research arts, fine arts and science, and a University College in Durban that would focus on the applied sciences and on providing training for admission to the professions.

His vision for the future also included incorporating the existing Adams College (for Africans) just south of Durban and Sastri College (for Indians) near the city centre into a federal structure. This, Bews hoped, would eventually lead to a Native College, similar to that recently established at Fort Hare, and an Indian College based on the existing Indian Training College. After all, by 1908 Durham had several constituent colleges, including a School of Medicine in Newcastle, though the two centres were admittedly only 15 miles (24 kilometres) apart.

While some aspects of these plans were not fulfilled due to administrative and political obstacles, other aspects were, though not in his lifetime. These involved the establishment of a Faculty of Agriculture in Pietermaritzburg (realised in 1948–1949) and of a Medical School in Durban. The latter was eventually opened in 1951 for black students only and in the face of objections by the University of the Witwatersrand, which had sought to establish itself as South Africa's pre-eminent centre for the training of black medical professionals.

By the late 1920s dualism had been fully embraced as official NUC policy, after John Bews had so confidently espoused the cause. In his 1928 'Memorandum on university development in Natal' he set another major goal for the future.

If ever a distinct region existed requiring intensive study of its own peculiar conditions and problems, Natal is such a region ... A University of Natal we must have, and sooner or later we shall have it ... We must have a University that will help us to develop as rapidly and completely as we should ... we shall succeed in building up a type of University suited to our needs. It will come about because every single member of the community, whether white or black, stands to benefit by its establishment.

While Bews clearly also envisaged tertiary education in the medium to long term for the local African and Indian communities, at Adams and Sastri colleges, he made no effort to challenge the unofficial segregationist admission

policy that still prevailed at NUC. Yet in his memorandum he celebrated the fact that his native Scotland had led the way in modern times in appreciating the value of university education and that ‘in no country has it been made easier for anyone to obtain the full advantages of such an education’.

Bews demonstrated an unquestioning belief in Social Darwinism by arguing that, in the South African context, ‘the white race here should be as well educated as it possibly can be, not so much because it desires to maintain its supremacy ... but because it is the white man’s duty to raise up the black man in the scale of civilization’. He went on to declare: ‘Progress is a law of nature in every line of evolution. The black races must progress, and it is for the good of Natal and the rest of South Africa that they should progress along sane, natural, evolutionary lines.’

By the late 1920s NUC’s Council had done nothing to promote that philosophy by relaxing its application of the convenient clause 20 of its Constitution with regard to student admissions. Mr Wahed’s unsuccessful 1916 application had been followed in 1921 by that of another Indian, A.H. Peters, an interpreter at the magistrate’s court, on behalf of his son Maurice who wished to undertake a pre-medical course at the College.

In his case Senate proved to be the surprising stumbling block even though its membership still comprised a substantial majority of British-born professors unaffected by a colonial upbringing. Although the Anglican Bishop of Natal, Samuel Baines, reminded Council of ‘the catholic nature of a University’, the applicant was fobbed off with the argument that Fort Hare would soon be open to Indians. Undaunted, Maurice Peters subsequently qualified as a medical doctor at Edinburgh University, returning in 1926 to establish a practice and play a prominent part in the Colonial Born Indian Settlers Association.

Council subsequently rejected the application of yet another Indian to attend BA undergraduate classes in Pietermaritzburg, although the lecturing staff had no objections. In 1925 Robert Denison, a future NUC Principal, refused a request to allow an Indian student to take a practical science examination on the premises because he objected to ‘any coloured person being in my laboratories at the same time as our other students’. A year later NUC also refused the admission of an Indian candidate attorney to its Law classes, even though the Supreme Court had recognised the appropriateness of its facilities. The College was not alone in this regard as far as South Africa’s English-medium universities were concerned. In 1933 Rhodes University College’s Senate refused the application of a Mr George Singh on the grounds that ‘the time is not yet ripe for such a change in the policy of the College’.

In his 1928 memorandum Bews did not include anything to suggest that, under his imminent leadership, any changes would be made in the foreseeable future to develop NUC into a racially integrated institution even though nearly two decades had passed since its establishment. In his mind, perhaps, there was a more immediate issue to be resolved. Bews made it clear that, despite the views expressed by the Minister of Education and the Van der Horst Commission, he envisaged university development in both of Natal's main urban centres and insisted that Durban's (white) population should not be expected to 'send its own sons and daughters elsewhere to be trained'.

In his opinion what was needed was a change in the attitude of many members of the local public who still regarded a graduate as 'a good bricklayer spoil' and a greater willingness on their part to help finance university development. While the competition of the Technical College in offering university-level courses had fallen away, Bews' promotion of dualism meant that Pietermaritzburg and Durban would find themselves increasingly in competition for (white) students, facilities and funds, with the latter centre enjoying some decided advantages.⁹

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4

THE COLLEGE COMES OF AGE (1929–1939)

IN JANUARY 1929 A CONFERENCE of university representatives that the Minister of Education, then Dr Daniel Malan, convened in Cape Town endorsed the 1927 J.G. van der Horst Commission's recommendations that the link between NUC and the Natal Technical College should be severed. It was further resolved that all university studies in the province, including the harbour city, should be entirely controlled by a reorganised University College Council.

It was also agreed that it was not desirable to divide a university between two centres but, alarmingly for Pietermaritzburg, it was envisaged that the 'ultimate aim should be to make Durban the university centre for Natal'. Malan recognised that the provincial capital still needed 'a strong University College' and declared that 'only by establishing a strong faculty of education at Pietermaritzburg can the future of the Pietermaritzburg College be made secure'.

NUC had already made important strides in that direction with the establishment in 1921 of a chair of Education and the development of closer ties with the Teachers Training College. Dr Gie, the Secretary for Education, nevertheless seemed to imply that the future of smaller university colleges was now under serious review. For the first time the development of tertiary education at the coast posed a potential threat to NUC in Pietermaritzburg.

As the worldwide Great Depression was beginning to gather momentum government had little comfort to offer other than to point to the need for colleges to find more in the way of local financial support. In June 1929 an anonymous Durban contributor to the *NUC Magazine*, echoing the January conference in Cape Town, predicted that the 'day is not far off when we shall see the whole of the N.U.C. housed in Durban'. (S)he predicted that this would start with its administrative offices and that student interest in the humanities and pure sciences, by way of training for teaching careers, would shift to other fields of professional study.

Reassuringly, in August 1930, when NUC observed its 21st birthday with week-long celebrations that General Jan Smuts and Minister Daniel Malan attended, the latter indicated that it was not government policy to close any smaller tertiary institutions. At a meeting with the Minister of Education in October, with J. (John) Townley Williams, now vice-president of the Natal Technical College Council there to support him, Bews was complimented on the ‘economical working’ of NUC. He even secured the promise of a small loan for building extensions as well as firm governmental approval for his policy of dualism. The transfer of university courses conducted in Durban to NUC was also approved. Earlier in Parliament the Minister had declared that he now envisaged Pietermaritzburg as a university site while Durban, being ‘a very important industrial centre’, should focus on ‘industrial education’.¹

This was not to be the case and subsequent developments in that city had important implications for tertiary education in the provincial capital.

Fundraising

In 1930 there were 337 students enrolled in Pietermaritzburg for university-level courses and only 143 in Durban. However, it was already obvious that the latter was the region’s major population and commercial growth point and therefore the most likely source of students and of private donations. The point was illustrated that year when Mrs M.A. Hudson, widow of a prominent Durban businessman, donated £20 000 (R40 000) to endow the William Hudson Chair of Economics in memory of her late husband. Its first occupant was Professor E. Whittaker (B.Sc. Ph.D. Edinburgh) who also assumed responsibility for teaching Economic History. The vague prospect raised at the Cape Town conference in January 1929 that Durban might eventually become the province’s university centre offered the Natal Technical College’s Council some compensation for surrendering control over its university-level courses and assured its support for the fundraising drive the NUC now launched.

In March 1929, at a dinner organised by Charles E. James at the Durban Club, Bews argued the case for university development in the province before an audience of business leaders. Several, including John Townley Williams, Charles James and Sir Charles Smith, were already convinced of the need to provide such training under local conditions in preference to the tradition of sending Natal’s best candidates for tertiary success at British institutions. At a meeting in April at the Natal Technical College a committee was formed to take charge of fundraising in Durban under the chairmanship of Townley Williams with Dr B.M. Narbeth as secretary.

An ambitious target of £250 000 (R500 000) was set and despite the mounting economic depression of the early 1930s a total of £30 000 (R60 000) was soon raised. Charles James contributed one-third of this amount. Other substantial commitments came from W. Butcher (£5 000/R10 000), W. James (£5 000/R10 000), the Mary Bennett Estate (£1 000/R2 000), Barclays Bank and Standard Bank (£2 500/R5 000) each, and General James Scott Wylie and Townley Williams (£2 000/R4 000) each.

In addition, the Durban and Pietermaritzburg City Councils were persuaded to make annual grants to NUC of £2 500 (R5 000) and £1 000 (R2 000) respectively, the latter being doubled in 1929 from £500 (R1 000) and later increased again to £1 225 (R2 450). In 1930 Pietermaritzburg also made a special grant of £500 (1 000) after Bews had pointed out the extent to which other municipalities in South Africa and Britain assisted their local university institutions. In 1936 Durban's annual grant was doubled to £5 000 (R10 000) but subsequently reduced to £4 000 (R8 000).

Two years later the Pietermaritzburg City Council agreed to make its annual grant to NUC unconditional so that the College could earn a further pound for pound grant from the government on the £160 (R320) included for student bursaries as well as the £840 (R1 680) intended as a general grant. Bews also favoured converting these bursaries to loans, which could then be more generous as they would be paid back and recycled for the benefit of an increasing number of students.

Importantly, he was relieved of his professorial obligations so that he could travel freely to raise more funds, thanks to the personal generosity of Townley Williams who held the chairmanship of the Development Fund until 1946 and became his close friend. Student residences on the Durban campus were later to bear the names of both Townley Williams and Charles James.

By 1932 donations and grants received had risen to £46 392 (R92 784). In that year Bews launched the Natal University Development Foundation (NUDF), with a formal constitution and committee, after it was established that the extra 17 acres (nearly 7 hectares) the Fund had bought to add to the Howard College campus could not be transferred to that committee without a legal constitution. General Wylie of Shepstone & Wylie drafted the necessary constitution, which was adopted on 16 June 1932. Although negotiations about joint fundraising with the Natal Technical College during the 1920s had previously led to the opening of the NUDF a large-scale fundraising campaign had been delayed until the grant of land for Howard College was firmly secured.

As South Africa gradually emerged from the Great Depression Bews tried further to strengthen ties with the local business community, primarily in Durban. He did so with the assistance of a strong local committee that still included Townley Williams as chairman, B.M. Narbeth as secretary and other senior Technical College representatives. Surprisingly, the following decade and a half to 1945 was not as successful as the Depression period from 1929 to 1932 had been in terms of attracting donors. Following the William Hudson Chair in Economics, NUC had to wait until 1945 for a second endowed chair, the James Scott Wylie Professorship in Law, but there were other, smaller donations. These included Romer Robinson's four £120 (R240) scholarships, tenable in Durban, in memory of his father Sir John Robinson, who had been Natal's first Prime Minister after its 1893 acquisition of responsible government.

Other than such donations made for a particular purpose, all funds were invested as capital and the interest drawn from it was used to meet a variety of expenses, including bursaries and scholarships. By 1939 NUC ranked fifth among the nine South African universities as far as student numbers were concerned but was no longer the most expensive campus in terms of the cost of academic training per student as it had been in 1916. It now also ranked fifth in that respect but was still above the national average.

The need to raise more in the way of private funding was obvious but by the late 1930s, with war clouds gathering in Europe, further appeals for public donations were deemed inadvisable for the foreseeable future. Even so, by 1943 the accumulated capital amount stood at £33 000 (R66 000) and £31 000 (R62 000) had already been disbursed in grants and loans to NUC and its students.²

Howard College

In 1931 NUC's Council assumed complete administrative and financial control of all university courses in Durban. On 1 August that year the link between the Natal Technical College and NUC was finally broken when the Governor-General of South Africa, the Earl of Clarendon, opened the Howard College Building. A cablegram from the benefactor T.B.F. Davis, who was not present at the ceremony, described that edifice not as a gift but as an expression of 'the duty of the prosperous to help their less fortunate fellow-men'. The chairman of Council, Rev. Dr Leo Sormany, who had also spoken at the opening of the Old Main Building in Scottsville, expressed the gratitude felt by many present:

May I name among the dreamers whose hearts would have throbbed with joy this day, Dr Samuel Campbell, whose smiling perseverance and shrewd diplomacy, backed by the willing promise of a father who wished to perpetuate the heroic memory of his son, revealed to the City Fathers their own longing for this great work.

Howard College was situated on an imposing 24.28 hectare (approximately 60 acre) site on the Stella Bush Ridge that the Durban City Council had initially granted in 1927 to the Technical College for its future expansion. At well over 122 metres (400 feet) above sea level it was endowed with spectacular harbour and wooded inland views. As a sailing man, Davis strongly approved of these impressive vistas. After most of the waist-high foliage had been cleared there was still sufficient vegetation for the vervet monkey population to remain on site and expropriate student sandwiches for many years to come. In October 1937 the university began re-planting trees in the vicinity, not for the benefit of hairy simian cousins but to improve the appearance of the campus.

At the suggestion of the Technical College principal, B.M. Narbeth, one of its former students, William Hirst, was commissioned to design the new building for £250 (R500). Just in his twenties, he had won an Emma Smith Scholarship and was studying at the Architectural Association in Bedford Square, London. He was permitted to submit his design for Howard College as his thesis and was allocated an extra cabin on board the *Arundel Castle* on his voyage home to work further on the project before the drawings were completed at Davis' ships' chandler's company Brock & Co., in Point Road.

Hirst designed what was intended as an engineering college in what has been described as colonial-era Union Classical with the subtropical climate appropriately in mind. He sensibly included high ceilings, two open courtyards on either side of a 450-seater teak panelled central hall (in that respect similar to the Clock Tower Building in Pietermaritzburg), open arcaded corridors and large teak-shuttered exterior windows. In truth, subsequent Durban campus development would have been much more attractive in appearance had the facade, at least, of this edifice been extended to the other buildings which were erected along the Stella Bush Ridge. Instead, the overall appearance of what one critic later unflatteringly described as a distant parked goods train was gradually created.

C. Coppinger, Davis' refrigeration engineer, C.R. Cobbledick and W. Leggar supervised the construction of the building and undertook all the alterations and additions to the plans. The site of what later became the Silver Jubilee Gardens, directly below the building and looking over Durban harbour, was cleared of bush so that all the necessary materials could be hauled up the hill.

The original elevations and proportions were amended, adding windows below the dome and replacing the long planters with a stone plinth.

Davis, who eventually spent more than £140 000 (R280 000) on the project, suggested the gilded orb (representing the Earth) that decorated the dome. This soon made it a well-known landmark, which, it was said, became known in Zulu as eThusini – a reference to the golden ball atop the dome. Davis also requested that portraits of King George V and of Howard Davis (wearing his pre-war merchant navy cadet uniform) be hung in the circular entrance hall or rotunda, which, in addition, featured the arms of his native Jersey, NUC and the city of Durban.

Davis further proposed the statue of the monarch that stares out over the harbour in front of the building. George V and he were friends through a common interest in yachting, having met at the Cowes royal regattas where Davis defeated his King on a few occasions in *Westward*, a vessel that was reconstructed in 2000 as the *Eleanora*. Its mast was higher than the Howard College dome and, with a 30-strong permanent crew, the ship was more than half the length of the building. Davis was almost certainly influential in having the road in front of it named King George V Avenue. Subsequent student legend facetiously had it that the monarch would descend from his plinth in greeting if a virgin ever arrived to study on campus. His late Majesty has yet to be so moved.

Glenham Davis (another son of the donor) contributed £1 000 (R2 000), A.H. Smith £3 250 (R6 500) and the Development Fund provided £12 460 (R24 920) with which to equip and furnish the building. Many free grants of engineering machinery were received and the fund also bought the aforementioned additional 17 acres (nearly 7 hectares) at a cost of £1 305 (R2 610) for the future development of the Howard College campus.

The new facility was almost immediately filled to capacity as full-time courses in Engineering and Commerce, but not in Fine Art, were duly transferred to it from the Technical College and the new campus was officially incorporated, like that in Pietermaritzburg, into the University of South Africa. The south wing was initially occupied by Electrical Engineering and the laboratories, the west by Civil and Mechanical Engineering, the east by Commerce and Economics and the upper floor by Mathematics and Physics.

As Townley Williams observed, and the Natal Technical College's own official history records, its gift in 1931 to NUC in Durban was considerable. It comprised ten staff members, more than 200 students, an impressive campus looking down on the city, and the Howard College Building with furniture and

equipment valued at £15 000 (R30 000). In addition, by then the University Development Fund exceeded £32 000 (R64 000). A clock, subsequently inherited by the Department of Mechanical Engineering, bore the gracious inscription:

From the Staff of the Natal Technical College to the Staff of the Natal University College, Durban. A memento of the many happy years together in the old College. June 1931.

When Roy Campbell later recalled his 1944 departure from Durban he paid a glowing, if somewhat exaggerated, tribute to his father Sam's efforts to advance tertiary education in the city.

As the ship turned around in the bay I could see the new University College which my father founded, and, nearer the centre of the town, the vast Technical College, also his own creation, which grew from a night school ... these buildings are superb monuments to the pugnacity of a great and witty fighter in a single-handed battle against the money-grubbing, shopkeeping mentality of the successive Town Councils of Durban.

Fittingly, Sam Campbell's name was later immortalised on NUC's Durban campus with bricks and mortar when the Principal's Residence there was named after him. Much later, in 1975, the then University of Natal eventually also paid tribute to its first major financial benefactor when the T.B. Davis Lecture Theatre Complex was opened at the rear and slightly north of the Howard College Building. The connection with the family continued through his daughters, Mrs Marguerite Simpson-Smith and Miss Gwendoline Davis, who subsequently donated £10 000 (R20 000) to endow the T.B. Davis Bursary for a second-year Engineering student and the T.B. Davis Scholarship for postgraduate study. They continued for some years thereafter to make annual donations to the institution.³

The College consolidated in Durban

More immediately, during the 1930s, the Engineering Departments expanded rapidly in response to the local region's demands for developmental expertise. This was particularly the case with regard to Durban's infrastructural expansion in relation to roads, electricity, drainage and supplies from the Umgeni Water Scheme. By the mid-1930s engineering projects on the Natal coastline far exceeded those in the Cape Peninsula, totally discrediting the Van der Horst Commission's assertion that there was no need for an engineering faculty in the province.

It was, indeed, an expensive asset but Durban's expanding commercial community had the means to support it. In 1938, as student numbers increased,

James Neal retained the chair of Mechanical Engineering while W.M. (Walter) Thomas (B.Sc. Wales, B.Sc. Eng. Leeds), previously senior lecturer at the Natal Technical College from 1920 and then at NUC, was appointed professor in the new separate Department of Civil Engineering. Thomas retained the chair until 1948 and died suddenly in 1954 while walking on Durban's Country Club beach. In 1930 he was joined by H.M. Irving, an NUC (Durban) graduate. In passing the Examination of the Institute of Structural Engineers in 1933 Irving was the only candidate in the world to achieve a distinction in Practical Design. The rest of the faculty included Hugh Clark and P. Stein (as before) with W.E. (Eric) Phillips (B.Sc. Eng.) and E.P. (Ernest) Reim (B.Sc. South Africa) as additional lecturers. Phillips was just beginning what proved to be a long and distinguished career at the institution while Reim became well known for his research on coal, leading to an M.Sc. and Ph.D., and on combustion, refrigeration and heat engines. Popular with students for his dedication and eccentric lecturing style, he was another obvious candidate for a 'pro-song':

Here's to good old Ernie,
Hurry up and settle down,
Here's to good old Ernie,
With his worried-looking frown.
Here's to Ernie Reim,
His lectures are a scream,
Here's to good old Ernie,
With his –er –er –er –er.



W.E. (Eric) Phillips qualified in 1928 with a B.Sc. in Engineering and in 1931 began what proved to be a 43-year career at NUC/University of Natal. In 1953 he was promoted to the chair of Electrical Engineering before serving as dean of the faculty (1955) and Dean (Vice-Principal) at Howard College (1956–1961). He eventually retired in 1974.

H.C. Coblans, an M.Sc. (Pietermaritzburg) graduate in 1930 who won a Croll Scholarship to study Mathematics in Munich and Chemistry in Berlin, had already published two papers before he was appointed lecturer in Mathematics and Chemistry. He continued to conduct research on heavy water and in other fields. Despite the limitations of available finance and equipment, some other members of staff were also able to undertake research projects. Clark concentrated on developing a new type of surge-proof transformer for use on high voltage power lines. Tests were conducted on the strength of steel, concrete and galvanised iron sheets for the benefit of industrial firms and senior students worked on the strengths of such items as bolts, screws and spray nozzles.

Initially, the School of Art and Crafts continued to serve both the Technical College and NUC, with the Professor of Fine Art, O.J.P. Oxley, being paid by the latter as were the lecturers in Architecture, in which a certificate could be taken from 1932. The School offered degree courses but was still primarily involved in teaching apprentices and pupils at the Technical College. The handful of degree students there were understandably likely to feel increasingly isolated from the rest of NUC following the removal of the Faculties of Engineering and Commerce to Howard College. There was the very real prospect that they might be lost if attracted to the collegiate life, which the better equipped Rhodes University College had to offer.

Oxley responded to the challenge and succeeded in divorcing the School's Fine Art courses from its commercial or applied classes by persuading NUC's Senate that they could only survive by being in close association with the Faculty of Arts and its Department of Education in Pietermaritzburg. In return, he could offer their students classes in the History and Appreciation of Art.

Accordingly, in 1935 Fine Arts was moved to the provincial capital, the only department thus far to have been transferred from one centre to the other. It was hoped that its lagging student numbers would be boosted there both by means of closer co-operation with NUC's Department of Education but also with the Teachers Training College in town. In this way it could play a major role in the production of Art teachers, and possibly also introduce Fine Art as a major subject in the BA degree.

It is not clear if the lanky Oxley's 'pro-song' was composed by his Durban or his Pietermaritzburg students:

Here's to good old Oxley,
With his long and lantern jaw,
Here's to good old Oxley,
See him coming through the door
He's as sober as the grave,
And he always needs a shave,
Here's to good old Oxley,
He's six feet above the floor.

In 1936, the last pre-war year in which NUC could afford building construction in either centre, all the part-time university-level classes that had been initiated in a variety of subjects in 1930 at the Natal Technical College in Durban were transferred to NUC's new Commerce Buildings in Warwick Avenue. It subsequently became known as City Buildings after Law and Education classes joined those in Commerce there. In 1931 there were 16 full-time Commerce students (eight of them women) and 54 part-timers (one woman), increasing to 87 in 1932 (one woman).

For Law students the move was a welcome escape from their cramped learning conditions downtown in Masonic Grove. The move also provided more room for the Engineering departments, which had 77 students (two female) in 1932, as well as for the Library and the SRC. The students up on 'The Hill' revelled in their new common room, complete with morris chairs, settees and ash trays but they still lacked the benefit of on-campus residences.

The initial intention had been to build the Commerce Block near the junction of Sydney and Williams roads but municipal permission was denied because of intended road works there. At a meeting in September 1935 it was agreed that, in exchange for 5.5 acres (2.3 hectares) of NUC's land adjacent to Howard College that the municipality needed for the construction of water reservoirs, NUC would be granted the 1.1 acre (0.45 hectare) site on which the Commerce Buildings were subsequently constructed. It was also stipulated that the site was to be used exclusively for higher education, that buildings to the value of not less than £10 000 (R20 000) were to be erected there within two years, and that the site would revert to the municipality if these conditions were breached.

This lecture venue was obviously much more convenient for students already employed in the city than the comparatively remote Howard College on 'The Hill', particularly as they only attended classes in the late afternoons and early evenings. Unavoidably, it had the atmosphere of an extramural facility rather than providing the complete university college experience that students

enjoyed in Pietermaritzburg. It nevertheless remained the site for NUC's part-time classes until 1973 when they were removed to Howard College and City Buildings was sold to the Natal Technical College. It was then appropriately renamed 'Oldham House', in honour of NUC's first head of Commerce and Administration who had previously been employed by the Technical College.

There was an infrequent municipal bus service up to Stella Bush Ridge and some students did have transport of their own but even for full-timers Howard College, with its monkey-infested foliage, was a fairly remote locale, still on the fringe of the city. As 'W.G.L.W.'s 'Freshers' Lament' put it in 1934:

Oh Howard is stuck on the top of a hill,
As high as Mount Ararat, p'rhaps higher still,
And the buses ascend it but twice every day
So freshers foot-slog up that steep winding way;
And the simian smiles from the top of the tree
When he sees the poor students hike up wearily.
Of all roads in old Durban the toughest to me
Is the one up to Howard o'erlooking the sea.

But some lucky blighters – too lazy to hike –
Can importune Pa for a new motor-bike
And some borrow Dad's bus and borrow Ma's
And some swank about in their own motor-cars;
But I am an orphan – oh, it gives me a pain –
But some day I'll pinch a nice big aeroplane
Then I'll laugh at the hikers and simians free
On that long winding road leading up from the sea.

In the meantime, the registration of Law students continued to increase, mostly Natal Law Certificate candidates with an average of two or three LLB students graduating each year. In 1928 the first female registered for the LLB degree, not far behind Wits and UCT where the first three women qualified for the degree and were admitted as advocates in 1930, one of them being Marguerite Dawe, the author's mother. In the same year white South African women acquired the vote.

Maurice Sweeney complained that he needed teaching assistance to deal adequately with part-time Accounting and Arts students who were taking Law courses. In addition, public servants were now also being prepared for the Natal Civil Service Law Certificate. Three such students were the first of their ilk to pass part one of the examination in 1930 and one completed part two the following year. Registrations in Law courses continued to increase until the outbreak of World War II in 1939 when they went into decline as

young men enlisted for active service. Even so, Sweeney's teaching load remained extremely heavy, involving Attorney's Admission, LLB, B.Comm., BA and Accounts examinees. His 1946 promotion to associate professor was somewhat belated.

The Natal Law Society initiated the Connor Prize for the student who scored the highest marks in the Natal Law Certificate examinations and in 1929 a Law Students Society was formed while moot courts continued to be held in both centres. Natal Law Certificate and Civil Service Law Certificate examinations were both set by the Joint Committee for conducting professional examinations.

By contrast, there was initial scepticism in Senate about the academic value of some of the part-time courses that Oldham organised in Accounting, Commercial Law, Economic History and the Structure and Administration of Industry towards the development of a B.Comm. degree. However, in 1937 the Commerce Faculty was further strengthened when H.R. Burrows succeeded E. Whittaker as second William Hudson Professor of Economics, with I.G. Halliday (B.Comm. SA) later appointed as lecturer. Burrows was a Leeds graduate who had lectured for 14 years at Bristol University and published extensively, including several articles on economic issues in the *Manchester Guardian*.

In addition to maintaining an impressive publication output, while at NUC he was to serve in numerous capacities, including dean of Social Science, on committees of Council and Senate, as president of the Economic Society of South Africa (1946–1947) and on a variety of national councils and commissions. Burrows held the chair of Economics until 1957 and subsequently became acting principal at Fort Hare before working at Rhodes University's Institute for Social and Economic Research. He died in 1960.

Following the arrival of Burrows at NUC, full-time students could also complete degrees in Commerce and an important research dimension was added to the faculty. The economics of Indian employment in Natal was investigated, with special reference to Indian market gardeners, while the Durban Chamber of Commerce supported an appeal that raised £500 (R1 000) to investigate other commercial issues. In addition, reports were published from time to time on a variety of economic problems and public discussions were held every Friday evening on current topics of concern.

Some arts courses were also offered at City Buildings, where accommodation had to be found for all new departments so that Howard College could be reserved for Engineering. In 1943 an exception was made, with some difficulty,

to provide temporary quarters for Sociology. In 1930 a Department of Bantu Studies was proposed and in July 1934 a chair of Zulu but the Minister of Education rejected both for financial reasons.

NUC did offer classes in History from 1933 but for several years Florence MacDonald was the only lecturer (part-time) and student registrations were hampered by the decision to offer the first-year course only in alternate years from 1936, with severe repercussions for the second and third year intake. Numbers in the discipline did rise from an initial eight in 1933 to 89 in 1945 and 189 in 1947. By then only one student had completed an MA and another was half way through the coursework.

Durban would have to wait until after World War II for more additions to its academic repertoire but in 1934, with Psychology courses also being introduced in Pietermaritzburg, it did secure the services of Mr B. (Bernard) Notcutt as lecturer in the Department of English and Psychology. He had studied at Stellenbosch (BA 1928) and Magdalen College, Oxford, where he gained a Sheppard Exhibition in 1930 and took a second-class Honours (Philosophy, Politics and Economics) in 1931. He had also been awarded a Commonwealth Fund Fellowship, which enabled him to spend time at the University of California and Harvard University. After arriving at NUC he developed a new test for measuring confidence and judgement in individuals.

NUC's Council and Senate were both ambivalent in their attitude towards part-time and extramural classes in general. Applications were closely scrutinised for genuine financial inability to study full-time and those who were accepted had to embark upon fairly extended study programmes to complete their degrees. There was concern that NUC in Durban was placing too much emphasis on part-time study and that those staff members who had to travel from Howard College to City Buildings in order to repeat their lectures were being deprived of potential research time. Such classes were usually small but were expected to be financially viable. They nevertheless met a very real need on the part of numerous articled clerks, candidate attorneys and civil servants among others who were eager to improve their qualifications and career prospects.

Students at NUC (Durban) had to make their own entertainment, much as students did in Pietermaritzburg. In 1930 the previously formed Students Societies Union was more firmly constituted as a central committee to co-ordinate the various college societies and the Entertainments Committee carried out its brief by organising a series of socials. The opening of the

Howard College Building also did much to engender a greater sense of corporate identity, at least among full-time students.

The relaxation of initiation rites in the 1930s was considered by senior students to have quite the opposite effect but not so the annual Rag. Small Rag processions were held in Durban during the Depression years and in 1931 the satirical/humorous *NUC-NUC*, inspired by a Fine Arts student, Noel Langley (later a well-known playwright) and V.O. Pfoffnhaufr, made its appearance as a 'Rag-Mag'. It was dubbed *Muc-Muc* by some for its iconoclastic mudslinging at targets both on- and off-campus.

In 1934 it was decided that the Durban and Maritzburg students should hold a Joint Rag and representatives from both campuses met periodically at Drummond, where it was concluded that the bigger city offered the better prospects for financial success. That year some 320 Maritzburg students were transported by lorry early one Saturday morning to Durban where their counterparts had built floats the previous night. The Mounted Police led the procession through the city centre from the Alhambra Theatre at the Berea end of what was then West Street and included floats named 'Hula-Hula Girls', 'Mae West' and 'The Loch Ness Monster'.

That year a new Rag-Mag, *Nucleus*, replacing *NUC-NUC* and the *Bulletin*, was sold on Durban's streets. Three Maritzburg students, Dudley Barton, Harvey Knox and Harold Smith, produced it virtually overnight but they managed to meet its print deadline. Some 10 000 copies (double that the following year and rising to 25 000 by 1937) were sold for 'at least sixpence' each, rising to a shilling (10 cents) by 1938. The £650 (R1 300) generated by that and other means in 1934 was divided equally between the Natal Anti-TB Association and the *Natal Mercury* Children's Holiday Home.

The Joint Rags continued until 1938. The processions usually ended with 'King Rag' holding court in Durban's Church Street, in front of the City Hall, where an attack on him by the 'Anarchists' would provoke a Durban vs Pietermaritzburg flour bomb fight, ending with a bugle call and final street collection. The two campuses continued to collaborate on the production of *Nucleus* and, after they lapsed briefly, revived the Joint Rags in the 1940s.

In 1934 the NUC (Durban) Rugby Club held a hugely successful ball in the Howard College Hall. By the mid-1930s, despite still modest registration numbers, the Students Christian Association was well established and the Arts Society, Bantu and Indian Studies Society, Debating Society, Dramatic Society, Economics Society and Engineering Society had all been firmly launched. In

addition, a four-person committee tried to stimulate what little interest there was in NUSAS.

The campus still had no sports fields, though in 1940 the new NUC Principal, Robert Denison, did propose that the City Council should set aside all the land on the slope in front of Howard College, which was bound by Lamont and Manning roads and Queen Mary and King George V avenues for future College building and playing field development. In the meantime, students had to find their way to the Old Fort grounds near the centre of town for practices. The Tennis Club was managing to survive, but by then the Athletics Club was dormant.

Remarkably, the Rugby Club gained first-division status in 1932 and gathered strength, fielding an under-19 side, with Bill Payn, former NUC Maritzburg and Springbok player, as coach from 1932 to 1934. By then it had 90 members. In 1933 Howard Gutridge became the club's first provincial representative when he played for Natal against a touring Wallabies side. Others played for Durban in the annual inter-town match against Maritzburg but the coaching of another ex-Springbok, Bill Zeller, could not save the club from losing its first-division status in 1936, sinking to the third division in 1940.

While rugby remained the most popular student sport in Durban, in 1934 a Golf Club was formed with the assistance of the Umbogintwini Golf Club, which allowed students the use of its facilities. During the 1930s a Hockey Club had been established and rowing had become an increasingly popular pastime. Dr Dave Hodges, a future professor of Physics, took the initiative in accepting an offer from the Durban Rowing Club to lend boats and equipment to students while coaching them as junior members. In this way the College Boat Club was launched in October 1933 with minimum expenditure and, on payment of especially low subscriptions, its members were allowed to participate in the Durban Rowing Club's own competitions.

Durban Bay often proved too rough for competition between eights, giving the University of the Witwatersrand the advantage when it came to inter-arsity meetings in view of its ready access to the Vaal Dam. The first inter-arsity competition was held in 1934 on the Kowie River at Port Alfred on the Eastern Cape coast, using clinker built fours. NUC's crew, comprising D.K. McIntosh (stroke), N.J. Cullum, G. Frolich, C. Rhind and 'Tickey' Walsh (cox) surprisingly outrowed both Rhodes and then Wits to win the Grocott Cup in a boat loaned by the Leander Club.⁴

There were other needs in Durban, much more urgent than nice-to-have sports facilities and clubs.

Library

As Nora Buchanan's research has shown, the establishment and extension of university courses in Durban from the 1920s onwards and the subsequent growth in student numbers at three separate venues – Howard College, City Buildings and, from 1936, the new segregated Non-European Section at Sastri College – unavoidably necessitated the provision of library facilities on an ever-increasing scale. In May 1927, shortly after his appointment as lecturer in Law in Durban, Maurice Sweeney successfully applied to the Pietermaritzburg Library Committee for £22 (R44) with which to purchase seven books for teaching purposes. In April 1931, after further requests from the same source, the Library Committee recommended to Senate that a separate body should administer an entirely different book grant for NUC's Durban branch. As a result, until 1946 library development in the two centres took place independently of each other.

The Durban Library Committee eventually met for the first time in November 1933, comprising professors Neal and Oldham, with the industrious Mabel Palmer (of whom more anon) as secretary and guiding force. Subsequently Professor Clark (substituting for Neal who was on leave) and Messrs W.M. Thomas, K. Bryd and Dave Hodges were added, as well as a student representative, Mr T.C. Salmon. In 1936 Dr H.C. Coblans also joined the committee.

Meanwhile, in the Library on the upper floor of the Howard College Building the first six books had been accessioned on 9 November 1931 and within a year the collection had grown to 452 volumes. The Technical College provided some items on loan and on the understanding that they would eventually be purchased, but it was not until 1946 that £60 (R120) was found to settle the debt. Part-time Commerce students who initially attended their classes at the Natal Technical College were unable to reach the Library on 'The Hill' during opening hours. Instead, they were allowed to borrow books on trust from a lockable bookcase in the janitor's office. This small collection was eventually absorbed into the Commerce Library with the opening in 1936 of City Buildings in Warwick Avenue. Inadequate shelf space soon became a challenge there as at Howard College.

NUC library resources in Durban were further fragmented when, in 1936, the Library Committee acceded to a request for £50 (R100), amounting to

5% of its £1 000 (R2 000) 1937 budget estimate, with which to launch a desperately needed Library for the new Non-European Section, which Mabel Palmer had initiated. This was modelled on the Extra-Mural Library at the Technical College where she had previously worked. In addition, some books, including those on Botany, were added from the Howard College Library and Palmer donated several volumes from her own shelves.

This small but gradually enlarged collection had to be accommodated in cupboards that crowded an already congested classroom. A conditional offer of £250 (R500) towards the construction of a dedicated building for the Non-European Section from a Mrs Whitehead was allowed to lapse, presumably because of NUC Council's inability or unwillingness to provide the additional funds needed for the completion of such a project. This remained the only library resource available to NUC's black students as the Durban Library Committee, in keeping with the College's segregationist policy, denied them access to the two branches of the Main Library.

The tripartite nature of NUC's Durban Library did not qualify it for financial grants any larger than those that Senate allocated to its Pietermaritzburg counterpart and both tried unsuccessfully to generate additional funds through public appeals and by other means such as bridge drives. Initially Durban's funds were distributed directly to academic departments, as was the case in the other centre. From June 1934 until 1940 allocations were made to the three faculties, i.e., Arts (still including the Certificate in Architecture), Commerce and Administration, and Engineering. Mabel Palmer remained in effective control of the Durban libraries until her official retirement in 1936 but, following her appointment as Organiser of the Non-European Courses, she continued as an influential member of the Durban Library Committee until 1947, well beyond 70 years of age.

As unofficial Honorary Librarian, Palmer had only unqualified and inexperienced students to help her and minimal clerical assistance, with the result that cataloguing and control of the book stock was slow and sometimes inefficient. By 1935 the Durban Library Committee had recognised the urgent need for adequately trained expertise. Palmer's retirement triggered a partial solution when the Principal, John Bews, resolved the crisis by finding a spare £50 (R100) with which to employ a part-time Librarian. In April 1936 Miss Barbara Fraser became the first Librarian on the Howard College campus and remained in that post, which became permanent a year later, for 32 years. An NUC Arts graduate, she had no library qualifications until 1951 when she spent her long leave acquiring an appropriate certificate and diploma at UCT.

In the interim, she gained hectic practical experience maintaining Durban's dispersed library services with, until 1941, only students to assist.

NUC's policy of dualism and segregation came at a heavy price in terms of financial and human resources, which was clearly soon adversely reflected in the growth of its libraries in both centres.⁵

The College consolidated in Pietermaritzburg

Developments on NUC's Pietermaritzburg campus between the two World Wars were less spectacular than those in Durban. Following his tour of South and East Africa in 1932 Rev. Anson Phelps Stokes reported very favourably to the Carnegie Corporation in New York on the academic standards and leadership qualities he encountered at the university colleges in Pietermaritzburg and Grahamstown. He was also impressed with the staff and student bodies in both university centres.

NUC in Pietermaritzburg, like Rhodes, still retained the character of a small university college with most lectures given on campus. Notable exceptions were the extramural courses that Maurice Webb, a sometime NUC Council member, arranged in the early 1930s. These were delivered as far afield as Dundee, Ixopo, Tongaat and Verulam. Webb had arrived in Durban in 1921 from England, founded the Durban Literary Group, which he chaired for 15 years, and also established *Voorslag*, in collaboration with Roy Campbell and Lewis Reynolds. In 1933 he studied Adult Education in the USA on a Carnegie grant, wrote extensively on the subject following his return and convened the first National Conference on Adult Education.

Other off-campus classes were those held downtown for part-time students. By the mid-1930s the lecture rooms in Change Lane were not only used for courses in Roman Law, Roman-Dutch Law, Constitutional Law, Criminal Law, Native Law and Jurisprudence. There were also three-year majors in English and Dutch, a two-year option in Politics and one-year courses in Latin and Classical Culture. Commerce students were permitted to take any of these if they wished, in addition to Commercial Law, Company Law and Insolvency and Administration of Estates. Classes were provided for civil servants taking the Civil Service Lower Law and LLB Exams and by then NUC was offering to arrange classes for candidates wanting to take the Bankers Institution exams if there was sufficient demand.

By 1939 part-time student numbers were still small but the range of options was far bigger than initially envisaged. This created new challenges in terms of space, staffing and library facilities.⁶

Library

While Rev. Stokes was enthusiastic about several aspects of Rhodes and NUC Pietermaritzburg, he considered their library resources to be inadequate. The 1928 four-year reduction in NUC's Library budget was relieved only by a special grant of £40 (R80) in 1930 to meet an unexpected increase in the registration of Masters students. As the national economy eased out of the Great Depression of the early 1930s and funds gradually became more readily available, the Pietermaritzburg book grant was increased by £20 (R40) in 1932 and two years later was restored to its 1923 level of £250 (R500) a year.

Faced with increasing student numbers academic departments still had difficulty restricting themselves to their allocations. In 1937 the situation was greatly relieved when the Library grant was increased to £425 (R850), £25 (R50) being for the binding of journals. The following year it rose again to £500 (R1 000) but was to remain unchanged for the next seven years despite the huge backlog in book and journal purchases in several fields.

Nora Buchanan's research has indicated that during the 1930s there were other significant developments in the library field. In 1930 the formation of the South African Library Association (SALA) facilitated the training of librarians locally instead of obliging them to study abroad or take foreign correspondence courses. Although already in his 50s, from 1934 NUC's Librarian Captain Henry took the opportunity to acquire the formal skills that he lacked and after writing his first SALA examinations in December 1936 became an associate of that organisation. His training soon had an effect, for in 1934 he suggested to the Library Committee that Library of Congress catalogue cards should be purchased with which to access newly acquired books and, as funds allowed, those previously purchased as well.

The following year Henry formally proposed that the Dewey Decimal Classification system should be implemented in place of the idiosyncratic arrangement that had thus far prevailed and that the Carnegie Corporation be approached for a grant with which to undertake the task. The Library Committee agreed, voted £5 (R10) to buy the necessary cards and suggested that the Registrar be asked to approve the purchase of a stylus with which to mark the book spines. It also instructed Henry to propose that Howard College adopt the same classification system.

In 1934 the first library orientation for students was held with the emphasis very much on regulations when the Principal, Dr Bews, addressed students on Library use and Captain Henry instructed the first years. Guidance on the actual use of books and journals was still left to the academic staff. In July

1937 the Library was at last able to move into a new building that had been very carefully planned in accordance with its needs. This was not least the case with regard to fireproofing in the wake of the 1931 conflagration that had destroyed the Wits Library and its entire book stock, though Council still insisted upon teak rather than steel bookshelves. For some years the Fine Arts Department, which had recently been transferred from Durban, occupied the upper floor but the Library eventually took over the whole building, which was to remain its home for the next 27 years.

The year 1937 was also significant for the appointment in February of the Librarian's first assistant, Miss Sybil Nicholson, whose function was to catalogue and classify the books. Prior to her appointment Captain Henry had never taken a day off work, or any of the three-monthly extended leaves to which he was entitled every five years. Funds for her employment had been part of the Library's successful request to the Carnegie Corporation, which had made it a condition of the grant. By 1939 Nicholson had been so successful that her post became permanent. By the time of her resignation in 1943 to assume a position at the State Library in Pretoria she had catalogued and classified virtually the entire contents of NUC's Library and typed Professor Frank Bush's list of all scientific journals available in the vicinity of Pietermaritzburg.

In 1938 there was yet another important development that was to have far-reaching implications for library management at NUC. Apparently in response to the 1934–1935 application, the Carnegie Corporation not only agreed to a book grant but also offered a Library Fellowship, similar to that offered to Rhodes University College, to enable a suitable candidate to undertake library training in the USA. On the strength of this generous opportunity NUC advertised the new post of Chief Librarian, to be based in Pietermaritzburg but with responsibility for the libraries in both centres and with the clear intention that the selected applicant would undergo the training that had been offered.

In 1939 Dr H.C. Coblans, lecturer in Chemistry at Howard College and a member of the Durban Library Committee since 1936, was awarded the Carnegie Fellowship and, by implication, the post of Chief Librarian. Council was slow to release him from his lecturing duties, presumably because of the shortage of expertise in that field, and it was to take another five years before he was able to complete the necessary training in librarianship and assume his new post.⁷

Meanwhile, there were several successful and longstanding appointments to NUC's academic staff in the pre-World War II period.

Academic staff

E.V. (Eric) Axelson, later professor of History at UCT, recalled that when he enrolled as an undergraduate at NUC in 1930 most of the original staff members were still there. All of them were ‘real scholars and real gentlemen’, though his first acquaintance with Alan Hattersley, ‘who first put me on the road of history’, was ‘somewhat unfortunate’. Soon after his arrival in residence Axelson and other freshmen were amusing themselves pushing fuses in and out of the electrical distribution board and speculating which senior students they were inconveniencing when ‘a pained voice fell over our shoulders: “Excuse me, gentlemen, but are you aware that my lights are being interfered with?”’, and there was Professor Hattersley, the Warden’.

From 1934 Hattersley was also responsible for teaching the newly introduced allied discipline of Political Science. Its relationship with History seems to have been a Cambridge tradition with which he was very comfortable, though he was of the opinion that without that association Politics lacked ‘a solid intellectual framework’. The subject, particularly with regard to its international dimensions, proved especially popular with articled clerks and civil servants. They were all studying part-time through the extramural programme launched in March 1929 in addition to the established Law classes. The subject also soon gained favour with full-timers contemplating careers in the diplomatic corps.

In 1934 A.M. (Arthur) Keppel-Jones joined Hattersley’s department as lecturer in Politics and History. A 1928 graduate (first class) in History at UCT, he won a 1929 Rhodes Scholarship to Magdalen College, Oxford, where in 1931 he acquired an Honours degree in Modern History. Best known locally for his insightful *When Smuts Goes: A history of South Africa from 1952–2010* (1947), Keppel-Jones was heavily engaged in historical research (in addition to prophecy) and lectured at Wits before arriving in Pietermaritzburg. He returned there in 1935 and in the train’s dining-car met another future well-known author with NUC connections in Alan Paton who was en route to assume the principalship at Diepkloof Reformatory. Keppel-Jones was to return to Pietermaritzburg to assume the chair (1954–1959) before subsequently pursuing a highly successful career at Queens University, Ontario.

In 1938 M.F. (Mark) Prestwich, who in 1963 was also destined to succeed to the chair, replaced him as lecturer. A brilliant, well-read Cambridge graduate whose special interest was Edmund Burke and eighteenth-century English History, his avid reading did not lead him to become a serious, sleeves-up archival researcher in the Hattersley/Keppel-Jones mould. Possibly this

was because he was never drawn to colonial history although he was a keen observer of contemporary local politics.

Prestwich did prove to be a common room fount of general knowledge and a very articulate, entertaining lecturer, sometimes quite theatrical as he knotted and unknotted the tails of a much-used academic gown during the course of his delivery. It was a refreshing and sometimes amusing contrast to the somewhat dour Hattersley. He also participated in several campus activities and predictably became a prominent member of the Dramatic Society as actor and producer. His students soon discovered that he was not always given to punctuality and sometimes did not appear at all at postgraduate seminars. It was therefore symbolic that, according to legend (seemingly much favoured by History students trained to detect them), his arrival in Pietermaritzburg was delayed because he missed his ship from Britain!

Transportation of one sort or another seemed to confront him with difficulties, for like Hattersley he never learnt to drive a motor vehicle and even the railway, his colleague's preferred means of long-distance transport, brought him misfortune. Legend also has it that, on a train journey to Cape Town, he alighted in Bloemfontein to make a quick purchase from the station shop and was left stranded on the platform in the middle of the night dressed only in pyjamas and dressing gown and without any knowledge of Afrikaans!

Rumour had it that, at least in his bachelor days, the ever-elegant Prestwich slept between black satin sheets. Students regarded him, in modern parlance, as something of a 'party animal', for he greatly enjoyed convivial social occasions. As such, he was another obvious candidate to become the subject of one of the their now traditional 'pro-songs' (though the tune is unknown):

Here's to good old Presty with his hair
and nails so long,
Here's to good old Presty, he will
NEVER do you wrong,
He's quite a lad at history, but it is
still a mystery
Just what he sees in women, wine,
and song.

Prior to World War II (1939–1945) most new disciplines (like Economics) struggled to establish themselves if they were not secondary school subjects that offered firm prospects for a career in teaching. Course preferences began to change as alternative job prospects became evident and fewer students thought in terms of high school careers, therefore gradually moving away

from the traditional arts disciplines. Senate was aware of the now legendary challenge of subtropical indolence, the danger of vocational uncertainty and the need to adjust to changing socio-economic circumstances by widening the scope of studies offered to school leavers, as far as the College could afford to do so. Hence, for better or for worse, as early as 1928 it abolished Latin as a compulsory ancillary to a BA major in a modern language.

During the 1930s testing and teaching techniques also came under Senate's spotlight. In NUC's early years students had been considered too immature to be expected to prepare themselves for an end-of-year examination without any prior testing of their abilities and progress. In an age before semesterisation year-long undergraduate courses were still the norm as were as many as three term tests in most disciplines. These were reduced, in many cases, to just one in mid-year when it was found that they impinged too heavily on lecturing time.

By the 1930s it was concluded that, until graduates were teaching all the primary subjects in local high schools, students would continue to arrive ill-prepared for university studies. Regular term exercises were therefore considered necessary in order to ensure, as Hattersley put it, 'that they did not waste the first, and not a little of their second, year'. Science students seemed less at risk than those in the arts due to the relatively heavy schedule of lectures and laboratory practicals they were obliged to attend.

In 1937 the students themselves pleaded for a change in the lecture format, with 'the present system of taking down notes from dictation supplanted by one of discussion, based on typed sheets of notes'. Staff members were generally in agreement with this proposal but they recognised that lectures were still the primary means of imparting information and that multicopying notes would be expensive. Their ideal of a thoroughgoing one-on-one or small-group tutorial system in the Oxbridge tradition was simply impractical in the continued absence of much more substantial library resources and of a sufficiently large academic complement.

There were few additions to the teaching staff during the economic depression of the early 1930s. P.A. Guiton, who had arrived in 1921, resigned in 1931 to move to Rhodes University College. On 7 February Miss M.K. (Mary) Leiper replaced him as lecturer in French. Miss E.C. Mitchell had been listed as a temporary lecturer, also in French, in 1921 but Leiper was the first woman to be appointed to a permanent post on NUC's staff. In 1925 she had secured a double-first in English and French at the College, winning a medal in the latter subject and the only bursary awarded to proceed to a Masters degree.

In 1927 she completed this with yet another first, the only one at that level at NUC. Between 1928 and 1931 she had broadened her experience by living in France and Germany, teaching at language schools and taking a course in French at the Sorbonne.

In 1939 Leiper acquired a Ph.D. (London) and served with the South African Air Force as a linguist in military intelligence between 1942 and 1945 when she married Lieut. D. L. (David) Niddrie. He joined NUC in the 1930s as a lecturer in Geography but was her junior in military rank and therefore required to salute her, at least until the cessation of hostilities! The couple returned to Natal in 1947 but left in 1950 to assume posts in Britain and subsequently the USA. In 1995 they returned for the Golden Alumni celebrations in Pietermaritzburg before she died the following year and he in 1997.

NUC further augmented its female staff complement in 1931 when B.S. (Beryl) Fisher was appointed to the Botany Department. In 1929 she had also gained a first-class Masters at NUC and subsequently published several articles on Natal grasses. Indeed, of the 35 students who acquired M.Sc.s at NUC between 1919 and 1930, four were women and three of them secured firsts. Also in 1931, Miss D.L. Cavers (MA B.Ed. Cape Town B.Litt. Oxford), along with (Mr) K.F. Byrd (MA London), joined Waterhouse in the Department of English and Philosophy while the aforementioned Mabel Palmer (MA Glasgow) became a staff member in Economics and Economic History in Durban.

In 1932–1933 these four women constituted 12% of the 33-strong permanent academic staff. In 1934 the Durban branch of the South African Association of University Women pushed their cause further by formally requesting the Pietermaritzburg City Council to appoint a woman as its representative on NUC's Council in future, pointing out that there were no female representatives on that body at all.

Ernest Warren retired to England in 1931 and his former student, Dr S.F. (Frank) Bush began a long and distinguished career on the staff at NUC when he was appointed lecturer in Zoology on his mentor's recommendation. The Zoology Department was then, in effect, transferred from the Natal Museum where Warren had given his classes, and a laboratory was provided on campus to accommodate a maximum of 18 candidates. This arrangement proved much more convenient to students and enrolments rose from six first years in 1931 to 36 in all years in 1937 and 191 in 1946. As a former NUC student, Bush would not have been surprised to qualify for a 'pro-song':

Here's to good old Busho,
Our authority on frogs;
Here's to good old Busho,
With his most expensive togs.
He loves investigation
Of inside information,
Here's to good old Busho, and his frogs.

By 1934, with the economic depression receding, Council bravely resolved to embark upon further expansion and launched a new Department of Psychology. This was clearly needed and also promised to strengthen the existing Department of Education. Its first appointee, as senior lecturer, was Dr E. (Ella) Pratt Yule, a 1928 St Andrews graduate who had then embarked upon the study of Psychology, winning Carnegie and School of International Studies (Geneva) scholarships as well as a Henry Fund scholarship to study at Yale. In 1933 she was awarded a Ph.D. in Psychology at St Andrews and a Metcalf Research studentship to engage in further research at the University of London. Gender did not disqualify her from earning a 'pro-song' in Pietermaritzburg:

Here's to good old Pratt Yule,
And her study of the mind.
With our good old Pratt Yule,
You'd best leave your thoughts behind.
For if by chance she read them
You'd wish you'd never bred them
For I'll bet she's got a kick just like a mule.

Pratt Yule's husband, the Director of the Natal Museum (1935–1948) Dr R.F. (Reginald) Lawrence, later recalled that when she took what was at NUC the unprecedented step of falling pregnant while employed as a full-time lecturer, it was fellow St Andrews graduate John Bews who ensured that she was granted special leave. Her appointment further augmented the College's female staff numbers while Mr Bernard Notcutt's 1934 appointment in Durban provided her with a colleague, if somewhat distant, in the discipline.

After R.M. Jehu succeeded Sayce as head of Geography and Geology the department was strengthened by the appointment from New Zealand of Dr L.C. (Lester) King as lecturer in the latter discipline. It was the beginning of what proved to be a long and successful career at NUC.

J.R.H. Coutts was able to concentrate on teaching Physics following the appointment of Dr R.L. Rosenberg in Applied Mathematics. In 1929 Rosenberg

had completed an MA at UCT with a distinction in Applied Maths, followed in 1932 by a Ph.D. at Berlin (*magna cum laude*). A Beit Research Fellowship had enabled him to undertake research in Atomic Physics in London where he gained the Imperial College diploma. He had taught at the University of the Witwatersrand before arriving at NUC.

W.N. Roseveare was the first of NUC's foundation professors to retire and, following his return to England, was remembered as having been 'universally popular'. His successor as professor of Mathematics and Applied Mathematics, John McKinnell, was a graduate of Glasgow University where he had won several distinctions. These included an MA in 1921 with first-class honours in Mathematics and Natural Philosophy and a B.Sc. with special distinction, as well as the Metcalfe Fellowship. He taught at his alma mater for two years and at Glasgow High School to qualify for the inspectorate before suffering serious illness and resolving to emigrate. He then taught at Kokstad High School for two years before joining NUC. McKinnell was yet another subject for a students' 'pro-song':

Here's to old McKinnell,
And his Scottish dialect.
In our old McKinnell
There's a strength you'd ne'er suspect,
If you make the rash decision
Not to take heed of precision,
On your marks 'twill have a queer effect.



L.C. (Lester) King was a 1928 B.Sc. (Chemistry) graduate of Queen Victoria University College in Wellington who completed an M.Sc. (Geology) in 1930. By the time of his appointment to NUC in 1935 he had been awarded the Hutton Research Grant and Hamilton Memorial Prize by the Royal Society of New Zealand, completed four years of research towards his D.Sc., published ten papers emanating from that work, and had taught in state schools and at Queen Victoria College. In 1936 he was awarded a Ph.D. by the University of South Africa followed in 1939 by a D.Sc. from the University of New Zealand. He was promoted to senior lecturer at NUC in 1937 and professor of Geology in 1946 when he was also elected president of the Geological Society of South Africa.

The appointments of B.H. Farrer, G.S. Nienaber and J. Truemplemann greatly augmented the Classics and Modern Languages departments. Farrer had been educated at Dale College and Rhodes University College, where in 1926 he completed a first-class Honours in Latin and Greek. In 1927 a Queen Victoria Scholarship and a classical scholarship from Oriel College took him to Oxford where he obtained a first-class in Mods (Honour Moderations Examinations) and a high second in Literae Humaniores (Classics). He taught Classics in South African schools for five years before arriving at NUC.

G.S. (Gawie) Nienaber joined the staff in 1928 in place of J.J. Dekker and remained until 1975, during which time he advanced through the ranks from lecturer to professor and head of the department of what was by then Afrikaans-Nederlands. Truemplemann was a South African who completed his first degree in 1924 at Pretoria (German-Dutch) as a Reyersbach Scholar and in 1928 was awarded a Ph.D. at Leipzig in German Literature. He served briefly as a leave substitute at Wits and from 1930 worked in the Translation Bureau of the South West African (Namibian) Administration before accepting a post at NUC.

From 1929 the Department of Modern Languages was renamed Dutch and German and the following year Professor Besselaar arranged a year-long exchange for himself with Professor M.R. Breyne of Berlin University so that he could receive medical attention in Europe. Besselaar resigned in 1931 and accepted a post at the University of Amsterdam. In the same year a Special German course was introduced for students who had not matriculated in the subject.

Professor J.J. le Roux replaced Besselaar in the chair, after Dekker had declined it, but he only assumed the post in 1932. This left the heavily loaded Nienaber to run the department, assisted with the German by yet another female appointee, Miss M. Behn, an excellent teacher who later married NUC graduate Percy Hardaker. Le Roux held the post until his death of a heart attack in 1946. Born in 1888, he was a graduate of UCT and was awarded his doctorate in 1923 at Utrecht before accepting a lectureship at Wits. The teaching load continued to be heavy, despite the appointment of two senior lecturers, Truemplemann and (from 1934) Nienaber.

In 1939 German became a separate department and the Department of Dutch and German became Afrikaans en Nederlands, which in 1940 was renamed Dutch (Afrikaans en Nederlands). It soon reabsorbed German when Truemplemann was interned and his contract with the College terminated with three months notice following the outbreak of World War II.

In 1935 the similarly hard-pressed Law Faculty in Pietermaritzburg was granted a junior lectureship while Sweeney gallantly agreed to continue teaching all the courses single-handedly in Durban. The new post was filled by W.G. (Bill) Seymour, an NUC graduate (BA 1929 and LLB 1932) who had practised as an attorney in the Transkei and who Sweeney strongly recommended. His presence helped to boost student registrations until the outbreak of war when he left on active service between 1941 and 1945. Seymour was appointed senior lecturer after his return in 1946 and remained on the staff until 1974.

The English Department gained the lecturing services of Rex Davies in 1937. An NUC graduate, he had completed his MA there, been awarded the Currie Research Scholarship at the University of South Africa and completed his doctorate at the University of London. An authority on bilingualism, in 1943 he left his senior lectureship in Pietermaritzburg to assume the chair of English at the University of Potchefstroom and died in 1960.

In 1939 A.W.J. (Adolf) Bayer, who was another of Ernest Warren's protégés and had been on the staff since 1925, succeeded to the chair of Botany following the death of John Bews. He too qualified for a 'pro-song' composed by the students:



G.S. (Gawie) Nienaber was an M.Ed. graduate of the University of South Africa and subsequently acquired a doctorate from the University of Gent. After joining NUC as a lecturer he was promoted to senior lecturer in 1934 and assumed the chair in 1947. The 15 books he published during his career included *Afrikaanse Etimologieë* with S.P.E. Boshoff and the monumental *hottentots*, which in 1964 earned him the gold medal for Afrikaans language and literature of the Council of the South African Academy for Science and Art. In 1967 he was also jointly awarded the Stals Prize for language

and literature and became a member of the Language Council of the then South West Africa (Namibia) as a consequence of his expertise in so-called Hottentot language. Nienaber served on numerous educational and cultural committees, becoming well known for his Herman Charles Bosman-type humour. He died in 1994 at 91 years of age.

Here's to good old Adolf,
In his lectures do not talk;
Here's to good old Adolf,
He lets fly with bits of chalk.
His students get commission
To supply his ammunition,
Here's to good old Adolf – mind his chalk.

During the 1930s, as NUC's staff complement increased in numerical strength, its research output also gathered momentum despite the heavy teaching loads in some departments. Prior to his untimely death John Bews, the College's first Principal, actively promoted this important dimension of College life, not least in his own department. In 1938 it boasted five postgraduate students while Adolf Bayer continued his mapping of the region's grassland areas and investigations into anti-erosion measures. Meanwhile, the Zoology Department, under Ernest Warren's successor and former student Frank Bush, was engrossed in the classification and distribution of all of the province's reptiles and amphibians.

The Geology Department also developed a regional research interest by conducting extensive fieldwork in the Thukela Valley and on the Natal coastline, confirming A. du Toit's earlier supposition that its configuration was the result of monoclinal faulting rather than folding. J.R.H. Coutts of the Physics Department investigated soil water movement and soil colour measurements, building on work initiated in Britain to determine the chemical composition and more accurate classification of soils. He and A.D. Mudie of the Chemistry Department liaised increasingly on the study of soils while, prior to his retirement, Professor Roseveare of the Mathematics Department continued to explore the mechanics of atomic structure.

Gaseous reactions of significance to industry were researched in Denison's Chemistry laboratory. Research in Chemistry gathered further momentum when, in 1938, F.S. Tompkins was appointed as lecturer in Physical Chemistry and two years later F.L. (Frank) Warren was attracted from Fuad I University in Cairo to replace Denison in the chair of that department. The former left in 1946 for Imperial College, London, where he eventually became professor of Physical Chemistry, but Warren remained in office until 1965. Prior to his appointment he had already published several papers on his own and in collaboration with his supervisor and others.

At NUC Warren embarked on extensive research into *Senecio* alkaloids and later married one of his first research students, Margaret Richardson, who worked on the indigenous plant *Senecio hygrophilus*. He also collaborated with Dr E.C. Leisegang, who built a spectrometer, in studying the infrared spectra of alkaloids in general. He soon widened his research interest to other natural products, with Mrs Margaret von Klemperer providing able assistance



A.J.W. (Adolf) Bayer was born in 1900 and educated at Durban High School and NUC, through which he acquired his University of South Africa doctorate in 1936. After joining the NUC (Pietermaritzburg) staff as a lecturer in 1925 he became professor of Botany in 1939 and served several terms as dean of the Faculty of Science. He also served as vice-president and president of Section C of the South African Association for the Advancement of Science, was a member of the National Botanical Survey and served on a number of other bodies including the St Lucia Lake Commission.

Among various other research interests, he investigated the vegetation of Natal with John Bews, the possibility of afforestation in the Dukuduku area and the causes and nature of soil erosion. He was a trustee of the Natal Museum (1946–1976) and vice-chairman of its board (1959–1976) prior to his retirement.



F.L. (Frank) Warren was born in 1905 in London and acquired a B.Sc. in Chemistry and Physics (1927) and Ph.D. (London) as well as the diploma of the Imperial College before being employed there and, from 1931, at Fuad I University in Cairo. He had already published several papers on his own and in collaboration when in 1940 he accepted the headship of the Department of Chemistry at NUC, which he held until 1965. After World War II he was seconded briefly to the Department of Trade and Industries and was responsible for the establishment in 1947 of the Department of Chemical Engineering in Durban. He played a leading role in

the development of chemical technology in the country and in Pietermaritzburg established a well-known centre for the research of organic natural products. In 1951 he was awarded a D.Sc. (London) for a wide variety of scientific articles, of which he published over 100 in his career. He served as dean (1962–1963) before moving to UCT in 1966 and retiring in 1970. He died ten years later.

in the laboratory and a useful friend, the botanist Adolf Bayer, helping to identify plants.

The Natural Products Research Unit, which Warren established under the auspices of the Council for Scientific and Industrial Research (CSIR), was to win international recognition and the award of gold medals from the South African Association for the Advancement of Science and the South African Chemical Institute. In 1965 Warren was invited to address the German Academy of Science on alkaloid poisons in South African plants. In the interests of promoting research he also reorganised and developed the departmental library, building the stock of reference works and journal holdings with initially very limited financial resources. Chemistry Honours classes started in 1940 with three students and Warren soon also proved to be an inspired teacher of both undergraduates and postgraduates, even allowing for his somewhat agitated style of lecturing.

There was also research activity in the arts. For example, Hattersley continued his exploration of Natal's social history during his vacations and sabbaticals and J.J. le Roux published extensively on Afrikaans grammar and language. The newly formed Psychology Department became involved with intelligence testing and the development of perception.⁸

The Fine Arts Department, which Oxley brought from Durban in 1935 to Pietermaritzburg, where ancillary subjects necessary to complete a BA (Fine Arts) degree were already available, started with an initial seven students. There was no spectacular increase in student numbers thereafter, but the department was able to consolidate its position in close association with NUC's own Faculty of Education and the Natal Teachers Training College in town. After 1936, when the new building for the Library and Fine Arts School was constructed on the old tennis courts adjacent to the Main Clock Tower Building, Oxley began offering classes on its well-lit upper floor, which was also equipped with an electric kiln and pottery wheels. He was assisted by E.B. Byrd (ATD) who taught life drawing and painting, Miss A. Frank (Design) and J.H. Bradshaw (ARCA London) who taught modelling.

In September 1937 Oxley and Byrd exhibited some of their own work in what was the Art School's first exhibition. Both were water colourists, with Oxley's 'subdued tones' contrasting with what was described as his colleague's 'violent surrealism'. In the same year the History of Art course was updated from its previous end point of 1870 to include the study of contemporary art.

The arrival of the Art School on campus certainly stimulated interest in that field, as did the Carnegie Corporation's 1937 gift of 17 coloured reproductions

of works by ‘modern masters’, which served to enhance the Main Hall and common rooms. Later that year NUC was favoured with another generous Carnegie gift in the form of a ‘College Music Set’. It comprised a large electrically driven gramophone, more than 900 records, 150 musical scores and 80 relevant books, complete with protective cases and card index. This raised some students’ hopes that Council might be suitably inspired to establish a chair of Music at NUC. It would certainly have been of great cultural value as well as serving the needs of those Natalians who still had to leave the province to further their studies in that field. Council was not so moved and a Department of Music was only established several decades later, on the Durban campus.

In 1938 Byrd flew the coop to Johannesburg and subsequently pursued his career in Canada. Rosa S. Hope (ARE London) assumed his post and remained in office until her resignation in July 1957, after being promoted to senior lecturer in 1945. A product of the Slade School of Art, part of University College London, which she entered in 1919, Hope had been a finalist for the Prix de Rome in 1926 and was subsequently an associate of the Royal Society of Painters, Etchers and Engravers. She had worked at the Michaelis School of Art in Cape Town before coming to Pietermaritzburg and Oxley regarded her as the best instructor of drawing and etching in the country.

Hope’s own work brought her international recognition as a portrait painter. Examples of her talent were bought and exhibited not only in Pietermaritzburg’s Tatham Art Gallery, the South African National Gallery and the War Artists Collection in Pretoria but also in the British Museum, the Victoria and Albert Museum, the Manchester City Art Museum, the National Gallery of Wales and the State Museum of Eastern Slovakia. In addition, she undertook several commissioned portraits of prominent NUC personalities, including professors Alexander Petrie, Robert Denison and John Bews (then all still on the Pietermaritzburg campus) as well as Drs E.G. (Ernest) Malherbe, Sam Campbell, D.G. (Denis) Shepstone and Mabel Palmer. Her etching of Voortrekkers, undertaken in Pietermaritzburg at the time of the 1938 Great Trek centenary, was exhibited at the Royal Academy in London.

Following the outbreak of war Oxley spent far less time with his students due to his involvement with the Union Defence Force’s Occupational Therapy Unit and the St Johns Ambulance Service. Fine Arts students still numbered only six to eight each year, which made for relaxed interpersonal staff-student relationships. In 1940–1941 the Fine Arts course was substantially modified. Henceforth students were required to take four subjects in the first year, including English or Dutch, three in the second and third years, including

the other official language or one of Latin, Greek, History or Music, and two subjects in their fourth and final year.

In 1944 Hilda Rose (subsequently Ditchburn) joined the staff and thereafter helped to develop pottery as one of the school's recognised strengths. She had completed a BA degree there with Fine Arts majors as well as three courses in modelling, for non-degree purposes, and pottery. She had also acquired a postgraduate education diploma and gained teaching experience with the Natal Education Department.

Several of the school's other early graduates found employment in high schools. Alan Turton, who produced a notable portrait of Bill Payn, taught, like him, at Durban Boys High where he succeeded in making Art a popular subject. Miss M. Wyatt Stayt was appointed Art organiser for Natal schools, and Barbara Tyrrell became well known for her numerous portrayals of indigenous dress. Many of these later found their way into the Killie Campbell Collection in Durban.

Tom Orr (sadly killed serving in an RAF bomber in World War II) produced fine works in oils, including a self portrait, and Mary Stainbank a bronze bust of John Bews. She went on to study at the Royal College of Art in London where Henry Moore was a classmate and to establish an international reputation for herself in pioneering a modernist tendency in early twentieth-century South African sculpture. Years later the Mary Stainbank Sculpture Collection and Archive was to be established in Pietermaritzburg, though unfortunately not on campus.⁹

NUC Administration and celebration

There were also important developments in the administration of the College. It continued to enjoy substantial independence from the federal authority of the University of South Africa, with general rules being settled at meetings of the over-arching Senate.

In August 1930 NUC enjoyed its coming-of-age celebrations. Lectures were delivered by Hon. E.G. (Ernest) Jansen, the Minister of Native Affairs, on black-white relations in South Africa, the Hon. J.H. (Jan) Hofmeyr, who attracted a full house to the Maritzburg City Hall, J.C. (Jan) Smuts who gave a memorable address on one of his pet subjects, the League of Nations, and Dr Daniel Malan, the Minister of Education, who opened the students' fundraising Gala Day and further focused public attention on the College by appealing to Natalians to support their university.

In a review of NUC's progress over the previous 21 years Bews argued that, in collaboration with the Natal Teachers Training College, it had been singularly successful as a teaching institution. The provincial Education Department had been supplied with a stream of graduates who, as inspectors, principals and teachers, had done much to raise the general level of education. In addition, NUC had produced graduates who currently filled a variety of positions in other tertiary institutions, scientific organisations, commerce and industry while also publishing a volume of original research that was far out of proportion to its staff size. Bews expressed confidence in NUC's future, particularly in view of the fact that 'Natal, and especially Durban, has shown an altogether surprising rate of progress, which will surely continue'.

By 1930, as the day-to-day running of NUC became more complex, the need for strong on-campus leadership, in place of a floating chairman of Senate, was clearly more urgent. Bews had already demonstrated his qualities in that body and in the negotiations preceding NUC's incorporation of the university-level courses offered at the Natal Technical College in Durban. Shortly after returning from his sabbatical at Armstrong College he was appointed as NUC's first Principal with the unanimous approval, and high expectations, of Senate. It was not to be disappointed, though his tenure proved to be all too brief.

The installation of a Principal, especially as distinguished as Bews, enhanced NUC's status among other tertiary institutions. He proved to be financially astute, and economical, ensuring that even after the extension of NUC's responsibilities to Durban the cost per student compared favourably with that at South Africa's other university institutions. By 1932, when NUC at last staged its own graduation ceremony in the Pietermaritzburg City Hall, the Minister of Education was threatening to shut down departments, and even whole faculties, if university institutions did not remain solvent. Some overlapping of course material taught in the arts and sciences, and in Durban and Pietermaritzburg, was unavoidable but every effort was made to minimise it. Faculties were formed to improve the administration of courses and facilitate the discussion of policy and options among members of staff.

During the Depression of the early 1930s NUC avoided running into deficit, if only just, by continuing with the same number of staff, even though student numbers rose to 626, and imposing a salary cut, which was restored as soon as possible in 1933. Bews subsequently suggested to Council that this may have been a mistaken policy at a time when other institutions incurred deficits and received increased grants to restore their solvency. In the absence of generous

endowments, many of the province's top students were still pursuing their studies at other places where attractive bursaries were available.

The student editors of the *NUC Magazine* were nevertheless optimistic that the College was now 'enjoying the early morning sun' when, in 1934, it celebrated its 25th anniversary. Their anticipation of a fully fledged University of Natal was expressed in verse entitled *Stella Aurorae*:

The darkest hour comes just before the dawn;
And then the herald of the day-new-born,
 'Stella Aurorae,'
Grows now and waxes strong,
Disseminates the mist and proves those wrong
Who looked upon the venture with such bitter scorn –
 Ambition urged us on along Time's Way –
In very truth, precursor of a bright and glorious day.

Numerous letters of congratulation were received, including greetings from the Governor-General, the Earl of Clarendon, who had officially opened Howard College three years earlier, and Jan Hofmeyr, then Minister of the Interior, Education and Public Health. He observed, with reference to the prominent role of Scotsmen in NUC's history (and Petrie in particular) that 'its foundations had been well and truly laid in Aberdonian granite!' Sir Carruthers Beattie, Principal of UCT, also sent a congratulatory message, declaring that the 'oldest University institution in South Africa may well regard with fraternal admiration the steady growth of the infant of the family'.

Jan Smuts, then Deputy Prime Minister and Minister of Justice, went so far as to describe the College as 'the nucleus of the future University of Natal'. He declared that 'with rapid industrial and economic progress in all directions, and with the generous support of munificent citizens, there is every reason to look forward with hope to future developments for this promising institution'.

The need to find 'munificent' local benefactors, in the mould of T.B.F. Davis, increased that year when government announced a new system of grants, based on a formula proposed by a departmental committee of enquiry. NUC was to receive £21 000 (R42 000) for three years, which was not to be increased under any circumstances. This was £5 000 (R10 000) more than its 1933 grant but it was £1 355 (R2 710) less than the Department of Education's new formula suggested it should have been and was only 50% of the amount granted to Pretoria, which had virtually the same number of full-time students!

The new Minister of Education, Hofmeyr, made the dubious assertion that NUC's financial percentage increase actually exceeded that of other university

institutions. More seriously, building loans were now to be replaced by grants but these were not to exceed half the cost involved and nothing would be forthcoming until the institution concerned had raised its half of the amount required. It was a grim prospect for the, as yet, poorly endowed NUC.

Just months before his death, Bews expressed his confident belief, not for the first time, that a separate University of Natal was ‘bound to come’. He argued:

We have grown now to dimensions which are quite comparable with those of the other universities of the Union when they were first established as independent organisations.

He added that what was needed, however, was much greater financial support from the Natal public. Bews chaired his last Senate meeting on 3 September 1938 and died at 53 years of age, apparently as the result of a life-long hip complaint that developed tubercular complications. Two days later, amidst widespread eulogies, Senate unanimously elected his close friend Robert Denison to be his successor. He had first occupied the chair of that body in 1913, was re-elected for another term in 1919–1920 and had acted as Principal during Bews’ final illness. The latter had reportedly not considered any current member of staff to be suitable for the post.

In keeping with its original 1909 appointments policy and perhaps with the post-war example of the young J.H. Hofmeyr at Wits in mind, Council apparently considered that a younger appointee might have been preferable ‘to bridge the gap between principal and student’. Against this cautionary background Denison was initially appointed for only three years and continued his duties as professor of Chemistry. The workload soon proved far too heavy, with the result that in 1940 Frank Warren was appointed to his chair.

Denison had been involved in the College’s administration, including its financial aspects, for more than 20 years and was highly respected. Students regarded him both as ‘a friend and a teacher’ and on his succession as Principal were grateful that there would be no ‘break with the past’ as many had feared. Petrie, who knew him so well, gently described Denison as an ‘essentially “safe” man’ whose term of office coincided with World War II and whose character was well suited to a time in the College’s history that called for ‘a policy of cautious conservatism rather than of spectacular expansion’. In Hattersley’s estimation Denison was shrewd, courteous and reserved but overly ponderous in reaching decisions. While his caution may have been a virtue in the cash-strapped years of World War II, he lacked the incisiveness the post often demanded.

A succession of competent Registrars, still heavily involved in most aspects of the College's business and usually behind the scenes, helped to ensure its administrative efficiency. Hugh Bryan, the former Vice-Chancellor of the University of South Africa and retired Superintendent of Education in Natal, succeeded J.A. Feltham, David Robb and Denison's friend Ernest Barns, former head of Maritzburg College. Thereafter, in 1938, P.G. (Peter) Leeb du Toit began his 30-year tenure in that office, which was broken only by brief wartime service in the armed forces. This was cut short by NUC's successful appeal for his release on the grounds that 'it would be most difficult to manage without his knowledge and assistance'.

During his 15 years of competent and charming service in Pietermaritzburg, before relocating to Durban, Leeb-du Toit also succeeded Alan Hattersley as warden (1939–1945) of the men's residence Lodge, which had what became the Margaret Kirwood Room as its dining facility. During his term of office, ending in 1968, the University Administration was eventually to experience substantial growth though initially he had just two clerk-typists. The efficient Miss F.A. Newberry, who arrived in 1923 and worked under seven successive Registrars before retiring in 1944, assisted him in Pietermaritzburg while the similarly able Miss A. Keeling was employed in Durban.¹⁰ Both were popular with the staff and students.

Students and student activities

In 1930 Varsity Week, which celebrated NUC's coming of age, was an unqualified success. The Dramatic Society staged a successful production of *The Romantic Age*, a Joint Rag raised £70 (R140) from the Durban and Maritzburg public, Maritzburg won the inter-campus rugby match and the reunion dinner at the city's Ansonia Hotel was attended by a large number of past and present students. The Students Gala Day or Fete, also formed part of the Week. Initiated in 1925 to raise funds towards the construction of a men's residence on the Scottsville campus by 1930, with that goal achieved, it served little purpose other than to maintain student *esprit de corps*.

No Rags were held in Pietermaritzburg during the Depression years of 1931–1932 but the tradition was revived in 1933 under a committee chaired by Dudley Barton with a £5 (R10) allocation from the SRC. A Friday evening float procession was conducted down Church Street to the Market Square where slapstick acts were performed on a makeshift platform and concluded with a student flour bomb fight. The following morning 'Seen/Gesien' tags were issued in four languages to those motorists who made donations at

various roadblocks. The £110 (R220) raised was donated to the Mayor's Relief Fund for white collar workers who had suffered the consequences of the Depression.

There were occasional public complaints about the quality of the floats and the disorderly behaviour of some students but by 1936 the regular Joint Rags with Durban, which started in 1934 and continued until 1938, were being hailed as a great success. This was not only the case for the charities that benefited from them but also in serving to draw the two campuses closer together and improving 'town and gown' relations. It was especially true of Durban where the extension of university studies had for so long been regarded by the general public with some misgivings.

By 1939 it was calculated that it had become necessary to spend 12 shillings (R1.20) for every £1 (R2) that Rag collected. Thereafter more funds were accumulated for charity by consciously reducing expenses and involving more students in the collection of donations. In any event, whether Joint or individual, Rag was still considered worthwhile in terms of student involvement and public relations, quite apart from the funds raised for charity.

The long anticipated opening of Lodge, the first men's residence on the Pietermaritzburg campus, greatly stimulated a variety of student activities. These included cultural societies, sports clubs and occasional pranks. The campus witnessed its first nude streakers, some of whom subsequently scrubbed up quite well and progressed to positions of great social respectability. The women's hostel was always a favourite, if obvious, target for drainpipe climbers.

However, rugby retained its position as the most popular sporting code among students. Although it no longer required the participation of almost every male student on campus for NUC to field a side, the sheer enthusiasm of



P.G. (Peter) Leeb-du Toit was born in 1906 in Hofmeyr and educated at Rouxville Secondary School and the Transvaal University College in Pretoria where he acquired a B.Comm. part-time while working for the Union Department of Education between 1925 and 1938. Following his appointment in 1938 as NUC Registrar, in 1952 the University Administration was moved to Durban and he eventually retired there in 1968 to grow orchids at his Kloof home. He died in 1979 in Rustenburg and in 1992 the Council Chamber on the Pietermaritzburg campus was officially named after him.

players and supporters more than compensated for the still limited numbers in some years. Matches continued to be played in Alexandra Park as the practice field on campus had to be shared with hockey.

In 1929 the Maritzburg campus Rugby Club became the first ever to defeat the Durban Old Collegians Club in a Natal League match and went on to enjoy its most successful year to date. In 1930, when it celebrated NUC's 21st birthday by winning the local Murray Cup, beating Durban Berea Rovers 9–6 in the final, Professor Petrie joined the students in throwing their hats to the roof of the Woodburn grandstand. The team beat the same side again 36–6 to win the Inter-City League as well. Two of the team's stars, L. Levinsohn and W.E. Kidger, subsequently toured Kenya with a South African Universities team. In the same season the under-20 side also finished first in its league.

The following year the club's 1st XV reached the Murray Cup semi-final and in 1932 the final without repeating its earlier success. In the same year the first combined Pietermaritzburg/Durban NUC rugby team toured the Border region. Thereafter, the Maritzburg Club declined into 'one of those intermittent periods of misfortune' when it lost many of its stalwarts and was plagued by 'injuries, mumps and measles' as well as a discouraging lack of traditional crowd support from fellow students. Even so, by 1936 no less than 20 of its members had won provincial colours.

Some Club members of the 1930s went on to contribute to the game in other ways. J.M. (Skonk) Nicholson was a highly successful coach to Maritzburg College and, periodically, to the University and Natal teams, I.J. (Izak) van Heerden served as a coach and advocate of the running game to the provincial side and, for a time, to Argentina, and B. (Basil) Medway became a longstanding president of the Natal Rugby Union.

The cricket, boxing and men's hockey clubs on the Pietermaritzburg campus also struggled from time to time, the last with barely 12 players. The Athletics Club was virtually non-existent some years, though in May 1938 Skonk Nicolson crowned several earlier sporting achievements when he set a new South African record of two minutes and 17 seconds over 1 000 yards.

Women's hockey continued to flourish, not for the first time winning the league and contributing several players to the Maritzburg inter-town side as well as two, F. Hoch and M. Robinson, to the provincial team. In 1929 a Boating Club was launched, in collaboration with the Maritzburg Boating Club and with an initial 38-strong membership. By 1934 the Golf Club had taken off, with growing interest especially among women whose own club was established in 1931. The Tennis Club on campus had never before enjoyed such

popularity, boasting 200 members in 1934, with resounding tour victories over Wits and Pretoria. In 1930, in addition to the existing striped colours blazer, the Athletics Union introduced a white Venetian cloth honours blazer edged with NUC braid and a badge with gold lettering at its bottom to represent the relevant club.

In 1934, when J. van Wyk compared his experiences of Stellenbosch and NUC (Pietmaritzburg) for the benefit of *NUC Magazine* readers, he expressed the opinion that South African universities placed too much emphasis on sport. This was especially the case at NUC because, despite its small numbers, it tried ‘to hold its own against bigger universities, with the obvious result that the good sportsmen are over-taxed’.

Indeed, of some concern was the fact that, although virtually all the clubs on the Pietermaritzburg campus were enjoying a new-found spirit of enthusiasm by the mid-1930s, which was further stimulated by some exceptionally talented freshers, it was based on the efforts of relatively few participants, primarily from the hostel. The vast majority of students residing off-campus showed no particular interest. In his report of March 1934 the SRC secretary, Frank Wilson, in part attributed this overall decline in *esprit de corps* to the emergence of cliques as the College became ‘too big to carry on as a large family’.

The same was true of cultural activities, of which there was no shortage, with ‘the same faces at every meeting’ and, as a *NUX* editorial acknowledged, with women students proving ‘more energetic and untiring supporters of College institutions than the majority of men’. Few, however, were elected to positions of prominence in student societies, most of which continued to be male dominated, though by 1940 three women had seats on the Pietermaritzburg SRC.

In 1930 the Music Circle was initiated with a concert but it was defunct by 1934. That year the Debating Society held a record 19 meetings and the following year undertook a tour to the Wits and Pretoria campuses. There was, however, a decline in the quality of its debaters, which was reflected in defeats at the hands of some high schools. The Classical Society was also launched in 1930 with Professor Petrie delivering an inaugural address on ‘The preservation of the Classics’ and Professor Ferguson concluding the year with a talk on ‘Socrates and Plato: their place in education’. Thereafter, the survival of the society depended heavily on Petrie’s input.

The highlights of that year for the Scientific Society were Professor Bews’ lantern slide presentation of ‘The history of flowering plants’ and Dr Egerton-

Brown's address on 'Mental disorders and their treatment'. In 1934, after an earlier effort in that direction, the Scientific Society held its second and more successful Scientific Exhibition. It was intended to demonstrate 'to the inquiring layman' a variety of scientific experiments and provide the public with some insight into what could and was being achieved in the laboratories on the Pietermaritzburg campus. Several departments participated, including Botany, Chemistry, Geography and Geology, Mathematics, Physics, Psychology and Zoology. Some 300 persons attended, despite indifferent publicity. The society even launched its own journal, the first of its kind on campus, 'to elevate the standard of thought and work of those from whose ranks are being recruited the scientific research workers and teachers of South Africa'.

NUX, the campus newspaper launched some years previously in pamphlet form, made a welcome reappearance (with the aid of a new duplicating machine) to highlight important functions, report on sporting achievements, and diarise forthcoming events on a fortnightly basis. When unfavourable comparisons were drawn with *U.C. Tattle* in Cape Town, readers were reminded that student numbers and circumstances in the two centres were entirely different. In 1937 *NUX* was expanded to include a Past-Student Section and a contribution from the Howard Hub in Durban as it tried to make itself a more accurate 'mirror of Varsity life' and 'the true mouthpiece of the students'. In 1938 the SRC gave *NUX* official recognition, thereby improving its prospects of financial subsidy.

In 1930 NUC delegates attended the Bantu Conference at Fort Hare and in 1933 the Joint Conference of Europeans and Natives in Bloemfontein. In the early 1930s an International Relations Club and a Bantu Studies Circle were formed. The Debating Society, the Students Christian Association, the Law Students Juridical Society, the International Relations Club and the Drama Society all continued to flourish throughout the 1930s on the Pietermaritzburg campus. The Drama Society in particular benefited from the installation in 1934 of stage lights and the addition in 1936 of a new proscenium to the Main Hall. This made it possible for it to venture more ambitious presentations. In 1936 an Afrikaanse Kultuurklub was also formed on campus.

A highlight of the year in 1937 was the visit of a party of very friendly and appreciative Austrian students. Their arrival had been anticipated with mixed feelings as war seemed increasingly imminent in Europe but they succeeded in singing, dancing and yodelling their way into local hearts with a series of concerts on- and off-campus.

A much bigger event took place in 1939 when the Pietermaritzburg students acquired their new Union Building. It was named the J.W. Bews Memorial

Union at the students' request, for he had died the year before and it was called the Union, not the Club House, at his earlier suggestion. The building served a multiplicity of purposes, including meetings, social events and badminton, which gained popularity during the 1940s, as well as providing office space and bringing the male and female common rooms closer together under one roof. In April 1939 Mrs Nina Bews officially opened the new facility whose construction was due, in large part, to the initiative of the students themselves, with the encouragement of her late husband.

For at least 20 years they had envisaged such a club house of their own, the male students having eventually abandoned the uncomfortable wood-and-iron structure on Ridge Road for a badly lit basement room in the Main Building. This proved decidedly more comfortable in summer if not in winter. Led by one of their number, a Mr Fernig, the students had raised funds in various ways, including raffles, personal contributions and a substantially revised annual Gala Day. The 1938 Gala held in front of the Main Building included a Science Exhibition, soap-box derby, games of skill, sideshows, a fortune teller and a mysterious Mr X whose successful identification earned prizes. Together with reserve funds that the Athletics Union had accumulated, the students eventually presented the Principal with a sufficiently large amount for him to raise the balance still required from government on the established pound for pound principle.

In 1930 *Hermes* ran a weekly column of notes that served to keep readers of the *Natal Witness* better informed about activities on the local campus, the existence of which, apart from Rag, did not yet enjoy a high profile. In July 1939 a new on-campus publication, *NU's Views*, made its appearance. It was based upstairs in the new Students Union Building, along with the SRC Office, and was assisted financially by the NUSAS Research Council.

By the mid-1930s there was general apathy on campus towards NUSAS, with some other campuses having seceded from it and accusations being levelled that it was 'socialistic, negrophilistic and Englishistic'. The proposed inclusion of the Fort Hare campus within NUSAS was a potentially divisive issue, with NUC students either opposed to it in principle or sympathetic but believing it to be impractical as it was not officially a constituent college of the University of South Africa. After the 1939 NUSAS conference, efforts were made to emphasise the organisation's bilingualism, the advantages of continued membership and its superiority over the more conservative Afrikaanse Nasionale Studente-Bond. Some students still remained implacably opposed to NUSAS without joining its rival.

By 1933 much greater efforts were being made in Pietermaritzburg to secure more co-operation with the NUC Union of Past Students. In 1937 it was reorganised with the College Administration assuming the task of keeping in touch with former students that had previously been undertaken by honorary officials. In addition, elected Councils of Past Students were now established in both College centres under a Central Council and copies of *NUX* were sent to all alumni in an effort to maintain their interest in NUC.

Membership of the Past Students Association became compulsory for all NUC graduates, who were levied an additional £1 (R2) registration fee in exchange for life membership. The Association subsequently gained representation both on the NUC Council and the Natal University Development Fund Committee and launched an endowment scheme to assist in the future development of the College.

Attempts were also made to keep in closer touch with the Natal Teachers Training College and with NUC's own part-time students who still attended classes in downtown Pietermaritzburg. For the most part, they had as little association with the campus on 'The Ridge', as Durban's part-timers did with the Howard College establishment on 'The Hill'.

By the mid-1930s much closer ties had been established with the Durban campus as the SRCs formed a Joint Co-operation Fund to promote even closer contacts. Annual inter-campus sports tournaments played an important role and the two Athletics Unions drew closer together to form a Joint Union to select and finance touring teams representative of the College as a whole rather than its separate branches. From 1934 the aforementioned regular series of Joint Rags held in Durban, with Maritzburg students journeying by lorry and later by train to participate in the procession, also proved a great success in further strengthening inter-campus associations. So did the 'joint camps' held during the Michaelmas vacation.

In 1937 the *Natal University College Magazine* was published under the aegis of the 'Co-operation Committee' as a fully integrated journal that blurred the separate Durban/Pietermaritzburg sections of earlier editions. This was seen as a step towards the eventual co-ordination of all extramural student activities but, unfortunately, this cordiality was decidedly on the wane by 1938. In May 1936 a party of 70 Durban students, complete with 'orchestra', journeyed to the capital for a joint social with their Maritzburg counterparts. They were disappointed that the latter were reluctant to visit Howard College by way of reciprocation and suggested that the only way to renew acquaintances might be to 'send our mascot up by registered post, and call for it later!!'

This was a reference to an association between the two campuses of a rather different sort. The establishment of Lodge on campus seemed to encourage inter-town raids, with Durban students often arriving late at night armed with heavy pressure fire hoses. In March 1936, after Maritzburg students had captured the Durban campus mascot – a doll kitted out in college blazer, cap and tie – a commando of 80 Howard College students invaded Lodge in a nocturnal reprisal raid, trussed some inmates up in their bedding and carried them off in a lorry. Dumped some distance out of town, they were obliged to return in their pyjamas.

This was followed by periodic rumours of further intended raids, leading to elaborate defensive precautions. Campus mascots were eventually to become more substantial and less stealable, being made of reinforced concrete that required several strong men to move, with difficulty.

As one College tradition seemed to gather momentum, another, the initiation of first-year students, had all but disappeared except for the Freshers Concert, the Freshers Picnic, which was usually held at Henley Dam, and the requirement that new students initially wear identification cards. In the late 1930s there were, however, still instances of what *NUX* reported as ‘disgraceful exhibitions of hooliganism’ inflicted on first-year students by seniors that reflected unfavourably on NUC. In 1939 freshers were still, unofficially, required to fag for seniors, stand on common room chairs and sing, or weed pathways holding hands with members of the opposite sex and perform dawn ‘frog leaps’ across the rugby field.

The wearing of academic dress to classes, at least on the part of freshers, was hotly debated for several years. It was a rule stipulated by Senate but not actively enforced although staff members continued to don their gowns when lecturing. In 1934 and again in 1938 students decided by ballot in favour of complying but advocates of the ‘cool clothes programme’ were also opposed to the requirement of collars and ties for men and stockings for women. Some went so far as to suggest that females should be at liberty to wear trousers and men to wear shorts if they so pleased.

Skonk Nicholson recalled that, during the Great Depression when students had taken more or less whatever part-time jobs they could find, he opted on at least one occasion to wear decidedly less, posing in ‘very small trunks’ for a Fine Arts studio class in exchange for 10 shillings (R1) and the attention of his artistic wife-to-be. It would require the post-war appearance on campus of ex-servicemen before fresher initiation and the campaign for more casual attire was more vigorously pursued.

Not to be forgotten amidst cultural and sporting activities on-campus, academic results continued to be pleasing with females, as before, more than holding their own. In 1930, for example, they won five of the 11 College Medals awarded to third-year students, eight of the 18 awarded to first years the following year and nine of the 15 bestowed upon third years in 1934. In addition, they won 12 of the 21 Masters bursaries the College awarded between 1930 and 1939, six in science and six in humanities disciplines.

Their opportunity for financial assistance was enhanced from 1931 by the Janet Dick bursary, valued at £95 (R190), which was offered to ‘intellectually brilliant’ females to undertake studies at NUC. In terms of rules amended in December 1932 the Durban Municipality offered three bursaries for candidates from within its own borough, one to the value of £80 (R160) a year tenable for three years at NUC’s Pietermaritzburg campus and two for £40 (R80) a year each for candidates studying at Howard College.

From 1932 the Emma Smith Scholarship was available to both sexes but the more prestigious Rhodes and (from 1936) Elsie Ballot scholarships for study abroad, both worth £400 (R800), were still awarded only to males. In 1937 E.M. (Exton) Burchell, the son of Professor F.B. ‘Binkie’ Burchell, won the latter scholarship after completing a BA at NUC. He secured firsts in parts I and II of the Law Tripos at Cambridge before enlisting for military service during World War II and returning to complete an LLB with distinction in 1946 under his father. In 1953, after serving as professor of Law at Wits, he was to make legal history by succeeding his parent to NUC’s James Scott Wylie Chair of Law.

Student numbers in Pietermaritzburg actually declined during the principalship of Robert Denison between 1938 and 1944, doubtless due, in large part, to the outbreak of World War II. In 1939, for the first time, there were fewer students registered in Pietermaritzburg than in Durban – 418 compared with 440. By 1945 the count was 345 compared with 649. NUC’s centre of gravity was shifting inexorably to the coastal centre. This was due, in part, to the development of the Non-European Section, for Durban’s student numbers included 49 who were registered in it in 1939 and 152 in 1945.¹¹

ENDNOTES

- 1 *NUC Magazine* 20 (June 1929): 32; Killie Campbell Museum Library (henceforth KCML) Malherbe Papers File 451/1 University of Natal Development: KCM 56977(1) J. Malherbe, ‘Summary of the development of the University of Durban, 1909–1951’, (n.d.); Hattersley, ‘The University of Natal’: 24; Young, ‘The NUC in retrospect’: 7, 9–10; Rees, *The Natal*

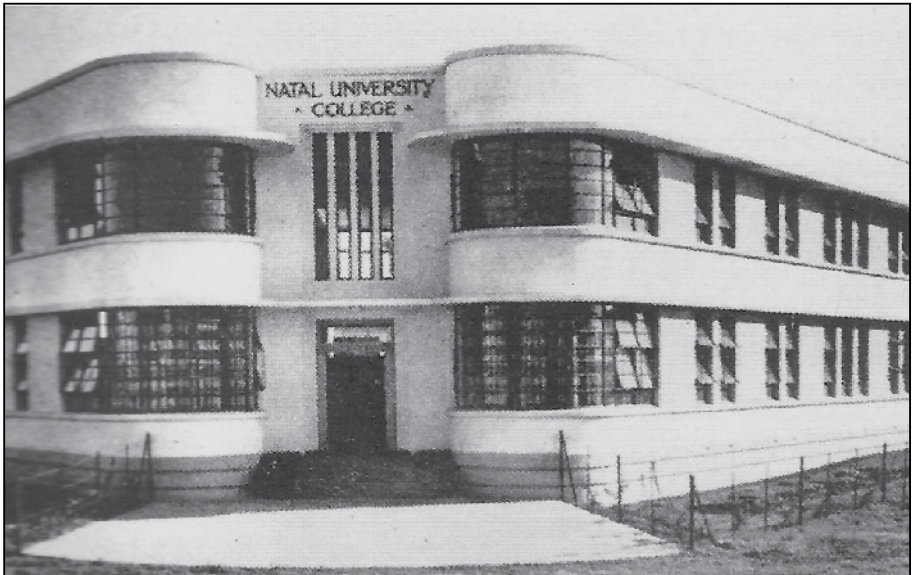
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Howard College nearing completion circa 1933



City Buildings, Durban, where from 1936 part-time classes were held for white students and later also for black students

5

A BREAK WITH TRADITION – ‘THE NATAL EXPERIMENT’ (1936–1949)

IN 1936 NUC BROKE WITH its policy of accepting only white students into its courses when it launched an entirely new programme of part-time classes in Durban. These were intended for what were then still termed Non-European students. All of them were in employment, mostly as teachers, and some were already studying under difficult circumstances towards degrees as external students of the University of South Africa.

The introduction of segregated classes at NUC

Since 1916 the South African Native College at Fort Hare had admitted Africans, and, from the early 1920s until 1959, all persons of colour, to its university-level courses. Coloureds and Indians were not to exceed 15% of the total student intake. It operated virtually though not officially as a constituent college of the University of South Africa, with whom it enjoyed what has been described as ‘a special relationship’. Between 1951 and 1959 Fort Hare linked up with Rhodes University. In this way the latter institution achieved something akin to what Bews had envisaged in 1928 for NUC, that is a close academic association with a separate college for ‘non-Europeans’.

At Rhodes itself, as at NUC, such students were only admitted to integrated postgraduate courses, though the Senate there did undertake to consider individual cases when specific undergraduate course requirements were not offered at Fort Hare. South Africa’s Afrikaans-medium universities were reserved exclusively for white students. Small numbers of coloured applicants were admitted to UCT during the 1920s, mainly teachers in pursuit of arts and education degrees, though the University Council accepted them with some reluctance. By 1929 only five had graduated and they played no part in student life outside the lecture theatres. ‘Non-European’ registrations there increased gradually during the 1940s but were still numerically insignificant.

Similarly Wits also regarded itself as an ‘open university’ whose admissions policy was based exclusively on academic grounds, though its Council did not formally approve it until 1934. Consequently, by the end of that decade there

were no more than a couple of dozen black students attending the predominantly white classes on campus, including four Indians registered for medical degrees. Even then, some departments and the whole Faculty of Dentistry did not admit any. Integration there extended also to students' cultural societies (debating, literary and scientific) but not to residential accommodation.

By the end of the 1940s there were 192 persons of colour registered at Wits, including 81 Indians and 71 Africans, the majority of them in the Medical School. By 1957 these two institutions still had no more than 500 'non-European' students and they had never exceeded 6% of the total student body. By then NUC had 555, rising to 896 in 1960 but in segregated classes. Although their numbers declined thereafter they still constituted approximately 14% of total registrations in 1964 after amounting to as many as 16.7% in 1948.

In the first half of the nineteenth century the demand for tertiary education on the part of Africans was still very small. As late as 1953 it was estimated that only 31% of the 11 million who were more than ten years of age were literate and a mere 3% had been educated beyond the primary school Standard 6 level. By 1936 the South African Native College at Fort Hare had 165 students, of whom only 81 were engaged in post-matriculation classes and several of whom were taking correspondence courses to supplement their work on the campus.

As Natal's primary urban job market, Durban's African population increased from 28 000 in 1921 to 70 000 twenty years later and 150 000 by 1950. Most work seekers among them were still in search of unskilled and semi-skilled positions. The city's Indian population rose from 50 000 in 1921 to 80 000 in 1936 and 100 000 by the mid-1940s when its school population stood at 35 397. By the mid-1930s primary and secondary schooling for 'non-Europeans' in Natal, at least for Indians, had undergone considerable expansion. Compulsory and free primary education for Indians was introduced only in 1949. Even so, the growing demand for secondary education was such that there were waiting lists at Sastri College, opened early in 1929 on land that the Durban City Council provided and with funds that the Indian community had donated, and at the two other Indian schools now offering secondary classes. Increasing numbers of matriculants understandably wanted to improve their qualifications and career prospects by acquiring degrees.

By the 1920s there was concern about Indian 'penetration' into previously white urban areas and proposals were even being made for voluntary repatriation schemes to India. It was in this political climate that NUC's Council found itself faced with several petitions to admit Indians to its classes – as previously

mentioned, in 1916, 1921, 1925 and again in 1926. The aforementioned Natal University College Act (18 of 1909) did not specifically prohibit the admission of persons of colour as students but the right of exclusion had been further endorsed when, in 1918, NUC became a constituent college of the University of South Africa. The Higher Education Additional Provisional Act of 1917 (section 17) confirmed: 'A college authority shall have the right to refuse admittance to the college to any applicant thereof, if it considers that refusal is in the best interests of the college.'

NUC's conservative Council, sometimes backed by Senate, consistently used this right of exclusion to reject all applications from persons of colour, partly for fear of an unfavourable reaction from the local white public. Instead, and impractically for most, such applicants were directed to the courses available to them at Fort Hare. A similar policy was pursued at Rhodes where the most recent refusal was in 1933.

In the same year two Sastri College students applied to take BA courses at Howard College but, as in previous cases, they were similarly denied access. In 1934 the Agent-General for India, Kunwar Sir Maharaj Singh, personally suggested the 'trial admission of one or two selected Indian students' the following year. After all, in terms of the 1927 Cape Town Agreement, government had acknowledged that those members of South Africa's Indian population who did not opt for repatriation should not be neglected with regard to 'educational and other facilities' as part of their socio-economic upliftment. Moreover, there was the precedent now being set by UCT and Wits. Nevertheless, Senate still declined a proposal that Bews be allowed to use his discretion with regard to the admission of black students.

Prior to the Agent-General's suggestion, a staff meeting had already been held at Howard College to discuss the provision of higher education for Natal's African and Indian population. Mabel Palmer, then a lecturer in Economics and Economic History, had initiated this debate. On further enquiry, Bews found that, while some students petitioned against it, the staff and most of the student body at Howard College had no objection to the admission of 'non-European' students on an experimental basis. He reported to Senate on 16 November 1934 when the matter was thoroughly aired. Predictably, there were expressions of concern that the vast black majority in the province would soon swamp NUC's classes if unrestricted access was permitted. White parents, it was feared, would withdraw their offspring, especially their daughters, with adverse consequences in terms of student fees and private endowments.

Council and Senate both appointed committees to consider the matter further. Maurice Webb, now a specialist in Adult Education, chaired the former and Mabel Palmer, who had suggested this route, chaired the latter. It included her close friend Florence MacDonald together with sympathetic professors Bush and Whittaker. On 15 March 1935 both committees reported in favour of admitting a small number of Indians to the existing classes. However,



M. (Mabel) Palmer (née Atkinson) was born in 1876 in Stockfield, Northumberland, the eldest daughter of an inspector of mines. Despite the prevailing restrictive Victorian environment, her mother was an ardent advocate of women's rights who encouraged her to become well educated and later an active suffragette. In 1900 Mabel completed an MA in Philosophy (first-class Honours), Classics (second-class Honours) and Logic (first class) at Glasgow University soon after it opened its doors to women, though classes were still segregated by sex. She studied Economics as an extra

subject and won several academic honours, including research fellowships to the London School of Economics and the Quaker-founded Bryn Mawr College, USA.

As a woman she had difficulty finding a teaching post in Economics but lectured at Armstrong College in Newcastle-on-Tyne, Durham University and at King's College for Women in London. She also wrote leaders and articles for prominent London newspapers and, as a committed Fabian socialist, a philosophy she had embraced as a student in Glasgow, tutored in the Workers Educational Association classes of London University between 1910 and 1917 and Leeds University in 1918–1919. After leaving England in 1920 for what proved to be a brief sojourn in Australia, in 1921 she joined the staff of the Natal Technical College and ten years later that of NUC in Durban. Palmer officially retired in 1936 but continued to serve as organiser of NUC's 'non-European' courses until 1956.

In 1947 the University of South Africa bestowed an honorary doctorate on her and ten years later her book *The history of the Indians in Natal* appeared as volume 10 of the *Natal Regional Survey* (Cape Town: Oxford University Press, 1957). She died at 83 years of age in Durban in 1958, the year in which she was awarded honorary membership of the Fabian Society. A women's residence on Durban's Howard College campus was named after her and the Durban branch of the South African Association of University Women initiated an annual award in her honour for an outstanding black female university student.

the representatives in Council from the ultra-conservative northern districts of Natal insisted that persons of colour should not have the use of NUC's buildings, with Dr E.G.A. Niemeyer resolutely opposed to any mixed classes.

Only two members of NUC's Council, the philanthropist Maurice Webb and Michaelhouse Rector R.F. Currie, favoured following the UCT/Wits example. Somewhat reluctantly Council eventually accepted the proposal that Humphrey Jones, principal of the Natal Technical College, put forward to resolve the crisis. This later came to be described as 'the Natal experiment'. It was resolved that, as the admission of 'non-Europeans' as full-time residential students was quite impractical, entirely separate classes should be launched on an experimental basis, provided they were held off-campus and did not involve the College in any additional expenditure. Although originally intended for both campuses, this initiative was not extended to Pietermaritzburg where, it was argued, there was insufficient demand. Teaching these classes was to be on an entirely voluntary basis.

While the Engineering departments still feared that they would soon be overrun by Indian students, the stringent conditions laid down were calculated to mollify the mixed reaction of the general public. Some Council members mistakenly believed that the restrictions stipulated would effectively scotch the whole project. They seriously underestimated Mabel Palmer's determination and the urgent needs of those students whose interests she had so close to her heart. A joint Council-Senate committee was appointed to implement this contentious break with NUC's racially exclusive tradition but, as the Registrar Hugh Bryan reported soon after Council had made its decision, 'Mrs Palmer is bustling us all along with her customary vigour'.¹

Mabel Palmer takes the lead

Mabel Palmer was indeed, by all accounts, single-minded and persistent to the point of irritation. She was also highly intelligent, short-sighted, somewhat eccentric, plump and largely indifferent to her own personal appearance. Colleagues and students who were invited to her home for tea were astonished at the unrestrained manner in which her feline companions helped themselves to the milk and licked the fish paste off the sandwiches before visitors could stake their claim. At work Palmer always became passionately involved in meetings on issues she considered important but noisily took out and counted her small change when proceedings bored her.

Florence MacDonald, a close Durban friend and fellow socialist who met her in 1928 at a University Womens Association function, described her with candid affection:

Her grave face untidely framed by curtains of hair falling from an ill-trained parting. Her fine large grey eyes spoiled by the heavy lenses she had to wear – and for dress she cared not at all. But strike a spark somewhere in the rich storehouse of her knowledge or humanist faith and she glowed with almost Wellsian fire, and was an outstanding figure in any gathering.

She was, as Sylvia Vietzen has put it, ‘no ordinary woman’. After surviving the strict upbringing that even prevented her from riding a bicycle, participating in a parade or openly contemplating her dream of becoming a member of Parliament, Palmer had hoped for much more than the successful academic and journalistic career that she seemed to have launched in Britain. She was, according to MacDonald, also ‘anxious to be married’ and wanted to have a family. In 1914 a ‘whirlwind courtship and marriage’ to Andrew Palmer, an Australian reporter some years younger than her, was followed within six weeks by his enlistment after the outbreak of World War I. He joined up even though his new wife was a ‘convinced pacifist’, possibly as a consequence of her earlier attendance at a Quaker-founded college in the USA.

After the conflict he longed to return to Australia and in 1920 she sacrificed her London flat and promising job prospects by following him to Sydney in the effort to combine marriage with some sort of career. There, as she recalled later,



F.M. (Florence Mary) MacDonald (née Campbell)

was born at Cumloden in Scotland in 1896, the daughter of Rev. Duncan Campbell. After working in the munitions industry during World War I, she completed her studies and graduated in 1920 with an MA from Glasgow University. She taught briefly in Glasgow before emigrating to South Africa, possibly because of her asthmatic condition, though she may already have met F.S. (Frank) MacDonald who she married in Durban in 1922. She had no children and in 1933 eventually returned to the teaching profession as a part-time lecturer

at NUC in Durban, lecturing in English, History and Education. She played a significant role in those three departments, as well as in the development of the Library and the Non-European Section, lecturing for 21 years part-time and then full-time before retiring in 1976. In 1981 a reading room was named after her in the English Department.

she 'found him so changed that an informal separation became inevitable'. He was, she insisted, 'a harum scarum unreliable individual', though Florence MacDonald later bluntly concluded, 'Nobody could have lived with Mabel!'

Australia's loss became South Africa's gain. In 1921, without the formality of divorce proceedings, she moved to Durban, which she had visited en route down under. Her choice of that city to start afresh in her mid-forties was probably prompted by the presence there of her brother, A. Atkinson. She joined him on the staff of the Technical College from where, in 1923 until 1928, he became a member of NUC's Senate as a lecturer in Auditing. Sadly disappointed in marriage, she chose not to disabuse those who assumed that she was a war widow, though Andrew Palmer only died in 1948 and, rumour had it, she did allow herself a flirtation with Orlando Oldham, head of Business Management and Accounting.

At that stage Mabel Palmer was, as Wyn Rees has pointed out, the institution's most highly qualified appointee and one of its most talented teachers. She again became involved in organising and tutoring classes for the Workers Educational Association, as she had done in London and in Australia, teaching full-time students by day and part-timers in the evenings. Ten years later she became a founding member of NUC's Durban staff, lecturing in Economics and Economic History, having already taught the former discipline to university-level classes at the Technical College.

After undisclosed difficulties with her departmental head, Palmer reluctantly retired on a small pension at 60 years of age. Her students remembered her, among other things, for the 'universal spirit of reverence' that she had engendered among them, her love of classical music and her 'inimitable' large leather handbag, a veritable cornucopia of assorted items: 'Seeing that she is retiring, we can now openly confess that we kept inventories of the contents of her bag in the margins of our Economic History Notes.' They also fondly expressed the hope that she would 'enjoy the rest which she has so meritoriously earned'. Far from being the case, her most important contribution to tertiary education in the province was only just beginning when she began to organise the new programme of part-time classes for 'non-European' students.²

Bews supported Palmer's initiative and was doubtless impressed by her commitment to the broad advancement of learning in the face of a prejudice against Indians, which, in his opinion, was much stronger in Natal than it was in the Transvaal. In 1928, in a two-part article published in the *Natal Advertiser* at a time when Bews was promoting that cause himself, Palmer had explained 'Why Natal needs a regional university'. She, too, had advocated dualism,

arguing against the Oxbridge tradition of centralised, residential university education and pleading for the extension of part-time and adult education classes best suited to Durban's needs. Further, she had strongly advocated the advancement of research, like that of Bews himself, which was appropriate to the local natural and socio-economic environment. Bews would also have encountered Palmer in the University of South Africa's Senate, to which she was appointed in 1929, and would have remembered the enthusiasm with which she accepted her transfer in 1931 to the staff of NUC.

It seems to have been more than coincidence that, in 1936, as 'non-European' classes started in Durban, the University of South Africa awarded an honorary doctorate in Philosophy to John Langalibalele Dube, founder-editor in 1903 of *Ilanga lase Natal* and first president-general (1912–1917) of the African National Congress. It was the first such accolade to be offered to a black South African. Edgar Brookes, the principal of Adams College who Dube greatly impressed, had proposed this award to the University's Honorary Degrees Committee, which the full Council subsequently approved by 17 votes to six.

Dube wanted to receive the degree in Natal but, due to unspecified 'problems of race', the Rector F.D. Hugo suggested that the award be made during the next graduation ceremony at the South African Native College at Fort Hare. Dube was too ill to attend so a special ceremony was eventually held at Ohlange in Inanda where he had established his school. Hugo and William Campbell, son of Dr Sam Campbell and another of Dube's white admirers, were the main speakers. It is not unreasonable under the circumstances to suspect that NUC's conservative Council may well have been the initial stumbling block to awarding the degree in Natal.³

As Sylvia Vietzen's extensive research on Mabel Palmer's career has shown, some have chosen to criticise her underlying Fabian philosophy of slow subtle change. They have argued that in the social environment of that time her acceptance of the principle of segregation was paternalistic and ultimately disadvantageous to those whose interests she sought to promote. This perspective has been further illustrated in Surendra Bhana's and Goolam Vahed's lengthy article on the segregated classes that she helped to initiate. Other commentators have accepted Palmer's need for pragmatism in contending with the local racial prejudices, which she personally considered unfathomable but recognised as the prevailing reality with which she had to come to terms. It was the same attitude that convinced her not to join the local Liberal Party, believing that its goals were unrealistic in the current political

climate even though she readily identified with various forms of protest in the wider community.

According to Florence MacDonald, her gradualist approach involved, among other strategies, influencing persons in positions of authority, especially those who were already sympathetic such as Edgar Brookes and Maurice Webb and, where necessary, steadily 'wearing down the opposition'. Senior administrators and members of Senate were the targets of frequent written communications and colleagues were either cajoled or badgered into providing their teaching expertise.

From 1936 until 1956 Palmer served as convenor of NUC's Advisory Committee for Non-European Studies (or Non-European Studies Committee) and organiser of non-European courses. The committee was multi-racial and, from 1948, included representatives of the part-time lecturers involved, as well as Sastri College and the Natal Education Department. Representatives of NUC faculties and of the African and Indian high schools were subsequently added. Palmer only finally retired from heading this administrative structure at 80 years of age when her eyesight began to fail and even a tennis peak, trimmed with black lace for special occasions, could not provide adequate protection from the glare.

She was well aware that, until the nineteenth century, non-conformists had been excluded on religious grounds from Oxford and Cambridge and that it was only later in the century when women, too, were admitted. She initially hoped that, based on the earlier experience of the admission of females to British universities, the teaching staff would object to the chore of duplicating their lectures and sooner or later would insist that all ethnic groups be admitted to their ordinary classes. In this way complete integration would eventually be achieved.

Palmer persuaded doubtful members of the Indian community that this would indeed be the case when they initially considered acting on the suggestion of the new Agent-General for India, Sir Sayed Raza Ali, to boycott these segregated classes. Meanwhile, from Palmer's perspective, segregation at least had the virtue of facilitating individual attention, particularly for those who were struggling with the English language.

Indian students from more affluent families continued to attend at Fort Hare or registered at English, Indian and Scottish medical schools. Those who came to NUC's classes were in full-time employment, mostly as teachers, with families to support. Assisted by the Registrar's Office, Palmer therefore arranged for lectures to be held on Friday evenings until 10 pm and on

Saturdays and Sundays late into the night. These were conducted, with the permission of the Natal Education Department and without rental, at Sastri College. This high school for Indian boys was just a few kilometres along Warwick Avenue from the City Buildings and had been named after V.S. Srinivasa Sastri, India's first Agent-General in South Africa (1927–1929). In most subsequent years classes began a few weeks earlier than the official NUC academic term and were also held on most public holidays.

Some students came from as far away as Umzinto and Pietermaritzburg, rising at 3 am on Saturdays to get to class. Others who had no contacts in Durban slept rough in Queen Street doorways and attended only every second weekend or as often as they could afford. The 'non-European' students were generally older and more mature than those on 'The Hill' at Howard College, were very anxious to succeed and, in some cases, already had experience of tertiary education through correspondence courses. Their difficulties were primarily of a financial and linguistic nature, often with little in the way of



E. (Elizabeth) Sneddon was born in 1907 in Britain and, like Mabel Palmer and Florence MacDonald, was an MA (English) graduate of Glasgow University (1931). She also secured a Teaching Diploma from the University of London (1932) and a Licentiate from the Royal Academy of Music before assuming a post at St Cyprian's in Cape Town. She then undertook freelance teaching of English Language and Literature for ten years. Between 1936 and 1945 she lectured English part-time to full-time and part-time ('non-European') students at NUC in Durban before being appointed senior lecturer in the subject. In

1951 she became head and senior lecturer in the newly established Department of Speech and Drama, the first in a South African tertiary institution. Sneddon also ran the first speech studio for 15 years and became prominent in the city's theatrical life, directing more than 70 productions, founding the Shakespearean Society (1935), the Durban Drama Society (1936) and co-founding the National Theatre Organisation (1947) and the Durban Theatre Workshop Company (1951). She served as Lady Warden of the women's residence on the Howard College campus (1946–1969) and as professor of Speech and Drama in Durban from 1958 until 1972. Two years later the Elizabeth Sneddon Seminar Room was named after her, in 1979 the University awarded her an honorary doctorate and in 1981 the Elizabeth Sneddon Theatre on the Durban campus was also named in her honour. She died in 2005.

reading matter at home. Elizabeth Sneddon eventually provided formal classes in Special English to assist them, followed a few years later by a course in Special French.

The Non-European Section was launched on 1 March 1936 with an initial 19 students and limited funds that Townley Williams and other anonymous businessmen provided. The 'experimental' nature of the programme extended for several years and therefore delayed the provision of more spacious facilities, including science laboratories, and the rationalisation of courses offered. The lingering uncertainty surrounding the Bews plan to create a federal umbrella incorporating Adams College (for Africans) and Sastri College (for Indians) was another delaying factor. While staff members repeatedly asked for clarification, a decade later the classes, then attended by well over 200 students, were still regarded as 'experimental'. The Library was initially accommodated in separate premises at 78 Commercial Road, its book stock so grossly inadequate that it had to be supplemented by staff members' copies. The provision of urgently needed overnight accommodation was also indefinitely delayed.⁴

Courses

The courses that Mabel Palmer offered at Sastri College were initially those leading to an arts degree, at the time something of a novelty in Durban, with possible majors in English, Geography, History, Politics and Psychology envisaged. The programme started with first-year Botany (the only science course), English, Economics, Geography and Zulu, all of which Palmer initially taught herself. As her administrative duties increased Florence MacDonald assumed a heavier teaching load, even though she was officially only a part-time member of staff and also teaching full-time students at Howard College during the day. In an ambitious attempt to assist students who had already embarked upon degree studies by correspondence with the University of South Africa or with other institutions, tutorials were offered in more senior courses in Applied Psychology, Economic History, English, History, Politics, Public Administration and Social Anthropology.

Students were initially dissatisfied with the limited range of regular subjects offered but departmental heads were based in Pietermaritzburg and many courses were only available at that centre where there were no segregated facilities provided. More options were added two years later when there were 39 registrations. As they were all part-timers, students were not permitted, without special permission, to take more than three simultaneous year-long

courses. Understandably, some students took time to settle into university-level studies and were obliged to alter or reduce their choices so as not to overload themselves. Palmer had anticipated a heavy demand from Africans already studying by correspondence but her students continued to comprise mainly Indian teachers based in Durban who were seeking to improve their qualifications and promotion prospects, together with a few from other professions.

In 1946 an MA class in English (part-time) was launched. The head of department in Pietermaritzburg, Professor Geoffrey Durrant, saw no point in conducting two such courses in Durban so the problem was avoided by quietly arranging for the ‘non-European’ students to invite their white counterparts to attend at Sastri College, an offer that was readily accepted. Some postgraduate classes in Psychology were also offered and, from 1947, as more administrative clerks, shop assistants and health officials registered, courses leading to degrees in Commerce and, from 1948, in Social Science were also offered. In the absence of laboratory facilities, science options remained impractical, which was a further source of frustration as there were very few qualified Indian science teachers in the province. Palmer was disappointed at not being able to extend the programme into the sciences, partly for that reason but also because she believed that the humanities courses tended to lead her students more readily into pondering ‘their racial disabilities’.

She put as much energy, if not more, into this initiative as she had into the classes she had conducted at the Technical College for the Workers Educational Association. Palmer had started offering part-time classes to ‘non-Europeans’ as early as 1931 in her own home, with her bedroom serving as an office and with the help of some friends, for no recompense other than an occasional gift in kind such as a bunch of bananas. She had done so in the firm belief that, as she put it, ‘half a loaf is better than none’. Her secretary for 20 years, Dorothy Kershaw, recalled that after the courses began at Sastri College Palmer arrived regularly for work each morning in a rickshaw, her primary means of transport, and smoked non-stop throughout the day. Kershaw came to be known as her ‘daughter’ because she refused to attend any functions to which her secretary had not been invited.

Like Florence MacDonald (MA Glasgow), the future professor of Speech and Drama Elizabeth Sneddon (MA Glasgow), was also well to the fore in offering her expertise from the early stages. According to the former, where necessary, Palmer ‘cajoled, bullied’ friends and colleagues into assisting but they were the only three who gave the programme unbroken service

between 1939 and 1946. All of them were sound and dedicated teachers, fully committed to the welfare of their students. When necessary, departmental heads in Pietermaritzburg provided advice. By 1937 A. Levine (BA SA) who taught Latin and N. (Neville) Nuttall who taught English had joined Palmer's team. By 1940 the part-time staff teaching in the Non-European Section had grown to seven. Levine and Nuttall had left but W.J. Corrigan (B.Sc. SA) was now teaching Botany, both N. Hodson (MA SA) and R.W. Martin (MA SA) Geography and Miss J.M. Lancashire (B.Sc. SA) Mathematics.

In 1941 part-time classes in the arts and social sciences were started for white students in Durban. The following year it was made clear to NUC's new staff appointees in that centre that Palmer's programme was also part of the College and that they should be prepared to spend some of their free time assisting it. As a result, duplication and even triplication of lectures became necessary to the detriment, in some cases, of research output. After 1944 staff members who taught for 28 (45 minute) periods a week were paid an extra £2/2s (R4.20c) a week more than their common weekly salaries. There were very few 'non-European' staff members employed. NUC's Calendars reflect that Mr D. M'timkulu (MA SA, MA Yale) lectured Sociology 1 in 1944–1945 and in 1946 Mr M.B. Naidoo (B.Sc. SA) joined the staff to lecture Geology 1, though it is unlikely that he taught in the Non-European Section.

It was only from 1947 that full-time members of staff from the various academic departments at Howard College were formally required to teach in the part-time programmes. Palmer recognised that this would have an adverse effect on both research and leisure time but her suggestion that staff members should only be expected to teach black and white classes in alternate years was rejected as impractical. By 1948, in addition to the part-time lecturers, there were 22 full-time members of staff involved. As more participated and the number of Durban-based students, as distinct from out-of-towners, increased it became possible during the early 1950s to replace the weekend class meetings with part-time and later even some full-time classes during the working week. By 1949 more than 50 staff members were offering the 223 students registered as many as 25 subjects drawn from Arts, Education, Commerce, Law and Social Science.

Every effort was made to teach courses to the same standard as those offered to full-time white students. Wartime conditions made it increasingly difficult to do so after some staff members enlisted and part-time classes could only be continued with the help of Natal Education Department school teachers. Even so, in 1948 Mabel Palmer was very satisfied with the pass rate, 63.5%

compared with 69% for white part-timers. Nevertheless, the 1951 government-sponsored M.C. Botha-P.A. Duminy Commission went so far as to recommend that the programme be discontinued as it was of ‘questionable academic value’ and burdensome on the academic staff. In its view, ‘non-European’ students should be encouraged to register in the University of South Africa’s Division of External Studies or, better still, autonomous institutions should be established for them. Government was soon to pursue the latter option.

In the interim, NUC persisted with Palmer’s initiative, though it did not act on her suggestion to provide a ‘special building’, in part by requesting donations from the Indian community. Instead it constructed prefabricated classrooms at Sastri College and eventually, in August 1946, also provided a library, offices and common rooms in a building at the back of the premises. To some extent space constraints were further alleviated after World War II when the Navy released buildings that had been erected there for a Gunnery School and City Buildings was even used at times when white students did not require the facilities.

This accommodation had to suffice until 1959 when the second and third floors of Marian Buildings were eventually acquired, opposite City Buildings in Lancers Road. As Bhana and Vahed have illustrated, although available day and night this too was really inadequate for the purpose, not least because it was situated over a noisy clothing factory. In truth, white part-timers did not find City Buildings, which was surrounded by busy roads, much better in terms of collegiate atmosphere but this did nothing to ease the sense of exclusion and deprivation that black students felt.⁵

Vacation school

Until 1952 the classes at Sastri College were supplemented by an annual non-compulsory July winter vacation course. Beginning in 1936 with ten students and four lecturers, this was held initially rent-free at Adams College, founded in 1869 at Amanzimtoti south of Durban, with the active co-operation of its principal Dr E.H. (Edgar) Brookes and of his successor G.C. Grant. Though the objective was not the same, the course was mounted in conscious imitation of the first British Fabian Summer School for Socialists, which in 1907 Palmer had initiated.

Not all the staff at Adams College were enthusiastic about this arrangement and the students themselves eventually suggested a change of scene. Michaelhouse, Kearsney College and Inanda Seminary were contemplated as possible alternatives. In 1947, when student unrest at Adams College

threatened the winter school's continuation, Palmer proposed that NUC establish its own holiday camp, which could also be rented out short-term to other organisations. Indaleni Mission near Richmond as well as Mariannhill and the ex-military camps at Wentworth and Howick were all considered but Adams College continued to suffice.

There, for a fortnight a year, ten days of which were devoted to lectures, an earnest attempt was made to promote the *esprit de corps* of students, provide some individual tuition and broaden their cultural horizons beyond the courses for which they were registered. To that end the whole Non-European Library, as well as some items borrowed from Sastri College, was transported there annually in Florence MacDonald's car in order to encourage students to devote at least two hours a day to reading. The intention was also to give them at least a taste of the atmosphere of a residential university, similar to that which white students enjoyed in Pietermaritzburg but not, as yet, in Durban.

Entering into the spirit of the project, for a time the students produced their own newspaper called *The Wall* and an annual Freshers concert. The vacation school also gave them time to elect their own SRC and form social clubs. There were always some who, according to Florence MacDonald, 'thought the accent should be on Vacation rather than on School' or who saw it as an opportunity to catch up on their term work. Serious students sought ways to improve the experience, suggesting that formal academic lectures be replaced with seminars and discussion groups.

The teaching staff, as many as 13 by 1947 and most of whom put in long hours, were also expected to occupy the sparse accommodation provided. It created an opportunity for staff and students to interact socially and to express their personal opinions informally on topical issues. Unfortunately, experienced lecturers were often in short supply and some academic departments could only provide student assistants.

The vacation school sub-committee soon had to deal with a wide range of matters such as bed allocations, the supervision of reading hours, disciplinary issues including preventing the 'ragging' of junior students, the care of females to allay parental concern and, as Geoffrey Durrant recalls, objections on the part of African students to Indian women consorting with some of their number. Other challenges included persuading staff members to live in for the duration of the programme, organising the annual dinner, sports coaching and exercise classes and arranging debates and guest lectures. Among those who gave special addresses were Professor Robert Denison, Ernest Reim of the Engineering Department, Sir B. Rama Rau, Agent-General for India, and the

trade unionist Margaret Ballinger. Palmer also tried, without success, to attract the services of General Smuts and Jan Hofmeyr.

In 1948 there were 234 students in attendance at the vacation school out of 327 registered in the Non-European Section but by 1952 numbers had declined to 79 out of 224. By then full-time staff members who were required to lecture both full-time and part-time students during term resented being expected to devote their vacation time to teaching as well. Moreover, the students were also unwilling to attend in the absence of their regular lecturers and increasingly felt that the vacation school only served to reinforce the policy of segregation that had made it necessary in the first place.

By contrast, as Julie Parle's study of her has shown, Florence MacDonald conscientiously participated in all but one of the 15 schools, being absent in 1944 due to sheer exhaustion. Her teaching load at the vacation school, as during term time, was extraordinarily high, amounting to 58 periods in 1945 compared with Palmer's 36 and Professor Durrant's 45, in addition to numerous other duties undertaken to ease her friend's administrative responsibilities.

Bews' hope of incorporating Adams College within an NUC federal umbrella never materialised. In 1940 some members of staff there were allowed to teach a small number of first-year BA students and in 1943 government authorised a post-matriculation teacher's certificate course at that venue, including some BA subjects. For a few years, with Fort Hare 'full up and overflowing' according to Edgar Brookes, the handful who registered for the course at Adams College were regarded as internal NUC students and their teachers as external lecturers. It was a definite step towards the realisation of the Bews vision of federated colleges but the programme withered due to lack of student demand.

The Natal Indian Congress was implacably opposed to any such federal arrangement for its community, declaring to the Hugo Commission in 1942 that 'the principle of racial segregation in a university is repugnant to the high ideals and traditions attaching to a seat of learning'. The Committee to enquire into the Present Facilities and Future Policy for Higher Education for Indians in Natal duly concluded that, in the absence of any enthusiasm or funding from the Indian community, a separate university for them was not viable.⁶ For the foreseeable future, Indians would have to continue making the most of NUC's segregated part-time classes.

Finance

NUC's Council had insisted that the new part-time courses should not incur any additional cost to the College. Initially the classes were run at a loss, with students paying £20/10s (R41) a year. Local city councils declined to provide loans for black students as they did for some whites but the fees they paid were substantially lower than those levied on full-time white undergraduates. In return, the latter were given more lectures per week and had access to the College's other, if still modest, Durban amenities. Palmer's students also had to contend with a £2 (R4) registration fee, £1 (R2) examination fee, five shilling (50 cent) subscription to their 'Students Union' (later SRC) and a £3 (R6) levy to attend the vacation school.

The students earned an average of £5 (R10) to £10 (R20) a month and several ran into financial difficulties, obliging some to withdraw from their courses. Initially Mabel Palmer provided small loans by arranging an overdraft at her bank, which was guaranteed by a Mr Kajee. She subsequently spent much of her time trying to raise loans from other private sources and NUC's Council eventually responded to the situation by voting £279/10s (R559), followed by another £91 (R182), with which to establish a loan fund. A public appeal raised another £150 (R300) from 'non-European' donors, two-thirds of which was intended for the establishment of a proper library, and further funds were received from Palmer's friends overseas. About one-third of the students received loans, which were repayable without interest after graduation.

Increasing registrations eventually generated a financial surplus, as much as £550 (R1 100) by 1941 according to Palmer. However, in her calculations she did not allow for the fact that there were no administrative or overhead charges, neither Sastri nor (until 1942) Adams College charged rent and, crucially, she and her teaching staff were willing to accept very modest salaries. Indeed, while lecturers were paid five shillings (50 cents) an hour, for the first decade Palmer was not paid at all in her capacity as organiser. Classes for which there was little demand had to be dropped and science courses involving expensive laboratory equipment remained out of the question. A Non-European Advisory Finance Committee oversaw the raising and control of funds, as its name implied. In 1945 Palmer successfully resisted its proposed disbandment unless the segregation of classes was also to be scrapped. This was clearly not going to be the case but by 1943 Council had already conceded that there was no strict financial separation as funds generated by the Non-European Section were indeed going into the general College kitty, to the possible benefit of other students.⁷

Students – demands and frustrations

Nevertheless, during World War II what Palmer's programme offered was sufficient to attract African students from as far afield as the then Rhodesia (Zimbabwe), Kenya and Uganda. Moreover, NUC's Council and Senate seemed to be satisfied that segregated classes were indeed preferable to the still limited integration that had taken place at UCT and Wits. There, as Hattersley put it, 'Non-European students did not in practice enjoy participation in social and sporting activities, nor were they received into the residential hostels.' He probably expressed the view of many but by no means all of his colleagues when he argued that, instead of creating an 'awkward and uncomfortable minority within a European university', it was possible 'under the Natal arrangements' for them to 'develop their own ideas under their own leadership'.

The students were certainly aware of their need for leadership, for soon after courses were initiated they established their own Students Union. It was not officially recognised, but helped to organise social functions at the vacation school, the annual party for new graduates and other occasional functions at Sastri College. When the 'non-European' students were invited to participate in the annual Rag, the Union also helped to arrange the construction of floats for the parade through town as well as collections among black communities. In September 1948 a formal Non-European Students Representative Council was established after enrolments had steadily increased from the initial 19 (11 Indians, six Africans and two coloureds) to 327, including 56 Africans.

The student body did not remain as homogeneous as it had been in 1936. Even so, Indians remained in a substantial majority. In 1942 there were 70 of them registered for courses compared with 14 Africans, five coloureds and one Chinese student, almost all of whom were still teachers. By 1945 enrolments had risen to 152, the majority of whom were Indians, comprising 15.3% of NUC's total intake of 994 students and 23.4% of its 649 enrolments in Durban. The 327 'non-European' students attending 53 different classes in 1948 constituted 16.7% of the College's student body and 25.3% of its Durban registrations. This was a far larger enrolment of black students than at all the other South African universities combined, excluding UNISA and Fort Hare.

The 56 Africans registered at NUC in 1948 comprised 8% of those studying at tertiary level in the country as a whole. This compared with 317 who were external students of UNISA, 226 at Fort Hare, 65 at Wits and 18 at UCT. In 1949 overall 'non-European' numbers at NUC dropped to 223, amounting to 12.1% of total enrolments, a decline that was attributed to the anti-Indian unrest at that time. By then black students had earned 148 degrees at NUC,

all but five of them BAs, one in Social Science, one in Commerce and three at postgraduate level.

In 1939 three white students applied unsuccessfully to attend the lectures in Latin and Mathematics at Sastri College. Following the outbreak of World War II in which Africans, Asians and coloureds fought alongside South African Europeans, several members of Senate were convinced that local white public opinion had changed to the extent that student integration had become feasible. There was also mounting dissatisfaction with the status quo on the part of Indian students as their political consciousness increased during the 1940s and many joined at least one of the South African Indian Congress, the African National Congress, the Non-European Unity Movement and the 1946–1948 Passive Resistance Campaign.

In 1944 they presented their views to the second Broome Commission of Inquiry into Matters Affecting Natal's Indian Population and appealed to a visiting Indian judicial commission to address their plight. They argued that, 'in the true spirit and tradition of a university', NUC should open its doors 'to all sections of the population' as UCT and Wits had done. They saw themselves as 'the step-children of the College', for in their view neither the Principal nor the faculty deans had shown any interest in them.

By contrast Indians believed that NUC's 'European students are broad-minded and liberal', being willing to collaborate on a variety of matters, including Rag, and even to accept their representatives on a common SRC despite the Principal's objections. Indeed, in May 1945 the white SRC resigned because of the non-admission of black students to City Buildings. While recognising that the integration of the College's classes was not likely for the foreseeable future, the Indian students nevertheless requested the provision of more courses so that they could access all the degrees offered by the University of South Africa. The lack of laboratory facilities and of adequate access to professions like medicine and law were particular sources of concern.

In addition, they wanted more 'non-European' lecturers appointed, the right to wear the College colours and a more broadly based university experience, including the opportunity openly to debate the major issues of the day. They deplored the Principal's (Professor Denison) apparent lack of interest in them and disputed the commonly held perception that the Non-European Section was a financial drain on NUC's coffers.

Council appointed an NUC 'Committee of Four', comprising Humphrey Jones (as convenor), professors H.R. Burrows, Alan Hattersley and Maurice Webb, to draft a reply to the commission and prepare a memorandum on the

future management of the Non-European Section. It responded by pointing out that there had been no persistent early clamour on the part of Indians to attend the College, that no Indian women at all had applied (in fact there were three registered out of a total of 90 students in 1942 and 21 out of 327 by 1948), that Indian matriculation numbers were still small, and that the part-time classes offered had been in response to enquiries from Indians who were already in full-time employment and had accepted their segregationist nature. The committee considered that, judging by the initially small number of registrations, NUC had actually been ahead of demand and that an enrolment of 148 in 1944, after only eight years, was commendable. It argued further that the limited choice of course options was due entirely to financial constraints, not to College policy.

The committee did accept the demand for representation on a central students' council as a welcome indication of a corporate identity, as it did the need for more social interaction among students, though the right to wear NUC's colours was deemed to lie within the province of the Athletics Union. It rejected the imputations of racism and indifference directed at the Principal and faculty deans and argued that the College was obliged to observe the limitations of general policy, for which it could not be held responsible.

Council considered the Committee of Four's memorandum in August 1945 and concluded that prevailing public opinion obliged it to persist with its existing segregationist arrangement. This, it hoped, would lead to the eventual establishment of an African and an Indian University College within a federated structure as the committee recommended. Both Senate and Council supported the subsequent 1951 Botha-Duminy Commission's recommendation that separate institutions should be established for African and Indian students but still insisted that these should remain under their control. Post-war financial constraints suggested that this was only a long-term prospect.

During the 1940s there was also talk of a 'non-European' medical school such as Bews had envisaged, perhaps as part of a self-contained college for persons of colour. Dorothy Kershaw recalled being struck, on occasion, by Mabel Palmer's cigarette box during preliminary planning discussions when the intended target was one or other of the doctors whose opinions had displeased her. Her aim was seemingly not always as sharp as her mind.

Meanwhile the limited range of course options available to blacks obliged some of them to register as external students of the University of South Africa, which thereby precluded them from graduating as internal students of NUC. Those who continued to study as part of the latter category had to write their

examinations in separate venues from the whites. At graduation ceremonies they were again seated separately and were capped at the very end of each ceremony, with their parents accommodated at the back of the City Hall. Sociology lecturer Mr D. M'timkulu was excluded altogether from academic processions.

As early as 1945 black students protested, unsuccessfully, against their humiliation at graduation and from 1951 many boycotted these ceremonies altogether, preferring to pay the extra fee to graduate *in absentia*. Such occasions were not completely desegregated until 1962, by which stage the Non-European Section was almost defunct. In the interim its library facilities continued to be inferior and its valuable tutorial system was eventually scrapped due to the small size of the classes.

By 1963 the programme had produced 666 degrees, mainly in arts and social science. It was claimed that this was more than either of South Africa's open universities. The University of Natal had the largest black university enrolment in South Africa when the National Party government, which came to power in 1948, eventually forced closure in 1959. As Florence MacDonald observed later of Mabel Palmer, 'It was said that she lived to see the destruction of her work, but she had faith that sooner or later the non-Europeans (Indian, African and coloured) would be admitted as full members of the University.'

It was to take some time before that objective came to full fruition. However, the declining number of students who were still registered in the Non-European Section after it was closed down were increasingly integrated into the University's other classes to enable them to complete their degrees. Meanwhile, in implementation of the government's quaintly termed Extension of University Education Act (45 of 1959), in 1960 a separate institution, the University College of Zululand, was opened near Empangeni to accommodate African students and a decade later it achieved full university status. Similarly, in 1961 a University College for Indians was started on Salisbury Island in Durban harbour and was replaced in 1972 by the University of Durban-Westville.

Prior to these developments the phenomenal growth of NUC's initially experimental segregated black classes, 'the Natal experiment', was due largely to a relatively small and dedicated group of devotees who successfully overcame a variety of disadvantages. Palmer's initiative undoubtedly had a positive, if unquantifiable, impact on education in Natal and further afield, producing many graduate teachers, a number of school principals and Sastri College lecturers as well prominent academics, lawyers and other professionals.

Among those who subsequently embarked upon academic careers were a Mr Guma who became a school principal, B.J. Malinga, A. Vilakazi, who later occupied the chair of African Studies at Smith University, J. (Jack) Naidoo, who became registrar at M.L. Sultan College and then at the University of Durban-Westville, S. (Selby) Ngobo, who lectured in Economics at Fort Hare, and Fatima Meer, professor of Sociology at Natal University. T.T.F. Huang subsequently gained scholarships to Johns Hopkins and Harvard before entering the diplomatic service and becoming an adviser to the US Government on South African Affairs.

Among the members of the legal fraternity who received their initial university training in Palmer's classes were A. Chowdree, J.N. Singh, B.A. and L.S. Maharaj and I.C. Meer. In addition, several 'Palmer' graduates subsequently pursued medical degrees, including E.G. Bredenkamp, M.V. Gumede and J. Tandree, or became journalists like R.S. Nowbath, editor of the *Leader*, and Mrs Bugwan, an announcer on SABC's Indian programme, or went into business, like Miss T.M.E. Lawrence who opened her own typing office.

There were a handful of colleagues and friends who served as midwives in the birth and growth of NUC's Non-European Section, not least Florence MacDonald who, as Julie Parle's research has shown, cheerfully carried an inordinate teaching load for many years, along with numerous administrative and other chores. After Palmer's retirement MacDonald's experience was also of great assistance to the subsequent organisers of those classes.

But it was Mabel Palmer, denied the children she had hoped for, who was the acknowledged mother of black tertiary education in the province. Arguably, the programme that she nurtured did indeed tend to maintain instead of dismantling segregationist policies. Yet her second-best 'half a loaf is better than none' strategy, to which her allies like Florence MacDonald fully subscribed, made it possible to extend educational opportunities to many who might otherwise have gone without them in the prevailing socio-political climate. Moreover, as she came to recognise herself, the separate, small-class format facilitated the personal attention that might otherwise not have been feasible.

In 1947 the University of South Africa awarded 'Peach Melba', as she was affectionately if incongruously known, an honorary doctorate. Her students greeted her capping with a spontaneous 'great ovation', followed by a rousing rendition of 'For She's a Jolly Good Fellow' in recognition of her dedicated and inspirational teaching.

Among the numerous letters of congratulation she received none could have been more meaningful to her than those from former students. Charles Shields wrote, 'I shall always consider it a privilege to have been one of your inspired students,' while Samuel Steven Ngobese declared, 'This work you began some years ago at the N.U.C. will not only benefit our sons and daughters but many of the Bantu generations to come.' Educationist V. Naidu recalled his student years 'when I always looked upon you as a friend, philosopher and guide'. Another admirer went even further, enthusing, 'Like all your grateful and devoted students I am very proud of our Darling Queen Mabel. Long live our Belovéd Queen!'

Years later Jack Naidoo also thanked Florence MacDonald: 'You and Dr Palmer, it was, who encouraged me and gave me the impetus and incentive and the inspiration to study and go ahead. I am always indebted to you and of course to our dear friend.'

Mabel Palmer continued to believe that the segregationist route taken in 1936 was appropriate under the circumstances. Even so, on the occasion of her 80th birthday a group of ex-students who were unable to visit her because they were serving banning orders under the National Party government sent her flowers as an expression of their heartfelt respect and affection.

On her death in 1958 former colleagues, some of whom had crossed swords with her on more than one occasion, remembered her as 'a wonderful woman'. Technical College principal Humphrey Jones described her as 'the most brilliant woman I have ever known, and the most difficult'. The Natal Indian Congress and the *Leader* both expressed deep appreciation of her considerable efforts to advance the cause of black tertiary education. The portrait that eminent artist Rosa Hope painted of her hangs in the Durban Medical School as further testimony to the regard in which she was held by the Indian community of Durban who commissioned it.

As Bhana and Vahed have shown, this did not imply acceptance of the segregationist policy that NUC had chosen in preference to challenging prevailing white attitudes to race-related issues. Students continued to resent the separate and inferior facilities to which they were subjected. Many were disillusioned with the supposedly liberal-minded administrators and academic staff members who had pragmatically acquiesced to and therefore entrenched a racist arrangement, along with the philosophy that underlay it. For some students it not only launched their professional careers but also marked the beginning of a life of political activism and even imprisonment or exile.⁸

Law classes

Also in the segregationist tradition, but quite distinct from Mabel Palmer's programme, in 1937 separate Law classes were provided for two Indian candidate attorneys. They had secured articles with white lawyers and applied to the Supreme Court for help in obtaining the necessary theoretical instruction. The Judge President informed the dean of the faculty, Professor Burchell, that official recognition of the College's authority to offer such tuition would be withdrawn if the necessary classes were not made available to these students, who were required to have such instruction in terms of a Supreme Court rule. The need to provide this duplicated facility proved to be a source of great inconvenience to the already stretched Law staff. Unlike Mabel Palmer's initiative it was dropped in 1942, following the outbreak of World War II and the departure of the staff member concerned on active duty. Law classes were not offered again until 1946.⁹ By then NUC had survived yet another major wartime experience.

ENDNOTES

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NUC AND WORLD WAR II (1939–1945)

THE IMPACT OF WORLD WAR II on NUC was far less severe than World War I had been on what was then a much smaller and more fragile institution. Nevertheless, all universities were officially warned against undertaking expansionary programmes and no provision was made for new posts, staff promotions, or bricks and mortar to accommodate the anticipated post-war influx of ex-servicemen.¹

Howard College and World War II

The demands made upon the technological departments in Durban by South Africa's war effort were much heavier than those that affected NUC's campus in Pietermaritzburg. In response to requests from government, the Engineering departments made a significant contribution, either in providing specific training or in applying their expertise to wartime projects.

In October 1939 Professor Eric Phillips (Electrical Engineering) was seconded to the Bernard Price Institute to collaborate with its founder Dr B.J. (Basil) Schonland. He was initially employed as a civilian in developing radar equipment, siting radar units along the South African coastline and establishing a training school for operators in Cape Town. In 1940 he enlisted with the rank of captain and the following year accompanied Schonland overseas to consult with other Allied experts on the establishment of operational centres before setting up South Africa's own network. In 1942 Phillips was transferred to Natal Command in Durban where the military authorities had to be convinced, by means of practical identifications of offshore craft, that radar was indeed foolproof. In 1943 he was released from the Union Defence Force with the rank of major and continued his work at Howard College.

Physics lecturer David Hodges was also heavily involved in establishing radar in South Africa and in commanding the Special Signal Services that Schonland had organised. His reputation on campus was reflected in his 'pro-song', a Pietermaritzburg campus tradition that continued to be maintained at Howard College.

Here's to good old Dave,
 With his mouth-piece like a cave,
 Here's to good old Dave,
 He's not so bad if you behave,
 He's quite a nib at rugger,
 But at work he is a beggar,
 Here's to good old Hodges,
 Let him rave, let him rave.

Ernest Reim and 'Jimmy' Neal (Mechanical Engineering) joined the South African Air Force and trained student mechanics at Howard College. Professor Hugh Clark (Electrical Engineering) was awarded the rank of lieutenant-colonel and provided training in electricity and radio technique. In 1942 he



D.B. (David) Hodges was born in 1893 in Queenstown and began his education at the Durban Ladies College, of which he later became an enthusiastic old girl on the board of governors, before moving on to Merchiston

and Kingswood College. At Grey University College and the University of Cape Town he acquired a BA, M.Sc. and Ph.D. In 1918 he was appointed senior lecturer at the Natal Technical College and in 1922 transferred to NUC where in 1948 he became professor of Experimental Physics. Through his research in atmospheric electricity he was closely associated with Professor (Sir) Basil Schonland and established a specialised interest in that field at Howard College. Some of the earliest photographs of lightning were taken there as well as the tracking of storms through their static. In order to facilitate this work, which significantly assisted in weather forecasting, the General Post Office granted him a free daily half-hour link up with Schonland in Johannesburg. Hodges was a member of the Royal Flying Corps during World War I and was promoted to the rank of colonel during World War II. In that capacity he assisted the Allied war effort in North Africa and Britain as well as at Howard College before being awarded an OBE in 1945. Internationally recognised for his research publications, 'Dave' Hodges was a popular personality on the Howard College campus, serving as president of its Athletics Union for 20 years, as a residence warden, as president of the Natal Rugby Union (1928–1933) and on the executive of the Natal and South African Referees societies before being the last of NUC's original Durban staff to retire at the end of 1958.

took charge of 27 cadet officers (mainly graduates) at Howard College and established South Africa's first radio-communication course in the process.

C.A. Rigby, lecturer in Civil Engineering (1937–1947), trained service personnel for the South African Army Engineers while continuing to meet his academic responsibilities. In 1942 the military authorities placed him in charge of a formally constituted Engineer Corps Company on campus that was part of the Natal University Training Corps. This was recognised as a unit of the Active Citizen Force under the command of Major (Prof.) H.R. Burrows (Economics) who, during World War I, had won the Military Cross and Croix de Guerre with palm. As older students joined the armed forces, younger men replaced them to take advantage of the specialised military-related training that was now being offered. Voluntary enlistment noticeably gathered momentum in 1942 after the fall of Tobruk.

During the war cultural and sports activities were curtailed and the usual league tournaments were disbanded. NUC's rugby playing students did combine with those of the Technical College to perform very successfully as NUCTC in the so-called War or Military League. It was not until 1945 that playing numbers increased again, enabling NUCTC to field two teams. There were complaints among seniors of student apathy, which was attributed to the absence of effective initiation practices. Nevertheless, the small student body was quite closely knit, with strong links being maintained between the Engineering students at Howard College and the Commerce Block downtown, as well as a fluctuating relationship with the Non-European Section. Durban still enjoyed record Rag fundraising during the war, with non-students assisting in the production of *Nucleus* due to depleted numbers in the Arts Faculty.

There was a welcome revival of 'College spirit' by 1944, in which year a *Joint Societies Journal* was launched out of a 'growing conviction that student thought lacks a means of expression, and the more academic spheres of College life require co-ordination'. In the interim, students did find time for occasional drama productions, their most memorable being George Bernard Shaw's *You Never Can Tell*. Mrs Winifred Curtin, well known in local amateur theatrical circles, produced it with an all-student cast that included Dave Henkel (later a professor at the University of London) as the love-struck dentist and Sibella Wichura (the acknowledged 'belle' of the Commerce Section) in the female lead, with all the male roles filled by Engineering students. The play was presented for several nights to sell-out audiences in the Arthur Smith Hall at the Natal Technical College.

There was drama off-stage too as the outbreak of the war prompted lively political debates among students. Doug Sanderson, David Kitson, Athol Thorne and Sylvester Stein expressed what were considered to be ‘leftist’ views while Syd Nicholls, Vic Bennett, ‘Dap’ Painter and Alan Raw represented what was described as ‘the true blue English conservative, somewhat pro-white philosophy’. Limited social highlights included contract bridge evenings and dances that were usually held at the YWCA in the absence of appropriate facilities on-campus. Most students survived on limited financial means, some as little as £5 (R10) a month, which could allow for a couple of trips to what was still known as the bioscope.

A student from Mauritius was fortunate enough to have the occasional use of a car loaned to him by a local French-speaking family. When he was ticketed for parking on a pavement downtown he wrote an apology in French, on the advice of some Law students, explaining that he came from a backward Indian Ocean island. The Traffic Department replied, in French, demanding payment as pavement parking was doubtless an offence there too. In those days municipal officialdom was clearly not to be underestimated.

Teaching programmes continued, some with great difficulty, during the war years but financial planning for future development was already underway. In November 1940 the so-called Townley Williams Committee was appointed to report on the current financial situation and on future needs. By 1945 university studies in Durban were well established and increasingly well known to the general public. Even so, the absence of student residences at Howard College and the preponderance of part-time classes for both whites and ‘non-Europeans’ made it more akin to the Workers Educational Centre the Technical College principal B.M. Narbeth had launched 30 years previously than to a university.

A significant wartime development was the 1943 opening of the Sociology Department’s Child Guidance Clinic, with the assistance of Rag funds and other donations. Initially housed in two modest rooms in downtown West Street, it enabled Education and Social Science students to undertake practical work under the direction of Thekla Hall and P.J. de Vos, a probation officer who had studied in Germany and Holland. Ella Pratt Yule, the head of Psychology in Pietermaritzburg, was not confident about De Vos’ knowledge of Psychology as he was a ‘Sociology man’. She strongly recommended B.M. (Bryan) Pechey to run the clinic, being ‘absolutely outstanding’ and her only Masters student who had ‘real insight into other people or the ability to establish the therapist-patient situation’.

Under Pechey's subsequent direction the clinic not only provided research opportunities with regard to juvenile behaviour but was also able to offer practical advice to teachers and parents concerning 'problem' cases. It soon attracted the attention of the National Council for Social Research and the Carnegie Foundation. In 1947 it became the Meyrick Bennett Children's Centre when it was accommodated on the estate that Mrs Sarah Ann Bennett bequeathed to the children of Durban and it was eventually financed partly by the public and partly by the University College.

The clinic initially involved NUC in little or no expense, which it would have been unable to afford anyway. The interest on funds the College raised through local donations was used to meet essential expenses during the later war years but the sharp increase in building costs and difficulties involved in importing electrical equipment rendered any on-campus construction impossible at that time. Even laboratory expansion at Howard College could not be approved although wartime training was taking place there. Post-war development at Howard College was to be an urgent priority.²

Library

NUC Durban's need for post-war expansion was evident also with regard to its library facilities. These continued to be administered by a Library Committee, which presided over the careful expenditure of its limited funds and, where possible, sought other means of income. In 1941 the idea of library fees for borrowers was considered but, as was the case in Pietermaritzburg as early as May 1925, it was not pursued. The duplication of material in the three Durban libraries was discouraged as a means of reducing costs but it proved difficult to avoid and even more so between the two centres. When, in late May 1942 and again in early June, an unidentified aircraft that was a suspected Japanese spotter plane flew over Durban a complete blackout was imposed on the harbour city and for 32 kilometres inland. As a precaution against enemy attack additional funds had to be found to obscure all library windows and the accessions registers were sent for safekeeping to Pietermaritzburg.

From June 1934 the Durban Library Committee continued to distribute its modest annual book grant among the three faculties – Arts (including Architecture), Commerce and Administration, and Engineering. In 1940 this contentious arrangement, as it proved to be, was terminated. A sub-committee appointed for the purpose devised an alternative formula based on student registrations, the number of courses offered in each subject, the average cost per volume in each field and the adequacy of current holdings. The purchase of

periodicals was henceforth to be influenced by existing and intended research projects in each department.

The Non-European Section continued to be short-changed. Its initial grant of £50 (R100) was doubled in 1939 but reduced in 1940 to £80 (R160) and was to be deducted from the funds allocated to that branch of the College. Nora Buchanan's research has shown that in 1943 there were 16 books per student (2 100 books for 131 students) in that Library compared with 31 at Howard College (4 500 books for 145 students) and 38 in the Commerce Library (6 000 books for 156 students). The disparity was particularly galling in view of the fact that, unlike Engineering and Commerce students, the 'non-Europeans' were taking what were supposed to be reading-intensive arts/social science subjects but their Library could provide little more than basic textbooks. Moreover, no effort was made to disprove their suspicion that by the mid-1940s their section of NUC was generating surplus funds that were not being ploughed back into improving their facilities.

Another source of irritation was that Council had allowed Mrs Whitehead's offer of £250 (R500) towards the construction of a 'non-European' Library Building to lapse. Fortunately, Mabel Palmer's untiring efforts to raise funds were again rewarded when the Rustomjee Trust, which Mr P. Rustomjee established in memory of his late wife, donated £100 (R200) to the development of the 'non-European' Library, subject to a pound for pound grant from government for the same purpose. In 1943 the trustees were invited to the opening when the 'non-European' Library moved into its new rented premises at 78 Commercial Road in the heart of Durban's Indian business area.

The increasing workload and student demand for longer opening hours led to Mr S.M. Moodley's appointment as a part-time library assistant there and, in February 1944, to the use of student helpers from the respective sections at both the 'non-European' and Commerce Libraries. The Principal, Robert Denison, insisted that Council's earlier decision to exclude 'non-European' students from the Commerce Building rendered their proposed employment in its Library out of the question. The increasing demand for longer opening hours at the Commerce and Howard College libraries was difficult to meet due to the shortage of staff but the use of student assistants made it possible from 1944 to open the latter facility on Saturday afternoons and, from 1945, on Sundays as well as several weekday evenings. The instruction of student groups on Library regulations and use remained sporadic, probably due to inadequate staff resources, while 'non-European' students who used their Library after hours received none at all.

The Durban Library Committee had always included a student representative but Mabel Palmer's attempt in 1944 to secure separate representation for the 'non-European' students led to objections and an extended debate. The SRC rejected the subsequent offer of representation for all three sections of the Durban student body as this did not involve full membership. In response to staff objections about the manner in which library services were being administered, the Librarian Barbara Fraser pointed out that while the book stock and borrower numbers had grown the staff complement had remained unchanged since 1938. Professor Burrows argued that library services were being excessively controlled and over-organised. As a result, in December 1945 the Executive Committee that had evolved out of a sub-committee initially intended merely to supervise book vote allocations was disbanded.

This was at the suggestion of Dr H.C. Coblans, at that time still a lecturer in Chemistry and member of the Durban Library Committee. Conveniently, it served to simplify his own reorganisation of library services after he assumed duty as Chief Librarian the following year with the mission to establish a unitary library system at NUC. That event was hastened when the Durban Library Committee accepted Professor Neal's proposal that Coblans assume the post as a matter of urgency and in compliance with the decision taken six years earlier to appoint him.

By 1945 NUC Durban's three libraries were already well-established but faced severe shortages of book stock, staff and space in view of an anticipated post-war increase in student numbers. All the developments that were taking place and were to follow in the Library and elsewhere in NUC's Durban branch obviously had important implications for the College's Pietermaritzburg campus.³

NUC Pietermaritzburg and World War II

By 1939 the University College had a 50-strong full-time staff complement and 22 part-time employees (including both centres) spread over 23 departments. Sensibly, during World War II all academic departments within the College were organised into Faculties to effect more efficient administration and improved co-ordination between the Durban and Pietermaritzburg centres. Graduation ceremonies continued to be joint events for some years after the war, alternating between the two city halls. The College's Administration staff remained small with the Registrar, Peter Leeb-du Toit, now ensconced in the upper-floor room directly below the Clock Tower of the Main Building. His assistants, Miss F.A. Newberry and Miss E.H. Reid, occupied an adjoining

room (previously the Library) while Miss ‘Queenie’ Graham held the fort as secretary in Durban.

In 1939 Denison was able to re-furnish Lodge with teak spring-beds, morris chairs, bookshelves and tables. He also managed to extend University Hall at a cost of £6 000 (R12 000) before building materials were in short supply, thereby providing accommodation for as many as 68 women on campus. This construction absorbed all of NUC’s reserves, accumulated by means of careful budgeting between 1936 and 1939. It was hoped that this would not only meet the foreseeable demand for hostel rooms on the Pietermaritzburg campus but that the residence fees so generated might help to balance NUC’s books at a time of financial stringency. The new wing, with its impressive enlarged, open beamed dining room, certainly met parental concerns about adequate on-campus accommodation and persuaded many of them not to send their offspring to tertiary institutions elsewhere. In Hattersley’s opinion, it was Denison’s primary contribution to NUC’s development during his principalship.

In 1944, in which year the State spent an average of only £37/5s (R74.50) per university student compared with £55 (R110) in 1930, the men’s residence, University Lodge, became an annexe of University Hall. It was intended to meet the ongoing demand for female accommodation after male numbers had declined between 1940 and 1944. This was in spite of the fact that there was no general mobilisation order and students of both sexes, especially those who had already completed two years in Engineering and Medicine or were otherwise in their final year of study, were actually encouraged to complete their degrees.

Government acknowledged that university institutions could not force its other students to enlist but appealed to them not to discourage them from doing so. Understandably, wartime temperatures ran high and, as elsewhere in the country, there was vigorous debate in the local press about the issue of enlistment. In an editorial headed ‘Books or bayonets’ Durban’s *Natal Mercury* complained about the injustice of allowing some students, ‘the sons of the wealthy’, to ‘steal a march’ in preparing themselves for ‘profitable careers’ by completing degrees while others ‘took up arms on their behalf’.

The *Mercury* doubtless echoed the views of many of its readers in suggesting that, Engineering and Medicine aside, all other courses should be ‘suspended for the duration of the war’ throughout the country. NUC rejected this proposal, pointing to the precarious circumstances of its financial situation and its reliance both on student fees and on the government’s pound for pound subsidies that were directly related to them.

In an editorial headed ‘Miserable earthworms’ Pietermaritzburg’s *Natal Witness* also piled in, castigating NUC for its lack of leadership in failing ‘to declare its policy on the issue of war and recruitment’, and reminding it that its survival relied heavily on public support. It contended that there had been a time ‘when Natal colleges gave some signs of budding maturity, and many of us had hopes of a great and adult future for them’. In the editor’s estimation, echoing Roy Campbell’s sentiments more than a decade earlier, these institutions had proved to be ‘little more than glorified high schools, entry for which is within the compass of the mediocre, even the dull, and the life of which bears more resemblance to a girls’ seminary than to a university’. Far from being at an institution that provided leadership and inspiration, ‘the average N.U.C. student flatters himself if he imagines that he is at a university at all’.

In his published response to the *Natal Witness*, Denison pointed out that the editor’s tirade made no reference to the research, both pre- and wartime, conducted at NUC and some of which had earned international recognition. Nor had he considered the unquantifiable impact the College had made over the years on schooling in the province, or to the contribution students had made to local charities through their annual Rags. Denison stressed that, with regard to wartime recruitment, NUC followed the official policy that the Prime Minister had outlined and that it had no authority to refuse admission to students on the grounds that they should enlist.

In an effort to further enlighten the editor, he calculated that by August 1942 more than 200 NUC students had left on active service, a figure that in relation to the College’s enrolments compared favourably with other university institutions. In addition, more than 70% of the College’s male students were currently involved in part-time military training, rising to 90% if one excluded the medically unfit, first-year medical students and individuals under 19 years of age who did not have parental consent to join up. With regard to the editor’s broader derogatory remarks about NUC, Denison contended that a great university ‘cannot be built in one generation’, that the still-small College had struggled through two world wars in its 32-year history, and that it would be a great loss to the nation if it was compelled to close for lack of public support.

The editor of *NUX* had already called upon each male student seriously to consider his ‘own particular case and then decide whether he is serving his country to the very best of his ability’, by enlisting or by supporting the ‘home front’, or by safeguarding South Africa’s future ‘educationally, professionally or industrially’. An SRC proposal to launch a ‘NUC column’ in *The Natal*

Witness to keep the general public better informed of developments on campus was declined by its editor. This was possibly a reflection of the current underlying hostility towards the College during the early war years.

Fortunately, the wartime increase in female students more than compensated NUC financially for the reduced number of males, though some of them also left the campus prematurely to play non-combatant roles in the war effort or to join the workforce so that men could be released to the armed forces. It was intended that male students displaced from Lodge would take up residence at the not-too-distant former police barracks in Alexandra Road. Instead, they were to spend the next 20 years living in the prefabricated buildings at Oribi, on the southern outskirts of town, which had been hurriedly erected as a wartime military hospital.

During the years of conflict NUC in Pietermaritzburg did what it could to continue as a quiet residential campus, even though overall numbers declined and especially after the fall of Tobruk when more students felt the need to enlist. K.A. (Ken) Heard, who was a student at that time and future senior lecturer in Political Science (Durban) and professor (in Canada), recorded that the outbreak of war heralded ‘a loss of that old gaiety which had characterised N.U.C.’ as well as ‘a growing apathy to extra-curricular activity’.

Nevertheless, newcomers on campus, including Ray Rutherford-Smith (1942–1944 and 1947) and his friends, for the most part enjoyed life in Lodge, prior to its absorption by University Hall, as well as the new experiences the College offered. As with other generations of students life-long friendships were formed and several individuals went on to forge successful careers. Rutherford-Smith himself became a member of staff in the Psychology Department on campus and subsequently pursued an academic career in Scotland. His childhood friend Gordon Morton became a school teacher while Arthur Noble acquired a B.Sc. in Chemistry and Mathematics and later became a professor of Education at Rhodes University. George Parish served in the South African Air Force during World War II and became senior lecturer in Mathematics in Pietermaritzburg. Donald Livingstone also lectured in that discipline on campus and subsequently became professor of Mathematics at Birmingham University.

The unconventional Peter (Percy) Sherratt, who knitted his own socks and jerseys, made some of his own clothes and (rumour had it) later produced his bride’s wedding dress, became a headmaster. Ted Schelpe (a yodelling expert) acquired a Ph.D. in Botany and became director of the Bolus Herbarium in Cape Town, David Calder pursued a legal career in Britain and Theal Stewart,

grandson of the celebrated historian George McCall Theal, became a judge in his native Eastern Cape. Tony Drake and Rae Killen both completed Law degrees and joined the diplomatic service. The former retired as South African ambassador to Sweden, the latter as ambassador to the Court of St James. Sherman Ripley later completed a Ph.D. at the University of California and came back to teach at the Medical School in Durban. Robin Savory was instrumental in founding the successful St Thomas More School in Kloof, where he worked for a time, while the talented George Kemp also taught there and at several other schools. Ramon Leon qualified as an attorney and advocate, eventually becoming a senior judge and Chancellor of NUC's successor, the University of Natal.

As first-year freshers Rutherford-Smith and his contemporaries all had to endure the initiation rites and high school-type fagging duties inflicted by senior students, though the civility of some like Ken Heard and Peter Hey (later a lecturer in Education on campus) helped to leaven the loaf. The 'diffident and apologetic' demeanour of the warden at Lodge, Alan Hattersley, peering through 'thick glasses over a red nose and a pinched pursed mouth' and dressed in the outdated clothes of his Edwardian youth, did not match his impressive academic reputation in local high schools and on campus. He cut an often lonely figure at the high table when presiding over formal dinners that were always served by waiters 'in starched white suits'. Occasionally he was joined by invited guests, including his junior colleague Mark Prestwich, who lived across the street from Lodge.

Rutherford-Smith also recalled Hattersley's invitations to residents, three at a time, to drink tea and play cards late in the evening. Unfortunately, the professor's preference was not for contract bridge, then popular on campus, but for Happy Families and Card Golf. More amusing to some students were Hattersley's regular Friday night departures from Lodge in full scout regalia for troop meetings nearby. Not surprisingly, it was a scout handcart, propelled by students, that bore his furniture when he eventually moved to the Georgian-style house he had built for his retirement in Saunders Road, not far from the campus.

Mrs Cubitt, the Matron, was a much more homely figure than both 'Hatty' and the similarly formal Mrs Rees, the Lady Warden of University House, whose pet dog shared a mutual antipathy with hers. 'Cubey's' popularity was not merely attributable to the ample meals she arranged for the hungry residents of Lodge. She was also celebrated on campus for her fine contralto singing while at work (it was rumoured she had been an opera singer), for the nightly

coffee parties held in her sitting room and for the home cures she administered for a variety of minor maladies. Consequently, there was no shortage of young men available to drive ‘Cubey’ on shopping expeditions, or to join her group outings to the Grand Cinema, when the presentation of a bunch of roses and a kiss on her cheek was an established part of the collective ritual.

Sergeant Cameron, a retired NCO of the Natal Mounted Police, who served as janitor, was another popular figure on campus. The imposing ‘Sarge’ lived in a cottage at the end of an avenue of plane trees that extended from the Clock Tower Building to King Edward Avenue and, among other duties, was put in charge of the College’s first Gestetner copying machine, a forerunner to photocopiers.

Among the academic staff Alexander Petrie was still as celebrated as ever for his courteousness and sense of humour. His red hair had by now turned to grey but he was still to be seen walking between his home in town and the campus. By the mid-1940s Mark Prestwich was also a well-known NUC personality, renowned for his first-year survey course on European history and his Politics I lectures on political theory. The latter were doubtless enriched by his dissertation on the notion of liberty in English literature, for which he won the 1935 La Bas prize while a student at Cambridge.

His literary grasp was further demonstrated in 1943 when Professor Waterhouse’s health faltered and he retired to the Hillcrest Hotel. Prestwich was then seconded to assist the ailing English Department by teaching four Shakespearian plays and proceeded to deliver what Rutherford-Smith remembered as ‘the most enthralling literary exposition any of us had ever heard’. Without any notes or ‘any pause in the extraordinarily polished flow of his language’, he walked ‘constantly up and down’, while continuously flicking up and catching a pen or some other small item and fiddling with his academic gown in characteristic style.

The Dramatic Society also continued to benefit from Prestwich’s theatrical ability. Despite the wartime decline in student numbers, it was one of those campus activities that still flourished. As Rutherford-Smith recalled, he gave a particularly memorable performance as Beckett in T.S. Eliot’s *Murder in the Cathedral*. Prestwich’s post-rehearsal parties in his flat in King Edward Mansions, where he was attended by an ‘exotic’ looking maid called Rufine, were always well attended by both staff members and students. They included Rose Vorster who he eventually married. In 1940 (not for the first time) the Dramatic Society had staged an outstanding performance of Oscar Wilde’s *The Importance of Being Earnest*, described as ‘a trivial comedy for serious

people'. Prestwich and fellow staff member R.L. Rosenberg were described in *NUX* as 'superb' for their 'stage presence' and 'diction', though the society was subsequently criticised for using 'non-student performers'.

In the same year the *Natal University College Magazine* celebrated its 21st anniversary, still seeking to reflect 'the history of our yet-youthful University' but pointing out to its readers that 'these are only the early foundations; the real tradition has yet to be built, for tradition cannot be consciously made: it is born of the brains and blood of many generations'. The *Magazine* survived the war years with difficulty despite reduced funding and fewer contributions from a smaller student body.

Wartime petrol rationing limited long-distance travel for the general public to 400 miles (640 kilometres) a month (later half that distance) without a special permit and students still walked, cycled or travelled by public transport around town. Despite the travel restrictions the inter-college debates between the two campuses continued, though wartime relations sometimes became strained over issues such as the Joint Rag. This was due largely to what were described as 'tardy communications between the two centres'. Apart from the emergence of a new Arts Society and a Chess Club, other on-campus cultural activities were also curtailed. Some like the Afrikaans Taal en Kultuur Klub, SCA and the Music Society continued to function satisfactorily.

In 1944, when the SRC revised its constitution, it seriously contemplated amalgamating the various small on-campus societies into fewer, larger organisations to ensure their survival. It had acquired a new constitution in 1939, complete with standing rules and, in response to demands that its meetings should be held in public, a compromise was reached with the formation of a short-lived Students Parliament. This was intended to serve as a forum for debate and as a means of monitoring student opinion.

In 1940 the SRC eventually decided that it would open all its meetings to members of the student body, subject to discussing certain issues in camera, in an effort to arouse greater interest on campus in student issues. In 1944 the Senior Woman Student was appointed to the Joint (Durban/'non-European'/Pietermaritzburg) SRC but the following year this was abolished and the position became of social significance only. Nevertheless, women continued to take part in student governance.

As in Durban, sports competitions were largely abandoned, although the Rugby Club was able to compete in the so-called War League (later Military League). Still, by the beginning of 1945 it had only one first-team member left on campus and was obliged to supplement its ranks with the previous

year's second-stringers and with freshers. Following a series of defeats it understandably looked forward to a substantial post-war influx of hardened ex-servicemen. In 1945 Miss Brooks became the first woman on campus to play cricket when she assisted the short-staffed NUC Second XI by scoring a run off the St Charles attack before being caught in the deep off a shot that had four written all over it! The 1941 and 1942 Rags shared with Durban also set new records and did so again in 1944 and 1945 but the annual Gala was dropped for lack of support.

By 1940 some 120 students and 80 alumni had already joined the armed forces, as well as three members of staff – Messrs Rosenberg, Seymour and Du Toit. Later that year Squadron Leader George Campbell Tomlinson won the Distinguished Flying Cross, serving in the RAF. In all, 77 students and alumni lost their lives in the conflict. Council was specifically requested to release certain staff members, in Pietermaritzburg as in Durban, from their academic responsibilities so that they could assist in military training and in other areas of expertise required for the war effort.

Among those in Pietermaritzburg who contributed in this way was Frank Warren, who was released from his duties as head of Chemistry in the latter years of the war to undertake research in various parts of the country into the procurement of much-needed raw materials. These included acetic acid, in the production of which Hazel Button, a graduate student, became a war casualty, losing the sight of an eye in a laboratory accident. This was a consequence, in part, of exhaustion because of the urgency to produce the required results. One of Warren's more notable achievements was the elimination of resin from the rubber extracted from euphorbia trees. He also developed a technique for isolating euphol (a tumour suppressant) from euphorbia and had researchers working on other projects but with limited success.

Some students and members of staff made their contribution to the war effort by joining the local Police Reserve (of which Warren was adjutant). They provided nocturnal protection, against threats unspecified, for the city's water supply and the municipal munitions magazine situated at the Scottsville racecourse. John Sellers, a future senior lecturer in Economic History who was a fresher in 1942, recalled regular blackouts in both Durban and Pietermaritzburg because Japanese submarines were reportedly lurking within range of the South African coastline.

In addition, evacuation drills were conducted periodically during lectures as a precaution against possible air attacks launched from Japanese aircraft carriers advancing across the Indian Ocean. It remains uncertain how high a

priority target Pietermaritzburg's Clock Tower Building really was at Japanese High Command. During blackouts female students had to be escorted home after attending evening classes. As their contribution to the war effort, several of them embarked on a Red Cross course and late in 1940 the 69 candidates, including a few men, all passed.

At least one member of the NUC community, senior lecturer in German J. Trueplemann, was interned during the war, being accompanied to the railway station under police escort and taken to Baviaanspoort. His department was re-absorbed by the Department of Afrikaans-Nederlands and reduced to teaching only Special German, which was entrusted to Dr M. (Maria) Schmidt-Ihms on a part-time basis at 10/6d (R1.5c) a lecture. The demand for that language was small during the war years but, for research purposes, the scientists on campus were determined to keep it alive and in 1945 her post became full-time. Schmidt-Ihms was later to occupy the chair of German and re-build the discipline on campus with rigorous efficiency.

Some things remained unchanged, with Professor 'Gawie' Nienaber continuing, as John Sellers recalls, to impart 'the subtle charm and beauty of Afrikaans poetry' while Alexander Petrie, ever the 'punctiliously polite professor', continued to teach Classics as he neared the end of his career. One morning Sellers and his classmates brought a dog into Petrie's Latin I class in happy expectation that he would repeat his now legendary comment about 'letting the dogs come to Latin rather than letting Latin go to the dogs'. Ever alert, Petrie declined the bait, asking instead, 'Students, do you think that this dog has paid his fees?'

In August 1940, at the request of the students themselves, the College followed the example of Wits in setting up the Natal University Training Corps, operating in Pietermaritzburg and Durban. Its purpose was to enable matriculants to commence their university studies before enlisting on reaching 19 years of age. It was also intended to make it possible for older students to complete their degrees and combine this with military training on-campus without having their studies disrupted by call ups to army camps.

Under the overall command of Professor Burrows in Durban, in September 1940 the Corps in Pietermaritzburg as at Howard College became the Natal section of a broader South African University Training Corps that, in turn, was recognised as part of the Active Citizen Force. Its members took the general service oath and it provided basic training for recruitment into the air force, engineering corps, infantry and signals, leading to immediate military service on completion of university studies.

While Durban campus expertise in engineering and signals was being utilised Pietermaritzburg's student volunteers were organised into an infantry company under staff members Captain R.M. Jehu and Lieutenants Frank Bush and Adolf Bayer. Training involved weekly parades of between four and ten hours each, on Wednesday afternoons and Saturdays on the rugby field, and four separate months of continuous training in military camps as well as attendance at various specialised training centres.

Students were more than willing to support the Training Corps but in the same year the NUC (Pietermaritzburg) representatives strongly objected to another Wits initiative when the NUSAS council adopted the proposal that the organisation should issue its own statement on war aims independently of that already issued by the Union Government. The NUSAS statement was far more radical in declaring that the war was against Fascism, not the people of Germany and Italy, that all anti-Fascists should be mobilised for the cause, including South Africa's 'non-European' population, and that the ensuing peace should uphold democratic principles in all the countries involved in the struggle.

Following the conclusion of the conflict the Pietermaritzburg student body maintained its politically conservative image when all other campuses agreed to its proposal, with Wits dissenting, that no black participants would be included in teams sent to inter-varsity sports competitions without the approval of all the universities competing. Further, that visiting teams could demand strict segregation at matches in which they were involved. The post-war revival of NUSAS and the inclusion of Fort Hare and Hewat (a coloured teacher training college) as constituent members was to be followed in 1947–1948 by the secession from it of Rhodes, UCT and NUC (Durban), though not of NUC (Pietermaritzburg). This was prompted by the issue of non-segregated social functions and the majority view on some campuses that NUSAS had lurched too far to the left.⁴

Library

There were less spectacular changes in NUC's Library. Unsurprisingly, in view of the stringent wartime conditions, the Pietermaritzburg Library grant remained unchanged at £500 (R1 000) between 1938 and 1945 when it was increased to £600 (R1 200) with an extra £50 (R100) for equipment. From 1944 small additional amounts were derived from fines levied for the late return of borrowed books but funds, along with space and trained staff, were always inadequate to meet the Library's needs. In July 1943, after Sybil

Nicholson had resigned, the Pietermaritzburg Library gained the services of Miss W.M. Snelling. She was a fellow of both the British and the South African Library Associations, held a diploma from University College London and had previous work experience at the Leyton Public Library near London and at the Wynberg and Port Elizabeth public libraries in South Africa.

When Captain Henry retired at the end of 1944, Snelling was appointed Acting Librarian with a temporary assistant to support her but by the middle of 1945 she had resigned to assume a post at UCT and Henry was re-employed on a temporary basis during the second half of the year. The Pietermaritzburg Library Committee was anxious to install the new Chief Librarian as soon as possible but the appointee, Dr H.C. Coblans, who in 1939 had been selected to take up the Carnegie Library Fellowship, had temporarily lost that opportunity due to Council's tardiness in releasing him from his lecturing duties. Instead, in the short term he had to settle for a course at the recently established UCT Library School and was not immediately available to assume his post.

Wartime conditions inflicted an additional difficulty upon the management of the Library in the form of inordinately long delays between the ordering and delivery of books from overseas, particularly from Britain. The German occupation made it impossible to order consignments from the European continent, to the severe disadvantage of some disciplines like French. Nora Buchanan's research on the Library reveals that heavy reliance was placed on the country's own inter-library loan scheme, first mentioned in the records in 1938, though by 1945 almost as many books were being loaned (85) to other institutions as were being borrowed (88). The situation was eased further by numerous local donations of books, several of which were inscribed on a Donors Board erected in the Library. In addition, from 1942 copies of all theses submitted for examination by College students were to be lodged in the Library, as were copies of all articles and books that members of staff had published.

Some indication of book stock growth and/or shelf shortage was reflected in the 1944 request that departmental heads report which titles in their respective subject areas were now surplus to requirements. As the financial situation eased the Library Committee also entertained a request to develop a collection of modern works of fiction and £50 (R100) was included in the 1946 estimates for this purpose. In response to student demand, opening hours in the new Library Building were gradually extended on weekdays from 8.30 am to 2.30 pm, excluding a lunch hour, and 8.30 am to 10.30 am on Saturdays. From 1945 the Library was opened on weekday evenings, for the pre-exam

and end of year exam period from mid-September to the end of November, under student supervisors who were paid 1/- (10c) an hour. The initial 59 seats in the new Library proved inadequate by 1945, particularly during peak demand periods. This was prompted by an increasing and more varied book stock as well as greater student usage in the congenial environment that the new building provided.⁵

By 1945 NUC's Pietermaritzburg Library had developed beyond recognition since its modest beginnings in 1910 in terms of funding, skilled management, designated space and book stock. By then there was growing uncertainty about the future of the campus as a whole.

Future uncertainty

In an address to the NUC Lecturers Association in September 1939 J.G.W. Ferguson, professor of Education in Pietermaritzburg, confidently declared that the College was now firmly a unitary institution and that there was no danger that it would be moved to Durban and a separate College established there. In his opinion, this was not least the case because of its close traditional association with the Teachers Training College in town and because such a high proportion of NUC's students were training to become teachers. Ferguson also pointed out that, unlike the previous decade in which NUC had made limited progress, largely because Durban had not yet 'caught the university habit', between 1929 and 1939 the College's student intake had increased three-fold to number 776, amounting to 8% of the Union of South Africa's tertiary student population.

Nevertheless, there was growing wartime concern about the future survival of the Pietermaritzburg campus. This was prompted by financial stringency, coupled with Durban's population growth and increasing demands for a fully fledged university of its own that would offer much more than Engineering, Commerce and first-year ancillary courses in arts and science.

In those years, beginning with a Senate debate on 28 August 1943, the question of concentrating the whole University College in one centre was discussed at length. The possibility, and feasibility, of focusing all its resources on Durban had been mounting ever since its foundation in 1909 as the harbour city increasingly outstripped the provincial capital in population and wealth. In his capacity as chairman of Senate, Denison seemed to have become fatigued and John McKinnell, already prominent in the Senate of the University of South Africa, increasingly took the lead on this issue. That course of action was rejected, a decision that was reiterated in 1944. Nevertheless, under

McKinnell's direction and with support from Frank Bush, Senate was in general agreement that Durban should also have a full suite of courses in arts and science.

This view also predominated in Council, even though there was ongoing uncertainty about the implications for Pietermaritzburg's future as a centre for university studies. John Bews' vision had not been forgotten. The proposal for a Faculty of Agriculture there was still supported as was the idea of a Medical School in Durban. This was envisaged primarily for 'non-European' students while it was intended that the existing Non-European Section there was to be continued with the possibility of eventually being divided into an Indian and an African College. This involved an enormous commitment on the part of Council in terms of money and manpower but Senate also agreed that separate subsidy arrangements should not be negotiated with government for the two College centres. It was argued that, while a single financial structure should be retained, any unnecessary duplication of courses would only dissipate precious resources.

A combined meeting of Council and Senate, held on 28 April 1944 under Rev. Dr Leo Sormany's chairmanship, revealed the full extent of existing staff dissatisfaction in Durban even though there had been some pleasing advances. In 1940 the Howard College campus had acquired the first section of a new Science Block and in 1943 the Child Guidance Clinic had been opened downtown. But research in Engineering was being frustrated by the absence of a Science Faculty while arts students there were still being offered only a limited range of course options. Staff and students both felt the absence of the inter-faculty contacts that were to be expected in a University College.

During 1944 Geology, closely linked to the applied sciences, was moved to Durban, leaving only a first-year course available to students in Pietermaritzburg. Yet Council, aware of its financial responsibility, still hesitated in granting Howard College a variety of arts and science courses. Lack of sufficient accommodation was doubtless a major consideration.

By 1945 Pietermaritzburg had a relatively well-established campus with a fairly wide range of options in both the arts and sciences. A glaring but now recognised omission was Philosophy. NUC was still the only constituent college of the University of South Africa that did not offer courses in that discipline, although its English Department had theoretically been expected to do so. Pietermaritzburg had buildings for Science, Fine Arts and the Library as well as a Students Union in addition to the original 1912 Clock Tower Building. The total value of these structures was just under £130 000

(R259 000) compared with Durban's approximately £87 000 (R174 000). The latter figure included Howard College and the first section of City Buildings, with 'non-Europeans' still being taught at Sastri College. Capital expenditure patterns were soon to change, of necessity, in Durban's favour.

Pietermaritzburg's two residences could accommodate 150 members of the local 345-strong student body who, unlike most of the 649 students in Durban, were almost entirely engaged in full-time studies. Not to be forgotten, in 1945 there were 152 'non-European' students registered in Durban, most of whom were Indians but included 47 Africans, three coloureds and three Chinese. After initial objections by Council, the last category was admitted to the full-time (white) classes at Howard College.

There was obvious potential for post-war expansion in both centres. Declining revenue had been met by an increase in fees and the state grant was increased from £35 891 (R71 782) in 1944 to £41 270 (R82 540) the following year in anticipation of a large influx of ex-soldiers. Wartime finances had held up quite well but this was also achieved by not filling posts that the Department of Education had actually deemed essential to academic needs. John Sellers recalled that several departments were clearly short-staffed, with some lecturers remaining beyond retirement age to help out. English (Pietermaritzburg), for example, comprised only Professor Waterhouse and Dr Rex Davies (later professor at Potchefstroom), to teach all the undergraduate and postgraduate classes. These included a large intake of Training College students registered for English I as one of three qualifying university courses required to complete their teaching certificates.

Similarly, Professor Alan Hattersley and Mark Prestwich shared the three-year major in History as well as a two-year major in Political Science. The College was now clearly in need of substantial additional teaching and residential facilities, and more staff, especially in Durban. Population increases in both centres made it more difficult for students to find affordable off-campus accommodation.

In May 1942 Denison had presented Council with a thorough survey of NUC's future needs but then pondered it with what Hattersley described as characteristic 'studied caution'. He had served the College loyally as professor of Chemistry, as dean of Science, as Council member of the University of South Africa and, for many years, on its Scholarships Committee. As Principal he had steered the NUC ship with great care during the cash-strapped war years when bank overdrafts were out of the question.

Unfortunately, dogged by ill health and a shortage of funds, there was little in the way of decisive leadership in Denison's last years, or of forward planning that envisaged the College's future as a dual or possibly even a multi-campus institution. In 1944 he asked to be relieved of his duties as Principal at the end of that year but stayed in office until his successor arrived in April 1945.

To give Denison his due, it was perhaps his cautious stewardship that ensured that by the end of the war NUC's finances were still sound, student numbers had dropped only marginally and no academic departments had been obliged to close. Wartime student Ken Heard acknowledged that he 'had a very difficult task' and that his 'patience and sympathetic guidance was, I am sure, as much appreciated by the students as by the Senate; and relations between students and Senate were not only sustained but improved'.

Indeed, the students gave him a fond farewell with a tea party held in the Union, singing him into the room with a rousing rendition of his 'pro-song'. It was much appreciated and he was proud of the fact that he had left the College without any debts even though it had not been possible to raise much in the way of private funds. He confided to Maurice Webb, who had recently been reappointed to NUC's Council, that that body had always been 'both sympathetic and kind' to him but he had found Senate meetings 'much more difficult'. He considered his years as Principal to have been 'both difficult and arduous', concluding that 'it is no wonder that my health has suffered'.

Denison looked forward to recovering his physical well-being but unfortunately his retirement, spent with his wife in residence at Pietermaritzburg's Imperial Hotel, was dogged by recurring bouts of illness. Arthritis eventually obliged him to substitute golf with a growing interest in philately while retaining his long enthusiasm for the Rotary Club. In October 1958, following his death in 1951, the Denison Laboratories in the Department of Chemistry and Chemical Engineering in Pietermaritzburg were named after him. In April 1972 the Denison Residence was opened on the new Golf Road campus in Scottsville, followed by an extension in the form of the Denison Flats in two phases in 1981 and 1985.

By the end of World War II the situation at NUC needed a new, more dynamic leader from elsewhere to address the needs of the Pietermaritzburg campus. The incumbent would also have to grapple with the increasing, if uneasy, realisation that Durban's rapid population growth demanded a full suite of university courses that extended far beyond the technical degrees and part-time options currently offered there.⁶

ENDNOTES

- 1 Hattersley, 'The University of Natal': 33–34; Brookes, *history of the University of Natal*: 48–50.
- 2 UKZNA BIO-S 33/1/1 Phillips, Professor W.E.; UKZNA OP 1/3/1–6 *NUC Calendar*: 1942: 22–23; UKZNA Q 2/1/1–3: *Joint Societies Journal* NUC, Durban; *University of Natal Gazette* November 1958: 67–68; UKZNA S 5/1/1–9 *NUC Songbook* (n.d.): 30; Hattersley, 'The University of Natal': 33–34, 45–46, 47–48; Dubbeld, 'Chronology of the University of Natal' and 'Pen sketches of student life': 3–4; UKZNA MS 4/1/3–14 *Nucleus*: 1945: 3; *NUC Magazine* 39 (1943): 55, v.40 (1944): 63, v.41 (1945): 69; UKZNA MS 6 *NUX*: March 1938: 1; KCML Malherbe Papers File 454/1 Correspondence re Malherbe's Appointment as Principal: KCM 56977 (194) Ella Pratt Yule to E.G. Malherbe, 25 January 1945; Young, 'NUC in retrospect': 10–11; Hattersley, 'University of Natal': appendix p. 7; Brookes, *history of the University of Natal*: 51–52; Schulze and Bishop (eds), *The Time of Our Lives*: 40–41.
- 3 Buchanan, 'A history of the University of Natal Libraries': 94–97, 101–103, 104–108, 292.
- 4 UKZNA BIO-P 2/1/7 R.B. Denison Papers-Press Cuttings 1939–1945: *Natal Mercury* 11 June, 18 July, 1 and 3 August 1942, *Natal Witness* 30 July and 4 August 1942; *NUC Magazine*: v.37 1940: 9–10, v.38 (1941): 9, 62–63, 67, v.39 (1943): 7, 37, v.41 (1945): 41, 51, 65; UKZNA MS 6 *NUX*: 22 June 1940: 1, 22 August 1940: 1, 12 September 1940: 1, 24 October 1940: 1, 28 August 1941: 1, 11 September 1941: 1, 15 September 1945: 21–22; UKZNA OP 1/3/1–6 *NUC Calendar*: 1942: 22–23; UKZNA SC 1/3/1 SRC (Pmb) Minute Book 1939–1944: Reports for 1939, 1940 and 1941; Hattersley, 'The University of Natal': 33–34, 46–47, 92; Young, 'NUC in retrospect': 10–11; Drewes, 'From humble beginnings to a modern-day academic institution': 126; 'German in the University of Natal' (n.d.); John M. Sellers, 'The University of Natal: personal recollections' *NEON* August 1985: 4–14; Ray Rutherford-Smith, personal information (compact disc containing 'University Lodge, NUC 1942–1944' and 'Memories of the Natal University staff, 1942–1973', 22 May 2013); Gibson, 'Women on campus': 28–29, 31–32; Murray, *Wits: The 'Open' Years*: 19, 87, 91, 106–108; Brookes, *history of the University of Natal*: 48–50, 52–53; Schulze and Bishop (eds), *The Time of Our Lives*: 30.
- 5 Buchanan, 'A history of the University of Natal Libraries': 79–88.
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FROM COLLEGE TO UNIVERSITY (1945–1949)

THE PACE TOWARDS NUC's achievement of full university status increased spectacularly with the arrival in April 1945 of E.G. (Ernest) Malherbe as the new Principal (1945–1965). Denison resigned at the beginning of 1944 and his post was advertised in May. Malherbe only applied for it in August, although late in 1943 Professors H.R. Burrows (Economics) and A.W. Bayer (Botany) had already drawn his attention to the impending vacancy.

Writing in November 1943 on behalf of a group of Senate members, Burrows observed, 'Hitherto Council has been a little too conservative in its loyalty to Pietermaritzburg. Durban is willing to help us to expand ... A Principal with courage and drive would no doubt soon make our dream of a University of Natal come true.' A few weeks later Bayer confirmed that 'several senior staff members' favoured his appointment as Principal and that the drive towards full university status 'will have to take place immediately after the war has ceased'.

In December 1944 NUC's Council unanimously accepted Maurice Webb's proposal, seconded by Rev. Dr Leo Sormany, that Malherbe be appointed in preference to the two other candidates on the short list. Both were distinguished in their chosen fields. Professor J.Y.T. Greig, an exceptional teacher and scholar, was a Glasgow graduate who since 1932 had been the eminent head of English at the University of the Witwatersrand. His department was considered the best in its faculty until his departure in 1951. Justice F.N. Broome was a Natalian and Rhodes Scholar who since 1919 had practised as a local attorney and advocate. In 1939 he had been appointed puisne judge of the Supreme Court in the province and subsequently its Judge President.

Malherbe was still serving in the armed forces in Italy when, on New Year's Day 1945, he received a cable offering him NUC's principalship. There was obviously strong support for him in the College, particularly in Durban. While he wavered, Mabel Palmer implored him to accept, pointing out that, from her Durban perspective:



E.G. (Ernest) Malherbe was born in 1895 of Huguenot descent in Luckoff in the Orange Free State and matriculated at Villiersdorp after the family home was burnt down during the Anglo-Boer War (1899–1902). Imbued with the tolerance of his father, a minister of the Dutch Reformed Church and fully bilingual, he was awarded scholarships with which to pursue his tertiary education at the University of Stellenbosch and at Columbia University, New York. At the former he completed an MA in Philosophy, served on the SRC and proved to be a more than capable sportsman. At the latter he studied

Educational Administration, shovelling snow and driving a taxi to cover his costs. After undertaking research on Education at Oxford, The Hague and Amsterdam and in Germany, he lectured at the Cape Town Training College, Stellenbosch and UCT prior to being appointed chief investigator for the education section of the Carnegie Poor White Commission (1929–1932).

Thereafter he became director of the National Bureau of Educational and Social Research (1929–1939), which he established together (in 1936) with the National Film Bureau to make instructional films. During World War II he served as director of Census and Statistics (1939–1945), director of Army Educational Services (1941–1945) and director of Military Intelligence (1942–1945). In the latter capacity he gathered information on the anti-government activities of the extremist Ossewa Brandwag and the Afrikaner Broederbond. This wartime service made him unpopular with several post-war National Party politicians but also well-connected with the Smuts government, not least with the Prime Minister himself.

Their close acquaintanceship through marital ties and family friendship was already several years old and it was Smuts who persuaded him to take on the role of Principal at NUC. Prior to assuming the post he had produced several major publications in the fields of education and social issues, notably the authoritative *Education in South Africa 1652–1922* (1925), which was his doctoral thesis, *Education and the Poor White* (1929), the Carnegie Commission's *Poor White Report on Education* (1932), *Educational Adaptations in a Changing Society* (edited in 1937), *The Bilingual School* (1943) and *Race Attitudes and Education* (1946). He retired from the principalship in 1965 and died in 1982 at 87 years of age.

NUC has never had really efficient & progressive administration ... Bews was a delightful person & had the forward looking imagination, but he was a sick man, without energy or push and indeed powers of oversight during his years of office. Since then matters have stuck: there has been great attention to detail – indeed too much – but no push for a futuristic policy, indeed I feel no capacity to understand the needs of future policy ... I have served in many colleges and universities but I have never known any which has failed to rise to its prospects, has become so content to jog along in old ruts as the N.U.C. ... if you refuse the post, we shall be thrust back into the unimaginative routine of some appointee from Maritzburg, who has little or no wider experience.

Edgar Brookes also assured him that NUC was in need of ‘dynamic leadership’. Malherbe eventually accepted the post in February. On assuming it, he did not forget to pay tribute to his immediate predecessor, Robert Denison, ‘who, even to the detriment of his health, manfully kept the College going during the difficult years of war’. His relationship with his predecessor was very friendly and he considered it ‘a fitting gesture’ that Senate had declared Dr Denison a professor emeritus ‘in recognition of practically a lifetime of service to the College’.

Malherbe was an Afrikaner born and bred who had enjoyed a broad education and regarded himself as a liberal. Perhaps harshly, some staff members at NUC who also identified themselves as such were subsequently to question the extent and even the sincerity of his enlightened views. Malherbe had been associated with the liberal South African Institute of Race Relations since its inception in 1929. As director of the National Bureau of Education and Social Research during the 1930s he had concluded that bilingual schools were an essential means to improve relations between white Afrikaans and English-speaking South Africans.

This challenge almost certainly became his immediate preoccupation, rather than reconciliation across the colour line. Malherbe’s close association with Smuts and his government’s war effort, to which he contributed by counteracting the activities of the Ossewa Brandwag and Broederbond, demonstrated that he emphatically did not subscribe to the narrow ethnic nationalism they represented. On the contrary, he was staunchly in favour of developing the much broader white South African identity that Smuts advocated.

Moreover, the liberalising effect that Malherbe’s Army Education Service had during World War II arguably contributed to the more open-minded atmosphere that subsequently characterised English-medium university campuses. It is perhaps significant that during the 1950s ex-servicemen

were to be heavily involved in opposing the National Party government's disenfranchisement of coloured voters.

At NUC Malherbe found himself at the head of a largely conservative tertiary institution practising a traditionally segregationist admissions policy. He also had to come to terms with an environment in which the necessity for university education, let alone the provision of such facilities for persons of colour, was still regarded with some scepticism by many members of the public.

In the interests of maintaining the College's stability Malherbe soon demonstrated that, like Mabel Palmer, he was willing to compromise with the prevailing circumstances. In doing so he adopted what Patricia Anne Esselaar has described in her study of his principalship as a policy of 'idealism tempered by realism'. This approach was strongly influenced by the eminent philosopher John Dewey, who had been his lecturer and friend while studying at Columbia University in the United States.

Alan Hattersley's impression was that, after 16 years in posts that involved strategic planning, Malherbe would probably have preferred to devote the rest of his life to scholarship were it not for Smuts' insistence that he accept yet another administrative challenge. His publications and previous service certainly demonstrated his capacity for both these alternatives but he would much rather have been more broadly involved in South Africa's post-war reconstruction and in the immediately important task of military demobilisation.

More specifically, Malherbe had hoped to resume his post in the Department of Census and Statistics so that he could 'stay on in a field where I can perform a service of wider national importance than confining myself to one individual institution'. This would have enabled him to continue with the organisation of the post-armistice education of ex-servicemen as well as follow up a recent Army Information Survey, 'What the soldier thinks', which suggested that education indeed promoted tolerance of other races in South Africa.

Unfortunately for him, J.H. (Jan) Hofmeyr, then Minister of Education and Finance, declined to fund the project or to upgrade that department. Instead, with encouragement from Smuts, Malherbe accepted the more narrowly focused and much better-paid position at NUC. He was appointed at a basic salary of £1 800 (R3 600) a year, to which was added a £200 (R400) housing allowance and £200 (R400) for entertainment. This was substantially less than the £2 500 (R5 000) UCT and Wits paid their principals, excluding more generous fringe benefits.

Nevertheless, as Esselaar has put it, ‘he went to Natal, an Afrikaner in a very English setting, a liberal in a very conservative institution, and an educationist in a province where education was not highly regarded’. There, despite a thick ‘up-country’ accent and what some regarded as a lack of social finesse, he and his attractive, hugely supportive wife, Janie, were warmly welcomed into white society. This was much more the case in Durban than in Pietermaritzburg where there were some initial reservations about his suitability for the principalship.

Malherbe also soon gained the favour of the College’s Senate and Council whose members approved of his vigorous leadership and vision for future development. Indeed, it was the beginning of an era of unprecedented growth. It was also probably a relief to many when it soon emerged that his plans did not include any strategy for the gradual racial integration of classes that might threaten the status quo or alienate prospective donors. Nor were they to bring any significant improvement to the separate facilities provided for ‘non-European’ students. Malherbe was to demonstrate little of the understanding of their sensitivities that he had for the white population.

Esselaar has shown that while he was pragmatic and often patriarchal in his approach to the circumstances of NUC’s ‘non-European’ students he did insist upon equal education and identical academic standards for all. Malherbe opposed the complete exclusion of persons of colour from tertiary education, as practised on the Afrikaans-medium campuses, favouring what he regarded as a middle way between that policy and the integrated classes offered at South Africa’s so-called open universities, UCT and Wits. In his view, their approach was impractical in Natal given the conservatism of the white community and the demographic composition of the region, which was so heavily weighted in favour of its black population.

Moreover, he recognised that black students had to contend with major educational disadvantages and believed that, as they increased in numbers, they would lower the pace and standard of tertiary education unless catered for separately and in smaller groups. This option was already available in the form of the College’s existing Non-European Section, or what he dubbed ‘the Natal experiment’.

Like Bews twenty years earlier, Malherbe accepted the prevailing necessity for segregation and believed that through separate but equal tuition social equality would, in time, be achieved. He was to be severely criticised in some quarters for his apparent acceptance of the status quo but showed no willingness to force the pace towards integration in tertiary education. In that sense, as Esselaar has concluded, ‘he was not in the vanguard of social change’.¹

Malherbe's vision for the future

Malherbe knew very little about Natal and NUC prior to his arrival. After assuming office he was astounded by the College's financial weakness considering the obvious wealth in Durban and the surrounding sugar farming region. He concluded that Natal was 'the least university-minded' of South Africa's then four provinces and attributed this primarily to the harbour city's 'backwardness' in recognising the importance of higher education in the broader sense. It was much the same attitude that Sam Campbell had come into conflict with three decades earlier. While some, in Malherbe's view, seemed to regard NUC as 'a glorified technical college', others dismissed it as 'a finishing school for the idle rich'.

He pointed out that most of the College's students actually 'come from the already over-taxed middle and professional classes. These people sacrifice a great deal to ensure that their children are at least fitted for a career which will enable them to make a decent living.' In his opinion, what he encountered substantiated the view Prime Minister Smuts had expressed earlier that Natal was 'still fallow land as far as university training is concerned'.

Other ethnic groups did not, as yet, come into the reckoning when Malherbe pointed out that, while Natal was per capita the wealthiest province, it currently had only one in every 300 of its white population studying at a university, compared with 230 in the Orange Free State, 215 in the Transvaal and 150 in the Cape. But, he declared, the magnificent Howard College site that the Durban City Council had donated and was then valued at £177 000 (R354 000) could, with adequate funding, 'be developed into one of the most beautiful campuses in the world'. Indeed, it might at that stage have become so, prior to the emergence of the entirely disparate architectural styles to which the Stella Bush Ridge was subsequently subjected.

Malherbe could justifiably have been nicknamed 'Energy Ernie' for his determination to change the prevailing local mindset and raise sufficient funds to expand university studies in the province. According to his wife Janie, he drew inspiration from the slogan 'The Impossible will be done immediately, miracles will take a little longer.' Malherbe brought to the task a considerable capacity for work as well as an ability to inspire enthusiasm in colleagues and in the public at large. A forceful and persuasive speaker despite his 'up-country' accent, within a month of assuming office and attending his first Senate meeting, he announced his intention to secure independent status for NUC. As he later wrote, like Bews he 'found it tiresome to be tied to the apron strings of the University of South Africa'.

In an interview at the time Malherbe declared, 'I will do my utmost to build up this place to a University of Natal which will serve not only the people of this Province but the whole of South Africa.' He expressed the hope that the quality and range of options offered would soon be such that the flow of students out of the province to other institutions would be reversed and that applicants would even be attracted from elsewhere in the country. But, he cautioned, 'Natal will get as good a University as it deserves – as it is prepared to exercise its own generosity in building up.'

In his first graduation address in May 1945, Malherbe declared it anomalous that Durban, South Africa's third most important city with the highest taxable income per head amongst whites, did not have an independent university. This aroused alarm in Pietermaritzburg that he intended to move NUC in its entirety to the port. Coupled with rumours that the Natal Supreme Court might soon follow Defence Headquarters to Durban, there was genuine concern that the provincial capital would soon 'sink to the status of a dorp'.

Privately he disagreed with the view that Pietermaritzburg would necessarily remain 'the sole fountainhead of our spiritual resources and that Durban would necessarily remain a soulless affair ... I do not think that Maritzburg, because it is half dead and inefficient commercially, has any claim on that account'. However, like his predecessors Malherbe had already taken up residence there, as Council required. According to Hattersley, he and his wife were actually 'more at home in the quieter academic atmosphere' of the capital than in the increasing hustle and bustle of the bigger centre.

The price to be paid for this took the form of numerous trips to Durban that could take more than three hours one way through mist on a single carriageway. Residence near the more rapidly growing campus would probably have done little to reduce the burden of travel. He was soon to find the dual-centred institution a taxing challenge, noting for his own comfort:

Administration – a perpetual headache, alleviated with aspirins of compromise and wet towels of caution. A perpetual balance between past and future and so many conflicting interests, vested and otherwise, that all solutions become empirical and temporary.

It was, nevertheless, generally recognised that by the mid-1940s four-fifths of the province's white matriculants lived in or around Durban. Professor John McKinnell, who deputised for the Principal when external responsibilities frequently took him abroad, advocated policies that were not always in harmony with his own but it soon became clear that, like Bews before him, what Malherbe had in mind was the expansion of university education for

whites in both Durban and Pietermaritzburg. This vision included a Faculty of Agriculture for the latter, as well as a bigger facility for ‘non-Europeans’ in the larger centre. There, it was anticipated, a medical school would be able to take full advantage of the practical training opportunities that were so evident.

In his 1945 Principal’s annual report Malherbe enlarged on decisions that Council and Senate had already taken during the previous couple of years. He envisaged a Pietermaritzburg College, which, in addition to its existing offerings in Arts, Education, Law and Science, would ‘make a special feature of Agriculture’ and might also provide courses in Domestic Science. The Pietermaritzburg campus was to form the nucleus of a federal university for the province, which might also include the Cedara Agricultural College. A Durban College would provide an increasing variety of courses in the arts and sciences in response to the growing demand for them and it would place strong emphasis on the social sciences, including Anthropology and Commerce, given ‘the nature of the situation’. In addition, it would specialise in the technological sciences such as the various branches of Engineering, with the possible inclusion of Marine Biology at a later stage.

Malherbe clearly echoed proposals that dated as far back as the Bews era when he envisaged a Non-European College in Durban, which was to be geographically separate from its European counterpart. It would, however, receive the same instruction and be run by the same departmental heads and faculties, with its students writing the same examinations, receiving the same qualifications and paying the same fees. These were, in effect, the recommendations that the College’s ‘Committee of Four’ (Jones, Burrows, Hattersley and Webb) had submitted on 23 May 1945. At that time 21 Africans had been permitted to take degree courses at Adams College, Fort Hare was reducing its quota of Indian students and it was believed that wealthy Indian businessmen were interested in endowing higher education for their community in Durban. On financial grounds Malherbe was not, however, in favour of a further separation of Indian and African students into distinct colleges as had earlier been envisaged.

There was more encouragement when, in March 1946, M.L. Sultan College was gazetted as ‘a place of higher learning’ and an Indian donor offered £12 500 (R25 000) towards the construction of a new building for this purpose. In August 1945 Malherbe had begun negotiations with the City Council for the allocation of land nearby at Curries Fountain but, unfortunately, the site that the Council granted was subject to an unexpired lease. This frustrated Mabel

Palmer's wish to provide laboratory facilities so that Indian students could be offered science options.

Initially Malherbe knew little about the complexities of inter-racial relationships in Natal and the sensitivities that could be so easily offended. He was under the impression, on the basis of undisclosed evidence, that what was later to be termed 'separate but equal' facilities were still largely acceptable to Durban's black community. Like Hattersley he argued that it was 'better for all concerned that we build up for the Non-Europeans a student life centring round their residences, sports fields and other college activities' instead of drawing them, 'as a very small minority, into the same college with our European students', as was the case at UCT and Wits.

Elsewhere he made it clear that, in the interim, 'non-Europeans' should make the most of the limited facilities provided. In his view, desegregated classes, graduation ceremonies and SRCs were currently unrealistic in the Natal context. The initial important challenge was to find a suitable site for the Non-European College that would not be too far distant for staff to commute between it and the Howard College campus. It would also need sufficient space and equipment to provide the pre-medical science courses for the 'non-European' medical school, which, it was hoped, would soon be established along with preliminary classes for a veterinary science programme.²

A Medical School for Durban

The campaign for a 'non-European' medical school soon took precedence over that for a broader Non-European College, though Malherbe may initially have envisaged it as but a step towards that broader objective. As Vanessa Noble's detailed research has shown, the establishment of the Medical School in Durban involved a long and tortuous process. In 1928 Bews had suggested such an institution, though the proposal for such a facility was much older. Dr A.B. (Alan) Taylor probably prompted him. He was the leading protagonist prior to Malherbe's arrival and, appropriately, was to be the Medical School's first dean. In 1921 Dr J.B. (James) McCord, a fellow member of the American Board Mission, had persuaded Taylor and his wife Mary, a Canadian nurse, to come to South Africa and assist at the hospital for black patients and trainees that he had established in 1909 on Durban's Berea, just outside the then municipal boundary.

Their early efforts to launch a fully fledged black medical school met with little official encouragement, the issue of entrance qualifications being a particular stumbling block. In 1936 NUC alumnus Dr George Gale

became involved with the five-year training scheme launched at Fort Hare that was intended to produce black medical aides and included a final year at McCord Hospital. However, he soon became disillusioned with its political ramifications and the following year resigned in protest. Nevertheless, the critical need for black medical practitioners became increasingly obvious. The 1938–1939 government-appointed Botha Commission, whose secretary happened to be E.G. Malherbe, eventually agreed that, given the ample clinical material there, Durban was indeed ‘the most suitable centre’ in which to site a ‘non-European’ medical school. Importantly, it also affirmed the earlier 1928 Loram Committee’s insistence that medical degrees awarded to black and white trainees should be of the same high standard.

While World War II delayed further developments, the Natal medical profession and NUC’s Council now lent their support to the proposal. Dr G.G. (George) Campbell, another son of Sam Campbell, was well to the fore, holding a meeting of interested parties at his home in January 1944 in the best family tradition. The Natal Coastal branch of the Medical Association of South Africa appointed him, Taylor and Dr J.A. Macfadyen as a Medical School Committee to promote the cause of black medical training in Durban and lobby government to that end. In the same year NUC’s Council officially approved the proposal to establish a Medical School under its administration.

Malherbe’s subsequent statistical research suggested that, far from there being an insufficient number of matriculated ‘non-European’ students to justify such a school, as the Minister of Education, Jan Hofmeyr, had concluded, it would initially attract at least 40 candidates a year. Hofmeyr was understandably concerned about the expense of establishing an entirely new medical school. As its former Principal and subsequently its Chancellor, he believed that Wits was the best option for black trainees. Malherbe, on the other hand, recognised that such a school could become one of NUC’s most prominent and distinguishing features in the university world, eventually serving the needs of the whole of southern Africa. Mabel Palmer, who also actively supported the Durban campaign, went so far as to contend that it would soon become a major centre for the medical training of Africans in the whole of sub-Saharan Africa.

Malherbe, Taylor, now medical superintendent of McCord Zulu Hospital, and George Gale, who had become Chief Officer of Health in Pretoria, co-ordinated their efforts to advance Durban’s claim. Wits did indeed initially appear to be the most appropriate centre for the expansion of ‘non-European’ medical training. It had the decided advantage of experienced staff in its employ, it was

relatively well equipped and it was already admitting black trainees. While Wits wrestled with its own financial constraints, Malherbe punted George Gale and Minister of Health Henry Gluckman's new approach to national health care. In contrast to the existing medical schools in Johannesburg, Pretoria and Cape Town, this emphasised preventative rather than curative services in a broader effort to improve community health standards countrywide.

Malherbe and his allies persistently lobbied the Federal Council of the Medical Association of South Africa, the Durban City Council, Pretoria officialdom and the general public for support. The Smuts government was suitably impressed by their enthusiasm, compared with what has been described as a somewhat 'pedestrian' response from Wits. The favourable report of the National Health Services Commission and expressions of approval from the Federal Council of the Medical Association of South Africa also helped Malherbe's cause. In 1947 government at last approved in principle the establishment of a 'non-European' Medical School under NUC's administration. This was far beyond the College's modest financial means but as it was regarded as a national facility it was to be launched and maintained with state funding. Initially it was intended also for the training of those whites who planned to practise in black communities.

Vanessa Noble has shown that NUC owed more to Gluckman's influence in persuading the government to site the school in Durban than was generally appreciated at the time. Despite his close personal connections with Wits, he realised that with one medical school in the Cape and two in the then Transvaal, South Africa's fourth should be established in Natal because of the huge African and Indian population there and the ample scope for more effective research into a variety of tropical and subtropical diseases.

Other advocates of Durban's claim pointed to its strong body of experienced medical practitioners, its existing network of hospitals and municipal clinics and the variety of science and other disciplines already offered at NUC. This combination of favourable circumstances promised to provide aspiring doctors with easy familiarity with local conditions, wide training opportunities and instruction in several related fields of expertise. The region's multi-ethnic, widely varied socio-economic population also clearly offered a range of readily accessible research opportunities in both urban and rural communities.

Following the advent of Dr D.F. (Daniel) Malan's National Party government in 1948 in succession to that of Smuts, there was talk of establishing the new segregated medical school in the Transkei or Ciskei. In 1949, after Malherbe and Gale had engaged in further strenuous lobbying to back up Gluckman's

persuasive arguments, the new government reaffirmed its predecessor's decision. Nearly 100 acres (40.5 hectares) were allocated for residential purposes in this connection, not as an extension of the distant Adams College, but at Wentworth, the site of a wartime Naval Gunnery School, some 8 kilometres from Howard College on the then southern outskirts of the city.

This conclusion, announced on the eve of the incorporation of the University of Natal, was indeed welcome news. However, the extensive financial support that government attached to it was on the understanding that this was to be a strictly 'non-European' Medical School, in accordance with the new regime's segregationist philosophy. NUC really had no option but to accept this significant condition because its financial resources were already stretched by virtue of its dual-centred and segregated nature.

In exchange for its compliance the state undertook to meet the cost of buildings and equipment as well as all annual running expenses, and to subsidise the new facility separately from the rest of the institution. The earlier establishment of NUC's Non-European Section had already paved the way towards the creation of an exclusively black faculty in an otherwise 'whites-only' institution, although Malherbe did hope that exceptions would be made for individual white trainees in accordance with the initial intention.

Ever the pragmatist, he reluctantly conceded the principle of university autonomy with regard to the Medical School on the strength of the new Minister of Education, Arts and Science J.H. Viljoen's assurances that this segregationist condition would not be closely enforced. Unfortunately, his softening influence in Cabinet was waning while that of hardliner and future Prime Minister Hendrik Verwoerd was waxing. In practice, the proviso quashed any feint hopes that 'European' students, if only at a postgraduate research level, might be admitted on a case by case basis. Natal's prospective white doctors would all have to continue training elsewhere. Malherbe did at least succeed in negating initial suggestions that Indians, too, might be excluded from the proposed school.

There were further long delays before the Durban City Council could be only narrowly persuaded to permit the construction of a black medical school in what was a white residential area. Malherbe also had difficulty in persuading it to grant the required land as part of the £100 000 (R200 000) that the Council had guaranteed towards the project. He was personally convinced that the current mayor had an 'inveterate prejudice against Non-Europeans'. Once permission had been given, every effort was made to launch the new

facility with the best equipment available and to ensure that, from the outset, high academic standards were maintained.

While the National Party government insisted upon strict racial segregation it did accept the need for first-rate training in order to meet the urgent medical needs of South Africa's black urban and rural communities. It was to take some years before students could be convinced that this was indeed the case and there were mixed feelings among local Indians about accepting yet another segregated facility. Members of the Durban Indian community subsequently contributed £6 000 (R12 000) towards the project.

The Medical School was eventually opened in 1951 with an initial 35 students, after intensive collaboration with the Natal branch of the South African Medical Association and the Provincial Administration. It was a monument to the prolonged efforts of several determined individuals – James McCord, Alan Taylor, E.G. Malherbe and Mabel Palmer being among the more prominent. Taylor served as acting dean until 1952 when Gale relinquished his Pretoria post to occupy the position full-time. Thereafter, as Noble has pointed out, until 1976 it was the only tertiary-level institution in South Africa that focused on training black medical students. Sensibly, it was situated next door to King Edward VIII Hospital, one of South Africa's largest 'non-European' medical facilities, with government meeting its commitment to pay for the building (R825 000), as well as financing all running expenses and a number of bursaries.

Government also provided land, as promised, at Wentworth where an additional adjacent site was leased. The military buildings there were adapted to provide the necessary hostel accommodation in addition to laboratories for pre-medical courses at an eventual cost of over R123 000 to the University. The four essential pre-medical first-year science courses were taught there as well as classes in English, History and Psychology or Sociology. The idea of a fully fledged College at Wentworth, which had been punted by Bews and Malherbe, was abandoned. Transport difficulties made it impractical for 'non-European' part-timers to attend lectures at that distance from the city centre and the alternative of a residential College was not what many wanted at that time or could afford.³

The campaign for University status initiated

While the struggle to establish a Medical School was still in its early stages NUC's incorporation as a University was initiated soon after Malherbe's arrival in the province. Early in 1946 its Council formally advised the Department of

Education and the University of South Africa that it would petition Parliament for full University status in terms of the provisions under Act 12 of 1916. The University of South Africa raised no objections and from October 1946 Professor Frank Burchell chaired a College Committee charged with drawing up an appropriate draft Bill on which members of the University Senate were invited to comment in April 1947.

The decisions taken in 1946 and 1947 to duplicate full-time arts and social science classes in Durban, without reducing those in Pietermaritzburg or sacrificing the 'unitary nature' of each department, clearly reflected Malherbe's commitment, like that of Bews, to the principle of dualism. In support of this policy Council declared, 'Durban has too long been fed education on the cafeteria method of part-time education in the arts and sciences ... These really constitute the core of university education and must be studied full-time as far as possible.'⁴

Library

NUC in Durban had, indeed, hitherto been characterised primarily by part-time studies but the decision to expand its full-time offerings was a bold step that was to have long-term financial implications for both centres. Nora Buchanan's research has shown that this applied, not least, to the provision of library facilities involving more accommodation, staff and books as well as significant administrative reorganisation. In 1946, when Dr H.C. Coblans at last assumed the post of Chief Librarian for which he had been selected in 1939, he was accorded Senate status. At that time there were four other members of staff – Miss Fraser and Miss Galloway (in succession to Miss Snelling) who were then assistants-in-charge at Howard College and in Pietermaritzburg respectively, an assistant, Miss J. Jameson (BA SA), at City Buildings and a part-time assistant, Mr S.M. Moodley, in the 'non-European' Library.

In June 1947 a Deputy Librarian, Mr H.L. Maple, was also appointed in view of the fact that Coblans was expected to oversee and unify no less than four libraries and, if possible, still intended to take up the Carnegie Library fellowship offered to him in 1939. The eight months' leave initially granted to Coblans in December 1948 was eventually extended to more than two years after he took the opportunity to serve as librarian at UNESCO and only returned to NUC in January 1951, resigning at the end of the following year to go back there.

Despite his long absence and fairly brief tenure, Buchanan's research has shown that Coblans' appointment was indeed the beginning of a new era in

the history of library services at NUC. The new Chief Librarian and slightly enlarged staff immediately had to cater for a huge post-war student increase of almost 100% between 1945 and 1946 alone. Although it was initially envisaged that the University Librarian (as the post was now designated) would be based in Pietermaritzburg, Coblans remained in Durban, possibly because he already had a home there or because of the unusual complications involved in running three libraries in that city.

The new Deputy Librarian was appointed in Pietermaritzburg, bringing the staff complement there to two compared with four, including an assistant in each of the three libraries, in Durban. It was yet another indication that NUC at that centre was gradually outpacing its original campus in the provincial capital. Nevertheless, Coblans did succeed in maintaining a co-operative relationship with and between the two Library Committees as he pursued his brief to unify the College's library services.

To that end several administrative changes were implemented in the interests of ensuring uniformity with regard to the ordering, classification and loan of books. A much-needed central catalogue, reflecting all of NUC's holdings, was embarked upon to avoid future unnecessary duplication and ensure that the existing book stock was available to all prospective borrowers. The librarians in both centres were kept very busy as by 1946 publications from abroad were again available in significant quantities after the war years and items that had been ordered several years previously now had to be classified and catalogued. There were 3 310 new book accessions in 1946 and another 3 847 in 1947. Book issues increased from 14 700 in 1945 to 24 002 in 1946 and 26 066 in 1947, while inter-library loans tripled in 1946–1947 as student and staff numbers rose.

Unavoidable duplication among the four libraries coupled with limited financial resources meant that none of them adequately met the rising demands of users. Donations and exchanges were important ways of increasing library holdings with, for example, the French government donating 13 periodicals in 1948 and Natal University Press publications providing useful material in the latter regard. The research limitations of NUC's library resources were exposed by the fact that, for a time, it remained a net borrower in terms of inter-library loans, lending only 47% of what it borrowed from other institutions in 1946 (154 compared to 327 items) but improving to 55% in 1949 (481 compared to 874).

Despite the difficulties involved in achieving what Coblans described as 'a reasonable degree of adequacy', accommodation also became an increasing

challenge as the book and periodical holdings multiplied. Efforts were made to ease the congestion by finding additional space for all the libraries but the situation was particularly bad at Howard College. There the completion of the neighbouring Memorial Tower Building (in 1951) was eagerly awaited, though administering a library housed in a tower was soon to prove highly impractical. Additional space was found at City Buildings by occupying an adjacent lecture room and the Non-European Library gained much more commodious premises when early in 1946 it was moved into an ex-army hut at Sastri College. From there it was initially planned to relocate it to Wentworth where Malherbe envisaged establishing an associate 'Non-European' College.

In Pietermaritzburg the addition in 1949 of a Memorial Reading Room to the Library and Fine Arts Building provided much-needed extra seating. The occupation of the upper floor, which was released from Fine Arts to the Library in November that year, had to be re-planned when an architect's report indicated that it could not bear the heavy load that a large number of books would impose upon it.

The 1934 library orientation lectures for students were not repeated until 1945 when Snelling gave a brief talk to first years. Coblans believed that the libraries had an important teaching function to fulfil, over and above their other services to the College community and beyond the mere explanation of rules and regulations for borrowers. In pursuit of a more subject-focused approach he introduced weekly lectures on the sources and organisation of scientific literature for the benefit of M.Sc. and fourth-year Engineering students. He intended extending these classes to other postgraduates and all third-year students but the programme was handicapped by the shortage of qualified library graduates and the difficulty encountered in persuading faculties to provide a weekly lecture slot for this purpose.

In a conscious effort to broaden students' horizons beyond their subject specialisations Coblans also introduced 'new book' and post-1890 'modern fiction' sections in each of the four libraries. He initiated weekly lunchtime film shows on matters of academic interest but this service could not be extended to the after-hours 'non-European' classes.

In 1947 Senate resolved to form a Joint Library Committee to establish uniform procedures among the four libraries, make staff appointments and allocate financial grants. It comprised the Principal *ex officio*, the University Librarian, the chairpersons of the two existing Library Committees and one other member from each of those bodies. In practice it was subordinate to the two local committees and Coblans did not favour the arrangement. He

insisted that it would not promote the desired unitary system, which required the elimination of the existing division of control and the contrasting ways in which the local committees were appointed. Nor, in his view, did it provide an objective means of calculating appropriate annual estimates for each of NUC's four libraries.

Coblans proposed that the current library committees should rather be scrapped in favour of a single body that represented both centres in the same way as the existing faculty committees did. The new arrangement nevertheless remained in place because the Pietermaritzburg Library Committee would not accept this alternative, apparently out of fear that centralisation would result in its interests being neglected by the preoccupation of meeting Durban's growing demands.

The allocation of the book grant was a perennial matter for discussion in the Joint Library Committee, as Coblans had anticipated. In 1947 both Library Committees made proposals as to how this could best be achieved. The Pietermaritzburg formula, based on the number of courses taught by each department at one or both centres and on student registrations, was rejected because of the anomalous results it seemed to produce. In the absence of agreement on an equitable departmental allocation of library funds the available annual grant continued to be divided by centre, with one allocation to Pietermaritzburg and three to Durban, each amount being determined by student enrolments at the four centres.

Somewhat condescendingly, it was also agreed that the Non-European Section should receive more than its fair share, as calculated on this basis, in order to meet the special needs of its students with regard to 'requisite cultural background'. In 1948 the College's library services enjoyed a windfall of \$15 000 from the Carnegie Corporation with which it substantially improved its collection of general reference works and scientific journals.

The NUC Council eventually agreed to the Committee's proposal that it should finance the campus libraries (excluding salary costs) on the basis of £2 (R4) per registered student but this was reduced to £1/15s (R3.50) due to the College's 'financial difficulties' arising out of its rapid post-war growth and dual nature.

NUC's expenditure was far less than UCT's £3/10s (R7) per student (including library salaries and equipment) in 1945 but by 1949 the College was nevertheless allocating 3.8% of its modest total £218 000 (R436 000) expenditure on library services compared with the minimum 3.5%, which American and British experts at that time recommended. In

common with the rest of NUC, library finances were set to deteriorate further as government pegged university grants for the next three years (1949–1951).⁵ Meanwhile, student numbers continued to increase.

Students and student activities

In support of its claim to full university status NUC's Council pointed out that it currently had more than 1 900 students, which made it easily the largest constituent college of the University of South Africa. This compared with less than 500 at UCT and Stellenbosch when they were incorporated as universities in 1916, while Wits and Pretoria had less than 900 each when they became independent in 1921 and 1930 respectively. Malherbe noted that Rhodes currently had 1 100, the University of the Orange Free State 800, Potchefstroom 700 and Huguenot College 130, the first three of which were also beginning to move towards independent university status. NUC's claim was clearly based on much more than provincial patriotism and a desire for independence from the control of the University of South Africa.⁶

Malherbe's personal connections with the post-war Smuts government, his wartime service as director of Census and Statistics and in Army Educational Services as well as his earlier directorship of Educational and Social Research, made him well aware of current policy to provide ex-servicemen with a full range of training opportunities. It was recognised that only in this way would it be possible to generate the skills so desperately needed for future economic development while avoiding the post-World War I mistake of demobilising untrained men into the job market.

Malherbe pointed out that NUC was expecting to cater for at least 400 of the 3 200 ex-servicemen anticipating admission to South African universities. In 1946 they actually numbered 650 in an NUC total of 1 950 registrations. This figure included an additional increase of 350 other students compared with an average of only 30 a year over the previous ten years. Several refresher and accelerated courses were mounted to assist ex-servicemen. Members of staff obligingly sacrificed the 1945–1946 long summer vacation so that war veterans could work through it to prepare themselves for examination in March and June 1946 as well as in November 1945.

After NUC's total of 994 students at the end of 1945 (345 in Pietermaritzburg and 649 in Durban, including 152 'non-Europeans') had climbed to 1 950 in 1946, it dropped slightly in 1947 to 1 884 (668 in Pietermaritzburg and 1 216 in Durban, including 294 'non-Europeans'). At that stage there were 868 part-timers, including 271 of the latter category as well as 494 'Europeans' in

Durban and 103 in Pietermaritzburg. Only 15.4% of students in the capital were studying part-time compared with nearly 63% in the harbour city.

There were 86 postgraduates (4.6% of total enrolments) in 1947, 46 in Arts (25 part-time), two (both part-time) in Social Science, 26 in Science, 11 in Commerce (all part-time) and one in Engineering. In addition, the Arts Faculty also had by far the largest number of undergraduates (499), followed by Commerce (383, all but 40 part-time), Engineering (324), Science (282), Architecture (118), Law (54), Social Science (53), Agriculture (52) and Education (33). In 1948 NUC registered a total of 1 955 students – 660 in Pietermaritzburg and the balance in Durban (including 327 ‘non-Europeans’).

In 1946 the overall pass rate among first years was 67%, among second years 70% and among third years 83%. As the number of options increased Malherbe was convinced of the need to provide students with adequate guidance concerning their choice of courses and careers. Experience had shown that these were often embarked upon arbitrarily, sometimes resulting in maladjustment and failure. A beginning was made by subjecting first-year students to intelligence tests and in 1947 Senate agreed to the appointment of ‘an advisory officer provided that the aim of securing a balanced academic training for the student is at no time subordinated to the aim of fitting him for a suitable career’.

The following year Dr Oswald Black was appointed as Student Adviser from a field of nearly 200 applicants. The position, which was the first full-time appointment of its kind at a South African university, was accorded professorial status and included automatic membership of all faculty boards as well as of the Senate. Malherbe regarded it as one of the most important developments yet at the College.

Black’s brief was, in part, to assist new arrivals in adjusting to campus life and in curriculum selection on the basis of their school records and aptitude tests. His function was also to guide the career choices of those who had completed their studies, liaise with parents and prospective employers for both vacation and permanent jobs and, if possible, assist in the lecturing of Industrial Psychology in Durban. Prior to settling into the post Black spent three months acquainting himself with conditions at NUC and then went to the USA to catch up on the latest campus counselling methods. He declared that his task was to ‘reduce wastage – to eliminate, where possible, “square pegs in round holes”’.

This appointment had become essential at a time when student numbers were increasing and the traditional personal contacts with staff members

for direction and advice had been considerably reduced. In addition to his advisory duties Black also served as Warden at Oribi (1949–1960) and briefly at the new William O'Brien Residence (1961). By 1963 when he retired he was conducting about 1 200 personal interviews a year, representing roughly a quarter of all the students in both centres.

Other important innovations were introduced after the war for the benefit of students. One was the so-called College (later University) Lectures initiated in 1946 in both Durban and Pietermaritzburg. An hour a week was allocated, free of all other teaching/learning commitments, during which students were accorded the opportunity of broadening their academic vistas beyond their particular areas of specialisation by attending lectures delivered either by prominent visitors or by members of the College's own staff.

In the same year, as numbers increased, Senate ratified a Students Charter. The avowed intention was to enhance the status of the three existing councils representing the student bodies in Pietermaritzburg, Durban and the Non-European Section prior to NUC becoming a fully constituted University. The existing Students Union of the latter section initially suggested the alternative of a single SRC with three local councils but eventually opted for the status quo, which currently gave them representation on the Durban European SRC.

Malherbe pointed out that such an arrangement was actually *ultra vires* and denied the claim that, in doing so, he was seeking to enforce racial segregation. He argued that physically separate 'non-European' classes had been accepted at the time they were initiated in the 1930s and that he believed there should be a fully constituted Non-European SRC with direct access to the College authorities.

The formulation of the Charter, including the use of racial terminology, i.e., 'European' and 'non-European', coupled with student concerns about ensuring



O. (Oswald) Black was from the Western Cape, where he acquired a B.Sc. from Stellenbosch University before teaching in high schools and universities both in South Africa and the United States. He continued his studies in Education and Social Science, completing an MA and Ph.D. at Columbia University in New York. Back in South Africa he worked for 18 years as psychologist in the Department of the Interior and Public Health and during World War II served as Re-Adjustment Officer to the Union Defence Force.

full and competent representivity, also created a crisis on the Pietermaritzburg campus. There the SRC resigned before agreement was eventually reached with the Principal. Hans Meidner, the SRC chairman, argued that it was 'a small concession for the non-Europeans to ask that they not be labelled with a name, descriptive as it may be, to which they object'. However, Malherbe was adamant that separate representation for 'European' and 'non-European' students reflected the policy laid down by Council and had to be accepted as falling outside the province of both Senate and the SRCs, though he anticipated that such terminology would eventually be dispensed with.

In its 29-year existence the Non-European Section never was favoured with some other name and relations among the three SRCs varied with the periodic election of new incumbents. In terms of the Charter finally agreed upon after protracted negotiations and a great deal of publicity unfavourable to NUC, each SRC was empowered to draw up its own constitution, within the framework of the Charter, and had direct access to the Principal, while a Joint Board comprising four representatives from each of them was to deal with matters of common concern. During the course of 1948 the 'non-European' SRC was officially constituted and affiliated to NUSAS in its own right.

One common issue, though it did not concern the Non-European Section, was the regularisation of inter-campus raids. These were becoming more hazardous as they sometimes involved nocturnal hot pursuits on the increasingly busy main road between the two centres. In 1949 Howard College students, who fiercely protected their mascot, a stuffed bird called Horace (later replaced by Wimpy), achieved a major triumph when they successfully removed the brass signal gun mounted in front of the Main Building in Scottsville as well as abducting Maritzburg's song-leader 'Conzi' Schroder and mascot Oswald.

Schroder but not Oswald was rescued in a night-time counter-raid on Durban. Thereafter a large, potentially aggressive crowd on the Pietermaritzburg campus awaited the cannon's compulsory return by a certain hour that the Principal had stipulated. The looming confrontation was defused when the Durban students entrusted the precious item to a rickshaw-puller to complete its journey home from the outskirts of town. It was eventually ensconced in the relative safety of the University Archive. Raids aside, relations between the two centres were generally good, with the SRCs meeting periodically to resolve 'thorny problems'.

Ex-servicemen infused the campuses with a new vibrancy and resolve both to succeed academically and to enjoy themselves after years of often unpleasant wartime experience. In some fields the refresher courses that were

laid on did enable them to join the regular classes fairly quickly. In his capacity as a temporary leave substitute in History and Political Science John Sellers was impressed by their determination to make up for lost time. He remembered how the dedication with which most of them approached their studies set a positive example for younger students who were straight out of high school.

The distance between the men's residence at Oribi and the Scottsville campus was considered to be a handicap in promoting *esprit de corps*, though geographical distances and the absence of on-campus residences was a far greater disadvantage in the case of Durban. The reinstated annual Joint Rag went from strength to strength. A Rag Ball and the May 1945 radio broadcast of a musical programme by 20 Maritzburg students were new devices to raise funds. These were in addition to the now traditional torch relay race between the two centres, the sale of raffle tickets, the activities of 'collection gangs', the 'Seen/Gesien' sticker sales to motorists, the float procession and street collection through the city centre, the Rag Bioscope, the sawdust fight in front of the City Hall and the Mock Trial of eminent citizens who were 'sentenced' to pay fines for their fabricated transgressions. The 3 am train journey and late return between the two cities was always a special, if exhausting, student occasion.

There were still numerous other on-campus social diversions, including dances, formal balls, fetes, revues and plays. The Dramatic Societies and SCAs on both campuses were as active as ever as was the Students Catholic Union in Pietermaritzburg, though the Durban SCA struggled to find meeting times that were suitable for part-timers. In Pietermaritzburg the Arts Society arranged a series of interesting lunchtime speakers and a new Economics Society gathered momentum but the Chess Club, French Circle and Afrikaans Taal en Kultuur Klub were fairly low-key. By 1949 the latter club, along with the Philosophy and Psychology Society, founded in 1946 with Professor John Findlay as its president, had become defunct. As there were no less than 20 student organisations on campus the SRC's policy was not to revive any in which there was no longer particular interest. In 1948–1949 an Oppidani Society was formed in Pietermaritzburg, such was the growing number of post-war students living off-campus at home or in digs.

Campus stage productions in Pietermaritzburg included *Oedipus Rex*, which history lecturer Mark Prestwich produced and in which fourteen-year-old Colin Gardner (a future professor of English) played the role of the boy who leads in the blind Tiresias, portrayed by a student who was blind drunk during most of the performances. Other productions included *King Lear*,

Macbeth, *Camus*, *Countess Julie*, *Popomack*, *The Seagull* (with Professor John Findlay as producer) and *Murder in the Cathedral*, starring Mark Prestwich as Becket. In addition, four one-act plays were produced during 1947, including one in Afrikaans, and there were several play readings. NUC Council granted £500 (R1 000) for improvements to the Main Hall stage in Pietermaritzburg and Professor Rosenberg financed the award of an annual ‘Oscar’ for the best stage performance. The Music, Scientific and Law Societies in Pietermaritzburg continued apace while the Debating Society was revitalised under a new committee and the traditional Inchbold Debate was maintained.

In the post-war era the Pietermaritzburg branch of NUSAS began to play a more prominent role on campus. On 1 May 1945 at a general meeting of the student body 45 seniors and 29 first years outvoted 28 seniors and 17 freshers in supporting a motion that expressed concern at the notice given in Parliament of a private member’s Bill proposing racial segregation of the universities and giving ‘the fullest support’ to NUSAS in its intention to oppose it. NUC representatives became more active in that organisation, welcoming the admission of Fort Hare to its ranks and decrying the disaffiliation of the University of the Orange Free State and of UCT’s SRC.

NUSAS also held social functions on the Pietermaritzburg campus to raise funds for the rebuilding of Adams College and publicised research on Adult Education with particular reference to Africans. When, in July 1948, a NUSAS congress was held in Pietermaritzburg it made its presence felt not only through the research conference and assembly meetings but also by means of a variety of events such as musical recitals, plays, films, local tours, lectures, a meeting of student newspaper editors and the annual National Exhibition of Students’ Painting, Sculpture and Photography. A large Pietermaritzburg delegation was subsequently sent to the NUSAS jubilee congress in Cape Town.

It was also in 1948 that alumnus Alan Paton’s book *Cry, The Beloved Country*, was reviewed in *NUX* and served, in the words of the reviewer, to draw attention to ‘the burden of African misery’. In the same year the more conservative Durban SRC, which by contrast had earlier been criticised by students for being anti-segregationist, came close to disengaging from NUSAS and in 1949 reluctantly agreed to attend an inter-SRC conference if it was limited to ‘Europeans only’.

In 1947 a new student magazine, *Natalia*, was launched in anticipation of ‘the impending transformation of the College into the University of Natal’ and in the hope that it would prove ‘more flattering to a mature and independent

body' and 'more satisfying' than its predecessors. The *NUX* newspaper continued to be as popular on the Pietermaritzburg campus as ever with the SRC confidently describing it as 'the best and most regularly appearing student paper' in the country.

In another attempt to raise the general tone on the Pietermaritzburg campus the SRC tried to overcome the immediate post-war excesses of initiation rites by requiring all freshers to volunteer for one or other duty. This could take the form of assisting in the SRC, Students Union, *NUX* and Rag Offices, or helping to establish the Students Archive and a card index system with entries on all first years. It was a more sophisticated form of initiation that did not enjoy the approval of traditionalists who preferred what might be described as a more physical approach.

Decidedly more popular was the SRC's attempt to organise a Vacation Employment Scheme for those students who were eager to recharge their financial batteries. Another welcome initiative was its redecoration of the Students Union Building for the first time since its construction in 1939. A third was the attempt, from 1949, to integrate the new geographically removed Faculty of Agriculture's students into the broader Pietermaritzburg student body.

In Durban the student newspaper *Dome* was revitalised and in 1946 a War Memorial Committee was formed. In 1947 it amalgamated with the Sports Development Committee for the more effective accumulation of funds to which students were also invited to contribute. The Engineering Society gathered post-war momentum with regular readings of papers by students, members of staff and visiting experts. The Dramatic Society was also revitalised with a production in 1947 of the ever-popular *The Importance of Being Earnest* in the Technical College's Arthur Smith Hall, several play readings and Elizabeth Sneddon's staging of *The Trojan Women* in the Open Air Theatre on the grounds of the new Women's Residence. The Music Society, founded in 1947, confined itself to lunchtime recorded recitals in the new refectory, though its distance from the lecture theatres affected attendance as it did at other lunchtime society meetings.

Following the election in September 1948 of the first 'non-European' SRC in Durban and its affiliation with NUSAS, it elected a local NUSAS committee and was instrumental in forming a Social Studies Society and a Debating Society. The 'non-European' students, as before, organised their own graduation social and dance and participated in Rag. They also took part in the March 1949 inaugural celebrations of the University of Natal but objected

to the segregated arrangements, which, like the annual graduation ceremony, characterised those proceedings.

On the sports front £5 500 (R11 000) was spent during 1945 on providing two new rugby fields and a hockey field on the Pietermaritzburg campus. A turf wicket, cricket nets and more tennis courts followed. Facilities were developed more rapidly in Pietermaritzburg than in Durban but neither campus, as yet, was equipped with a swimming pool and competitive standards in water sports remained much lower than those on other campuses. In 1946 'Honours' and 'Colours' became known as 'Blues' and 'Half Blues' in the Oxbridge tradition and the Athletics Union blazer became a 'College blazer' with the relevant sport indicated in each individual case.

Raymond Adie, later chief geologist for the British Antarctic Survey and professor of Geology at Birmingham University, was one of the more prominent Pietermaritzburg Athletics Union secretaries at this time. Other well-known contemporary campus personalities were Douglas Shearer, the future Supreme Court judge, who was noted for his oratorical skills and piano playing, and Desmond Clarence, the future University Principal. Fellow students admired him for having 'a magnificent larynx which can be heard to advantage when training freshers in the College war-cry' as well as 'an infinite amount of superfluous energy' with 'no sense of tune or time' but 'genial, versatile'.

The NUC rugby teams in Durban and Pietermaritzburg both benefited hugely from the influx of ex-servicemen after being in the doldrums during the war years. Both now attracted over 100 members and the former regained first-division status in 1948 but lost the inter-college match to Maritzburg 9–3 the following year. A combined side lost 9–0 to Pretoria University but won the next encounter, while NUC Maritzburg men's and women's hockey teams won the 1948–1949 inter-varsity tournaments, involving all South African universities, as did the cricket side. Its star fast bowler, Cuan McCarthy of Pietermaritzburg, was the only South African student to play in the national side in all five tests against the visiting M.C.C. team. The Golf Club, with 50 members, also enjoyed some success, winning the Natal Inter-Club Shield in 1946 and its star T.L. Rogers the A Division championship.

By 1949 there were 11 sports clubs functioning on the Pietermaritzburg campus, i.e., Athletics, Badminton, Cricket, Golf, Men's Hockey, Physical Training and Netball, Rugby, Soccer, Table Tennis, Tennis and Women's Hockey, all of them covered by the Accident Fund that the Athletics Union initiated in 1946. The Soccer Club, for one, benefited from this, suffering

several injuries that debilitated its limited membership, though it did have the satisfaction of demonstrating its superior fitness by beating a 12-man Rugby Club side 7–0 in a football friendly.

The smaller Athletics Union in Durban was enlarged with the admission of Football, Physical Training, Squash and Women's Hockey Clubs while the Boating Club was reactivated after the war with 44 members, despite a shortage of equipment. The Tennis Club also enjoyed a marked revival with 20 players attending regular Sunday afternoon tournaments. In 1947 the Sports Fields Development Committee was formed under the chairmanship of D.J. Hulley to raise funds for urgently needed campus sports facilities. Pietermaritzburg generally got the better of Durban in the annual torch relays, swimming galas and women's hockey matches, with honours even in men's hockey.

Students who could afford to do so made the most of unfettered post-war travel opportunities by cycling, camping and hitchhiking around Europe and taking part-time jobs such as building railways in Yugoslavia and picking apples in Kent. Some attended international student conferences or joined organised NUSAS tours.

Back home many found time to devote to worthy causes among the less privileged, such as the library the SCA established for Indian students. There was also George Logue's Oribi African Night School, which started in 1946 with a £10 SRC grant, five teachers and three pupils, soon rising to 20 of the latter with the Psychology lecture theatre being used as a classroom. Another scheme to appeal to students was to 'adopt' a child from the St Cross Orphanage for at least one afternoon a week, usually on Saturdays, not just for 'a Saturday treat; consisting of a cowboy bioscope film and a handful of sticky sweets' but in the hope that the children might find 'real and lasting friends in the students'.

Reflecting on his days as a student in Pietermaritzburg in the 1940s, Ray Rutherford-Smith conceded that NUC's limited size restricted 'genuine scholarship and research', with staff carrying 'grossly overloaded' teaching loads. Ella Pratt-Yule ran the Psychology Department there single-handedly, and some colleagues unfortunately took to the bottle. Nevertheless, Rutherford-Smith recalled that the quality of student life was 'more than excellent' and the staff, with a few exceptions, 'serious civilised people, devoted to their disciplines, exceptionally hard-working (unlike some academics with whom I subsequently worked), kind and considerate to their students'.⁷

Staff

The increase in student registrations created the formidable challenge of attracting and keeping sufficient numbers of well-qualified and competent staff who were in short supply in the post-war period. Limited accommodation and poor salaries were both serious disincentives. In 1945 NUC's Council introduced improved salary scales but some staff members still found it necessary to earn additional income through journalism, school examining and other means. From the beginning of 1947 NUC introduced a further 20% salary increase as well as paying the superior civil service cost of living allowance in place of the standard compulsory living allowance. Both were implemented on a sliding scale to soften the impact on the College's finances but, even then, salaries still compared unfavourably with those offered at some other tertiary institutions.

According to Malherbe's 1948–1949 Principal's report, the 1945 salary increases, coupled with the creation of much-needed new chairs including Philosophy (Pietermaritzburg) and Social Anthropology (Durban) as well as 14 permanent and 23 temporary lectureships, raised salary costs from £35 000 (R70 000) in 1944 to £42 000 (R88 000) in 1945 and £56 000 (R112 000) in 1946, by which stage total staff numbers had risen from 101 to 139, including an increase from 19 to 26 chairs. The salary bill had risen further to £86 000 (R172 000) by 1948, when there were 219 staff members including 31 professors. Malherbe remained confident that a 'forward-looking policy' was justified in view of rising student enrolments and that 'as the College "delivers the goods" so the public of Natal will back it'. He believed that the province had 'sufficient untapped resources both in students and in financial backing to warrant a progressive policy of expanding our University facilities both in Maritzburg and in Durban'.

By 1945 NUC had acquired the full-time services of A.H. Allsopp (BA MA SA), the principal of Training College, as associate professor in Education in succession to Alexander Reid, W.H.O. Schmidt (MA SA and Ph.D. Leipzig) as lecturer in Educational Psychology, K.F. Byrd (MA B.Sc. Econ. London ACA) who was succeeded in 1948 by J.A. Hawkes as professor in Accounting and Auditing, R.J. Randall (B.Comm. Rand ASAA CA SA) as lecturer in Economics and Economic History, and the aforementioned P.J. de Vos (MA Pretoria) as senior lecturer in Sociology.

Among the new full-time appointees thereafter was G.H. (Geoffrey) Durrant, professor of English in Pietermaritzburg and E. (Elizabeth) Sneddon,

senior lecturer in English in Durban (both from February 1945), as well as H.T. (Tom) Kelly, professor of Commerce in Durban (from March 1945 to 1968), Dr H.C. Coblans formerly in Chemistry now as Chief Librarian (from December 1945), N.D. (Des) Clarence as senior demonstrator in Physics (from January 1946) and a future professor, dean and principal, J.N. (John) Findlay as professor in the newly created Department of Philosophy in Pietermaritzburg



G.H. (Geoffrey) Durrant was born in 1913 in Derbyshire and educated at Chesterfield School and Cambridge where in 1935 he took the English Tripos (Class 1). He acquired a Teacher's Diploma at King's College, London, and gained lecturing experience at Durham and Tübingen before emigrating to a senior lectureship at Stellenbosch (1939–1940). He saw active service during World War II in the tank corps before being appointed to the Army Education Service where he was senior information officer. After occupying the chair of English in Pietermaritzburg from 1945, in 1961 he emigrated to

a professorship at the University of Manitoba in Winnipeg, Canada (1965–1966), and then to a chair at the University of British Columbia (1966–1979). During the course of his distinguished career he was a member of numerous learned societies, won several academic awards, acquired a D.Litt. from the University of South Africa (1967) and published two books on Wordsworth as well as numerous academic articles. He celebrated his 100th birthday in 2013.



N.R. (Desmond) Clarence was born in 1921 in Pietermaritzburg and was educated there at Merchiston and Maritzburg College. In 1941 he was awarded a B.Sc. first class in Physics at NUC, followed by a Teacher's Diploma (1945), and M.Sc. with distinction (1947), an Elsie Ballot Scholarship (1947), a BA Hons (Cambridge 1949) and a Ph.D. (Natal 1954). Following his appointment in 1946 to the NUC staff, he was promoted to lecturer in Physics (1949), senior lecturer (1956), professor of Experimental Physics in Durban (1959–1974), Vice-Principal in Durban (1974–1977)

and Principal (1977–1984). He served on various national and international professional bodies and was awarded an honorary doctorate before his death in 1995.

(from November 1945), Geoffrey Long in Fine Arts (from December 1945), F.J. (Fritz) Schuddeboom, temporary then full-time lecturer in Mathematics in Durban (from February 1946) and Lieutenant-Colonel G. (George) Wynne in Law, Durban (from the beginning of 1946).

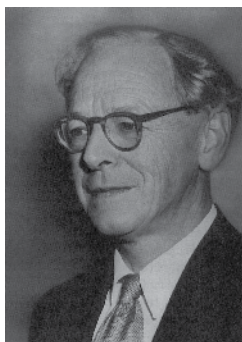
During his lengthy tenure Tom Kelly played a major role in university administration as dean of Commerce and Public Administration for 14 years, dean of City Buildings for 19 years, warden of Ansell May and Townley Williams Halls for 14 years, Natal's representative on the Senate of the University of South Africa for 17 years and dean of its Faculty of Commerce for four years. He also served extended terms of office on the Council of the University of Natal and on several other bodies before leaving in 1968 for Queen's University, Ontario.

John Findlay was educated in Pretoria where he secured first-class Honours in Philosophy at the Transvaal University College. In 1923 he went to Balliol College, Oxford, where he took first-class honours in Litterae Humaniores. While lecturing at the University of Pretoria he produced a book on Meinong's Theory of Objects and in 1933 he was awarded doctorates by both the University of South Africa and the University of Graz. He occupied the chair of Mental and Moral Philosophy at the University of Otago for 11 years before accepting the chair of Philosophy at Rhodes in 1944 and then at NUC the following year. His tenure in Pietermaritzburg was all too brief, moving in turn to King's College, Newcastle, King's College, London, the University of Texas, Yale, and, after compulsory retirement at 68, Boston University where he taught until his death at 84 years of age. He wrote 13 books in the course of a career during which professor of Philosophy Erazim Kohak described him as 'one of the six great living philosophers, maybe one of three'.

Geoffrey Long was a former student of Oxley's who had subsequently studied at the School of Contemporary Painting in London and served as a paratrooper and war artist with the rank of captain. His close friend, Ray Rutherford-Smith, recalled that Long was among the Allied troops who ransacked Hitler's home at Berchtesgaden towards the end of World War II, removing several of the Führer's art books in his rucksack to evade confiscation. He also took unused bookplates intended for the front pages of Hitler's collection, one of which Rutherford-Smith donated to the NUC Library from which it subsequently went missing. At the time of his appointment to the College, Long was holding an exhibition in London of drawings and paintings made in Berlin, while the Tate Gallery eventually acquired his painting of Tobruk harbour.

Long had also studied theatre design at the Old Vic, and as a freelancer was designer for the Maddermarket Theatre in Norwich and the Theatre Royal in Windsor, had assisted with the murals at South Africa House and the Normandy Club in London and was a designer for the Ideal Homes Industrial Art Exhibition. He had broadcast for the BBC on industrial design and its application to current needs. Long was to play a leading role in designing academic dress for the new University of Natal, producing striking decor for the Dramatic Society and exhibiting his own work in Cape Town, Johannesburg and the then Lourenço Marques (Maputo). His wife was also a talented artist and graduate of NUC who worked at the Art Centre in Pretoria.

Fritz Schuddeboom was born in 1914 in Holland, received his university education in Leiden and in 1937 emigrated to South Africa where he acquired a Masters degree at Stellenbosch and lectured at UCT prior to arriving at NUC. He devoted the next 54 years of his life to the institution, being promoted to



J.D. (Jacob) Krige was born in 1896, a nephew of General Smuts. He was a graduate of Stellenbosch (Chemistry and Zoology 1917) and Oxford, where he was a Rhodes Scholar and qualified in jurisprudence as well as being awarded an LLB from the University of South Africa before reading Philosophy, Political Science and Psychology. He worked in the Diplomatic Division of the International Labour Office in Geneva, preparing reports on African mandated territories before returning in 1923 and practising as an advocate in Johannesburg from 1925. His developing interest

in African thought and institutions expressed itself in several expeditions into the then northern Transvaal on a research scholarship shared with his spouse, followed by several publications. Best known of these, written in collaboration with his wife Eileen, was *The Realm of the Rain Queen* (Oxford, 1943). Meanwhile, during further research, this time at the London School of Economics, he came under the influence of Malinowski and collected material for Lord Halley's African Survey. He was subsequently senior lecturer (1940) and then professor (1944) in Social Anthropology at Rhodes but was frustrated by restrictions on research in the Ciskei and attracted to the chair in Durban by the large semi-urbanised black population and access to Zulu rural reserves. Perceptive, much respected and multi-talented, he was also a capable administrator who served in several capacities and, not for the first time, was deputising for the Principal when he died in 1959.

head of the Department of Pure and Applied Mathematics in 1961, a post that he held until his retirement in 1979. He continued to lecture with a series of short-term appointments until full retirement in 2000. Schuddeboom was awarded the Vice-Chancellor's Award of the University of Natal for outstanding and sustained service and the Gold Medal of the South African Mathematical Society.

George Wynne was born in 1908 and acquired BA and LLB degrees and an MA from Oxford on the strength of a Rhodes Scholarship. He had acted as Judge Advocate at Army Headquarters in Pretoria since 1944 and had lectured at the Pretoria Technical College but, much as Maurice Sweeney desperately needed teaching assistance, his post was not confirmed and he left in mid-1947.

Wynne was replaced in 1948 by A. V. (Alfred) Lansdown BA LLB, who was born in 1900 the son of Mr Justice Lansdown, had worked for five years as registrar to the judges of the Transvaal Provincial Division and had taught for 20 years at Pretoria Technical College and Pretoria University. His presence, until his departure at the end of 1954, was invaluable. This was particularly so in view of the substantial post-war increase in Law student numbers in Durban, rising to 258 in 1947, with candidates seeking a variety of qualifications. These included, at Mabel Palmer's request, 'non-Europeans' studying Criminal Law towards a BA. Sweeney and Lansdown taught a total of 38 hours a week in the early mornings and early evenings, with a part-time assistant undertaking a further six hours.

Other immediate post-war appointments (all in 1946–1947) included senior lecturer G.S. (Gawie) Nienaber as professor in Dutch (later Afrikaans-Nederlands), R. (Raymond) Sands, lecturer and future professor in English (Durban), L.C. (Lester) King, formerly lecturer since 1935 in Pietermaritzburg, now as occupant of the new chair of Geology (Durban), H.W. (Bill) Scott, longstanding lecturer in Physics (Durban, 1946–1980), and Professor J.D. (Jacob) Krige to the chair of Social Anthropology (Durban). Also in 1946 Dr Bernard Notcutt, formerly lecturer in Psychology and English, was promoted to professor of Psychology in Durban after completing war service with the 1st South African Division as an information officer and research officer in Army Education, for which he was awarded an MBE.

In the same year Mr D. McK. Malcolm was appointed as a temporary lecturer to take charge of the Department of Zulu. Recently retired as Chief Inspector of Native Education after 43 years in the public service, he was already an acknowledged expert on Zulu language and literature. As another temporary lecturer in 1946 John Sellers remembers, there were separate common rooms

for male and female members of staff and that the former was always a lively teatime venue for academic debate and wit. Some of the new staff members in Pietermaritzburg were still subjected to student humour in the form of the old tradition of having ‘pro-songs’ composed in their honour, though the tune, as before, is unrecorded. An example was:

Here’s to good old Durrant,
Be precise! Be precise!
Here’s to good old Durrant,
Don’t say ‘nice’, be precise!
Here’s to good old Durrant,
And his grasp of matters current.
He should be very, very wise; very wise!

Nienaber’s ‘pro-song’ included obscure references to personal reminiscences shared with his students:

My van is Nienaber,
Het jy gehoor van my?
Gehoor van ou Nienaber,
Met my vryery-ery?
There are men in every harbour
That wait for old Nienaber,
But our wise old friend Nienaber
stays away!



O. (Oliver) Davies was born in 1905 in Chelsea, London. He was an exceptional child who could spell when he was two and write Greek at 12 years of age as well as Latin, French and German when he won a scholarship to Rugby School a year later. In 1927 he completed an Honours degree (first class) in Classics at Cambridge and was a Craven Fellow at Oxford (1927–1929) before assuming posts at Queen’s University, Belfast and the University at Istanbul. By the time he arrived at NUC to assume the chair of Classics he had researched ancient excavations in Ireland, Spain, the Balkans and Anatolia as well as relaunching and editing the *Ulster Journal of Archaeology*. He held the chair in Pietermaritzburg until 1951, conducting an archaeological survey of the somewhat neglected Natal region before he became reader in Archaeology at the University College of the Gold Coast (later University of Ghana). Following his retirement in 1966 he was to return to Pietermaritzburg and resumed his studies in the province as honorary curator of the archaeological collections at the Natal Museum (now KwaZulu-Natal Museum). He was murdered in his home in 1986.

Bill Scott, who joined NUC in Durban after acquiring an MA at Rhodes and serving for six years in the South African Air Force as a meteorologist, certainly deserved a ‘pro-song’. In addition to a large teaching load he became heavily involved in establishing the Athletics Union on the Durban campus and serving as its treasurer. He was also coach and, for eight years, president of the Rugby Club. Scott did duty for 32 years as Examinations Officer at Howard College and continued to do so in a part-time capacity for several years after retiring as senior lecturer in 1980.

The preponderance of new staff appointments to the Durban campus was, like student registrations, an indication of the extent to which post-war developments there were outstripping those in Pietermaritzburg. Government did agree to the development of a new Department of Divinity in the latter centre, increasing the variety of courses that campus could now offer and which had remained relatively unchanged since the additional staff appointments of the mid-1930s.

In 1947 NUC in Pietermaritzburg lost professors Alexander Petrie (Classics) and Paul Mesham (Physics) to retirement but replaced them with professors O. (Oliver) Davies and J.R.H. Coutts respectively. Davies was an Honours graduate in Classics (first class) from Oxford who had worked at Queen’s University, Belfast, and at Istanbul University while researching ancient excavations in various parts of Europe and the Near East. Coutts had been on NUC’s staff since 1926, was awarded a doctorate in 1946 by the University of South Africa and had established an international reputation through his scientific publications.

Other notable additions were future professors in Dr O.C. Jensen (Philosophy, Durban who retired in 1964), Dr W.H. Gardner (English, Pietermaritzburg) and Dr E. (Eileen) Krige (lecturer in Social Anthropology, Durban). The Faculty of Engineering in Durban acquired J.R. Daymond (later Professor in Civil Engineering in succession to W.M. Thomas) among its new staff intake and in 1948 David Hodges became professor of Experimental Physics.

Daymond was a Swansea College graduate who had already published on flood estimations and discharges into tidal waters, for which the Institute of Civil Engineers in London had awarded him the Crampton Prize. He was therefore ideally equipped to address local municipal concern about Umgeni River flooding, in which connection he was to build South Africa’s first hydraulic model. Other noteworthy research in the Engineering Faculty included Clark’s establishment in 1946 of a school of microwave propagation research, in which connection four of his assistants acquired doctorates. When

Eric Phillips succeeded him he set up a laboratory for the standardisation of electrical equipment and a control and instrumentation laboratory to deal with problems arising out of the rapid automation of industries. His team's conclusions on 'back scatter' and 'sporadic E' were submitted to the



W.H. (William) Gardner was born in 1902 in Dulwich, London, educated at Wilson's Grammar School to which he won a scholarship and graduated with BA (Hons) in 1925 and a Ph.D. in 1942 from the University of London. From 1921 he taught in various schools and lectured in part-time evening programmes, serving in the Territorial Army Officer Reserve between 1942 and 1945. Following his arrival in 1947 at NUC he was appointed to the chair of English at the University of the Orange Free State in 1954 but in 1962 he returned as head of the English Department in Pietermaritzburg after Geoffrey Durrant's departure. He retired in 1967. Gardner made a life-long study of the poet G.M. Hopkins, the subject of his Ph.D. dissertation. His two-volume work appeared in 1944 and 1949 and subsequently in Penguin (*The Selected Poetry and Prose of G.M. Hopkins*, 1953), running to 10 editions and easily 250 000 copies. Following his retirement Gardner concentrated on writing a definitive biography of the South African poet Roy Campbell and died in 1968.



E.J. (Eileen) Krige (1905–1995) was a Witwatersrand graduate (BA 1924, BA Hons in Economics 1925, MA in Economics 1926, BA Hons in Social Anthropology 1927, D.Litt. 1940). After gaining teaching experience in high schools and correspondence courses, she lectured briefly in Social Anthropology at Wits and in Sociology and Social Work at Rhodes before being appointed lecturer in Social Anthropology (1948–1953) at NUC and subsequently senior lecturer (1953–1959). Following her husband's death she succeeded him to the chair of Social Anthropology in 1959 and held the post until her retirement in 1970. Apart from *Realm of the Rain Queen*, written in collaboration with him, she was particularly well known for her *Social System of the Zulus* (1936) and for initiating the Department of Bantu Languages and a new Nursing degree in Durban. She was also involved with the Valley Trust and the National Council of Women.

International Geophysical Year Council in England and published in London and New York.

Further additions to the Pietermaritzburg staff during 1948–1949 included Professor D.J. O'Connor in Philosophy to replace John Findlay, Professor R.G. (Robert) McKerron in brief succession to Frank Burchell in the James Scott Wylie Chair of Law, another future professor in R.C. (Ronald) Albino as lecturer in Psychology and Dr L.M. (Lindsay) Young, a 1941 MA graduate who had secured a Ph.D. at Cambridge before returning to NUC as lecturer in History. In 1949 a History Department was established in Durban, under Hattersley's authority, comprising K.H.C. (Kenneth) McIntyre (a future professorial head there), A.W. (Wyn) Rees and Dr K.J. Newman who lectured in Politics.

At this time the Durban centre also acquired the services of Professor P.H. Connell in Architecture, Professor H.P. (Hansie) Pollak in Sociology and Social Work, Professor K. Douwes Dekker as director of the Sugar Milling Research Institute and Professor L. Whitby as director of the Paint Research Institute, C.K. (Kenneth) Hill as lecturer in Mathematics, R. van der Borgh as lecturer in Applied Mathematics, R. Grimmond as lecturer in Electrical Engineering, Z.S. Gurzynski as lecturer in Commerce and Administration and B.W. Gussman as Beit Researcher in Economics.

Research in at least some departments, including Economics, received a boost with the establishment in August 1947 of the University Press, whose printing was contracted out to private firms. The Press had very limited financial resources but its first major venture was the publication in 1947 of *Theoria*, the journal of the Arts Faculty, edited initially by Bernard Notcutt in Durban and John Findlay in Pietermaritzburg. A Science Faculty equivalent was eventually launched in 1959 under the title *Nucleon*.

By then the University Press had published the first few of a series of 20 volumes comprising the *Natal Regional Survey*. Directed by Professor H.R. Burrows and involving several staff members, it was sponsored by the Social and Economic Planning Council and later the National Council for Social Research to undertake a comprehensive analysis of the province's economic and social structure.

NUC was also increasingly making its presence felt in the arts, not least in Fine Art. In 1946 the department was strengthened by Hilda Rose's appointment to the permanent staff and the introduction of a Masters programme comprising a practical examination spread over 12 days of six hours each and an original dissertation. High standards had been set for the

future, for in 1949 the well-known Belgian artist Maurice van Essche, who at that time was head of the Continental School of Art in Cape Town, commented on one of the department's exhibitions:

This is a most progressive exhibition of students' art which compares favourably with the best overseas ... The exhibition is a fine tribute to the high standard of teaching at the art school ... I was particularly struck by the healthy and fresh qualities of the pictures, and impressed by the drawing.

In the History Department Hattersley continued to research British settlers and the institutions they established until his retirement. There was no research output forthcoming from Mark Prestwich but Hattersley was no longer ploughing a lonely furrow. His new colleague, Lindsay Young, eventually had his MA dissertation on Lieutenant-Governor Benjamin Pine's 'native' policy published in the *Archives Year Book* (1951) and went on, in the tradition established by his mentor, to write a history of the Royal Agricultural Society (1953).

Post-war research in the sciences also gathered momentum. In the Department of Botany, for example, ecology and taxonomy continued to attract attention, while new interests were developed in chemical physiology, transpiration and growth hormones. The addition of two new lectureships in 1946 enabled Frank Bush (professor since 1941) to cope more effectively with 191 student registrations in Zoology. The addition of a senior lectureship and the opening of the first section of Pietermaritzburg's new Biological Sciences Building in 1948 further facilitated the promotion of research in the department.

In Chemistry Frank Warren's research in Organic Chemistry continued apace, with Adolf Bayer sometimes called upon to assist with plant identification. Warren utilised the large wartime reserves of Euphorbia resin at his disposal to



J.R. Daymond was born near Neath in South Wales where severe injury in a coal pit accident caused a life change when he left mining and in 1927 graduated in Civil Engineering at Swansea College. The research he began there on Newport's sewage disposal problems continued when in 1930 he was appointed to a post at Liverpool University. During his tenure in Natal (1948–1966) he served as dean of the Faculty of Engineering, dean of buildings, warden of residences and a member of Council. Following his retirement he worked as director of a firm of consulting engineers for a further decade.

launch research projects in the triterpene field and beat competitors in Oxford and Zurich in determining the structure of euphol. He still found time to reinforce afternoon tea as a time-honoured tradition in the busy daily schedule, to which was added formal Honours dinners to mark the end of examinations. Dr H.A.E. (Errol) MacKenzie (1947–1953) was a valuable addition to the department in terms of supervision and research output in Physical Chemistry. He was a B.Sc. M.Sc. graduate and member of the original Honours class at NUC who, after military service, was awarded a Croll Scholarship to complete a Ph.D. at Imperial College, London.

In Durban the first year course for chemical engineers was expanded from 1948 into a major in Chemistry. Postgraduate research was still confined to Chemical Technology and focused on a small-scale wartime plant that had been converted into the first pilot laboratory in a South African university under the direction of F.H.H. Valentin and R. Egenes. More research, and closer contacts with the business and farming communities, was generated by the establishment of the Paint and Sugar Milling Research Institutes on the Durban campus in 1948 and the Wattle Research Institute (1947) and Faculty of Agriculture (1948–1949) in Pietermaritzburg.

There were also important developments in the College's Administration. By 1945 Mrs A. Le Marchand had been installed as Secretary at City Buildings and Mrs E. Arbuckle as bookkeeper in Pietermaritzburg. Four other long-serving stalwarts of the Administration began their careers in the 1940s – Rhona Wills, Olive Peel, Jill Skea (later Knoesen) and C.A. 'Queenie' Graham (later Yeoman). They were often dependent upon members of the academic staff for transport in the absence of frequent buses up the hill to Howard College.

Malherbe envisaged the possibility of further administrative as well as academic staff increases, following the appointment during 1945 of an accountant and of staff typists for the newly appointed College deans – Professor Oxley (Arts) in Pietermaritzburg and Professors Clark (Engineering) and Byrd (Commerce) in Durban. He pointed out, however, that 'without *qualitative* excellence in our teaching and research we cannot hope to qualify for full university status even though *quantitatively* we may feel justified by virtue of our student numbers or financial resources'.

The post-war student intake, and with it income from fees, was clearly on the increase but in 1945 funding was still not one of NUC's strong suits. Its government grant had been raised from £35 891 (R71 782) in 1944 to £41 270 (R82 540) in anticipation of an influx of ex-servicemen but, crucially, no allowance was made for the College's multi-campus nature, which was a

recurring issue of contention. A credit balance of only £37/12/6d (R75.25) was carried forward into 1946 and that could be attributed, at least in part, to the decision not to fill posts the Department of Education had already approved as essential to academic requirements. There was also a small credit balance at the end of that year, thanks to the additional enrolment of ex-servicemen and a substantial increase in tuition fees, though these were still lower than those on South Africa's larger campuses. In November 1948 Malherbe found it necessary to warn Senate that the College was 'passing through a very difficult financial period'.

Nevertheless, by 1949, when university principals submitted a joint memorandum to the Minister of Education concerning the deleterious effects of poor salaries on the national welfare, NUC and the University of Cape Town were still the only institutions paying the full civil service cost of living allowance. In addition, NUC was the only one that guaranteed staff members a pension equal to half of their salaries after 25 years' of service. There was still significant gender discrimination with regard to retirement and salary scales. The retirement age for males was 60 years (with a possible extension to 65) and 55 years for females (with a possible extension to 60).

By 1949 professors (male) were being paid on the scale £850 (R1 700) to £1 200 (R2 400) and females £600 (R1 200) to £900 (R1 800), senior lecturers (male) £600 (R1 200) to £900 (R1 800) and females £550 (R1 100) to £725 (R1 450), and lecturers (male) £550 (R1 100) to £725 (R1 450) and females £425 (R850) to £600 (R1 200).

In 1944 the Council's Committee on Salaries and Retirement raised the issue of implementing equal salary scales but the all-male Senate Executive in Pietermaritzburg opted not to pursue the matter and thereafter, as Arlene Gibson's research has shown, the differences actually widened. Gender inequality was compounded by the higher cost of living allowance paid to married males compared with single persons. Moreover, within each salary scale males and females often started at different levels, though in 1946 part-time student demonstrators in Botany, Chemistry and Zoology were paid strictly in terms of their qualifications and the number of hours they worked. By 1949 NUC's need for more funding, wherever it could be found, and for gender equality, was greater than it had ever been before.⁸

Building requirements

Important as it was, an increasing staff salary bill was not the only urgent reason to raise more funds. There was a desperate need to provide more

student accommodation on campus, especially in Durban, as lodgings became more difficult to find in competition with a rapidly increasing urban population and consequent housing shortages. Even in Pietermaritzburg 40 students had been turned away in 1945 because there were no rooms for them in Lodge. University Hall, which in 1944 had already absorbed Lodge to provide more on-campus accommodation for women, now looked to spread further into neighbouring properties. Its furnishing and decor was not particularly elegant but under the guidance of Mrs M.E. (Margaret) Kirwood as Lady Warden from November 1945 until 1967, in succession to Miss Tennant and Mrs Collins, it developed into what Alan Hattersley (warden of Lodge until 1942) described as

a cultured home ... The new lady warden had a peculiar power of restoring confidence to students who had met with disaster in the examination hall or elsewhere. Utterly absorbed in her work, she built up for University Hall a reputation unmatched in the Union of South Africa.

Kirwood was born in 1903 in Adelaide, Australia, and was the widow of Professor Don Kirwood of Stellenbosch University, who died in 1944 at 47 years of age. She later described her 21 years as Lady Warden at NUC as ‘worrying at times, but never boring’. She was greatly respected for her kindness, wisdom and sense of morality, the Margaret Kirwood Room being named after her in 1969. She died in 1988 in Oxford.

The former Imperial Military Hospital at Oribi comprised what a later inmate, T.B. ‘Jack’ Frost, described as ‘a warren of low bungalows beside the railway line’ on the southern outskirts of town. On 26 February 1946 male students began moving into the converted facilities there after Smuts had agreed to set part of the complex aside to provide accommodation for between 200 and 300 ex-servicemen. This followed a meeting involving Malherbe, the Minister of Education Jan Hofmeyr and Pietermaritzburg City MP Colonel O.L. Shearer. Still uncompleted, Oribi at least saved the demobilised soldiers from the uncomfortable tent existence with which they were all too familiar. It was eventually improved by being equipped with dining rooms, games rooms and a swimming pool.

From NUC’s point of view it had the great virtue of accommodating a much larger number of male students than Lodge. It even provided 16 flats for married members of staff and students in what had been the nurses’ quarters, with covered walkways linking outlying buildings to the main complex. Unsurprisingly, like the accommodation provided for black medical students

at Wentworth, the overall design was not suited to nurturing the sedate collegiate lifestyle for which it had never been intended. This rudimentary but ‘temporary’ residential arrangement lasted much longer than most could have anticipated, indeed nearly two decades (1946–1961). In 1948, with 228 resident students, its low overhead costs made it the only NUC hostel that turned a profit, amounting to a not inconsiderable £1 220 (R2 440).

Unfortunately, Oribi was approximately 2 kilometres removed from the teaching facilities and Library on campus. The ‘troopie’ (Garry) or converted Warford troop carrier that provided transport between the two, mornings and afternoons, was supplied in terms of a government ‘ex-servicemen’s agreement’. It was never entirely satisfactory and was certainly not particularly comfortable for the self-styled ‘sardines’ who packed into it. The road to the campus was mercifully flat and for many inmates bicycles soon became a preferred option.

On the Scottsville campus itself more ‘temporary’ buildings were erected as an emergency measure to provide extra classrooms for the post-war influx of students while the new Biological Sciences Block was under construction. Its foundations were intended eventually to carry five storeys but initial progress on the first £60 000 (R120 000) section was delayed by the shortage of artisan skills and building materials. This facility was situated near the Students Union Building, for which £7 000 (R14 000) worth of extensions were also planned. Just below it the new playing fields had been completed at a cost of £6 000 (R12 000) and extended down towards Durban Road (now Alan Paton Avenue) alongside the College’s entrance avenue.

In Durban ‘temporary’ hostel accommodation was found at the former military camps at Woodside Estate and Butcher’s Estate. The former was situated on a 6 acre (2.4 hectare) property in Chelmsford Road, Berea. The property had been commandeered during the war for use by the Special Signals Service after being bequeathed in June 1942 to the Durban City Council, complete with a large house, as the Meyrick Bennett Park. After the war the trustees agreed to it being adapted at NUC’s expense to provide temporary housing for 50 female students, mostly ex-servicewomen, as well as five married quarters and accommodation for the Lady Warden, Elizabeth Sneddon. The caretaker promptly put 2 acres (0.8 hectares) of land under vegetables for hostel use while the house committee thoughtfully organised a ‘three Rs’ night school for nine black staff members that soon attracted 78 pupils with 13 students forming the voluntary teaching staff in the best Mabel Palmer tradition.

‘Butcher’s’, at 282 Ridge Road 3 miles (4.8 kilometres) north of Howard College near Overport, was a 10 acre (4 hectare) wooded estate stretching down to Vause Road with spectacular views over the city and harbour. The military authorities had leased it from the well-known Butcher family during the war and converted it into the headquarters of the Durban Fortress Area and a camp for female army personnel. In November 1945 the Defence Department bought the property from the estate of the late Walter E. Butcher for £31 250 (R62 500). It comprised a homestead and a score or more prefabricated buildings erected on the terraced slopes down towards Vause Road.

From February 1946, after adaptations at NUC’s expense, the property served as a male residence for more than 200 ex-servicemen, mostly in double rooms and with eight married quarters. It was not unlike the accommodation at Wentworth and Oribi but in a rather more leafy setting. Furniture bought from the military authorities for Oribi, Woodside and Butcher’s cost NUC about £20 000 (R40 000) while the conversion of the latter two amounted to more than £10 000 (R20 000).

The Butcher’s house committee reported that an ‘intangible spirit’ had quickly ‘manifested itself’ there. Indeed, it soon became the site of many outrageous pranks, roof-top ‘bottle parties’ and the origin of several inter-hostel and inter-campus commando-style raids. Its dress code was decidedly ‘ex-desert war’ informal, often comprising no more than a pair of shorts to dinner. When, much later, a trial ‘formal dinner’ was held in preparation for moving to the new residence on campus and sharing a dining hall with women, all the Butcher’s inmates arrived dressed only in detachable collars – much to the amusement of the warden, then Mr McKenzie (1948–1951), an Australian ex-serviceman, and the embarrassment of the caterer Mrs Hannaford who withdrew in confusion.

When the self-styled ‘Butcher’s mob’ eventually did arrive on campus they spared their female counterparts this indelicacy but tied all their seats together in opposite pairs prior to the first formal dinner, making it impossible for them to sit down! The situation was redeemed the next evening when the arch-culprits presented the still nonplussed Lady Warden, Elizabeth Sneddon, with a large bouquet of flowers.

After NUC took the property over the surviving Manor House at Butcher’s was converted to provide flats for the warden, initially Dr Bernard Notcutt (1946–1948), and two matrons, a team who wisely left most disciplinary matters to the house committee. Under the circumstances the time-honoured philosophy (modified here for publication purposes) ‘I am the Warden of the

Hall and what I see is sweet blow-all' seemed eminently sensible. There was a fairly high dropout of ex-servicemen who had difficulty knuckling down to serious study, in so far as that was possible at Butcher's. The ex-schoolboys who replaced them were subjected to sometimes hair-raising initiation procedures and house rules that did not apply to war veterans.

As in the case of Oribi, crowded 'troopies' provided sardine-like transport downtown to City Buildings and back, or to and from Howard College, which was otherwise a strenuous roller-coaster slog by foot or bicycle along Ridge Road. Some students eventually formed syndicates to buy shared motor cars.

The ongoing use and additional erection of army hutments offered only a short-term and unsuitable housing solution, though in 1951 there were still 167 male students residing at Butcher's and 149 in private lodgings. The construction of solid residential buildings was the only alternative. Malherbe was hopeful that even if staff could not also be accommodated in these hostels to initiate a 'tutorial system' in the Oxbridge tradition, it might become possible to provide staff housing either on campus or on land adjacent to Howard College. In this way he intended to develop a real sense of community, which, in his view, was 'the essence of university education'.

Unfortunately, College property could not be alienated for this purpose and in the immediate post-war period neither loans nor government grants were available for hostel or staff accommodation. Also, the National Treasury declined to contribute on a pound for pound basis on hostel profits until interest and redemption costs had been deducted.

Malherbe decried the abnormally high expense of construction and scarcity of materials in Natal compared with the rest of South Africa. He calculated that building costs per cubic foot at Stellenbosch and Rhodes were from 1/2d (12 cents) and 1/6d (16 cents) and at UCT not more than 2/3d (23 cents) compared with 3/4d (34 cents) for NUC. It was a situation that delayed both the construction of residences in Durban and a permanent home for the new Faculty of Agriculture in Pietermaritzburg. Malherbe laid the blame firmly at the door of an exploitative local building industry as well as expensive and what he regarded as relatively unproductive labour.

The overall intention for the Howard College campus was to construct residential blocks in clusters of three around a central dining hall for both sexes. The first to be completed, in 1949, was named Charles James Hall after one of NUC's major Durban benefactors, and was earmarked for women. Ansell May Hall and Townley Williams Hall followed only in 1951 and 1956

respectively, eventually providing accommodation for 60 females and 235 males as well as a few flats for staff members and visiting academics.

The eastern slope of the campus afforded spectacular views over the city and its harbour but it did present design and construction challenges. Moreover, the allocation of areas for specific purposes was somewhat belated, as was any attempt to achieve architectural harmony. A Students Union Building, the design of which did nothing to improve the overall appearance of the campus, still lay in the future. In 1959 an expert critic offered the opinion:

The big weakness of the King George V Avenue section is the linear development, which makes it difficult to achieve a pleasant grouping around the campus. The kind of unity we have at the moment is that of an assorted freight train, a situation which promises to become worse ... Owing to the steeply sloping site the Durban campus should have been carefully zoned into administrative, academic, residential and sporting facilities down the slope – this was not done.

NUC also needed more teaching space. In 1945 Howard College was already struggling to cope with 140 Engineering students. As in Pietermaritzburg army hutments had to be adapted and additional ‘temporary’ buildings were erected to meet short-term needs. This was done in inconspicuous corners of the campus so as to defuse the objections of neighbouring residential property owners and ensure City Council approval. A wood-and-iron building served as a student refectory and another as a staff common room, behind which a ‘lean-to’, camouflaged in ‘golden shower’, provided egalitarian cover for staff and student bicycles and motorcycles. The surrounding thick bush was still inhabited by large numbers of monkeys and even some baboons. Fortunately, none indicated any educational ambitions but all were desperate for food, a need the SPCA met on a daily basis.

By 1949 the Durban campus had, at last, acquired the beginnings of the rather forbidding Science and Technology Building to the immediate north of the Howard College Building on the Stella Ridge. It was erected with the assistance of capital grants from the Durban City Council and in its first completed (south) section accommodated Chemistry, Geology, Mathematics and Physics, with other departments, including arts and social sciences, also subsequently finding homes there.

The Durban University Library was housed in the Tower, comprising several floors for shelving and study areas. It was an unusual but administratively difficult arrangement, affording spectacular views over the harbour and inland. A bronze plaque above the main entrance recorded: ‘This Library Tower is to commemorate the sacrifice of Youth in the cause of Freedom, 1939–1945.’

For a time there was a flat at the top of the building that was shared by three fortunate junior lecturers in Mathematics – Peter Buller, Godfrey Isaacs and John Peck – whose spectacular ‘penthouse’-style parties became well known on campus.

A green light at the summit of the Tower was necessary as a precaution and as a direction guide for aircraft using the Durban (Louis Botha) airport to the south of the harbour. It comprised four mercury vapour lamps controlled by a time switch and was also intended to serve as the Light of Remembrance, a constant nocturnal reminder of the supreme sacrifice made by those who fell in World War II. In 1952 the whole structure was to be renamed Memorial Tower Building (MTB to students), which in name if not in architectural style was in the tradition of the neighbouring Howard College Building that had been dedicated to the memory of Howard Davis.

Before its completion in 1960 the Tower Building became popularly known as the ‘Taj Malherbe’. Astonishingly, like the Taj Mahal, it was initially intended to raise a mirror-image replica of the building, in this case on the other side of Howard College, on the ridge immediately to its south. The Tower was to become an even more prominent landmark than the Howard College Dome next door but its appearance, reminiscent of Communist-era East European public buildings at their most daunting, was quite out of keeping with its more gracious neighbour. In more recent times its shape has provoked the disrespectful topical name ‘Viagra College’.

In 1949 a War Memorial Reading Room was added to the Pietermaritzburg campus Library at a cost of £6 000 (R12 000) but there was still only one lecture theatre on campus that could seat 100 students. Immediately after the war laboratory space in the biological sciences was quite inadequate, with Frank Bush and one demonstrator having to triplicate their practicals. The need for further building development and equipment were clearly additional reasons to continue raising funds.⁹

Fundraising

In 1946 the prominent Durbanite Charles E. James took over the chairmanship of the University Development Fund Committee from J. Townley Williams (1929–1946) and held it until 1950, with Professor Orlando Oldham as honorary secretary (1946–1948) in place of the retired B.M. Narbeth. In August 1946 the committee launched a campaign to meet NUC’s immediate needs and give financial substance to its claim for full university status. Campaign committees of committed prominent public figures were formed in

both College centres. Charles James and William O'Brien served as chairmen in Durban and Pietermaritzburg respectively, both having already played prominent roles in NUC's development. L.G. Shuter subsequently succeeded the latter.

Both committees planned strategies to raise the necessary contributions from various categories of potential donors, with the Durban body establishing sub-committees to focus on commercial, industrial and engineering businesses and on widening their focus beyond the provincial boundaries. The fund that Bews had established in 1932 now really came into its own as the receptacle for Natal's generosity. Even then it still took time for the general public, especially in Durban, to recognise the importance of having a local university institution in its midst as well as the necessity for extending tertiary education to 'non-Europeans'.

In 1946, with Council's approval, the Foundation published Malherbe's illustrated brochure 'Development: Natal University College' at a cost of £710 (R1 420) to itself. This outlined a ten-year plan for university development with immediate, middle and long-term objectives. A target of £1.2 million (R2.4 million) was set for public subscriptions in order to raise £650 000 (R1 300 000) for large-scale building programmes in both centres, to which the government now undertook to contribute £820 000 (R1 640 000). A further target of more than £500 000 (R1 million) was also announced with which to endow scholarships and research projects from the interest earned.

Four copies of the brochure, together with a personal letter from the Principal, were sent to each of the 180 sponsors listed in it, and copies were also posted to all alumni. The response from the latter was disappointing. Their primary contribution was the organisation of an insurance scheme under which graduating students were persuaded to take out policies to the value of £25 (R50) each, which, on maturity 15 years later, became payable to the University. By 1950 a total of 71 policies had been sold, some for larger amounts.

Numerous press articles, several written by Malherbe himself, were released to publicise NUC's academic and sporting achievements while advertising the fundraising drive more widely. It took time to awaken public interest and much depended upon influential individual approaches, with the result that local campaign committees were eventually organised all over Natal. Like Bews before him, Malherbe used every available platform, addressing numerous gatherings of businessmen and tapping banking, commercial and shipping companies as well as the local sugar and wattle industries. In Durban he found

himself in competition with the Natal Technical College, which, in mid-1946, initiated a public appeal that proved highly successful and demonstrated the esteem in which that institution was held in the city. This did not prevent Humphrey Jones, former principal of the College, from subsequently assuming the role of honorary secretary of the University Development Fund in 1949–1950 in place of Orlando Oldham.

By the end of 1946 an amount of £315 000 (R630 000) had already been raised in cash and promised further instalments. This had risen further to £336 000 (R672 000) by early March 1947 and £436 797 (R873 594) by 1950. Approximately 95% of these funds were raised in Durban, with Charles James, who had already donated £10 000 (R20 000) in 1928, contributing £20 000 (R40 000) himself and persuading Mrs M.E. Wylie to donate an equivalent sum to endow the James Scott Wylie Chair of Law in memory of her late husband. James was also successful in soliciting the £20 000 (R40 000) needed for the William Hudson Chair of Economics as well as a donation of £30 000 (R60 000) from Mrs Arthur May.

In addition, Barclays and Standard Bank both contributed £10 000 (R20 000), with Natal Associated Collieries, African Explosives and Chemical Industries and the Union Castle Mail Company, among others, donating £5 000 (R10 000) each. In some instances approaches had to be made to head offices in London to confirm authorisation but funds were generally more forthcoming in Durban and further afield as it became clear that NUC was establishing itself permanently in the harbour city and not confining itself to Pietermaritzburg.

The inflow of donations, particularly of the larger variety, declined after 1948. A high proportion of the monies raised were handed over directly to NUC with the Foundation retaining the balance in trust to be paid out to Council as required. The expenditure of donations was not at all determined by their source, except in cases where donors specified their use for particular purposes. Examples of this were the foundation of particular chairs, the award of bursaries, scholarships and research funds, the sponsorship of reading rooms in the Memorial Tower Building and the expenditure of municipal funds on the relevant NUC campus.

Malherbe also made frequent weekend trips to the province's rural centres in the effort to raise donations, mostly for NUC's new Faculty of Agriculture. On several occasions at cattle sales he replaced the auctioneer during tea breaks to emphasise the importance of such a faculty to the farming community. Local campaign committees were formed in 22 towns as far afield

as Newcastle, Vryheid, Paulpietersburg and Mtubatuba, though it proved difficult to maintain continuous contact with all of them and some became moribund. At a meeting in Estcourt he suggested that 100 communities in the province should each try to raise £1 000 (R2 000) a year in memory of the fallen of World War II.

Malherbe considered the response in Pietermaritzburg to be ‘disappointing’. To be fair, 36 of the firms that were approached there were merely branches of businesses whose head offices in Durban made contributions amounting to £38 000 (R76 000). None of them, however, had ever responded to previous appeals for funds, or had approached their Durban principals to do so.

The *Natal Witness* had overcome its wartime hostility towards NUC and suggested that the Pietermaritzburg City Council should substantially increase its small annual grant to the College. It pointed out that while the municipality had provided the Scottsville site for the campus, the latter was paying approximately £600 (R1 200) annually in rates as well as generating unquantifiable staff and student expenditure for the local economy. It argued further that the city had hitherto ‘done disgracefully little’ for NUC and that it now risked losing this valuable asset to those who were advocating the College’s complete removal to Durban once it had acquired full university status. Privately Malherbe had declared that if Pietermaritzburg’s city fathers did not contribute to NUC he would have ‘no alternative to develop the university facilities of Natal where they can be best developed’.

In 1946, after some dissension within its ranks, the Pietermaritzburg City Council made a £10 000 (R20 000) grant, with the prospect of as much to follow the following year. In the Durban City Council, as reluctant as ever to finance university education, there were objections to the College’s proposal that it should make a grant of £100 000 (R200 000) on the grounds that NUC was not ‘a municipal institution’. From the City Treasurer’s point of view, such generosity would ‘somewhat strain the City’s finances’ in view of all its other post-war commitments. Nevertheless, the City Council did eventually agree to make the suggested grant, with an initial £30 000 (R60 000) payable in 1946, another £20 000 (R40 000) in 1947 and the balance in instalments of not less than £10 000 (R20 000) each.

These were reduced when the Provincial Council decided to abolish the motor registration fee, which had been expected to provide the Durban Municipality with an additional £67 000 (R134 000) in income. Nevertheless, on the strength of this support in 1946 NUC spent £15 000 (R30 000) on an extension to City Buildings and £64 000 (R128 000) on laboratories and lecture

theatres at Howard College, with plans to spend another £10 000 (R20 000) on City Buildings in 1947 and embark upon a £210 000 (R420 000) residential complex on 'The Hill'. Moreover, in addition to these ex gratia payments NUC could continue to rely on regular annual grants of £4 000 (R8 000) from the Durban City Council and £1 225 (R2 450) from Pietermaritzburg, though the former's City Treasurer was now strongly opposed to any increase in view of the heavy expenditure incurred on the College and the current need for 'stringent economy'.

Malherbe was hugely amused at the renowned Jock Leyden's cartoons in *The Daily News* that depicted his numerous fundraising efforts, not least his attempts to extract more from the Durban City Council as a 'mendicant principal' with hand outstretched. He arranged to meet Leyden for lunch and requested the original drawings for inclusion in NUC's archival records.

His leadership qualities also attracted attention far beyond provincial boundaries for in June 1947 he was nominated as a candidate to succeed UCT's retiring principal Dr A.W. Falconer. Malherbe reluctantly declined to be considered, despite the substantially larger salary and benefits attached to the post. There was also the sentimental attraction of having previously served on the university's staff and represented it for five years at sport. As he explained, he was already deeply committed to NUC's ten-year development plan and to those who were involved in it: 'I have set my hand to the plough and I cannot now relinquish it.'

Instead, he recommended two other suitable candidates for the post, J.P. Duminy, the principal of the Pretoria Technical College and T.B. Davie, a South African who was currently working in Liverpool. In 1948 the latter was subsequently appointed and was later succeeded by the former. Back in Natal the 1948 students' Rag Court 'Of Liberal Injustice' also recognised Malherbe's vigorous drive towards the achievement of university status, fining him £2/10s (R5) for 'knocking the 'ell out of the public in your efforts to knock the "C" out of NUC'.

The University Development Foundation did not confine itself to raising funds for building construction and other forms of capital expenditure, though part of the attraction of the £235 089 (R470 178) that it raised for such purposes between 1946 and 1950 was the pound for pound grant this elicited from government. Monies were also raised both for lump sum expenditure and as investments from which to generate interest to meet ongoing current needs such as research, bursaries and scholarships, library requirements and other 'general purposes'. This amounted to £84 271 (R168 542) in the period

1946 to 1950, including £6 721 (R13 442) for research, £34 650 (R69 300) for scholarships and bursaries and £42 900 (R85 800) for ‘general purposes’.

It excluded additional amounts received from outside sources, such as the £13 250 (R26 500) raised in that period to finance Burrows’ *Natal Regional Survey*, the research and bursary grants that the national Council for Social Research and the South African Council for Scientific and Industrial Research (CSIR) awarded, amounting to £18 598 (R37 196), the £51 077 (R102 154) donated for the running of the Paint, Sugar and Wattle Research institutes (excluding £19 075/R38 150 contributed to building costs), and the approximately £60 000 (R120 000) a year to which government was by then committed to run the new Faculty of Agriculture.¹⁰

A Faculty of Agriculture for Pietermaritzburg

Malherbe’s efforts to raise funds, and to strengthen NUC’s claim to independent university status, were boosted by the announcement in February 1946 that government had approved the establishment of a Faculty of Agriculture in Pietermaritzburg. It was the first major achievement of his tenure as Principal. As early as 1928 John Bews had envisaged such a facility on the Pietermaritzburg campus, as well as a Medical School in Durban. These aspects of his broad strategy for the development of university studies in Natal had had to await the consolidation of a careful balance between the arts and sciences, and between the competing expectations of the province’s two major urban centres.

Cedara had provided invaluable practical training for local farmers following the establishment in 1905 of a College of Agriculture and Forestry there. But by the mid-1930s, as the economy recovered from the Great Depression, Bews was convinced of the need for a university-based Faculty of Agriculture to meet the demand for scientifically trained researchers and more locally focused research. Dr John Fisher, principal of Cedara and, like Bews, an Edinburgh-trained scientist, was of much the same opinion. He advocated closer co-operation between Cedara and NUC and argued that his college should be permitted to teach above the level of the current diploma in agriculture on the grounds that ‘mere practical training’ was insufficient at a time when ‘more scientific knowledge’ had become essential to all farmers.

In June 1934 Bews and Fisher headed a seminal meeting between delegations from NUC and Cedara. This launched the campaign that was to take nearly 14 years before the first B.Sc. (Agriculture) students were enrolled, not at Cedara, but on NUC’s Pietermaritzburg campus. The protracted negotiations that preceded this event involved the presentation of several

memoranda to government, as well as soliciting the off-campus support of local parliamentarians, members of the Provincial Council, City Council, farmers' associations, the Natal press and the general public. Progress was delayed, in turn, by the death of Bews, the outbreak of World War II and, not least, crucial financial considerations.

From 1945 Malherbe became the chief protagonist of the cause in its final stages. He was well aware of government's ambitious post-war plans for training ex-servicemen to meet the shortage of expertise in several fields, including agriculture. He drew attention to the fact that the State's annual £21 000 (R42 000) expenditure on Cedara was easily the lowest spent on any of South Africa's major agricultural institutions. He also calculated that another £24 000 (R48 000) a year would be required to maintain a fully fledged Faculty of Agriculture, as well as between £75 000 (R150 000) and £100 000 (R200 000) in capital outlay on buildings and appropriate facilities.

Government at last recognised that there should indeed be such a facility to provide training and address agricultural problems in the climatically and topographically very different eastern grassveld regions of the country. This would match the already established faculties in the Western Cape (Stellenbosch) and on the Highveld (Pretoria). There was some justifiable concern in Natal that the new Faculty of Agriculture would lose its independence if the Union Department of Agriculture primarily bore the expense but, as was the case with the Medical School in Durban, NUC simply did not have the means to fund this valuable addition on its own.

In terms of the agreement announced in February 1946 the department undertook to finance an appropriate building at an estimated cost of between £100 000 (R200 000) and £150 000 (R300 000) as well as staff salaries and annual running costs of between £30 000 (R60 000) and £35 000 (R70 000), which soon began to rise. The proviso was that NUC would share the estimated £40 000 (R80 000) expense of providing the necessary hostel and the £70 000 (R140 000) needed to upgrade its science facilities in order to accommodate the influx of agricultural students. NUC would then still have to meet an estimated £55 000 (R110 000) shortfall by eliciting public donations.

In November 1945 the Pietermaritzburg City Council had already granted an additional 19.02 hectares east of Golf Road, on the old outspan land, near Epworth Girls School, approximately 2 kilometres from its initial 17.8 hectare grant on the Scottsville Ridge. There, Malherbe announced, the new Faculty of Agriculture was eventually to be situated while Cedara would continue to offer its diploma courses. The faculty's experimental work and practical instruction

would be conducted at Cedara, and possibly also at the Baynesfield Estate to the south-east, because the soil at Epworth was so poor.

In March 1946 Malherbe assured the Department of Agriculture that NUC would extend its laboratory facilities to cater for the first-year instruction of agricultural students in basic science. And further, contrary to earlier demands for a unilingual English-medium faculty, agricultural courses and practicals would be taught in both Afrikaans and English, making it the only such faculty to do so as those at Stellenbosch and Pretoria were both Afrikaans-medium. In response, the department now undertook to finance the new faculty building in its entirety in addition to covering all annual running expenses.

In September the building plans were approved, as was the appointment of the faculty's first dean. However, Dr A.R. (Rabie) Saunders could only assume the post in April 1947 as no salary had been provided for him in the 1946 budget. In doing so he also simultaneously became professor of Genetics and director of the Natal Agricultural Research Institute, based in Pietermaritzburg, with responsibility to the department for all agricultural research in Natal, except for that relating to sugar.

This proved to be a hugely successful appointment and it attracted other scholars of quality to the faculty. Saunders was already recognised as South Africa's leading plant breeder as a result of such achievements as the production of a non-shattering soybean, an upright cowpea and so-called Potchefstroom Pearl maize. He soon took an active interest in student welfare and in promoting the research of his colleagues. Importantly, he was willing to turn his hand to anything and personally laid the strip of slate paving between the roadway and the faculty building, which was eventually opened in 1954 and was later to bear his name.

Initially Saunders had no office on campus and was allocated rooms at the regional headquarters of the Division of Soil Conservation and Extension Services in the old Alexandra Road police barracks. The faculty attracted an initial 86 students, though Saunders did not see them until they had completed the requisite preliminary basic science courses in 1948. By the end of that year he and his clerk R.L. Colenbrander had been joined by an initial 11 academic members of staff to undertake the students' training in the three senior years from 1949 onwards.

While student registrations rose to 92 by March 1949 staff members were all provided with offices and teaching facilities at the former Oribi Military Hospital complex and readily participated in the necessary plastering, painting and carpentry work to make them habitable. Initially conditions there were

even worse than those with which NUC's foundation staff had had to contend in the early years of its existence. There was one main lecture room of unlined brick, complete with chalkboard and overhead projector. The kitchen was converted into a Chemistry laboratory and the former military X-ray room into a Genetics laboratory. Saunders and his first four professorial appointees dismantled redundant work benches in the old Scottsville Botany and Zoology labs for use in them. There were no funds to replace the corrugated iron roofing that made summertime classes extremely uncomfortable and they were often interrupted by deafening hail storms.

Ten bungalows, which the nurses had previously occupied, were allocated to Ag Fac staff families and, although spartan, were a convenient five-minute walk away from the offices and classrooms. Though far from ideal, Oribi also provided the faculty's students with residential accommodation, conveniently meeting NUC's first commitment to the Union Department of Agriculture. The completion of the new Biological Sciences Building eventually met the second. The arrangement at Oribi was intended to be temporary but it remained the new faculty's home until 1954.

In terms of the 1948 agreement, all staff appointments were to be made by consultation between NUC and the Minister of Agriculture. As was the case with South Africa's other two agricultural faculties, appointments were also subject to the approval of the Public Service Commission. Staff members were officers of both NUC and the Department of Agricultural Technical Services (as it became known). Consequently, they had to accept an uneasy, and what proved to be restricting, combination of College and Public Service



A.R. (Rabie) Saunders was born and educated at Boshoff in the Orange Free State. After completing an arts degree, majoring in Classics and Philosophy at Grey University College in Bloemfontein, the Department of Agriculture sent him to study Agronomy in the USA. There he completed Honours and M.Sc. degrees at Kansas State College and the University of Wisconsin, returning home with additional training in Genetics and Plant Pathology. He became South Africa's leading plant breeder and in 1933 the University of Pretoria awarded him a D.Sc. in Agriculture. During World War II he served as Deputy Director of Food Production.

conditions of employment that were quite unfamiliar to other members of NUC's academic staff.

Moreover, all Ag Fac staff members were expected to be fully bilingual (Afrikaans and English), though in practice it wasn't long before classes were conducted almost entirely in English. This was fortunate for the large numbers of Rhodesian (white Zimbabwean) students, as well as some from Kenya and Mauritius, who were attracted to the faculty in its early decades.

Despite the unusual conditions of service the new faculty, like NUC at its launch, was very fortunate in the quality of its foundation staff. J.D. (Hamish) Scott, a graduate of Rhodes and later of Wits, was South Africa's and the faculty's first professor of Pasture Management and Soil Science as well as its first elected dean (1950–1951) in succession to Saunders. In the course of a long career he made an enormous contribution to veld and pasture management as well as to the University. On his retirement in 1973 the Olympic-size swimming pool he helped to secure for the campus was named after him.

Professor E.R. 'Jimmy' Orchard, a Stellenbosch and London University graduate who held an MBE for his wartime work on chemical warfare and enemy war materials, assumed the chair of Agricultural Chemistry (including Biochemistry) and was the faculty's second elected dean (1952–1953). He developed a reputation for his ability to explain complex issues in simple terms and for initiating the Tugela Basin Soil Survey, which constituted the beginning of modern soil survey in South Africa. It involved the use of aerial photographic interpretation and led to the Binomial Soil Classification System that was to become the national norm. Orchard retired in 1972 and in 1988 when he died the E.R. Orchard Laboratories were opened on the Pietermaritzburg campus.

J.C. ('Sas') le Roux, also a Stellenbosch graduate, occupied the chair of Horticultural Science and Forestry from 1948 until his retirement in 1969. During that period he produced numerous papers on the selection and propagation of pecans and avocados, and had the Lerouk pecan nut partly named after him. G.B. Laurence was the fourth of the faculty's 1948 professorial appointments, being responsible for teaching Poultry Husbandry and Anatomy, Physiology and Animal Diseases prior to his departure in 1953. Other February 1948 appointees, whose contributions to the faculty are largely unrecorded, were P.H.C. du Plessis (lecturer in Animal Science and Poultry Science, 1948–1952), W.J. Fölscher (lecturer in Agricultural Chemistry) and J.W. Klassens (lecturer in Dairy Science).

W.H. (Willem) Weyers gave much longer service, arriving in 1947 as senior lecturer in Genetics and officially retiring in 1988 but continuing to lecture for another five years. He undertook most of the initial teaching in that discipline to enable Saunders to concentrate on his other onerous duties and succeeded him to the chair in 1960 before serving as dean (1967–1969). While studying for his doctorate at Wisconsin, Weyers developed a life-long interest in the genetics of micro-organisms and in 1986, with his senior technician, Pat Wallis, he initiated Molecular Biology on the Pietermaritzburg campus. The W.H. Weyers Research Laboratory was later named in his honour.



Clem Abbott measuring

C.W. (Clem) Abbott also proved to be a long-serving member of the 'Agric-originals', arriving in February 1948 as senior lecturer in Dairy Science with degrees from Pretoria and Iowa State College. He succeeded to the chair in 1954 and served as dean (1954–1955 and 1969–1971) before retiring in 1974. During his career he published 45 scientific papers, mainly on dairying but also in connection with game conservation and general agriculture. He endeared himself to students as president of the campus Mountain Club,

as a member of the Dramatic Society, through his warm personality and, with his wife, his generous open house hospitality.

The last of the faculty's initial appointees, who arrived later in 1948, were H.I. (Ian) Behrmann and P.L. (Piet) Kotze. From April Behrmann served as lecturer in Agricultural Economics and became professor in that discipline in 1960. By the time of his retirement in 1983 his 35-year tenure had made him the longest-serving of all the faculty's original 1948 appointees. During his career Behrmann taught most of the courses offered in the department, supervised 18 masters and doctoral candidates and produced several economic surveys on sugarcane, beef, cotton, dairy and pineapple production in Natal as well as on farm labour and land values.

Piet Kotze, a graduate of Stellenbosch and Pretoria, was appointed senior lecturer in Animal Husbandry, succeeded to the chair in 1954 and retired in 1970. He brought with him extensive knowledge of the cattle industry from his previous role as an extension officer for the Department of Agriculture and

was popular with students for the humour injected into his lectures and for his interesting practicals.

The faculty was grateful for access to Cedara in order to conduct many of its early practical classes. However, in its eagerness to promote the white agricultural sector, the National Party which came to power in May 1948 agreed in June of that year through its Department of Agriculture to finance the faculty's very own experimental farm. On the strength of this the 202 hectare property Roblyn, originally part of Shortt's Retreat, was acquired for £32 000 (R64 000) from the estate of Lady Gubbins. She was the widow of the Natal Colonial Secretary and Minister of Education who in 1909 had steered the Natal University College Act through Parliament and had been the immediately previous owner.

Situated about 4.8 kilometres from the faculty, near Pietermaritzburg's Oribi aerodrome and the Scottish Cables factory, the farm proved much more convenient than Cedara and was renamed Ukulinga, meaning in Zulu 'to test them' or 'to endeavour'. It was subsequently enlarged through the purchase of adjacent properties, though its limitations in terms of size, soil quality and access to water soon became evident. In addition, through the Natal Agricultural Research Institute, the faculty also had access to part of the farm Springfontein at New Amalfi Experimental Station in East Griqualand.

By 1948 the new faculty was already functioning but technically it was still part of the Faculty of Science because there was no Faculty of Agriculture in the University of South Africa, of which NUC was still a constituent part. Faculty independence would therefore have to await NUC's attainment of full University status.¹¹

University status granted

Within three years of his appointment Malherbe's fundraising successes ensured that NUC's future financial resources would be sufficient to establish the independent university that the General Purposes Committee had first mooted in May 1920 and John Bews had thereafter so strongly advocated. As previously indicated, by the end of 1946 initial pledges were in excess of £300 000 (R600 000) in cash and committed instalments. These continued to advance to over £400 000 (R800 000) by 1950. Together with endowments of £90 000 (R180 000), it ensured that NUC's petition for University status more than adequately met at least one of the criteria that had been recommended for such elevation by the University of South Africa Commission.

This body, under the sympathetic chairmanship of Senator Edgar Brookes, had been appointed in December 1946 to consider all such applications and the implications for the University of South Africa if it was stripped of all its larger colleges. The commission acknowledged that NUC's case was 'impressive' and that it 'might claim with some justice that its position as a composite college within a federal university is becoming increasingly clumsy and anomalous'.

It also met the requirements in terms of student enrolments (1 950 in 1946, of whom more than half were now full-time compared with the stipulated 1 000), as well as in terms of staff complement (139 in 1946, including 26 professors), a now wide variety of departments and courses spread across seven faculties generating good quality research, and 133 postgraduate students in that year. NUC's capital assets were far larger than those of other institutions when they gained university status. These amounted to £1 131 000/R2 262 000 (£268 000/R536 000 in land and £863 000/R1 726 000 in buildings) compared with UCT's £700 000 (R1 400 000), Stellenbosch's £100 000 (R200 000), Wits' £400 000 (R800 000) and Pretoria's £383 000 (R766 000). This was impressive, even allowing for the respective time lags involved in the attainment of independence.

In addition, there were big building programmes in both NUC centres and library and laboratory facilities that were at least considered 'satisfactory'. Appropriately, much of the research being conducted at the College related specifically to the socio-economic challenges that faced the region. This association was further strengthened by the establishment on campus of the Wattle Research Institute (1947) in Pietermaritzburg and the Paint Industries Research Centre and Sugar Milling Research Institute (1948–1949) in Durban.

Professor of Law Frank Burchell, the Registrar Peter Leeb-du Toit, the Principal E.G. Malherbe and others were all involved in carefully drafting the University of Natal (Private) Bill. They tried to incorporate the best aspects of existing university acts as well as meeting what they regarded as the particular requirements of 'a dual-centred university situated in a multi-racial province'. Appropriately, Pietermaritzburg MP Colonel O.L. Shearer proposed the Bill in the House of Assembly where it was well received. In February 1948 it passed through all the necessary stages, taking less than three hours for the second and third reading. These included a Select Committee hearing in which Malherbe satisfactorily responded to all questions and reservations. Abe Goldberg (MP for Umlazi), the only NUC graduate in the Legislative Assembly, strongly

supported the Bill, with an unidentified spectator in the visitors' gallery showing solidarity by wearing the College's striped sports blazer.

Indeed, none of the members who participated in the debate were opposed to the proposal, though J.H. Conradie (Gordonia) and W.D. Brink (Christiana) expressed concern about inadequate provision being made for the promotion of Afrikaans in the new university in order to attract more students whose mother tongue it was. Conradie and P.O. Sauer (Humansdorp) both applauded Malherbe's expressed intention to continue with NUC's policy of segregated classes for 'European' and 'non-European' students. They regarded this as being in the apartheid tradition of which the opposition National Party so strongly approved. Sauer added that 'entirely separate institutions for non-Europeans' was 'the full ideal towards which we must strive' (and which, under a National Party government, was soon to be realised).

By contrast M. Kentridge (Troyeville), supported by A.T. Wanless (Durban Umbilo), expressed concern that, despite assurances to the contrary, clauses 21 and 24(b) of the Bill, which allowed for the exclusion of applicants without any right of appeal and for the segregation of classes, would ultimately weaken the efforts of UCT and Wits to eliminate racial discrimination at university level.

In response, Colonel Shearer insisted that clause 24 merely empowered the Principal to dictate in which centre a student was to attend classes in order to avoid unnecessary duplication. The fact remained that while clause 24(a) understandably entitled Council to approve where students should reside during term time, clause 24(b) clearly allowed for the continuation of segregated classes by reserving for that body the right 'to determine at which place under the control of the University a student shall attend for the purpose of receiving instruction'.

Similarly, while clause 31 reaffirmed NUC's policy of not excluding any prospective students or staff members on religious grounds, clause 21 declared Council's right 'to refuse admittance to any student who applies for admission should they consider it to be in the interests of the University'. This was an unambiguous restatement of the powers of exclusion originally provided for in clause 20 of the Natal University College Act (18 of 1909) and reiterated in section 17 of the Higher Education Additional Provisional Act of 1917.

Nevertheless, the Bill was approved and in March 1948 it came before the Senate, where Senator William O'Brien of Pietermaritzburg moved the second reading. Conveniently, he was the current NUC Council Chairman (1941–1953) and had been a member of that body since May 1912 as well as a longstanding

supporter of university development. The Minister of Education Jan Hofmeyr gave the House his unhesitating assurance ‘that from the academic point of view this institution has attained a level where it is worthy of the higher status of a university’. In June NUC’s Senate was able to congratulate Malherbe on a further triumph in the form of an honorary degree the University of Cambridge had conferred on him in recognition of his services to education.

Supported also by Senator Edgar Brookes, the Bill passed into law as Act 4 of 1948 before coming into effect on 15 March 1949. It recognised that the new University was situated both in Pietermaritzburg and Durban, with the mayors of both cities, as well as two other appointees of their respective City Councils, being included on its Council. University autonomy appeared to be effectively protected by the fact that government nominees were substantially outnumbered by those of the Senate, Convocation and other constituencies. Henceforth the University’s Chancellor was to be elected by Council, not Convocation, and Senate membership was extended to all affiliated research institutes as well as the University’s Chief Librarian. During 1950 and 1951 the universities of the Orange Free State, Rhodes and Potchefstroom were also to gain their independence but 1949 was NUC’s year for celebration.¹²

ENDNOTES

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 - 11 UKZNA Malherbe Papers BIO-P 3/2/1 Newspaper Clippings: *Natal Witness* 20 and 22 February 1946; Malherbe, 'The University of Natal, 1949': 102–103; Hattersley, 'The University of Natal': 69–70. For a detailed account of the origins and establishment of the Faculty of Agriculture in Pietermaritzburg see Bill Guest, 'The establishment of a Faculty of

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THE NATAL UNIVERSITY COLLEGE/ UNIVERSITY OF NATAL IN 1949

THE NEW UNIVERSITY OF NATAL was launched with five days of 'inaugural celebrations' that were carefully distributed between the two centres.

The new university launched

Every Christian denomination in Natal observed 13 March 1949 as University Sunday and prayers were led from pulpits across the province for the new University, its staff and students. At the beginning of the five days of festivities the University of Natal was officially opened on 15 March 1949 at a ceremony in the Grand Theatre in Church Street. Across the road the bells in the Pietermaritzburg City Hall's clock tower pealed in congratulation. Rev. Dr Leo Sormany, who had officiated at so many NUC ceremonies, offered a prayer before the Hon. N.J. de Wet, Chancellor of the University of South Africa, and Dr A.J. Stals, the new National Party Minister of Education, delivered keynote addresses, to which the Principal, E.G. Malherbe, responded.

The Orator, Professor Frank Bush, introduced representatives from a number of South African and foreign universities before they delivered greetings from their respective institutions. Students presented an illuminated tableau, which the Fine Arts Department organised to unveil the new Stella Aurorae crest as De Wet declared the birth of the University of Natal and the assembly sang its anthem.

He described himself as 'very much in the position of a father who has to give his beloved daughter away in marriage ... grief at having to part with one of our constituent colleges of the University of South Africa, and on the other hand, joy that it is now striking out for itself on an independent career'. Stals congratulated the College on the 'generosity' of its donors and on the range of its facilities, which 'at the outset appears to be more complete than that of any of your senior sisters at her birth'.

A special train was provided to enable Durban-based staff, students and members of Convocation to attend the event, which was followed by a civic



The University of Natal crest



The NUC crest, 1911 The later NUC crest

New armorial bearings of the University of Natal

The armorial bearings, which, like those of the Natal University College, did not conform strictly with heraldic conventions, embodied 'the arms adopted by the University at the time of its inauguration in 1949, together with the crest, suitably differenced, awarded to Sir Theophilus Shepstone, whose grandson, the Hon. Denis Gem Shepstone was Chancellor of the University'.

As in the earlier arms of the Natal University College, the two black wildebeests represented those incorporated in the arms of the Province of

Natal and were portrayed in rapid motion to symbolise movement or progress. The two open books symbolised the two centres, Pietermaritzburg and Durban, in which the University was based. Alternative interpretations suggest that they represented the two official languages of the Union of South Africa, Afrikaans

and English, or the University's dual function, teaching and research. The books were open to symbolise the availability of the universal knowledge of which the University was a guardian and they replaced the two elephants which previously occupied those positions in the arms of the Natal University College, having been taken from the arms of the city of Pietermaritzburg where the College originated.

The colour of the *chief* was the scarlet of doctoral gowns, being the highest academic rank in the University.

The centre *charge* on the chief was the five-pointed star, which featured in the arms of the Natal University College and symbolised the land of Natal, which was said to have been named by Vasco da Gama as he sailed by on the anniversary of the Nativity, Christmas Day 1497. The theme was repeated in the motto below the shield: *STELLA AURORAE* – meaning 'Star of the Dawn' or 'Star of the Rising Sun'. This was intended to symbolise the University's role in dispelling the darkness of ignorance and being forever poised on the threshold of the new day.

(Ref. UKZNA H 1/7/1 University of Natal: Armorial Bearings and UKZNA OP 1/4/1–7 NUC/Natal University Calendars: 1949–50. See also E.H. Brookes, *A history of the University of Natal* (Pietermaritzburg: University of Natal Press): 1966, Preface note on armorial bearings.)

luncheon in the Imperial Hotel. There the mayor, G.C. Jolliffe, proposed a toast to the new University of Natal, to which the chairman of Council, Dr William O'Brien, responded. Dr H.J. van Eck, chairman of the National Social and Economic Planning Council was the principal speaker. He stressed the valuable contribution that could be made, in collaboration with other universities, in developing Africa's human and material resources while always taking care to protect 'freedom of research'. During the afternoon the Principal, together with members of the Council and Senate, was 'At Home' to receive the public for refreshments on the lawn in front of the Clock Tower Building on the Scottsville campus.

That evening Sir Raymond Priestley, vice-chancellor of the University of Birmingham and well-known explorer, gave an illustrated lecture in the Main Hall relating his experiences 'With Scott in the Antarctic'. In Durban the mayor, L.L. (Leo) Boyd, and City Council hosted a counter-attraction in the form of a civic reception and ball in honour of the new University, to which staff members and students were invited. The invitations caused some amusement at the prospect of a nude celebration by requesting 'academic dress, which will be removed before dancing commences'.

This was followed by an Open Day at Howard College to demonstrate laboratory work-in-progress to the public while in Pietermaritzburg Lord Eustace Percy, vice-chancellor of Durham University, delivered a lecture on 'The democratic experiment in Europe'. In the evening the Pietermaritzburg SRC held a students' ball and in Durban the municipal orchestra gave a special Academic Concert in the City Hall. Attendance was disappointing, particularly as a former NUC student, Daphne Newman, featured as the soloist performing Grieg's Piano Concerto.

During the course of the next two days Priestley and Percy repeated their addresses to large audiences in Durban. Professor J. Dover Wilson, Regius Professor of Rhetoric and English Literature at the University of Edinburgh, gave lectures on 'Shakespeare and humanity' and 'How Shakespeare wrote his plays' in the two centres. The Durban SRC also held a students' ball in the City Hall, while an informal 'non-European students' dance' took place in the hall at Sastri College, Warwick Avenue, 'by kind permission of the Director of Education'. The Principal and Mrs Malherbe, Dr Mabel Palmer and several other Durban staff members attended. It is not recorded if any of them took to the dance floor.

On the evening of Friday 18 March a group of distinguished NUC alumni broadcast messages of congratulation to the new University of Natal from the Durban studios of the SABC. They included the well-known historian Eric Axelson, Samuel Dent, Inspector of Native Education in Natal, Lief Egeland, South African High Commissioner in London, George Gale, Secretary for Public Health, Edith Guy, headmistress of Girls High School in Pietermaritzburg, William Howes, Durban's deputy Town Clerk and legal adviser, Hugh Irving, resident engineer at Umgeni Dam, the playwright and critic Noel Langley, Alan Paton, educationist and renowned author, Bill Payn, Durban schoolteacher and multiple Springbok sportsman, and Dr Sidney Skaife, governor of the SABC and chairman of the Fisheries Board.



E.H. (Edgar) Brookes was born in 1897 in Smethwick, emigrated to South Africa with his parents in 1901 and graduated from the University of South Africa (MA D.Litt.). He became a lecturer and then held the chair of Public Administration and Political Science at the Transvaal University College (1923–1933), serving in 1927 on the South African delegation to the League of Nations. During the 1920s he was a strong supporter of segregationist policies but publicly recanted this view in the 1930s. He became co-founder and later president of the South African Institute of Race Relations and from 1933 to 1945 principal of Adams College in Natal. He also served as a Native representative in the Union Senate (1937–1952) and in 1947 on the Union delegation to the United Nations. In 1952 he became senior lecturer in History and Political Science on the Pietermaritzburg campus and subsequently professor (1959–1962). In 1961 he chaired the Natal Convention and from 1963 to 1968 was national chairman of the Liberal Party. In addition to numerous earlier publications, including *The history of Native Policy in South Africa* (1923) and *Native Education in South Africa* (1929), he subsequently produced among other works, (with N. Hurwitz) *The Native Reserves of Natal* (1957), (with J.B. Macaulay) *Civil Liberty in South Africa* (1958), (with C. de B. Webb) *A history of Natal* (1965) and (as sole author) *A history of the University of Natal* (1966), both through the University of Natal Press, *Apartheid: A Documentary Study of Modern South Africa* (1968), *White Rule in South Africa* (1974) – a revision of his *history of Native Policy* (1923) – and *A South African Pilgrimage* (1977). In 1973 he was ordained into the Anglican ministry and died in 1979.

All had fond reminiscences to offer and several paid tribute to John Bews in particular, describing him as ‘most beloved of all, and the real founder of the University’ who was ‘greater even as University statesman than as scientist and botanist’. His widow Nina Bews who, like the Denisons, lived in Pietermaritzburg’s Imperial Hotel, declined to attend any of the celebrations but informed Janie Malherbe of her ‘gratitude to your husband whose superhuman efforts and able direction have brought the University of Natal into being’.

On the final day of the festivities, at a special graduation ceremony in the Durban City Hall, which was preceded by a street procession witnessed by 20 000 spectators, the University conferred its first honorary degrees. The distinguished recipients were Lord Eustace Percy, Sir Raymond Priestley, Professor J. Dover Wilson and Dr Basil Schonland, the well-known South African scientist who had distinguished himself in the field of radar during the recent war and was currently first president of the CSIR. The guest of honour, former Prime Minister Field-Marshal J.C. (Jan) Smuts, who was then chancellor of the universities of Cambridge and Cape Town, gave the principal address, with Senator Dr Edgar Brookes and the Principal E.G. Malherbe also delivering speeches.

Smuts paid tribute to NUC’s dedicated staff who, over 40 years, had ‘prepared the way for the University’. In particular, he acknowledged John Bews for his great contribution both as a botanist and for his efforts ‘to popularise and push the idea of a University of Natal’. He declared that ‘Dr Malherbe has but reaped where Bews sowed’ but congratulated the former for his ‘energy and enterprise’ as ‘a great go-getter, and ... the midwife who has helped the College to produce this infant prodigy, greater than itself’. Smuts conceded that the University’s two-centre focus, like ‘the dual pattern of the Union itself, with its two languages, and its two capitals’ was ‘not an ideal arrangement, but it is, like so many other good things, a compromise’ that he hoped, like the Union, would be a success.

Brookes also paid tribute to Malherbe, whom he had admired since first meeting him in the 1920s when both were ‘groping in the Archives of the Union Buildings’ for information towards their respective doctorates. Malherbe pointed out that it was Smuts who had persuaded him to accept the NUC principalship instead of returning to his post of director of Census and Statistics. He expressed the fervent hope that the University of Natal would, in due course, produce the sort of leaders like Smuts, the late Jan Hofmeyr and Louis Botha that South Africa so desperately needed.

A special train brought members of the university community in Pietermaritzburg to the graduation ceremony, where greetings from other universities were again delivered and the student tableau 'Stella Aurorae' was repeated. An Administrator's luncheon followed in the Marine Hotel, at which the host, the Hon. D.G. (Denis) Shepstone, an NUC alumnus, proposed the toast to the University and Council member-cum-benefactor C.E. (Charles) James replied. D.G. Fannin, president of Convocation, toasted the new graduates to which Lord Eustace Percy responded. Smuts, now in more jovial mood, also spoke briefly before leaving for the airport.

In the afternoon the Principal, Council and Senate members were 'At Home' to the public on the Howard College campus. Malherbe, Edgar Brookes and Lord Eustace Percy were present at a similar function at Sastri College for the 'non-European' students, their families and friends. By the end of a week in which some senior members of staff had been obliged to attend virtually all the scheduled events, involving several one-and-a-half-hour inter-city road journeys, they were doubtless suitably exhausted.

Within six weeks of the inauguration the various faculty boards of the old NUC had been formally reconstituted and in Pietermaritzburg the new Faculty of Agriculture was firmly launched. It was but the beginning of a hectic transitional period, clouded only by the financial difficulties from which the institution was eventually to emerge in the mid-1950s. As Malherbe had emphasised in Senate in November 1948, when a 10% increase in fees was approved (with a discount for 'non-European' students), the College was 'going through a very difficult financial period' under the government's current three-year financial austerity programme.

Nevertheless, on the Howard College campus the facade, tower and south wing of what was later to be called the Memorial Tower Building were completed. So too was the Principal's residence, appropriately named Campbell House after Sam Campbell who had done so much to promote the provision of University facilities in the harbour city. Before the end of the year Council had elected and installed Denis Shepstone, the Administrator of Natal (1948–1958), as the University's first Chancellor (1949–1966).

Alexander Petrie, the longest living of NUC's original eight staff members, composed the following in honour of the new University of Natal, though it served also as an epitaph for its predecessor.

Nigh four decades ago, on Scottsville hill
 Was lit a candle, which, in early years,
 Now waxed, now waned, mid varying hopes and fears,
 As Fortune friendly proved or boded ill.
 Struck by some ruder gust, it flickered, till
 Men said, 'Can it survive?': nathless the flame
 Shot up anew, and unconsumed, the same
 As Horeb's burning bush, it burned still.

 To-day, no fitful candle, but a light,
 Steady and strong, is set for all to see,
 Fit magnet for our land's aspiring youth:
 God grant it long may shinem a beacon bright,
 To pierce the mists of Doubt and Falsity,
 And light the path to KNOWLEDGE, FREEDOM, TRUTH.

Elsewhere Petrie expressed the hope that

whatever greater things the new order may witness –
 whatever heights the University of Natal may attain to,
 and may it go from strength to strength! – it is to be
 hoped that the pioneers of 1910 who bore the burden
 and the heat of small things – our Bews's and our
 Denison's – will not be forgotten.¹

Indeed, NUC had left invaluable, if complex, foundations upon which the new University could build.

The legacy of Natal University College

The attainment of full university status marked an early peak in E.G. Malherbe's career as Principal and greatly enhanced his popularity in Natal. At that juncture neither centre felt excluded as he remained committed to the concept of a dual campus 'single institution under one Senate, one Council and one Principal'. It was his avowed intention that it should retain what he described as '*a sound division of function* between the two centres but within a *unity of organisation*'. He recognised the 'many difficulties' consequent upon the duplication of courses in two cities that were 80 kilometres (54 miles) apart but argued against any form of federal structure. There was to be only one dean for each faculty and one head for each department to avoid the risk of 'splitting up a faculty or department into two rival sections between Pietermaritzburg and Durban'. This, however, was not to preclude periodic interchanges of staff.

Malherbe conceded that the admittedly complicated 'dual-centre' structure of the institution involved heavy additional costs but, in his view, it was also 'a blessing in disguise for the students' because it distributed them into smaller classes where they could enjoy more individual staff attention. It also divided them into two socially more manageable bodies that allowed for easier assimilation and closer personal acquaintanceships. No mention was made in this connection of Durban's Non-European Section.

The notion of collegiality was much more applicable to the Pietermaritzburg campus than to Durban but, like so many other features of the old NUC, this was to change with the passage of time. Malherbe recognised the danger inherent in dualism of 'narrow parochialism' and 'jealous sectionalism' but, he hoped, this would be held at bay by an ongoing 'spirit of generous and friendly loyalty' to the common cause. He was also optimistic that, despite its prevailing financial crisis, the government would soon make material allowance for the institution's unique dual character – 'dual not only geographically, but also racially' by virtue of its 'further complicating factor ... the non-European section for whom we must provide separate tuitional facilities and social amenities'.²

NUC's complicated legacy to the University of Natal involved, more accurately, a dual-centred, racially segregated four-campus structure comprising Scottsville, Pietermaritzburg (including the downtown part-timers), Howard College, the Non-European Section and City Buildings, to which a separately subsidised black Medical School was soon (1951) to be added.

Students and course options

Black students in Durban numbered 327 in 1948, dropping temporarily to 223 in 1949 due, it was believed, to the anti-Indian disturbances that year. Almost all of them were still part-timers who took five years to complete a three-year degree and qualified for a one-third remission of fees. They could choose courses in 24 disciplines, half of which were available as majors and all of which were taught to the same standards and for the identical examinations set for full-time white students. Their lecturers were staff members who taught both full- and part-timers as a condition of their employment. Malherbe had initially anticipated that the numbers of 'non-Europeans' undertaking full-time studies in Durban would increase once residential accommodation had been provided for them at Wentworth but that part of his vision never materialised. There were no plans to offer courses to black students in Pietermaritzburg

because, in his view, NUC may already have ‘gone too far’ with regard to duplication in its efforts ‘to meet the needs of the different sections’.

By 1948 the total number of students was 1 955, declining in 1949 to 1 840 due largely to the drop in ‘Non-European’ registrations that year. The comparative numbers of ‘European’ students in Durban and Pietermaritzburg in those years were not published. The combined figures of the two centres for 1949 still compared favourably with the 1945 total of 994 but not the 1 950 in 1946, an increase that was attributable in part to the 650 ex-servicemen who registered that year. In 1948 Arts attracted the largest number of students, 608, followed by 419 in Commerce, 318 in Engineering, 260 in Science, 114 in Architecture, 92 in Agriculture, 57 in Social Science, 48 in Law and 39 in Education. The seven faculties, with Agriculture being the latest addition and Architecture/Quantity Surveying and Social Science not yet independent, then offered courses in some 60 disciplines.

Female students, who had comprised 14% of the student body in 1910, still barely amounted to 16.5% in 1948 after increasing to as much as nearly 43% in 1926. This percentage decline between the mid-1920s and mid-1940s has been attributed to the introduction of Commerce and Engineering classes in Durban, which attracted increasing numbers of male students. While females were not excluded from taking these courses they were not at that time considered appropriate fields of training for women. To some extent the disproportion of male to female students may also have been due to the influx of ex-servicemen in the immediate post-World War II period.

In 1948 NUC conferred 230 degrees and diplomas: 14 M.Sc., 4 MA, 6 B.Ed., 8 BA Hons, 3 B.Comm. Hons, 6 LLB, 38 B.Sc. Eng., 66 BA, 3 BA (FA), 38 B.Sc., 9 BA (SS), 13 B.Comm., 1 B.Econ. and 21 UE Diplomas. Again, no distinction was made in the published results between the two centres.

In the Faculty of Arts students could choose Classics, Afrikaans-Nederlands, English, French, German, Zulu, History, Political Science, Economic History, Economics, Philosophy, Psychology and (in Pietermaritzburg only) Fine Arts. The Social Science options were Sociology and Social Work, Social Anthropology, Native Administration, Bantu Languages (all in Durban only), Economics and Zulu. The Faculty of Science offered Botany, Chemistry and Chemical Technology, Geography, Geology, Mathematics and Applied Mathematics, Physics and Experimental Physics, and Zoology. The Faculty of Law provided a range of courses in addition to Roman Law and Jurisprudence to meet the needs of LLB, Natal Law Certificate, Civil Service Certificate, Accountancy, Mercantile Law and BA candidates. In the Faculty of Commerce

and Administration, operating in Durban only, Accounting and Auditing, Commerce, Economics and Industrial Organisation and Management was available.

In Durban the Faculty of Engineering offered Mechanical Engineering, Civil Engineering, Electrical Engineering, Architecture and Quantity Surveying, and Land Surveying. In Pietermaritzburg the Faculty of Education's students were required to study Educational Theory, Educational Method and Educational Psychology. In the most recently established Faculty of Agriculture the compulsory first-year courses in Chemistry, Physics, Botany and Zoology (taken in the Faculty of Science) led to options in Animal Husbandry, Agronomy, Pasture Management and Soil Conservation, Agricultural Economics, Agricultural Chemistry, Genetics, Horticulture, Dairying, Poultry Husbandry, Biochemistry, Agricultural Engineering, Forestry, Biometry, Plant Pathology, Animal Health and Entomology.³

By 1949 Malherbe felt strongly that 'now that we are masters in our own house' staff members should experiment in finding ways to assess the true ability of their students without relying too heavily upon the traditional three-hour year-end examinations. These, he contended, were 'a notoriously bad and unreliable measure of a student's proficiency in a particular subject'. At the top end of the student scale by 1949 NUC was awarding scholarships and bursaries not only to first-year students on the basis of their matriculation results but also as much as £10 000 (R20 000) a year to second- and third-year students, as well as to postgraduates, as reward for high performances within the College system. In several disciplines postgraduate studies were still only available in one or other centre depending upon the availability of appropriate equipment, library facilities and, not least, specialist staff.

In the immediate post-World War II period postgraduate numbers had increased dramatically, from 47 in 1944 to 144 in 1948, in response to the country's desperate shortage of expertise in virtually all fields. Most Honours candidates received graduate scholarships that effectively met the cost of their academic fees while fellowships, ranging from £250 (R500) to £350 (R700) a year, were available at more advanced research levels in exchange for teaching assistance.⁴ The recipients were all potential staff members.

Staff complement and academic departments in Durban

By the end of 1948 NUC's administrative staff in both centres had increased from nine in 1944 to 36 (including 29 females), its Library staff from four to 11 (including seven females) and its academic staff from 101 to 219. The latter

figure included 31 professors, 27 senior lecturers, 77 lecturers, eight other teaching/research staff, 45 part-time lecturers and 31 demonstrators. Gender ratios were not recorded in all categories but, while there was a substantial numerical increase in the female teaching staff from the 1930s, as Arlene Gibson has shown they still only constituted approximately 13% of the full-time academic complement. There were none in Engineering, Law or Physics and none of them, as yet, were professors. Only four were employed at senior lecturer level, three of whom had seats on the 37-strong Senate. Between 1944 and 1948 expenditure on academic staff salaries rose from £35 000 (R70 000) to £86 000 (R172 000).

Among the Durban-based departments that contributed to the Principal's report at the end of 1948 the Department of Architecture recorded that the part-time programme that it ran during the war years for about 20 students a year had survived, if only just, but that following demobilisation registrations had jumped to 110 a year, spread over five years of Architectural and four years of Quantity Surveying courses. All classes were still held at City Buildings, except for Graphics and Land Surveying, which were conducted at Howard College, while new studio and lecture rooms had greatly eased the congestion. The organisation of full-time courses had proved impractical as the students and lecturers were all in full-time off-campus employment and as few classes as possible were therefore held during business hours.

The new Department of Bantu Studies was able to record that its staff complement had increased from one temporary lecturer (Mr D. McK. Malcolm) at its inception in 1946 to four in 1948, including Professor J.D. Krige, Dr E.J. Krige as lecturer in Social Anthropology, Mr K. Kirkwood as lecturer in Native Administration and a part-time lecturer, Mr Theunissen, who conducted some of the 'non-European' classes in Zulu. There was an encouraging increase in the demand for all the courses on the part of both full- and part-time students as a number of medical personnel, missionaries and others sought to equip themselves more effectively for their chosen professions. The department could also boast three postgraduate students as requests for more advanced studies also increased. By 1949 there was extensive correspondence in connection with the proposed establishment of an African Studies Institute, including a chair, library and museum.

By 1948 the Economics Department was offering its three-year major to black students in Durban as well as to white candidates in both centres. By 1949 its teaching staff had accordingly increased to seven, comprising a professor, senior lecturer and three lecturers in Durban and a senior lecturer

and lecturer in Pietermaritzburg. In addition, the size of its staff dedicated to research projects fluctuated with the availability of funds but its clerical staff complement remained at two. Student numbers had increased from 100 a year to over 200 since 1945 and the department was becoming increasingly well known to the general public, not least through its weekly Durban Economic Forum.

By the end of 1948 Maurice Sweeney and Advocate A. Landsdown had three part-time lecturers in Law (A.V. Hoskings, C.O. Burne and D.M. Grice) to assist in teaching their 170 Durban students (22 of them 'non-European') spread over 15 different courses. They were fully stretched but meeting an essential need in the fast-growing city. The Psychology Department in Durban also had two full-time permanent members of staff from 1946, with Professor Bernard Notcutt no longer also associated with the English Department and now assisted by Miss V. Hunkin (MA). This facilitated postgraduate work and a regular Honours class was being held for both white and black students. In addition, a close association was being established with the Child Guidance Centre.

By the end of 1948 the Department of Chemistry and Chemical Technology in Durban was offering not only a three-year major but also part-time first- and second-year courses in response to requests from the Durban Chamber of Industries. The department's student numbers had increased from 50 in 1940 to 150 in 1948, following the inauguration of a full major and the introduction of part-time classes as well as a postgraduate programme in Chemical Technology. The need for the latter had emerged during the war and was met by developing appropriate laboratories, the first at a South African university, in close association with the Faculty of Engineering. The course offered qualified candidates for graduate membership of the Institute of Chemical Engineers and in 1947 it produced its first graduates.

The department was grateful for the acquisition of high vacuum molecular distillation apparatus and a high pressure hydrogenator, by kind favour of the CSIR, as well as an ultra-violet spectrometer, which Hind Bros and Semco Oil generously supplied. In addition, a mass spectrometer was in the process of being erected. The department was allocated temporary army-style huts for its chemical technology and control laboratories and looked forward to moving into the new Science Building to ease its need for more space. It had lost the services of Dr H.C. Coblans in December 1945 when he took charge of the campus Library but gained those of Dr L.D.C. Bok (M.Sc. Stellenbosch Dr Leipzig) as senior lecturer and Mr F.H.H. Valentin (M.Sc. Rand A.M.I.

Chem. E.) as lecturer in Chemical Engineering, along with H.A. Candy (M.Sc. SA) as lecturer in Chemistry.

Teaching loads in the immediate post-war period were heavy in the Engineering departments while space and equipment was in most cases limited. In 1948 there were three members of staff instructing 30 candidates for completion of the degree in Civil Engineering, two staff members with four graduate assistants and 27 degree candidates (five of them at Masters level) in Electrical Engineering, six staff members and about 18 completion candidates in Mechanical Engineering and three staff members (one temporary) and two finalists in the Department of Land Surveying. The latter had only been established in 1947 but was already attracting candidates who had completed relevant courses at other universities and wanted to study in Durban.

The installation of a Structures Model laboratory for teaching and demonstration purposes was a welcome addition for Civil Engineering but electrical strain gauges were still needed as well as the development of teaching and research capacity in soil mechanics and hydraulics. Electrical Engineering was fortunate in purchasing from Naval Stores a great deal of equipment that few universities would otherwise have been able to afford. This included a 10 centimetre radar set that Dr Eric Phillips was able to use in his work on microwave propagation.

Other items acquired in this way included several motor alternators for use in graduate work that were bought for a tenth of their normal landed cost and were immediately installed for use in class, whereas delivery from overseas would have taken between 12 and 20 months. This and other equipment from the same source, including automatic alternators, transformers, fuse boxes, switches, terminals and cathode ray and other thermionic tubes meant that the department was well equipped for teaching and future research for the foreseeable future.

Mechanical Engineering, which taught all Durban engineering students the fundamentals in their first year of study, had gained two drawing offices, a cement testing laboratory and a metallography laboratory by the end of 1948. It was still stretched in coping with 259 students that year, as was the much smaller Department of Land Surveying. At the beginning of 1948 the Department of Geology was moved from Pietermaritzburg to Durban to strengthen the Science Faculty there and link the discipline more closely to Engineering. It too experienced a post-war increase in student registrations. The appointment of Dr J.J. Frankel, formerly of the Minerals Research

Laboratory, coupled with extra accommodation and special grants, helped to consolidate the branch of Mineralogy and Petrology there.

In 1948 the Department of Commerce and Administration in Durban still had only a professor and lecturer (with the prospect of another appointment in 1949) to deal with 86 students spread over six courses in Commerce and in Industrial Organisation and Management. From 1946 B.Comm. degree courses were made available to black students. By 1948 there was a noticeable increase in the number of full-time white students, for whom practical experience was arranged during vacations, and in the numbers registering for a B.Econ. in Industrial Administration.

The Department of Mathematics had a staff of five full-time, two temporary and one part-time appointees to teach 637 students in 21 different courses, including five given to white and two to black part-timers. The much smaller Department of Experimental Physics comprised a professor and a lecturer, with the prospect of another appointment in 1949. It registered an average of 200 students a year following a wartime average of 90 and a post-war influx of 214 ex-servicemen in 1946. Student numbers were sustained by the post-war introduction of both full- and part-time science degrees in Durban, the latter initiative being commended by the Technical Committee of the Natal Chamber of Industries.⁵

Staff complement and academic departments in Pietermaritzburg

Important foundations had also been laid for the future on NUC's original campus. The Botany Department there comprised three staff members by 1948 to deal with a trebling of student registrations after the war. In January of that year it moved into part of the new Biological Sciences Building, which provided it with a herbarium and several laboratories, including designated facilities for staff members, research students and visitors. The department looked forward to acquiring further additions including a lecture theatre and library before the end of 1949. Chemistry lost senior lecturers Dr F.C. Tompkins, who moved to the post of reader at Imperial College, London, and A.D. Mudie, who retired after 26 years of service. They were replaced by Dr H.A.E. (Errol) MacKenzie (D.I.C. Ph.D. London) and E.C. Leisegang (M.Sc. SA). This provided the department with four staff members to cope with a student intake that had risen from 77 in 1940 to 110 in 1945 and 230 by 1948, including 13 postgraduates.

Alexander Petrie's replacement in the chair of Classics, Oliver Davies, was formerly reader in Archaeology and Ancient History at Belfast University. He

now sought ways of adapting the Classics to the needs of the modern world and began to introduce a course in European and African Archaeology. This, it was anticipated, would serve the double purpose of providing a suitable prelude for students embarking upon classical studies and bring the department into closer contact with Anthropology, Geology and Geography.

The English Department, still fully controlled from Pietermaritzburg, had 152 students and three members of staff there (Professor G.H. Durrant, Dr W. Gardner and Mr F.L. Broad) and another 425 in Durban. At that centre rapid post-war expansion had been met with the provision of four staff posts (Elizabeth Sneddon, Dr N. McKenzie, Mr Raymond Sands and one vacancy). The development of two courses in Speech and Drama was a significant innovation, with the intention that it would develop into a separate department, the first of its kind in South Africa, from 1950.

In French the sole full-time staff member, Dr Mary Niddrie (formerly Leiper) was assisted by two part-timers. Student numbers remained steady during and after World War II with an average of 12, four and two students in the first-, second- and third-year courses respectively. Numbers in Special French increased from 18 in 1946 to 35 in 1948 while in Durban there was a steady demand for this and for French I, the only courses the department offered there. Three NUC students were awarded French government grants to undertake postgraduate studies in France.

Student numbers in Fine Arts increased from 34 in 1945 to 55 in 1948, boosted by the arrival of Hilda Rose (Pottery) and Geoffrey Long (Design) to assist Professor Oxley following his return from active service. The remodelling of the Pottery section in a separate hut with three new electric wheels and an additional electric kiln made it possible to cater for more students but there was still serious overcrowding in other classes. This included the new offering in Stage and Costume Design, which led to closer co-operation with the campus Dramatic Society.

The Department of History and Political Science was strengthened by the post-war arrival of Mr A.W. (Wynn) Rees (MA Wales) as senior lecturer in History and Economic History, the latter subject having been transferred from Economics in February 1947, and Dr L.M. (Lindsay) Young, an MA graduate of NUC who had returned with a Ph.D. from Cambridge.

The Law Faculty experienced some difficulty in replacing Frank Burchell who was supposed to retire at the end of 1947 after exceeding 65 years of age. The Law lecture load and times were awkward, as in Durban. Full-time students complained about having to attend the part-time classes still held downtown

in Change Lane but the reality was that part-timers were in the majority and it was impractical to duplicate lectures. Professor Robert McKerron, appointed to succeed Burchell, only assumed the James Scott Wylie Chair in February 1949. He held an MA from Aberdeen University and BCL, MA and DCL from Oxford. He had already served as professor and dean of Law at Wits and his appointment was therefore regarded as a coup for NUC.

Unfortunately, the College's Law Faculty did not meet his expectations on several counts. These included its limited number of LLB students and high proportion of candidates studying elementary courses for professional examinations, as well as its dual nature, unsuitable accommodation and relatively poor library resources. McKerron was probably too old for pioneering and soon formed the opinion that the still long-term task of developing a good Law school in Natal required the services of an individual much younger than himself. Early in 1949, much to Malherbe's displeasure, he returned to private practice in Johannesburg, leaving the ever-dependable Sweeney (in Durban) and Burchell (in Pietermaritzburg) to carry the faculty as before.

The staff complement in Nederlands-Afrikaans, as it was now named, comprised Professor Gawie Nienaber, senior lecturer H.J. Terblanche (MA D.Litt. Pretoria) and lecturer A.P. Grove (MA SA). They were assisted in Durban by Messrs P. du P. Grobler (MA SA) and Bothma as lecturers following the initiation of full-time classes there in 1947 and then of a first-year course for black students at Sastri College in 1948. The department's student intake grew much faster in Durban, contributing to an overall registration of 310 in both centres by 1948 compared with 173 in 1945. Nienaber was awarded an Afrikaans Academy for Science and Art prize in 1946 and Grobler a Queen Victoria bursary to study abroad (1950–1951).

The independent Department of Philosophy, which had at last been established in 1946, attracted an initial ten students, rising to 30 in 1948 spread over three courses. Following his appointment as senior lecturer in July 1948 to teach full-time 'European' and part-time 'non-European' courses in Durban Dr O.C. Jensen had to act as departmental head when John Findlay resigned in the same month. Dr D.J. O'Connor's appointment to the chair in Pietermaritzburg followed in October of that year.

The Physics Department's post-war staff establishment (not counting temporary assistants) remained at its pre-war level of one professor, J.R.H. Coutts, and one senior lecturer, J.A.V. Fairbrother (B.Sc. London, D.Phil. Reading), formerly of the Harwell Atomic Energy Research Establishment. Its student numbers increased three-fold from pre-war levels, rising to 160 in

1948, including one M.Sc. candidate, with senior undergraduate classes just starting in Durban. A large army hut provided some additional accommodation but there was still a serious shortage of laboratory space and equipment for both teaching and research.

Disappointingly, in 1948, after Ronald Albino joined Dr Ella Pratt Yule in Pietermaritzburg's Psychology Department as lecturer, student registrations only increased from 49 to 61. The latter figure did include nine final-year undergraduates as well as four postgraduates and the additional staff member did facilitate the development of experimental work for all students and the more effective supervision of postgraduates. In 1953 Pratt Yule was to become the first female in the University to be appointed to a professorship.

In Pure and Applied Mathematics there was a doubling of pre-war student numbers in 1946, with 12 students majoring in Pure Maths in 1948 but there were never more than three members of staff to teach the two branches of the discipline. In Zoology there was only one full-time member of staff, Professor Frank Bush, until 1946 when two lecturers were appointed. They were Miss N.F. (Nellie) Paterson (Ph.D. Cantab. D.Sc. Wits) and Mrs R.F. Ewer (B.Sc. Ph.D. Birmingham) – the latter only in a temporary capacity. A senior lecturer, Dr D.W. Ewer (MA Cantab. Ph.D. Birmingham), was added in 1948.

Student registrations rose from 70 in 1944 to 191 in 1946, an intake that was thereafter more or less maintained. The availability in 1946 of a hutment that could cater for 40 undergraduates at a time meant that the original laboratory could be reserved for staff and postgraduates. Even so, by 1948 the department was in urgent need of the larger accommodation that was in prospect in the new Biological Sciences Block on the Scottsville campus.

The Geography Department's student intake in Pietermaritzburg declined from 107 to 70 between 1945 and 1948 due to the fact that from 1947 Natal Training College candidates could opt for a college course in the subject instead of NUC's Geography I course. Black part-time student numbers in Durban increased from 16 to 41 during that period while white student numbers (full- and part-time) rose from 21 to 46. In 1946 Mr K.M. Buchanan (BA Hons Birmingham) was appointed lecturer in Pietermaritzburg, enabling the department to expand its offerings in land use, land classification and planning based on his experience in the Land Utilisation Survey of Great Britain. Unfortunately, Buchanan left in 1948 to take up an appointment as head of department at the University College of West Africa in Ibadan.

Meanwhile, in July 1947 Mr D.L (David) Niddrie was appointed primarily to take the 'non-European' Geography classes in Durban. The department

revised its syllabuses in preparation for the inauguration of the University of Natal in 1949, modelling them on those of foreign institutions, with greater emphasis on Human and Economic Geography and on regional studies in preference to the earlier emphasis on Geomorphology.

The Faculty of Education was not favoured with any additional staff members in the immediate post-war period, though the administrative load involved in running a variety of courses was heavy. Registrations for the Union Education Diploma rose from 17 in 1945 to 33 in 1948 but did not reach the pre-war level of 45. B.Ed. (taken part-time over two years) numbers rose marginally from two in 1945 to four in 1948, by which stage there were also three M.Ed. candidates. More encouraging were the black (part-time) BA Education registrations in Durban, which amounted to 42 in 1947 and 56 in 1948. However, there was concern that the pre-war annual output of white teachers, not only at NUC but also at the Natal Teachers Training College and at other institutions, was declining in the face of much better paid graduate employment for both men and women in other career fields where there were also serious shortages of suitably qualified recruits.

Professor of Education J.G.W. Ferguson questioned to what extent, under these circumstances, 'NUC, which is largely a product of the demand for teachers in the years following the 1914–18 war, can be relied upon to respond to the demand now'. He expressed the fear that, in the face of so many other manpower needs and such a small 'European' population from which to meet them, 'the central faculties of pure Arts and pure Sciences will be neglected and that the duties of the university to the schools, on which in the end all university studies depend, will be forgotten'. He appealed to heads of department, particularly in the sciences, to desist from discouraging the prospective teachers among their students by flattering them with suggestions that they should rather embark upon careers in research or in related branches of industry.⁶ Student subject choices and postgraduate research interests appeared to be shifting away from the traditional school-related disciplines.

Staff research output and community service

While doubtless sharing Ferguson's concern, Malherbe was proud of the fact that NUC had met the government commission's expectations with regard to research quality and output when it applied for university status. At that stage Botany and the Social Sciences, particularly Economics and History, were already especially well known in this respect. He was also pleased with the work done by staff members on radar, telecommunications and in industrial

chemistry during World War II. But, in his opinion, the staff publication output since then had been ‘disappointing’.

In his view this was the case even allowing for the prevailing shortages of accommodation, equipment and staff in the face of rising student numbers. In his 1946 Principal’s report Malherbe declared that much more was needed in the way of research effort ‘in order to become a university in deed as well as in name’. In 1942 the *Journal of the NUC Scientific Society* had been initiated primarily to train students in the presentation of scientific results. *Theoria* followed in 1947 for the purpose of publishing articles by staff members and others in the arts and social sciences. In this regard Malherbe made the point:

While the reputation of a university at home is judged largely by the success of its teaching, i.e. getting young people through their examinations, there is no getting away from the fact that the reputation of a university abroad is judged by the number and quality of the publications by members of its staff.

Between 1946 and early 1949 the Council for Scientific and Industrial Research (CSIR), founded in 1945 under Dr Basil Schonland to replace the Research Grant Board, had made annual grants to staff members that increased from £1 005 (R2 010) to £5 470 (R10 940). However, most of these had been awarded to staff in the Department of Chemistry. The CSIR was also helping to fund the Wattle, Sugar Milling and Paint Research Institutes on a pound for pound basis, thereby promoting ‘cross-pollination between the pure and applied sciences’ as well as assisting the College in contributing to the development of local commerce and industry.

Similarly, between 1947 and 1949 the National Council for Social Research, whose function was to finance research in the social, educational, psychological and humanities fields, made annual awards rising from £378 (R756) to £1 956 (R3 912) but these went primarily to the Departments of Economics and Sociology for the completion of the *Natal Regional Survey* under the aegis of the Social and Economic Planning Council. Economics had also been involved in research projects in Kenya, Tanganyika, Rhodesia and the neighbouring High Commission Territories at the request and expense of their respective governments. The Department of Psychology had completed a survey of the intelligence of Rhodesian (Zimbabwean) schoolchildren on a similar basis.

National grants were not the only means of measuring research output. In addition to the *Natal Regional Survey* and its projects elsewhere in Africa, the

Economics Department (Durban) completed its 'Housing Survey of Durban', initiated before World War II, and a detailed study of the 'Native Workers at the Dunlop Factory', which Oxford University Press was soon to publish. By 1948 it was also, among other projects, contributing to a handbook on the High Commission Territories – Basutoland (Lesotho), Bechuanaland (Botswana) and Swaziland – for the South African Institute of International Affairs, as well as a socio-economic survey of Edendale, and various reports for the Natal Provincial Post-War Planning Commission.

In addition, its members were giving expert evidence to a number of commissions of enquiry. These activities had already given the department a high public profile and attracted encouragement from local business interests that were represented in the Durban Economics Research Committee.

Staff members in Bantu Studies were active in producing a 'Zulu Manual' for use in universities and schools, a Zulu-English dictionary, and works on Zulu praise songs, 'native' reserves and 'native' policy, as well as an edited version of Henry Francis Fynn's *Diary*. Several other departments, such as Architecture, could genuinely plead excessively heavy teaching loads and/or lack of the necessary equipment to conduct meaningful research.

This was not true of Chemistry and Chemical Technology. In the immediate post-war era all members of staff were actively engaged in supervising postgraduate research, with the financial assistance of the former Research Grant Board of the Department of Education, the CSIR and local industries. Projects included work on the kinetics of heavy hydrogen exchange, the separation of isotopes, and equilibrium and free energy relationships in catalytic processes. In 1948 Electrical Engineering celebrated staff member Mr Hellawell's acquisition of an M.Sc. degree and Eric Phillips' award, the first in the faculty, of a D.Sc. for his thesis on 'Microwave propagation in the earth's atmosphere'. Four of the department's five M.Sc. candidates were investigating problems arising out of Phillips' work and, it was hoped, this would form a basis for the establishment of a programme of telecommunication research.

Dr Ernest Reim was responsible for almost all the research being conducted in Mechanical Engineering. His published thesis on 'The mechanical strength of agglomerates' was of great relevance to the breakdown of coke used for industrial purposes and to the strength of concrete. Research activity in Land Surveying was still limited, though staff and students did undertake surveys free of charge for NUC, Adams Mission and Michaelhouse. The Geology Department continued its work in, as Lester King put it, 'the demonstration of pedimentation as the true mode of evolution of African Landscape, and the

correlation of erosional landscapes from continent to continent'. Specialised research fields included the nature of fused sediments and the petrology of Natal dolerites of the Karoo era while the department was also involved in a geological survey of the Valley of a Thousand Hills in collaboration with the Union Geological Survey.

In Commerce Professor Tom Kelly published in several journals and produced *A Customs Union for Southern Africa* published by the NUC Press. The Physics Department conducted research into atmospheric electricity and in 1947–1948 two students (one of them Des Clarence) completed their M.Sc.s in this field with distinction. In addition to its work in Rhodesia and collaborative research with the NUC Child Guidance Centre, in 1948 the Psychology Department's Professor Notcutt completed his survey of 'Research on problems affecting international understanding in South Africa' on behalf of UNESCO.

In Pietermaritzburg the Botany Department maintained the high research profile that John Bews had first established with ongoing anatomical and systematic studies of local grasses and ferns, the plant ecology of the province, and of the vitamin content of South African cereals and the tissue culture of excised embryos of cereals. In Chemistry research projects included ongoing work on the euphorbia species of South Africa, alkaloids in South African plants that are toxic to cattle, medicinal South African trees and Chase Valley Disease.

In the Classics Department Oliver Davies began to develop an interest in local archaeological digs that was later to result in several publications. In English the major research activity was Dr William Gardner's work on his second volume on the poet Gerard Manley Hopkins, while other staff members were busy with play productions, book reviews and radio talks. History Professor Alan Hattersley had the third enlarged edition of his *Western Civilization* (CUP, 1927) published in 1946 as well as a Spanish translation. In the same year the Van Riebeeck Society published his edited version of J.S. Dobie's *South African Journal*.

Staff members in Nederlands-Afrikaans were engaged in producing a variety of publications on Afrikaans language and poetry as well as directing several theatrical productions. Former students were also winning accolades. In 1946 D.J. Opperman won the Hertzog Prize for his first published collection of poetry, *heilige Beeste*, while A.S.V. Barnes became well known throughout South Africa for his publications for schools and Dr P.C. Schoones, a 1918 MA graduate, was appointed editor of the *Afrikaanse Grootwoordeboek*.

Before his resignation the new professor of Philosophy, John Findlay, published his inaugural address, a 1948 article in *Mind* and established the Philosophical and Psychology Society on campus. In the Psychology Department comparative studies on the early behavioural development of black and white children were conducted as well as clinical and diagnostic studies of the behaviour of pre-schoolers. Dr Rosenberg of the Department of Pure and Applied Mathematics spent time in 1947–1948 continuing his research in Atomic Physics at Bristol University and worked on a paper with Professor Stein on the solution of linear equations by iteration.

Zoology maintained its research interests in marine and freshwater biology, the animal ecology of the Natal Midlands and in anatomy and histology. The arrival of the Ewers on the staff was followed by considerable preliminary research on the physiological problems of Natal's animals but a much higher research and publication output was anticipated once the department had moved into the more spacious and better equipped Biological Sciences Block.

In the Geography Department K.M. Buchanan collaborated with N. (Nathan) Hurwitz of the Economics Department in a detailed study of agricultural production and population statistics in the province while David Niddrie completed a thesis on the climate of the Falkland Islands. In Education several projects were conducted on intelligence testing and the social background of high school pupils. In 1948 a separate laboratory was established for work in Educational Psychology.

Several of these initiatives served to confirm Malherbe's contention that, being 'situated in a multi-racial society', his institution was ideally placed to 'make a genuine contribution towards solving Africa's three most urgent problems' namely, health, food production and the resolution of socio-political challenges in multi-racial, multi-cultural societies with huge variations in standards of living. He believed that Natal, and particularly Durban, was in many ways 'a microcosm of the world' that 'could serve as a useful laboratory' in the attempt to resolve such issues. He derived obvious satisfaction from the fact that local communities, particularly in Pietermaritzburg and Durban, had been able to draw on campus expertise in a variety of fields. These included the Housing Survey in Durban, which the Department of Economics had undertaken, and the survey of black employees at the Dunlop Factory conducted over several years.

The NUC Child Guidance Centre, reorganised in 1945 with a full-time Director, Bryan Pechey, and a management committee that included several university, municipal and governmental department representatives, continued

to serve an invaluable multiple purpose. It not only performed preventative and remedial functions for the community at large but also provided a training-cum-research facility in clinical psychology and social work. Its case load increased from 20 in 1946 to 200 in 1948 while its staff complement rose to two full-time clinical psychologists, a secretary and four fellowship trainee students. Intensive research was being conducted on the techniques of child guidance with particular reference to play therapy and diagnosis. Its work was greatly facilitated by the Durban City Council's gift of a large home in the grounds the Meyrick Bennett Estate had bequeathed to Durban as a children's playground. Part of this property had been used as the Woodside residence for female students. The centre later became known as the Meyrick Bennett Children's Home.

By way of service to the broader community Malherbe could also point to the research findings and expert evidence that staff from a number of departments had given to government commissions of enquiry and to the service rendered by them on a variety of governmental bodies. In addition, staff members continued to contribute articles on topical issues to the local press and participated in SABC programmes. Professor Oxley served as a selector for the 1948 Overseas Exhibition of South African Art and Geoffrey Long of his Fine Arts Department wrote the introduction to the catalogue. In 1947 Rosa Hope painted the official portrait of the mayor of Pietermaritzburg and in 1948 Hilda Rose carved the shield for the South African Universities Cricket Trophy. Mr P. du P. Grobler of the Department of Afrikaans-Nederlands led the formation of Die Skerm, an Afrikaans Dramatic Society in Durban, and several English-language theatre productions were also performed for the general public in both centres.⁷

Library

Most research endeavour depended, at least in part, on adequate library facilities. When NUC attained university status its library holdings comprised approximately 44 000 books compared with the 20 000 that UCT held in 1918 when it reached that milestone. Its stock had continued to grow and by 1948 NUC subscribed to 561 periodicals and spent £7 806 (R15 612) on librarians' salaries, books and equipment compared with £1 831 (R3 662) in 1944. The Library staff had increased from four to 11 to cope with the increasing workload in four facilities – Pietermaritzburg, Howard College, City Buildings (white part-timers) and the Non-European Section.

Not all members of staff were fully qualified because recruits with even minimum professional training and experience were difficult to attract. In 1948 the staff accessioned 5 100 books, issued 31 000 to staff and students, dealt with 1 400 inter-library loans (but was still a net borrower) and continued to develop a central catalogue embracing the holdings of all four branches.

The workload was such that it was still impossible to overcome what the University Librarian, Dr Coblans, called 'the headache of the past', i.e., the mass of uncataloged pre-1946 material. His assumption of the post of Chief Librarian in 1946 had marked the beginning of a new era of growth and administrative integration in NUC's library services despite the ongoing shortages of funds, staff and space. These had been greatly compounded by Council's decision in the 1920s to assume responsibility for the development of university-level classes in Durban as well as in Pietermaritzburg.

The introduction during Coblans' short tenure of subject-focused library user education and attempts to broaden the reading habits and knowledge of students were quite progressive for that time. To that end by 1949 the Library also controlled three film projectors (Pietermaritzburg, Howard College and City Buildings in Durban) and dealt with all the orders for films that they used.

As Nora Buchanan has pointed out, the disparate nature of NUC's library services prior to 1946 had been but a reflection of the College structure that it served. By 1949 the older, better stocked Pietermaritzburg Library's re-occupation of the former Library Room in the Main (Clock Tower) Building had created additional space for the periodicals collection, while much-needed additional seating was provided with the opening of the new Memorial Reading Room attached to the Library Building.

The Library on the Pietermaritzburg campus was similar in size to that of Rhodes University College but the scale of library services in Durban already had a closer affinity to those at UCT and Wits. By the end of 1949 the 'non-European' Library had been moved to more spacious quarters in an ex-army hut at Sastri College and at City Buildings the congestion had been eased by the occupation of an adjoining lecture room. Nowhere was the serious shortage of workroom space more evident than at Howard College where by 1949 the completion of new library premises in the neighbouring Memorial Tower Building was eagerly awaited.

In addition, a Publications Committee was formed to supervise all NUC publications, including inaugural addresses. In collaboration with the University Press, it was also tasked to oversee the *Journal of the Natal University College*

Scientific Society, established in 1942, and *Theoria*, initiated in 1947. The Press was already beginning to provide useful and much-needed exchange material with which to augment the Library's resources.⁸

Other facilities and buildings

The multiple demands on NUC's funds had increased steadily with the rise in student numbers since the end of World War II. The laboratories, especially for the biological sciences, had become quite inadequate, as was residential accommodation. The Pietermaritzburg campus initially had extra rooms for 50 men and 100 women with which to absorb the increase but there were no student hostels at all at Howard College. Government had assisted with the erection of temporary army-style hutments in which to hold classes and, in addition to the Oribi Military Hospital in Pietermaritzburg, had provided the former military camps at Woodside and Butcher's for white student accommodation in Durban. Similar housing followed at Wentworth for the use of black medical students.

Many of these facilities proved to be far from temporary as limited funds were used to meet other urgent needs. It was policy for permanent structures to lay foundations that would support five floors, even though only an initial two or three could be afforded in the short term. In addition, buildings were designed 'to allow for the maximum of elasticity in functional adaptation' on the principle 'never to build a university building like a ship – incapable of extension' as it was impossible to determine individual departmental growth or the use to which buildings might need to be put in future years.

Vaguely similar to Hattersley's earlier plans for Lodge, Malherbe envisaged central dining halls for both main campuses, surrounded by residential blocks that would provide students with 'the grace of a residential life which allows for the interplay of mind upon mind and for the arts and sciences to wrestle fruitfully into the small hours'. A modest start had been made in that idyllic direction by the beginning of the 1949 academic year. Accommodation had been provided for 137 women and 232 men in Pietermaritzburg and 27 women and 165 men in Durban but only by doubling some students up in single rooms, housing others in private homes and paying for transport from Oribi and Butcher's.

Between 1946 and 1950 buildings to the value of £512 750 (R1 025 500) were erected, or were under construction, on the Pietermaritzburg campus. Apart from minor additions, these included the new Faculty of Agriculture

Building (£300 000/R600 000 estimate), the Biological Sciences Building £163 250 (R326 500), a Wattle Research Building £22 000 (R44 000) and temporary hutments valued at £25 000 (R50 000).

In Durban £442 500 (R885 000) worth of capital expenditure had been completed or was under way, in the form of extensions to City Buildings worth £31 900 (R63 800), the first section of the new Science and Technology (Memorial Tower) Building costing £178 600 (R357 200), the first section of a new residence, Charles James Hall for Women, at a cost of £74 000 (R148 000), a Men's Residence that was worth £97 000 (R194 000), £30 000 (R60 000) estimated for the Sugar Research Institute, £17 000 (R34 000) spent on the facilities for black students at Wentworth and £14 000 (R28 000) on minor buildings and hutments.

By 1960 buildings to the value of R7 287 000 had been erected on the Durban (R4 479 000) and Pietermaritzburg (R2 808 000) campuses, of which only R432 000 worth had been built prior to 1945 (R173 000 in Durban and R259 000 in Scottsville, Pietermaritzburg). There was a sharp escalation in post-war construction costs. It was met not only by means of government grants but also by a significant, if somewhat belated, increase in the generosity of the general public. This owed much to the effective persuasion of the Natal University Development Foundation and helped to make the local institution the least encumbered by capital debt on its buildings of all South Africa's universities.⁹

Municipal grants

These developments brought significant business to the local construction industry, not to mention the demand for other goods and services that NUC, its students and staff were generating in both centres by the end of 1948. Under the circumstances, Malherbe considered the response in terms of municipal grants to be decidedly disappointing. By then, the Durban City Council had granted NUC 1 acre (0.45 hectares) in town on which to construct City Buildings and had added another 60 acres (24.28 hectares) to the Howard College campus, increasing it to approximately 120 acres (48.56 hectares) in size. It had also made a capital grant towards building costs of £60 000 (R120 000) with the promise of doubling that, though this had amounted to only another £20 000 (R40 000) by the end of 1950. Following the establishment of the original Scottsville campus its Pietermaritzburg counterpart had provided an additional 47 acres (19.02 hectares) nearby on which to construct the Faculty of Agriculture Building as well as a £20 000 (R40 000) building grant.

By way of annual bursaries, Ladysmith granted one to the value of £25 (R50), while Durban granted one to the value of £80 (R160), two to the value of £40 (R80), a 'non-European' bursary to the value of £40 (R80), all tenable for three years, and the Dick King Centenary Exhibition awarded each year to the value of £50 (R100), which could be extended for another two years. The last of the Pietermaritzburg Municipality's two annual bursaries valued at £50 (R100) and tenable for three years was awarded in 1947 while a proposal to grant loans to black students had been declined a decade earlier.

The fact remained that in the post-war period combined municipal grants to NUC, as distinct from individual bursaries, had amounted to barely 2% of the College's annual running costs, being £1 225 (R2 450) from Pietermaritzburg and £4 000 (R8 000) from Durban towards total expenditure of £267 000 (R534 000) in 1948. The other 98% was covered by government grants (£90 000/R180 000 in 1948), academic and residence fees (£112 000/R224 000 in 1948) and a variety of small amounts in donations.

Malherbe bewailed the fact that municipal grants had remained unchanged for a decade although the income of both municipalities had doubled, as had the government grant to NUC during that period, while the College's expenditure and its income from fees had more than quadrupled. He argued that the annual contribution of both municipalities should at the very least be doubled to keep abreast of their own cities' development if not that of NUC, on whose Council municipal representation was the highest in South Africa. He rejected the argument that university development was the exclusive responsibility of central government, pointing out that, apart from the unquantifiable 'spiritual and cultural value of such an institution to the life of the community', the business sector in both urban centres benefited enormously from its presence.

Malherbe suggested that, if necessary, municipal rates should be increased to enable the City Council to provide the financial support that was accepted as necessary elsewhere. He also drew attention to the fact that the universities of Cape Town and the Witwatersrand received annual municipal grants of £8 000 (R16 000) and £20 000 (R40 000) respectively, while in Britain the proportion of financial support provided to universities by local authorities amounted to between one-third and a half of that from central government.¹⁰

State grants

During NUC's lifetime successive committees of enquiry into higher education in South Africa had wrestled with the thorny issue of financing university institutions. These had included the Thomson (1911), Laurence (1914),

Hofmeyr (1924), Van der Horst (1928), Adamson (1933) and Du Toit (1944) commissions. Malherbe accepted that, in terms of the Act of Union, provincial governments were precluded from contributing funds to university education. Nevertheless, in his view, by 1949 the College's income from government was also still far from satisfactory, being clouded by uncertainty surrounding the application of a new subsidy formula for universities. The previous formula had involved pound for pound state grants for capital expenditure on approved buildings and a subsidy for maintenance that operated on a sliding scale based on revenue income. In addition, there was a £12 (R24) grant for every full-time student that was based on the average intake for the previous five years.

The latter provision had seriously disadvantaged NUC compared to some other tertiary institutions because of its decline in registrations during the war years as large numbers of students and potential students enlisted for active service. Moreover, the sliding scale tended to encourage universities to raise their fees and to develop those departments that attracted large intakes, to the detriment of others that were more focused on research.

The new state formula, intended for implementation on 1 January 1948, was an improvement on its predecessor in that it was based on expenditure rather than revenue. This was much better suited to an expanding institution like NUC where a number of new appointments had to be made to cope with increasing student enrolments, with the result that expenditure had outstripped income. Moreover, it actively discouraged fee increases by awarding smaller grants to those universities that sought to raise their income from that source.

Salary scales were already state regulated but the new formula now also stipulated that henceforth, unlike the previous dispensation, all new staff appointments would require state approval. This was obviously linked to the fact that staff salaries were the largest item of university expenditure, on which state grants were now to be made. But Malherbe, for one, was concerned about entrusting so much authority to unknown civil servants who, unlike Britain's experienced University Grants Committee, might have little or no feeling for matters pertaining to tertiary education. He declared that, 'if universities have to forfeit their autonomy merely in order to get more money from the State, the price may prove to be too dear'.

He was also worried that the new formula provided no incentive for local authorities and private benefactors to make donations to tertiary institutions. Whereas under the old formula donors knew that their contributions obliged the State to provide matching amounts, there was a danger that universities

would now become increasingly dependent upon the State for their financial survival, unless endowments became exempt from taxation.

By 1949 there was more immediate concern that, while the old formula was no longer functioning, its replacement had yet to be implemented due to disagreements within the government itself. In the interim, the Minister of Finance had approved a 10% increase in existing university grants. It was an arbitrary remedial measure, better suited to established institutions with more stabilised growth rates, but not to NUC, which had experienced an average annual growth of approximately 40% over the previous three years.

In January 1949 a delegation comprising the principals of all South Africa's universities was refused an interview with the Minister of Finance but did meet the Minister of Education in Cape Town. Through him they submitted a joint memorandum to Cabinet stressing the dire consequences not only for their institutions but for the whole country if adequate financial support was not soon forthcoming. There were other universities facing far greater crises but in 1948 NUC had a £37 000 (R74 000) deficit and despite a 10% fee increase it anticipated an additional £40 000 (R80 000) deficit by the end of 1949.

Financially speaking it was an inauspicious start for the new fully fledged University of Natal. The proposed new subsidy formula did include a so-called 'K' factor that allowed for the 'peculiar circumstances' of each institution. Malherbe therefore remained hopeful that its eventual implementation would recognise 'the bifocal nature of our institution involving the duplication of courses and heavy administrative costs'. He also trusted that due recognition would be given to 'the presence of a large proportion of non-European students who are not able to pay fees and for whom we have further to provide duplicate courses'. These circumstances made NUC's expenditure per student by far the highest in the country, as it had been 30 years earlier but for different reasons. As a *Natal Witness* editorial had observed, it was 'a high price to pay for prejudice'.

By 1951 the deficit on the current account was £65 000 (R130 000) with the National Party government having pegged its university grants for a three-year period (1949–1951) and proving reluctant to make any allowance for the University of Natal's dual-centred, four-campus structure, to which a Medical School was added. In government's view, this situation was self-inflicted, to the extent that it was soon to propose no further duplication between Pietermaritzburg and Durban. It was a devastating blow to a rapidly growing institution and was to create a new crisis of confidence in its multi-campus future. Indeed, for a time, the original Pietermaritzburg campus was to face

the prospect of being reduced to a single Faculty of Agriculture with all other faculties being concentrated in Durban.¹¹

Admissions policy

What Malherbe described as 'a further complicating factor' in NUC's structure was indeed of its own making, long before the advent of the National Party government in May 1948. This dated back to the clause 20 amendment to its original 1909 Natal University College Bill, which, while it did not amount to a formal legal colour bar against the admission of 'non-European' students, entitled its Council to refuse admission to applicants without giving reasons. Prior to the mid-1930s, when Mable Palmer's part-time classes were initiated, the occasional black applicant had been conveniently refused in this way and, following its establishment, referred to Fort Hare as a tertiary education option.

When, in 1949, Malherbe argued against the view held in some quarters that South Africa had 'too many universities for our small population', he made the point that the country not only comprised 2.25 million whites but a total of approximately 12 million other inhabitants 'for whom all sorts of professional services have to be rendered', not to mention the growing needs of neighbouring territories. Yet he persisted in the view expressed since his arrival in 1945 that the answer did not lie in the development of fully integrated university facilities, at least not in Natal, given 'the present social and economic circumstances in which we live'. He continued to argue, firstly, that 'the *mores* of the people are against mixing the races' and, secondly, that it was unlikely to be practicable 'for many years to come'. This, he believed, was the case 'from a purely educational point of view' because of the 'cultural background' of 'non-Europeans' and their lower 'general standard of attainment', even in the case of applicants who held matriculation certificates.

Malherbe consistently adhered to the opinion that in racially mixed classes 'the tempo of work would inevitably be slowed down to that of the slower members of the class', with a consequent decline in standards. By contrast, in separate classes it had proved possible to implement 'special methods of coaching to bring the non-European section up to the standard of the European'. These methods were not specified but presumably referred to the particular dedication with which Mable Palmer, Florence McDonald, Elizabeth Sneddon and others had worked with part-time black students.

He insisted that the difference in standards was attributable to 'training and environmental factors', and did not imply that black people were 'necessarily inferior to the European in innate intelligence. We know too little about this

factor to make any such generalisation.’ In any event, he declared, such ‘differences’ tended to be eliminated at postgraduate level. He argued further that at UCT and Wits a couple of hundred ‘non-Europeans’ in student bodies of several thousand did not materially affect the ‘tempo’ or ‘standard’ of student work, whereas in Natal regional demographics ensured that it would ‘merely be a matter of time’ before black students were in a substantial majority if classes were fully integrated.

Malherbe claimed that, by 1949, NUC was catering for by far the largest group of ‘non-European’ university students (223) not only in South Africa but on the whole continent. This number was likely to increase once the planned blacks-only Medical School and appropriate hostel facilities had been established. This was, he declared, not a ‘burden’ but an ‘opportunity’. While Malherbe favoured university autonomy so that each institution could pursue its own internal policies, he did advocate the formation of ‘a strong vice-chancellors’ committee’ in order to maintain academic standards and provide a link with the State to deal with matters of common concern such as financial subsidies.¹²

State funding and the recognition of the University of Natal’s ‘peculiar circumstances’ as a dual-centred four-campus institution were to be recurring issues of contention in the years to come. Dr A.J. Stals, the Minister of Education, Public Health and Social Welfare, provided an indication of what was soon to follow under a National Party government when, on 15 March 1949, he commented during his address in Pietermaritzburg at the inaugural ceremony of the newly constituted University of Natal: ‘It is anticipated that in due course the several non-European groups will each have its own institutions of higher learning ... For the present, I accept, the University of Natal will undertake a work of great consequence to the non-Europeans of South Africa.’

A few days later, at the inaugural and graduation ceremony in Durban, Malherbe appeared to offer a response when he referred to

a tendency which is becoming more and more evident in recent years in South African life, politically, socially and, alas, also educationally. Under slogans, We are *die volk* (i.e. we are the chosen people), corrugated iron curtains are being built up in order to kraal off our children and our youth. I cannot express myself too strongly against this unfortunate tendency in our national life. Educationally it cannot but lead to stagnation and the lowering of standards. Let there be no barriers to the free association of our youth in the pursuit of truth and to the stimulation which comes from different points of view and from different cultural backgrounds within the same university institution ... These celebrations, in bringing you all together like this, have provided the occasion for the reaffirmation of our credo: *We believe in the free communion of seekers after truth.*

Let this faith keep us together, as it sustained us in the great common effort when we fought for freedom during the dark days of the last great war, and let us hope that even when dark clouds are gathering on the horizon, threatening from another quarter to dim the light of freedom of thought, we shall be privileged to continue to look upon *Stella Aurorae* as the herald of a brighter day to come.

Malherbe was almost certainly more immediately concerned with the increasing separation of white Afrikaans- and English-speaking youth than more broadly of black and white people in general. In his speech on the same occasion Edgar Brookes, a segregationist who had recanted in favour of integration in the 1930s, declared that 'A University is a Kingdom of Truth' and that as such

it should shut its doors to no man or woman who, as teacher or student, seeks to know the truth, and to no speculation of the human mind or heart, however daring or heretical – whether it challenges religious orthodoxy or that far more terrible and persecuting orthodoxy of our own day, the accepted political dogma of the intolerant state.

He went on to insist that he would 'rejoice when the day comes that the University of Natal feels able to dispense with all barriers of race and colour' but that, in his view, it already 'can and does offer increasing opportunities of inter-racial co-operation to all her students'. In the meanwhile, he declared, 'I long for the day when Natal will be proud of some great African novelist, will build part of her industry on the work of some great Indian scientist.' He added that 'for those, if any, who still doubt the value or importance of the non-European classes, I say that it is especially because of those classes that the University of Natal may well become the greatest of South African Universities'.

The student editor of *NUX* echoed Malherbe's concern when, on 15 March 1949, he observed:

Ironically, at the stage when the University College becomes independent or self-standing, the sinister signs of political interference can be discerned. Learning, study and the determination to uphold the freedom of the individual, the freedom of thought and the freedom of the spoken and written word are threatened ... It is a bad omen when political aspirants or men who have never shown any interest in the university take it upon themselves to participate in its government ... the students look to those who govern us and teach us to speak up fearlessly and give a lead for the sake of the University of Natal.

It is evident that Malherbe and Brookes both favoured a gradualist policy that looked forward to the eventual integration of all of the University's classes. Yet, in the face of prevailing public opinion, neither seemed to believe that the time was opportune to force the pace in that direction, or even to push for a modification of the restrictions under which the institution's black students

studied. The University of Natal Act (4 of 1948) reiterated Council's right, as enunciated in the Natal University College Act (18 of 1909) and repeated in section 17 of the Higher Education Additional Provisional Act of 1917, to screen student admissions and, further, to enforce the continued segregation of classes.

As a result, although their numbers continued to increase (896 by 1960), black students were still dissatisfied with the limited facilities provided and with their perceived status as patronised, second-class students. While Malherbe continued to insist on equal academic standards he never did achieve the envisaged separate Non-European College in which he believed they would flourish.

As Dr Stals had hinted in his speech at the 15 March 1949 inaugural ceremony, the same concept of 'separate but equal' was to be implemented within a decade by the National Party government's 1959 paradoxically named Extension of University Education Act. It was not, however, intended merely as an open-ended transitional phase in tertiary education as Malherbe seemed to envisage. His liberal instincts and implacable opposition to rampant Afrikaner nationalism were soon to rise to the occasion when the new University of Natal found itself struggling to defend its hard-won, if incomplete, autonomy. It was eventually to be deprived of its small but growing contingent of so-called 'non-European' students. It nearly lost its new 'blacks-only' Medical School as well, but for protests by all sectors of the University and the threat of the school's staff to resign.

Authority to admit persons of colour to fully integrated, full-time classes on the University's non-medical campuses required another long struggle, which was to make the notion of academic freedom all the more precious to its institutional memory.¹³

Between its establishment in 1909 and its transformation into the University of Natal in 1949 the Natal University College made significant progress in terms of the number of courses it offered and the sites at which they were available, the size of its student and staff complement, the range of its research activities and publication output, and the variety of community services that it provided. The perceived need for a university college and, by 1949 a fully fledged university, in South Africa's eastern seaboard region had been more than justified on all these counts.

The initial thorny issue as to whether the institution should be based in Pietermaritzburg or Durban had seemingly already been resolved by the 1920s with university-level courses being offered in both cities. Charles Mudie's contention in 1905 that 'two imperfect halves cannot be entertained' had seemingly long since been forgotten. The wisdom of this unavoidably expensive dual-centred structure remained a subject for debate, which was compounded by the decision in the mid-1930s to develop a segregated Non-European Section as well. It is tempting to speculate that if the Pietermaritzburg Technical College had been at least as strong and vibrant as its Durban counterpart by the early 1900s university education in Natal might then have been concentrated in the capital.

However, it remains doubtful that the expanding commercial-industrial sector in the harbour city would have been reconciled to such a distantly focused arrangement, or been financially forthcoming in supporting it as it gradually came to recognise the value of having a locally based tertiary institution other than a technical college.

By 1949 the matter was still far from settled. During the 1950s financial constraints were to necessitate a formal reconsideration of this structure, with Pietermaritzburg's claims under threat rather than those of Durban. By 1959 Malherbe had observed 'very clear signs that future development will involve two separate universities, one in Pietermaritzburg and one in Durban. Already



D.G. (Denis Gem) Shepstone was born in 1888 in Durban and educated at Durban High School and NUC in Pietermaritzburg. He qualified as both an attorney and advocate and began his public career by launching a Social Service Movement. During World War I he was an officer in the Gordon Highlanders and then seconded to the Argyll and Sutherland Highlanders. From 1939 he served on the Durban City Council and as chairman of its Finance Committee before being appointed in 1943 to the Union Senate as one of four representatives of the 'non-European' population of South Africa. Regarded

as having special knowledge of the country's Indian community, in 1946 he was included in the delegation that Smuts led to the United Nations Assembly in response to criticism of South Africa's internal policies. In 1948 Shepstone was appointed Administrator of Natal and, among several other bodies, also held office as president of the Boy Scouts Association of South Africa and of the YMCA. He died in 1966.

Pietermaritzburg is larger than Rhodes and deserves full university status on all counts.’

Yet by the end of that year he was to have serious misgivings as to whether this would prove a practical solution to the perennial problem of dualism:

The real financial drain on the University’s finances has been at the Pietermaritzburg end rather than at the Durban end of the University. If Pietermaritzburg were ever to become financially independent of Durban (as it very well deserves to be academically) it would find itself very hard put to make ends meet on the resources that will then be at its disposal, when it cannot draw on the subsidy and fees earned in Durban in the Arts and Sciences.

The balance of power between the two campuses was long to remain a matter of contention in terms of expenditure, Senate representation, the allocation of administrative functions and the distribution of academic departments.

What had emerged by 1949 was not quite the (white) ‘young man’s university’ envisaged in the mid-1850s, though it was not far removed from being so in the sense that its students and staff were still largely male and almost entirely white. On both counts the College reflected prevailing white social attitudes without making any conscious effort to change them.

The increase in female registrations from 14% to barely 16.5% of the total student body between 1910 and 1948 was unimpressive, even allowing for the introduction of Commerce and Engineering courses, which contributed to their overall decline from an all-time high of nearly 43% in 1926. After all, NUC’s post-World War I growth owed much to the country’s demand for school teachers, a profession in which (unlike Commerce and Engineering) there was already ample scope for women to pursue a career.

The delay in appointing females to NUC’s permanent academic staff until as late as the 1930s was another indication of the limited importance that local white society attached to the tertiary education of women as well as reflecting what were then considered to be appropriate professions for them to pursue. NUC provided little leadership on this score. Females constituted only 13% of its permanent teaching staff by the end of 1948, providing very few role models for potential academics of their own sex.

Despite the national post-World War II shortage of expertise in a wide range of fields, even the Principal was still thinking subconsciously in terms of exclusively male recruitment. In 1949 Malherbe observed:

One of the greatest difficulties which this institution experienced in common with other universities that had a large post-war influx of students was to recruit competent staff. The demand for good men far exceeded the supply. Universities, therefore, ran the risk of being compelled to appoint mediocrities in the absence of better men.¹⁴

The emphasis on male recruitment still did not extend to what were termed 'non-Europeans', for by 1950 Mr S.G. Ngobo (MA Yale BA B.Econ. SA), a research fellow in Economics, was the only identifiable person of colour listed as being on the academic staff. Messrs Mbete, Njisane and Royeppen appeared in a 1949 group photograph of the academic and administrative staff at the City Building and Non-European Section, along with a Miss Thabete. W.W.T. Mbete (BA SA) was listed as an assistant in the 'non-European' Library and the others were also presumably non-academic employees.

In the late 1940s NUC was still attracting increasing numbers of black students to its segregated classes. They constituted 15.3% of the student body in 1945 and 16.7% in 1948, but the official attitude towards the possibility of integrating classes in imitation of UCT and Wits had seemingly not changed at all since 1928 when John Bews envisaged a federation of segregated colleges. Malherbe proved to be as reluctant as his predecessors to risk government and donor alienation by attempting any move towards gradual integration. In 1953 he still believed:

The whole matter must be approached in a realistic way and in good faith. It must be realised that we have to do with an evolutionary process. The University of Natal is there to serve both non-Europeans and Europeans in the best way it knows, taking into account the complexity of the present social and racial situation.¹⁵

Following the 1948 accession to power of the National Party, gradual integration was out of the question as complete segregation, to the extent of entirely separate tertiary institutions for black students, became official government policy.

The decision to name the Principal's residence in Durban Campbell House after Dr Sam Campbell and the choice of the Hon. Denis G. Shepstone as the new University's first Chancellor was appropriate, for both were distinguished individuals, deserving of such recognition. Their names were also reminders of the institution's deep colonial roots. The former was a member of a distinguished settler sugar-planting family, the latter the grandson of Sir Theophilus Shepstone, the contentious and long-serving Secretary for Native Affairs in Natal (1856–1876).¹⁶

Yet for all its colonial associations and narrow gender and ethnic focus, the Natal University College had provided the University of Natal with invaluable teaching, research and community service foundations that subsequent generations of scholars, eventually drawn from all population groups, would have the opportunity to develop, or erode. In this respect the College played

a vital role similar to that of several other institutions emanating from South Africa's currently much-deprecated colonial era.

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SG 9/1/1	NUC Men's Hockey Club Minutes 1922–1943
SP 10/1/1–9	Denison, Prof. R.B.
SP 43/1/1	Petrie, A.: Correspondence and News Clippings
SP 51/1/1–3	Palmer, Mabel: Documents relating to Mabel Palmer and the Non-European Section of NUC, Durban
ST 5/1/1–10	Academic Staff Conditions of Service
STP 6/10/3	E.G. Malherbe-Denison Papers re Non-White Section
SU 1/1/1–2	Athletics Union Minutes 1913–1926, 1926–1946, Correspondence 1924–1934
SU 1/3/1	Athletics Union Minutes 1946–1960
US 5	NUC Scientific Society

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APPENDIX I

LIST OF GRADUATES

**List of graduates of the Natal University College from inception until 1949,
as published in the University Calendar of 1949.**

Subject abbreviations

The following is a list of abbreviations employed for the subjects offered by the University of Natal:

Ac.	Accounting	H.A.	History of Art
A.M.	Applied Mathematics	H.R.D.L.	History of Roman Dutch Law
Art H.	Art History	I.Lw.	Industrial Law
Au.	Auditing	I.O.M.	Industrial Organisation and Management
B.	Botany	J.	Jurisprudence
B.M.	Business Management	L.	Latin
C.	Chemistry	M.L.	Mercantile Law
C.C.	Classical Civilisation	M.	Mathematics
C.E.D.D.	Civil Engineering Drawing and Design	M.E.	Mechanical Engineering
C.L.	Constitutional Law	Met.	Metallurgy
Cl.	Classics	Mod.	Modelling
Co.	Commerce	N.A.	Native Administration
D.	Afrikaans-Nederlands	N.L.	Native Law
De.	Design	P.	Physics
E.	English	P.A.	Public Administration
Ec.	Economics	P.B.	Practical Banking
Ed.	Education	P.E.	Procedure and Evidence
E.D.D.	Engineering Drawing and Design	Pg.	Painting
E.E.	Electrical Engineering	Ph.	Philosophy
E.Ec.	Engineering Economics	P.I.L.	Public International Law
E.G.	Economic Geography	P.S.	Politics
E.H.	Economic History	Ps.	Psychology
El.C.	Electrical Communications	R.D.L.	Roman Dutch Law
El.D.D.	Electrical Drawing and Design	R.L.	Roman Law
F.	French	S.A.	Social Anthropology
F.A.	Fine Art	So.	Sociology
G.	German	S.A.C.L.	South African Criminal Law
Gg.	Geography	St.D.	Statistics and Demography
G.I.P.	General Introduction to Philosophy	Su.	Surveying
Gk.	Greek	S.W.	Social Work
Gl.	Geology	T.F.	Theory of Finance
Gr.	Graphics	T.S.	Theory of Statistics
H.	History	Z.	Zoology
		Zu.	Zulu

UNIVERSITY REGISTER

HONORARY GRADUATES

(Degrees conferred 19th March, 1949)

DEGREE OF DOCTOR OF LAWS

Rt. Hon. Lord Eustace Percy, P.C., MA
Sir Raymond Priestley, M.C., MA, D.Sc
Basil Schonland, O.B.E., MA, D.Sc

Professor J. Dover Wilson, C.H., F.BA, MA,
Litt.D.

GRADUATES

NOTE

1. The names of students who have obtained primary degrees (e.g. BA, B.Sc., B.Com.), but who have subsequently proceeded to an Honours or Master's degree in the same faculty, are shown only under the relevant higher degree. Similarly Bachelors of Arts and Bachelors of Commerce who have proceeded to the degree of Bachelor of Laws are shown only in the list for that degree
2. In the case of Masters and Honours degrees, the subject in which the degree was obtained is shown in brackets after the name. '1' indicates a first class pass and 'Dist.' indicates a pass with distinction, according to the system of classification in use when the degree was obtained
3. In the case of primary degrees (e.g., BA, B.Sc., B.Com.), the subjects shown in brackets after the names of graduates are those in which distinction was obtained
4. For abbreviations used, see page 335.

A—NUC GRADUATES OF THE UNIVERSITY OF THE CAPE OF GOOD HOPE, 1910–1917

DEGREE OF BACHELOR OF ARTS

(Subjects in which honours were obtained are shown in brackets)

Askew, Richard W., 1911
Austin, Alice (Sr. Ambrose), 1913
Beckerleg, Muriel, 1912
Blaikie, K. Guy, 1916
Boyce, Robina E., 1917
Connell, Bessie F., (C), 1915
Corbishley, Amy G., 1912
Didcott, John L., 1917
Groom, Marjorie E., 1915
Haysom, Reginald A., 1917
Hodges, Lancelot J., 1910
Hooker, Mary K, 1914

Howes, Elsie O., 1916
Hugman, Fanny F., 1916
Johnstone, John G., 1913
Johnstone, Robert F., (Z), 1914
Kinsman, Isabel M., 1916
Laffan, Alice G., 1913
Laffan, Lily M., 1913
Lamond, Shafto E., 1910
Laughton, Edmund M., 1916
Lazarus, Raymond H., 1912
MacPhee, Katharine S., 1917
Martin, Arthur C., 1912

DEGREE OF BACHELOR OF ARTS—*Continued*

Martindale, Kate, 1916	Pope, Edwin A., 1913
Mitchell, John C., 1910	Riordan, Helen (Sr. Aquinas), 1913
Norman, Charles E., 1916	Sahlstrom, Henry D., 1912
Ogilvie, W.F., 1914	Schoonees, Pieter C., 1917
Osborn, Henry A., (B), 1914	Sinclair, Dorothy L., 1914
Palmer, Winifred, 1911	Vanderplank, Bertrand V., 1916
Pearse, Vivyan G., 1912	Watt, Lily E., 1915
Pennington, Kenneth M., 1917	Watt, Norman L., (C), 1910
Perkins, Frances A., 1916	Watt, William E., (B) 1911

B—GRADUATES, 1918–1948

(Up to 1948 the degrees obtained were those of the University of South Africa)

FACULTY OF ARTS

DEGREE OF MASTER OF ARTS

Agar, Victor C., (E), 1935	Goldstein, Mildred J., (Ps), 1946
Arbous, Adnan G., (Ps Dist.), 1940	Gordon, Josephine (EI), 1931
Axelson, Eric V., (HI), 1934	Gray, William J.E., (E), 1932
Banks, Eileen I.A., (E), 1922	Grobler, Phillippus du P., (D Dist), 1946
Barnes, Algernon S.V., (D), 1939	Groenewald, Pieter J., (D), 1934
Barnes, Margaret A.G., (E), 1948	Hammond, Enid (H), 1926
Baudert, Hildegard M., (GI), 1938	Hartmann, Gerald W., (Gg. Dist), 1945
Beale, Gordon H., (E), 1935	Harvey, Charles J.D., (E), 1946
Behn, Moira M., (HI), 1932	Hawkesley, Robert F., (H), 1931
Biebuyck, Lucien J.T., (D), 1927	Hean, Jessie M.E., (D), 1937
Bourquin, Gernot, (DI), 1936	Heard, Kenneth A., (H Dist), 1944
Bremner, Jean D., (EI), 1937	Hellberg, William H.C., (G), 1930
Brown, Nellie I., (CI), 1938	Hemsted, Olive R., (F), 1940
Cattaneo, Jean L., (F. Dist.), 1943	Hey, Peter D., (E), 1948
Clete, Shirley M., (Cl. Dist.), 1943	Hodson, Norman G., (Gg I), 1932
Cochar-Hall, Irene D., (E), 1923	Hood-Williams, John (Ps), 1944
Commons, Hector J., (MI), 1937	Hopkins, James H., (Cl. I), 1938
Cosnett, Valmau, (E), 1941	Howes, William L., (EI), 1923
Davies, Richard E., (EI), 1933	Hunkin, Verona, (Ps Dist), 1947
Dean, Kathleen H.C., (E), 1923	Janse van Rensburg, Barbara C., (H), 1930
de Coning, Jacob A., (D), 1947	Laffan, Kathleen A., (EI), 1920
de Villiers St. Pol, Pierre L., (F), 1934	Laight, Brandon (E), 1927
Dreyer, Marie E., (H), 1947	Law, Stella C., (E Dist), 1942
Egeland, Leif, (EI), 1922	Ledward, Claud N., (Ps), 1935
Farrant, Rosalie M.L.L., (E. Dist), 1949	Leiper, Mary K., (FI), 1927
Forsyth, Raymond A., (E), 1948	Le Roux, Benjamin, (D), 1933
Fox, Winifred E., (Cl. I), 1935	Lindsay, Norma M., (E), 1935
Gibbins, Clarence W.M., (Cl. I), 1938	Lowe, Frederick H., (EI), 1923

DEGREE OF MASTER OF ARTS—*Continued*

- Manning, Netta K., (E Dist), 1941
 Marais, Pieter K., (D), 1927
 Marais, Stephanus, (D), 1935
 Martin, Robert W., (Gg. I), 1934
 Martin, Walter R., (E), 1946
 Marwick, Maxwell G., (Ps Dist), 1945
 Miles-Cadman, Margaret J., (E Dist), 1949
 Mitchell, Raymond R., (E), 1936
 McDowall, Dorrice M., (E Dist), 1941
 Nienaber, Christoffel J., (D), 1941
 Nourse, Gordon B., (E), 1937, (HI), 1948
 Nuttall, Neville E., (EI), 1925
 Oates, Lulu E., (Ps), 1938
 Oettle, Helen M., (E), 1935
 O'Leary, Margaret, (E), 1922
 Opperman, Diederik J., (D Dist), 1939
 Pearse, Reginald O., (EI), 1922
 Pechey, Bryan M., (Ps Dist), 1944
 Prozesky, Hermann A., (GI), 1937
 Ralls, Ruth E., (HI), 1934
 Reynolds, Ruth D., (HI), 1938
 Rhind, Irma F., (EI), 1937
 Rumfitt, Annie P., (E), 1938
 Rutherford-Smith, Ray O.B., (Ps Dist), 1947.
 Schauffer, Alick, (E), 1941
 Schoonees, Pieter C., (D), 1919
 Schultze, Wilhelm, K.B., (GI), 1938
 Sellers, John M., (H), 1946
 Smithers, Geoffrey V., (E), 1929
 Steer, Robert C., (E), 1937
 Steuart, Guy W., (Ps Dist), 1944
 Strachan, John R., (H), 1941
 Taitlebaum, Henrietta, (Ps), 1943
 Theunissen, Albert B., (HI), 1936.
 Theunissen, Kenneth B., (E), 1942, (Ps), 1948
 Titlestad, Rico M., (CI I), 1919
 Turnbull-Davidson, Patricia V., (E Dist), 1941
 Wells, Rutland W., (HI), 1934
 Williams, Barbara O., (H), 1934
 Wise, Violet (E Dist), 1939.
 Woods, Nola M., (EI), 1929
 Young, Lindsay M., (H Dist), 1941.
 Ziervogel, Thomas R., (D), 1940

DEGREE OF BACHELOR OF ARTS (HONOURS)

- Akitt, Howard, (H), 1947
 Bang, Daniel N., (Af. St.), 1948
 Bosch, Donald W., (H), 1948
 Brown, Moyra, (E Dist), 1948
 Carlyle-Mitchell, John F., (Ps), 1948
 Cohen, Geoffrey H., (E Dist), 1948
 Currin, Reginald O., (Gg), 1947.
 Evans, Philip K., (Gg), 1947
 Goldberg, Ian J., (L), 1947
 Hogg, Rowland K.J., (H), 1948
 Kemp, Bernard H., (H), 1947
 King, Sarah K., (E), 1948
 Logue, George D., (L Dist), 1941
 Nicholson, James M., (Gg Dist), 1947
 Niven, John M. (Gg), 1948
 Njisane, Eligius G.M., (So), 1948
 Paterson, Elizabeth H., (E), 1948
 Reusch, Martin A.W., (Gg), 1948
 Rogers, Shirley E., (Af. St.), 1948
 Scogings, Timothy, P.R., (Ps), 1948
 Shearer, Douglas L.L., (E), 1948
 Wilson, Aileen M., (Ps), 1948

DEGREE OF BACHELOR OF ARTS

- Adams, Millicent H., 1939
 Albers, John T., 1932
 Albertyn, Gezina G., 1939
 Alcock, Frances M.L., 1940
 Alcock, Katherine G., (L), 1938
 Alexander, George A., (L), 1926
 Allkins, Mary E., 1947
 Allsopp, Blythe E., 1946
 Allwright, Frazer L., (L), 1929
 Anderson, Elizabeth M., 1934
 Anderson, Helen E., (E, L), 1943
 Anderson, Mary G., (E, Gg), 1941
 Anderson, Sybil S., 1944
 Andrews, Alan E., 1946

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- Andrews, Edwin D., 1934
 Anthony, Charlotte B., (E, Ps), 1937
 Ardron, Gwenneth, (E), 1941
 Arnett, Patricia M., 1947
 Arnett, Shirley R., 1948
 Arnold, Muriel M., 1946
 Arthur, George V., 1930
 Ash, Dilys M.V., 1937
 Ashwell, Gabrielle M., 1946
 Askew, Arthur O.R., (E), 1948
 Askew, Daphne L., 1946
 Attwood, James H., 1933
 Baber, Margaret, 1941
 Balcer, Douglas M., 1948
 Baker, Jean W., 1934
 Balcomb, Oswald K., 1934
 Ballance, Doris E., 1928
 Ballhausen, St. Lucia, 1933
 Bangalee, Mya R., 1942
 Bangle, Margaret R., 1919
 Banks, Doreen M., 1934
 Banks, Natalie M., 1924
 Barden, Beryl N.A., (L), 1935
 Barnes, James G., (R.L., P.S.), 1947
 Barrett, Anthony M., (H), 1947
 Barton, Dudley J. McK., (H), 1933
 Batchelor, Gertrude M., 1918
 Baxter, David G.J., 1937
 Baxter, Hector M., (Gg), 1929
 Baxter, Winilove B., 1926
 Baynes, Dorothy A., (L), 1927
 Baynes, Phyllis L., (L), 1926
 Beater, Leila C., 1943
 Becker, Frederick J., (L), 1946
 Decker, Geraldine W., (Gg), 1943
 Bee, Barbara MA, 1944
 Behn, Enid J., (H), 1936
 Bell, Estelle, M., (F), 1929
 Benson, Natalie W., 1921
 Bergin, Anna, 1939
 Berne, Susan M.R., (E, F), 1943
 Berruti, Aldo F., 1938
 Besant, Blanche D., (E), 1940
 Best, Winifred R., 1934
 Beyleveld, Hildegard, 1938
 Bhoola, Ahmed I., (Ps), 1942
 Billing, Mary A., 1936
 Birch, Winifred M., 1923
 Bisnath, Mudenjeeth, 1942
 Blake, William N., (E), 1939
 Bliss, Tove K.M., (E), 1948
 Bolton, John E., 1948
 Bond, Marjorie E., (E, Ps), 1940
 Booth, Marjorie E., 1935
 Booysen, Helene M., 1930
 Borain, Laurence W.A., 1948
 Boshoff, Johannes L., (D, H), 1936
 Boswell, Conrad I., 1932
 Botobi, Ramkelawon, 1943
 Bottomley, Melodie R., (E), 1942
 Bowen, Desmond O., 1931
 Bower, Hazel H., 1941
 Boyes, Jean E., 1941
 Boyes, Margaret K., 1939
 Boyes, Mary I., 1935
 Brady, Brigid M., (E), 1938
 Brandt, Johannes M. deW., 1946
 Bredell, Renee G., 1939
 Bredenkamp, Edward G., (E, H), 1944
 Bredenkamp, Mathys P., 1940
 Bremner, Grace C.M., 1920
 Brice, Mercia E., 1947
 Brock, Natalie, 1921
 Brockelbank, Kathleen, 1942
 Brookes, Charles H., 1948
 Brooks, Margaret M., (E), 1924
 Brown, Charles K., 1938
 Brown, Gertrude A., (H), 1936
 Brunton-Warner, Una A., 1944
 Bryan, Nancy Le M., (H), 1928
 Bullimore, Eleanor M., 1931
 Burchell, Joy M., 1937
 Burne, Keith R., 1936
 Burnett, Richard E.H., 1937
 Burrill, Joyce G., (F), 1928
 Bussman, Johanna, 1943
 Butler, Barry, (L), 1932
 Butlin, Margaret S., 1942
 Button, Elizabeth M.J., 1940
 Calder, David R., (R.L.), 1946
 Calder, Jack S., 1919
 Calvert, Ernest G., 1941
 Caminsky, Leopold, 1936
 Campbell, Margaret R., 1941

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- Campbell, Mavis N., (E, F.A.), 1939
 Canning, Nancy W., (E), 1939
 Cardiff, Martha, 1945
 Carey, Jean J.H., 1929
 Carne, Audrey M., (E, H, Ps), 1946
 Carr, Madeline F., 1934
 Carruthers, Merville K., 1929
 Carter, Maurice B., 1946
 Carter, Terence D.T., (L), 1938
 Catherine, Wyndom G.H., 1940
 Catto, Ian K.F., 1941
 Cauvarel, Nancy T., 1945
 Cauvin, Marie A., 1937
 Chain, Ramruthen R., 1945
 Chalsty, Pearl M., 1924
 Chambers, Alfred, 1942
 Chambers, Ronald M., (H), 1945
 Chaplin, Walter G.T., 1929
 Chater, Geoffrey, 1947
 Cheddy, Gopal, 1944
 Cheesman, Joyce E., (E, L), 1924
 Chetty, Channmirgam D., 1945
 Choonoo, Allan G., 1948
 Chotai, Sookraj, 1947
 Choudree, Asbwin, (Ps), 1940
 Christie, Philip L., 1939
 Clark, Beryl G.G., 1932
 Clarke, Mildred E., (E), 1939
 Coates, Sheila A., 1936
 Cockburn, David A., 1934
 Cockshoot, Jennie, 1941
 Collier, Patricia M., 1943
 Conradie, Daniel J., 1936
 Conway, Vida K., 1933
 Cooke, James G., 1946
 Cooper, Roland P., 1940
 Corrigall, Ellen M.J., 1926
 Costello, Sister St. C., 1934
 Couzens, Dorothy L., 1940
 Cowden, John W., 1939
 Cowell, Joyce, 1945
 Cowley, Robert W., (L, R.L.), 1941
 Cox, Sheila, (D), 1933
 Crawford, Osborne L., (L), 1920
 Cromhout, Priscilla J., 1942
 Crouse, Frances H., 1943
 Crouse, Philippus, 1948
 Crowder, Rupert C., 1932
 Crowley, Richard A., 1944
 Cundill, Erica D., 1941
 Dahle, Eric R., 1928
 Dale, George A.H., (Ps), 1936
 Dalton, Joan, 1943
 Daniel, John B.M., 1948
 David, Simon, 1947
 Davidson, Jane E., (D), 1934
 Davies, David B., 1947
 Davies, Lily, 1942
 Davis, Elaine W., 1938
 Davis, Frances M., 1936
 Dawson, Edward A., 1935
 Dawson, Olga B., 1945
 De Charmoy, Yvonne M., 1936
 De Jean, Dorothy E., 1940
 De Lange, Anthonia J., 1946
 Des Clayes, Alice M., 1928
 Des Fontaine, Jean, 1945
 Desmond, Henry H., 1936
 De Villiers, Henrik J., 1939
 De Villiers St. Pol, Jeanne M.P., (L, F), 1927
 De Waal, Adolph E., (Ps), 1947
 De Waal, Johannes O., 1936
 Dewar, Sheila A., 1932
 Donnelly, Annie, 1941
 Dörger, Anna W., 1941
 Douglas, William K., 1938
 Douglas-de-Fenzi, Leila A., 1925
 Dowling, George R., 1944
 Dowse, Irene J., 1938
 Drake, Anthony F., (P.S.), 1945
 Drew, Margaret M. St. J., (E), 1936
 Drew, Sheelah K., 1932
 Druce, Edward H.M., (E), 1938
 Drummond, Beatrice E., 1935
 Ducasse, Miriam A.I., 1938
 Dunn, Archibald G., 1939
 Du Plessis, Ernestus J., 1946
 Du Plessis, Jan G., (D, Gg), 1927
 Du Free, Linda M., 1943
 Durston, Gladys M., 1922
 Durga, Thuka R., 1947
 Dwyer, Kathleen I.M., 1937
 Dyer, Nora F., 1938
 Dyer, Phyllis E., (L), 1941

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- Eager, Patrick B., 1948
 Earl, Jane F., 1948
 Ebenezer, Shadrack J., 1948
 Edmonstone, Carmen H., 1936
 Edwards, Ellen J., 1940
 Edwards, Neville S., 1947
 Elliott, Valerie C., 1937
 Emanuelson, Oscar E., 1919
 English, Madeline, 1946
 English, Margaret, 1946
 Erasmus, Jacob A.S., 1936
 Evans, Betty E., 1944
 Evans, Constance J.E., (H, Gg), 1928
 Everitt, Philip, 1937
 Fair, Thomas J.D., (Gg), 1938
 Fairbairn, Barbara I., 1947
 Fearon, Allan C., (H, L), 1933
 Fellows-Smith, Herbert, 1919
 Fernie, Kathleen M., 1934
 Fernig, Leo R., (E, L), 1935
 Ferreira, Nicoline P., (D, H), 1942
 Field, Barbara, (E, L), 1931
 Fish, Kenneth G., 1948
 Fish, Raymond W., (Gg), 1939
 Fishlock, Kenneth A., 1920
 Flanagan, Brigid, (E, H), 1944
 Fletcher, Denise J., 1946
 Florence, Florence I., 1927
 Flook, Enid A., 1932
 Follesoe, Gera, 1948
 Forsyth, Douglas D.B., 1940
 Forsyth, Margaret F., (Mu), 1946
 Fourie, Casper H.B., 1945
 Fourie, Joseph (R.L.), 1943
 Fowle, Dulcie E., 1923
 Fowle, Estelle T., (Gg), 1929
 Fowle, Nelise J., 1925
 Francis, Elizabeth J., 1938
 Francis, Eric P., 1927
 Francis, Ruth D., 1929
 Frankish, Winifred E., 1925
 Franklin, Gwladys M., 1945
 Fraser, Alison M., 1928
 Fraser, Annie C., 1923
 Fraser, Barbara D., 1935
 Fraser, Margaret I., (F, L.), 1929
 Fraser, Ronald H. (E, H), 1943
 Freedman, Philip, (E, H), 1940
 Frow, Eva O., 1935
 Fuller, Doreen H.M., 1936
 Fuller, Carmen A., 1939
 Fuller, Raymond E., 1928
 Gallagher, Brigid T., (Ps), 1947
 Galloway, Margaret H., (E, L), 1942
 Gandar, Lawrence O.V., 1935
 Gardyne, Eva M., (E, L), 1928
 Gavin, Margaret H., 1934
 Gawler, Charles D., 1929
 Gay, Stanley C., 1932
 Geldard, Eunice F., (L), 1939
 Gericke, Irene E., 1944
 Gevers, Heinrich G.W., 1947
 Gill Ronald A., 1931
 Godefroy, Raymond, (E.L), 1929
 Godwin, Phyllis J. (L), 1936
 Goldberg, Abraham, 1925
 Gopaul, Natainsamy, 1943
 Gordon, Maud C., 1940
 Grafton, Georgina E., 1938
 Graham Gerrie, May, 1921
 Grant, Archibald, (M, H), 1933
 Gravett, Sheila R., 1948
 Gray, Catherine R.R., 1942
 Green, Charles S.T., 1945
 Green, Ethel M., 1923
 Greenham, Rosalind E., (E), 1939
 Griffin, Cyril, 1930
 Griffith, Kathleen M., (E, Gg), 1930
 Grundhöfer, Maria, 1941
 Gumedi, William J., 1943
 Gurney, Catherine M., 1918
 Gutridge, Elizabeth M., 1940
 Guy, Edith R., (L, H), 1923
 Haenen, Wilhelmus H., 1939
 Hahn, Cedric E.W., 1939
 Haines, Dudley A., 1945
 Haines, John E., 1939
 Haley, Rona, 1943
 Halland, Aagot J., (E), 1943
 Halland, Bernice I.D., (L), 1941
 Halland, Rolf H., 1940
 Halle, Charles M., 1948
 Hallet, Emlyn T., 1929
 Hallowes, Francis M., 1933

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- Halm, Inez N., 1945
 Halm, Sylva J., 1945
 Hansen, Doris D., 1936
 Harcourt Cyril D., 1941
 Harker, John B., (M), 1933
 Harms, Heinrich H.W.L. (G), 1932
 Harries, Phyllis V., 1940
 Harris, Ethel M., (H, Gg), 1924
 Harris, Jessie, 1937
 Harris, Michael J., (G, D), 1937
 Harris, Marjorie L.M., (E), 1937
 Harrison, George W., 1946
 Harrison, Tom C., 1939
 Hartzenburg, Nona E.L., (D), 1942
 Hattingh, Jacobus G., 1939
 Havemann, Sara M., 1930
 Havemann, Cecilia F.E., (D, E), 1935
 Havemann, Ernest A.E., (E, L, Ps), 1937
 Hawker, Henry R., (L), 1927
 Hawkins, Philip F., 1938
 Hay, Beth C., 1946
 Hayes, Doreen W., 1930
 Healey, Dorothy P., (Gg), 1940
 Heaney, Christopher J., 1938
 Heath-Brown, Guinevere, (E, Gg), 1936
 Hebel, Sister M. Paula, 1932
 Hendry, Barbara J.H., 1943
 Henley, Phyliss M.I., 1922
 Henwood, Desmond, (R.L.), 1939
 Henwood, Helen M., 1946
 Hertz, Mary H., 1941
 Hesketh, Mary B., 1943
 Hewitt, Ethel L., (E, L), 1927
 Hewitt, Mary C., 1921
 Hickman, Peter D., 1937
 Higgins, Alleyne R., 1937
 Hillermann, Hans G., (G), 1936
 Hime, Josephine E., 1933
 Hinton, Miriam R., (E), 1940
 Hoch, Emma, (L, H), 1933
 Hoch, Frieda H.S.S., 1935
 Hoch, Karl H., 1926
 Hodges, Cynthia A., 1947
 Hodgson, Desmond W., (E, R.L.), 1947
 Holden, Sheila W., 1938
 Holder, Eryl, H., 1935
 Holderness, Mildred H., 1921
 Holgate, Arthur C., 1928
 Holliday, Constance, 1929
 Holliday, Marjorie, 1935
 Holmes, Kathleen M., 1921
 Holness Joan E., (L), 1934
 Holt, Hilda L., 1936
 Holt, Jack A., 1938
 Hosking, Cynthia M., 1941
 Hosking, Daphne P., 1942
 Hosking, Gerald A., 1939
 Houston, Sheila B., 1930
 Howden, Joan (L), 1938
 Huang, Thomas T.F., 1943
 Hudd, Pamela U.M., 1936
 Hudson, Barbara J., 1943
 Hudson, Gwenyth M., 1941
 Hudson, John W., 1919
 Hulston, Madeline T.E., (L), 1926
 Hunter, Peter L., (L, R.L.), 1933
 Hurbuns, Madanlall, 1947
 Hurcombe, Irene E., 1937
 Hurley, Helena M., 1934
 Ingle, Laura E., (Gg), 1927
 Ingram-Henley, Phyllis M., 1922
 Ireland, Doris M., (E, H), 1922
 Ireland, Jessie M., (E, L), 1922
 Irons, Ronald L., (E), 1938
 Ismail, Sheikh M., 1948
 Jack, Hampson F., 1940
 Jackson, James K., 1941
 Jackson, Marjorie L., (E, H), 1929
 Jackson, Willoughby, 1939
 Jacques, Noelle V., (Ps), 1945
 James, Audrey E., 1940
 James, Edna M., 1933
 Jamieson, Jeanette, (E), 1941
 Jamieson, Kathleen B., 1918
 Jarvis, Mary E., 1936
 Jaspan, Mervyn A., (S.A.), 1948
 Jenkinson, Sylvia M., (Ps), 1948
 Johanson, Sylvia K., 1947
 Johnsen, John E., 1946
 Johnson, Percy C., 1948
 Johnson, Shelagh E., (Gg), 1939
 Jones, Eileen V., 1941
 Jones, Gladys M., 1927
 Jones, Ivor G., (L), 1932

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- Jones, Norman A., 1936
 Jones, Pearl M., 1941
 Joseph, Louis E., 1943
 Joseph, Michael, (E), 1942
 Joshua, Leslie G., 1946
 Jubber, Cyril S., 1939
 Jumna, Dawchund, 1942
 Jumna, Rohit, 1947
 Jungbahadur, Basden, 1941
 Kalmyn, Johanna W., 1942
 Kearney, Thomas C., 1938
 Kedian, Patrick J., 1942
 Keerath, Mannie H., 1940
 Keildson, Rosemary, 1945
 Keir, Mary, 1942
 Kemp, Dorothy, 1938
 Kempe, Sigrid E., 1938
 Kempster, Patricia V., 1944
 Kentridge, Joseph, 1943
 Khan, Amir, 1938
 Khan, Jaffer, 1946
 Killen, Peter R., (R.L.), 1947
 King, Dennis W., 1940
 Kistensamy, Soobiah, 1948
 Klingenberg, Albert H.A., (G), 1940
 Klingenberg, Edward O., (G), 1939
 Knight, Helen A., (L), 1925.
 Knox, Graham M., 1940
 Knox, John D., 1947
 Knox, Walter H.G., 1934
 Koch, Ehrenfreid K., 1943
 Konigkramer, Lola I., 1945
 Kupowitz, Ruby, 1945
 Lalla, Brijmohan D., 1944
 Lambert, Beryl E., 1932
 Lambert, Edith L., 1939
 Lambrechts, Lorene M.M., 1941
 Lamond, Marjorie E., (L), 1941
 Lang-Gordon, Irene L., 1935
 Lang-Gordon, Phyllis P., 1939
 Langley, Dorothy E., (L), 1923
 Larkan, Audrey D., 1935
 Larkin, Anthony E., 1946
 Larkin, Una G., 1941
 Larsen, Karl H., 1945
 Lawrence, Audrey E., 1932
 Lawrence, Therese M.E., 1947
 Lazarus, Gertrude, 1942
 Leathem, Aideen M., (F), 1934
 Lederlin, Denise, 1946
 Ledward, Monica N., (Ps), 1943
 Lee, Lucy M., 1933
 Lee, Sydney G.M., 1945
 Leisegang, Sven E., (E, H), 1938
 Leon, Ramon N., 1945
 Leroni, Prudence V. (F.A.), 1939
 Le Roux, Izak J., (D, H), 1937
 Levenstein, Anna J., 1935
 Leverton, Basil J., (H, P.S.), 1943
 Levine, Alexander, (L), 1925
 Levine, Louis I., 1934
 Levinsohn, Solomon, (M, H), 1938
 Liddell, Helen J.S., (L), 1942
 Lilliecrona, Joan M., 1935
 Lincoln, Grace E., (E), 1940
 Linde, Margaret C., 1942
 Lindemann, William J., 1948
 Lindsay, Lorna G., (Gg), 1939
 Lister, John L., (E, L), 1920
 Livingstone, Jane M., 1940
 Logan, Arthur G.J., 1934
 Logie, Egerton A., 1948
 Logsdon, Jean B., (H, F), 1942
 Lohne, Ruth, 1939
 Long, Ernest P.M., (H, RL), 1926
 Loudon, James G., (E, H, P.S.), 1937
 Love, Jean, (E, L), 1927
 Lowe, Denis, 1948
 Laze, Emilie, (M), 1933
 Lumsden, Frederick H., (D), 1937
 Lund, John H.C., 1948
 Lundie, Marian J., 1936
 Lyster, Mary, 1935
 Lyttle, William M.F., 1927
 Mabaso, Selby C.K., 1947
 Mabuza, Petersen J., 1947
 Macdonald, John M., 1933
 MacDonald, Rosemary K., 1945
 Maclou, Joseph R., 1944
 Macnab, Robert A., 1939
 Maghrajh, George K., 1946
 Maharaj, Beharee A., 1939
 Maharaj, Lilawathie S., 1946
 Maharaj, Seepersadh R., 1946

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- Mair, Primrose H., 1943
 Malherbe, Ernst G., 1948
 Malinga, Bernard J., 1940
 Mandy, Leslie M., 1947
 Mann, Sybil, 1948
 Marais, Maureen A., 1941
 Marasas, Helen C., (G), 1923
 Marchant, Estelle, 1919
 Marchant, Joan G., 1924
 Maritz, Sherlock C., (E), 1942
 Maritz-Botha, David P., (E), 1946
 Marr, Margaret H., (E, H), 1933
 Marshall, Edith, (F), 1926
 Marshall, Muriel F., (E), 1920
 Marshall-Smith, Mary H., 1940
 Martin, Henry P., 1940
 Martin, Margaret, 1923
 Martin, Michael C., (L, E), 1945
 Martin, Ursula J., 1947
 Marwick, Edith P.V., (E, L), 1927
 Mason, John C., 1948
 Mason, Madge S., 1933
 Masters, Norman C., 1937
 McBride, Lilian (H, Gg), 1938
 McCarthy, Patricia M., 1943
 McCauley, Frances, 1939
 McClean, Douglas M., (R.L.), 1924
 McCoubrey, Agnes L., (H), 1920
 McElligot, Gertrude M., 1945
 McEvoy, Catherine, 1940
 McFarquhar, Roderick C., (L), 1934
 McGraw, Elizabeth T.F., 1940
 McIntyre, Kathleen I., 1940
 McIntyre, Margaret A., 1944
 McIver, Alexander W., 1925
 McKenzie, Basil G., 1940
 McLachlan, Ivor J., 1939
 McLaren, Marjorie P., (F), 1922
 McLaren, Wallace H., 1931
 McLeod, Constance I., (F, L), 1923
 McMichael, Thomas B., (E, H), 1941
 McMillan, Sybil M., 1942
 Mdluli, Seth V. H., 1948
 Medway, Basil M., (E); 1935
 Meer, Ismail, (Ps), 1943
 Meiklejohn, Peggy, 1936
 Meiring, Nicholas, 1932
 Melville, Colin M., (E, L), 1924
 Melville, Doreen Ruth, (E, L), 1935
 Mengeli, Michael F., 1947
 Menzies, Phyllis A., 1921
 Meyer, Lucas E., 1945
 Mgoza, Frank J., 1947
 Middleton, Jean C., 1948
 Mikosz, Leonore K., 1947
 Miltitz, Harold P.G., (Ps), 1942
 Millar, Mildred H., (Gg), 1923
 Miller, Athur W., 1943
 Miller, Ethel C., 1936
 Miller, Florence M., (E), 1920
 Mills, Lorraine C., (Gg), 1946
 Milne, Eunice A., 1926
 Mingay, Joan M., 1948
 Misra, Jadunath, 1948
 Misra, Kedernath, 1946
 Mithry, Umbar J., 1946
 Mitchell, James C., (So, Ps), 1941
 Mitchell, Sheila O., 1940
 Mkele, Nimrod, 1947
 Mndaweni, Rudolph A., 1946
 Molapo, Camillus M. M., 1946
 Montgomery, Alexander N., (H), 1939
 Moodie, Margaret I., 1922
 Moodley, Kistan S., 1943
 Moodley, Manikum, 1940
 Moodley, Nadasen M., 1946
 Moodley, Narsmulu T., 1946
 Moodley, Ruthenval, 1941
 Moodley, Sarabathy G., 1945
 Moodley, Soobramoney M., 1947
 Moodley, Soobriah N., 1947
 Moodley, Sundravel M., 1943
 Moran, Sheila M., 1938
 Morgan, Amelia M., 1928
 Morgan, Llewela M., 1931
 Morgan, Valda M., 1943
 Morton, John G., (E, Gg), 1944
 Mosese, Samuel S., 1943
 Motselebane, Azariel R.G., 1948
 Mullally, Margaret, 1945
 Muller, Marie E.V., 1947
 Munro, Joyce A., (E, M), 1929
 Muthukistna, Panumathie, 1948
 Naicker, Parthasaradhy J., 1947

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- Naidoo, Appanah J., 1945
 Naidoo, Bungaree A., 1945
 Naidoo, Chengannah A., 1946
 Naidoo, Elliah V., 1946
 Naidoo, Govindasamy S., 1939
 Naidoo, Jack, 1939
 Naidoo, Joseph A.M., 1948
 Naidoo, Loganathan M., 1947
 Naidoo, Moonsamy S., 1947
 Naidoo, Narainsamy B., 1943
 Naidoo, Ramamurthie S., 1946
 Naidoo, Sashma, 1947
 Naidoo, Viraragavaloo K., 1946
 Naidu, Jogiah G., 1947
 Naidu, Kaisavelu, 1948
 Naidu, Venkatarathnam, 1948
 Nair, Paul C.C., 1944
 Nair, Raman P., 1948
 Narsamuloo, Shunmugam, 1945
 Neethling, Michiel C.A., 1940
 Nero, Solveig, (E), 1938
 Newall, Amy (Gg), 1924
 Ngcobo, Reginald A.V., 1946
 Ngqula, Callistus J., 1946
 Nhlapo, Simon, 1944
 Nichol, Marion, 1939
 Nichols, Margaret, 1941
 Niddrie, D'Vida I., 1948
 Nimmo, Ian D., 1939
 Nobin, Renius D., 1947
 Norman, Albert R., 1934
 Norris Enid E., 1925
 Norris, Millicent E., 1938
 Nasworthy, Daphne N., 19-10
 Nzimande, Ambrose, 1945
 Oakley, Sheila M., 1934
 O'Callaghan, Maureen D., 19-15
 O'Keefe, Norah I., 1925
 O'Kelly, Thomas B., 1949
 Olivier, Edna C., (L), 1939
 Olivier, Francois G., 1936
 Olorenshaw, Ethleen A., 1930
 Ormond, Norah W., 1940
 Oxley, Alan J., 1941
 Oxley, Huldah M., (Mu, E), 1940
 Padayachi, Arunaghary, 1945
 Padayachi, Narrainsamy P., 1946
 Pakendorf, Paul, (G, L), 1929
 Panday, Scupersadh, 1948
 Panday, Sunbhuder, 1943
 Paola, Jameal J., 1939
 Parsons, Muriel J., (E, F), 1939
 Paruman, Ponsamy, 1947
 Paterson, Mary C.B., 1941
 Pather, Ruthenum S., 1948
 Patrick, Mollie D., 1937
 Payn, Petal J., (L), 1934
 Peachey, Jeannie E., 1920
 Pearce, Roma N.A., 1935
 Pechey, Cedric P.C., 1947
 Peck, Kathleen N., 1936
 Peckham, Cyril E. (D, E), 1921
 Pembroke, John E., 1947
 Pennington, Douglas, 1933
 Pennington, Eric F., 1918
 Pennington, Gerald O.M., (L), 1931
 Pennington, Maurice E., 1921
 Perrett, Ingrid M., 1948
 Perumal, Morgan, 1938
 Petrie, Ruby M., 1932
 Pettersen, Rolf B.C., 1939
 Phipson, Ethne E., 1943
 Pillay, Chockanadam G., 1946
 Pillay, Kunnabivan M.K., 1940
 Pillay, Maganadan G., 1942
 Pillay, Narinesamy R., 1942
 Pillay, Nesamatharamoney, 1943
 Pillay, Ruthinsamy G., 1946
 Pillay, Srinivassen M., 1948
 Pitcher, Diana H., (E), 1941
 Pitot, Joseph L.L., (L), 1942
 Pollard, Winifred E., (E), 1940
 Posselt, Millicent F., 1945
 Potgieter, Edith D., 1947
 Potgieter, Theodorus D., 1941
 Power, Lelia A. M., 1934
 Pretorius, Anna R., 1948
 Pride, Delphine E., 1936
 Pride, Marjorie B., 1937
 Prozesky, Markus A.D., (G), 1925
 Prozesky, Tom W. 1933
 Punt, Neville W., 1936
 Puttick, Daphne M., (E), 1942
 Quana, Almitta C. T., 1948
 Raath, Rudolph J., (P.S.), 1944
 Rabe, Jacob D., 1943

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- Raidoo, Perumal, 1946
 Rajab, Habib M., 1938
 Ramgalam, Angath, 1947
 Ramsamy, Govindsamy, 1942
 Rasmussen, Doreen T., 1932
 Ravaisson, Audrey M., (F, L), 1927
 Ravaisson, Margaret H., 1938
 Reddy, Kister L., 1947
 Reddy, Perumal V., 1948
 Reddy, Poonsamy S., 1948
 Redinger, Helmuth H., 1948
 Rees, Olwer A., 1936
 Rencken, Friederich H.A., 1946
 Renton, Moses M., 1946
 Reusch, Hermann F.M., 1945
 Reynolds, John L., 1935
 Rhind, Lucius, J.W.E., 1930
 Richardson, Mary B., 1934
 Richardson, Matthew, (H, L), 1926
 Richmond, Meredith I.D., 1938
 Ries, Hartman E., (D), 1925
 Ripley, Beryl I., 1928
 Ripley, Edith B., 1935
 Roach, Agnes, 1941
 Roach, George G., 1939
 Roberts, Douglas R., 1946
 Roberts, Esther L., (F), 1925
 Roberts, Elizabeth M., 1946
 Roberts, John G.O., 1932
 Roberts, Pomona L., (Gg), 1941
 Robertson, George R., 1930
 Robertson, Jean Y., 1935
 Robinson, Athelstan L., 1937
 Robinson, Helen M., 1933
 Robinson, Rachel M., 1941
 Robinson, Reginald J., 1936
 Robinson, Winifred M., 1942
 Roets, Cornelius J., (R.L.), 1943
 Rose, Hilda L., 1938
 Ross, Ethelwyn M., 1926
 Rouillard, Eileen A., (E), 1941
 Rouillard, Georgina E., 1934
 Rouillard, Virginia F., 1935
 Rouse, Francis A., 1936
 Routledge, Robin, 1945
 Russell, Gilbert, (Gg), 1934
 Sadler, Michael J., 1948
 Salmond, Elizabeth C., 1934
 Samuel, George, 1946
 Samuel, Gertrude D., 1938
 Sandison, Margaret G.R., 1943
 Sandler, Max H., 1935
 Sandler, Norman, (Ps), 1938
 Saville, Winifred L., 1920
 Savory, Robin J.R., 1946
 Scannell, Johannes P., 1936
 Schaffer, Alick, 1935
 Schmidt, Wilfred H.O., (D, G), 1932
 Schmitz, St. K. Elizabeth, (L), 1936
 Schnugh, Ralph F. J., 1939
 Scholtz, Dawid J., 1928
 Scholtz, Philip L., (P.S., H), 1939
 Schroenn, Evelyne R., 1943
 Schulze, Victoria L.I., (D, G), 1936
 Schumann, Frederick H., 1940
 Schwegmann, Feo E., 1941
 Scobbie, Isabelle M., 1930
 Scott, Barbara W., (L), 1938
 Scott, Mona M., 1940
 Searle, Pamela M., 1947
 Selwyn-Smith, Jenifer, 1948
 Serruijs, Doris E., 1922
 Sewpersadh, Hariduth, 1947
 Sham, Balmukuna, 1947
 Shepstone, Heloise M.D., (L), 1932
 Sherratt, Peter H.P., (Gg), 1942
 Sherwin, Irene M., (E, H), 1924
 Sherwood, Ivor J., 1935
 Shields, Charles S., (Ps), 1934
 Shum, Colin N., (P.S.), 1948
 Shuter, Cyril F., (H), 1926
 Sibisi, Jethro S., 1946
 Silva, Alma L.M.J., 1943
 Simpson, Marguerite Z., 1930
 Singh, Bahadur B., 1941
 Singh, Jayden N., 1942
 Singh, Praem P., 1947
 Singh, Radhie, 1945
 Singh, Ramdumdar N., 1946
 Singh, Thaveraj, 1943
 Skelton, Michael H., 1945
 Slater, Raymond G., 1940
 Smeaton, Mildred S., 1944
 Smit, Francois G., 1936
 Smit, Jacobus H., 1934
 Smit, Louis G.T., 1934

DEGREE OF BACHELOR OF ARTS—*Continued*

- Smith, Earle C., (L, M), 1937
 Smith, Ivy E.F., (E), 1926
 Smith, Margaret H., 1930
 Smith, Neil J., (P.S.), 1948
 Smith, Phillipe R.L., 1943
 Smith, Robert B., (Gg), 1947
 Smyth, Blythe I., (Ps), 1948
 Smyth, Brian D., 1934
 Smythe, Charles O., 1945
 Smythie, Ursula M., 1938
 Snyman, Gert J., 1940
 Somers, Bahadur, 1941
 Somers, Harichander S., 1943
 Sommerville, Elizabeth M., 1945
 Sooful, Bugwandeem, 1944
 Southey, Margaret A., 1940
 Southey, Norah M., (E), 1944
 Southwood, Norah J., (F), 1946
 Sautter, Frederick C., 1940
 Sparks, Joan D., 1941
 Sparks, Muriel D., 1937
 Stead, Hugh W., (E, Gg), 1932
 Stead, Margaret R., (Ps), 1945
 Steenkamp, William P., (D), 1941
 Stephen, Jean, 1948
 Stewart, Andrew J., (D, L), 1939
 Stewart, Malcolm T., (E, R.L.), 1947
 St. George, George B., 1933
 Stobie, George H.T., 1999
 Stobie, Margaret J., (E, Ps), 1948
 Stone, Enid K., (F, L), 1932
 Stone, Ethel N., 1938
 Strachan, Elizabeth M., 1948
 Strachan, Jean M., 1939
 Strachan, Liliass M., 1934
 Stretch, Valerie, 1944
 Strong, Rita, (L), 1932
 Strong, Wifred L., 1940
 Stuart, Jessie M., (E, Gg), 1923
 Stubbings, Rosalind E., 1946
 Stumpf, Edmund, (D, H), 1929
 Subban, Manikum, 1947
 Sundrum, Jesusda H., (E), 1939
 Sutcliffe, Mary S., 1934
 Suttner, Barney, 1944
 Swarts, Frans J., 1943
 Symons, Margaret L., (Gg), 1924
 Tait, Esther M.H., 1941
 Tait, Paul M., 1940
 Talbot, John B., (R.L.) , 1934
 Tavenor, Sylvia J., 1945
 Taylor, Constance J.M., 1940
 Taylor, Joan, (E), 1944
 Taylor, Kathleen M.H., 1936
 Taylor, Mavis L., 1944
 Taylor, Minette W., 1942
 Taylor, Pauline M., (E, L), 1943
 Taylor, Peter W., 1946
 Teltateka, Johannes M. M., 1946
 Terblanche, Joyce J., 1945
 Thammiah, Stephen B., 1947
 Theobald, Leslie C. W., 1936
 Thibaud, Madeline A., 1945
 Thomas, Magda, (E), 1947
 Thomas, Vadival, 1947
 Thompson, Elien E., 1940
 Thompson, George B., (Gg), 1933
 Thompson, Helena J., 1937
 Thompson, Kenneth St. A., 1941
 Thorrold, Ella M., 1925
 Thorrold, Ethel A., 1925
 Thorrold, Laura V., 1921
 Thorrold, Olive M., (L), 1920
 Thorrold, Rhoda J., (E, L), 1920
 Thorrold, Sydney A., 1932
 Thrash, Pamela R., 1948
 Thring, Valerie V., 1945
 Thumbadoo, Arumugan G., 1943
 Thumbadoo, Kunniiah, 1946
 Titlestad, Gunvald M., 1919
 Titlestad, Victor A., 1923
 Tomlinson, Catherine C., (E), 1930
 Tomlinson, Cecily J., 1931
 Tonkin, Ronald D., 1936
 Tremeame, Nancy C., 1945
 Trew, John B., 1935
 Trollip, William G., (Ps), 1932
 Trull, Joy, 1937
 Turner, Dorothy, 1923
 Turner, Thomas E.B., 1935
 Urquhart, Johan C., 1936
 Vadivalu, Thangamuthu, 1942
 Vahed, Abdul K.I., 1945
 Valentine, Anthony, (E, Gg), 1931
 Valentine, Eleanor M.F., 1936
 Valentine, Vere St. G., 1939

DEGREE OF BACHELOR OF ARTS—*Continued*

- | | |
|---|--|
| Van Biljon, John B., 1949 | Wareham, Richard T. M., 1936 |
| Van Heerden, Izak J., 1932 | Warmington, Mary E., 1932 |
| Van der Merwe, Jan H., (D, E), 1928 | Warwick, George W., 1939 |
| Van der Vyer, Johan D., 1937 | Watkins, Joan, 1948 |
| Van der Walt, Carel N., (R.L.), 1938 | Watson, Helen V.H., 1932 |
| Van der Westhuijzen, Elizabeth S., 1918 | Watt, John C., 1947 |
| Van Niekerk, Wessel J.J., 1937 | Watts, Edna M., 1930 |
| Van Nieuwenhuizen, Hendrik S., 1938 | Waudby, Joyce, 1944 |
| Van Rensburg, Junae, 1944 | Wayne, Lesley, (E), 1943 |
| Van Rooyen, Christiaan S., (D), 1944 | Webb, Marjorie J., 1935 |
| Velleman, Doreen E., (E), 1940 | Webb, Jean W., 1936 |
| Verschuur, Willem E., 1934 | Webb, Valerie, 1942 |
| Veysey, Barbara, 1945 | Weber, Adelaide, 1941 |
| Vice, Robert R., 1936 | Weightman-Smith, Catherine L., (L), 1928 |
| Vitzhum, Katharina, (G, E, Ps), 1944 | Welch, William O., 1947 |
| Vogel, Friederika, 1922 | Werndle, Dorothea A., 1940 |
| Von Seidel, Leanora B., 1943 | Wigg, Caroline T.T., (Ps), 1941 |
| Vorster, Rose E., (F, E), 1945 | Williams, Vera O., (E, L), 1922 |
| Vosloo, Arnoldus F., (D), 1940 | Wills, Arthur E.W., 1935 |
| Vowles, Margaret, (E), 1944 | Wilson, Eileen M., 1939 |
| Wakefield, Mary L., 1945 | Wilson, Frank G., (E), 1932 |
| Walker, Daphne, 1944 | Wilter, Hendrik B.K., (D), 1927 |
| Wallace, Jean T., (L), 1937 | Winship, Bernice D., (Ec), 1943 |
| Wallace, John H.A., 1947 | Wood, Joan W., 1942 |
| Wallace, Margaret E., 1941 | Woodhead, Evelyn J., 1947 |
| Walls, Jean E., 1946 | Woods, Brian J., 1946 |
| Walsh, Eunice P., 1940 | Worthington, Hazel M., (E), 1937 |
| Walsh, Mabel A., 1926 | Wright, Phyllis G., (E), 1938 |
| Walsh, Terence D., (D, L), 1925 | Young, Donald W., 1940 |
| Ware, John C., 1941 | |

DEGREE OF BACHELOR OF ARTS, FINE ARTS

- | | |
|--|---------------------------------|
| Adams, Kathleen S., 1935 | Ford, Ellen E.W., 1934 |
| Addison, Daphne J., 1933 | Goldfoot, Kathleen R., 1929 |
| Baxter, Sylvia P., 1936 | Grossert, John W., 1933 |
| Brandt, Hope D., 1934 | Hales, Mary H., 1934 |
| Brown, Joan, 1948 | Henwood, Sheila C., 1937 |
| Brueckner, Christina K., (H.A.), 1946 | Hitchins, Joan A., 1932 |
| Brown, Rhona, (H.A.), 1944 | Hodson, Irene G., 1932 |
| Coetzee, Frances B.C., 1941 | Holliday, Mavis, 1933 |
| Cussons, Sheila, (Pg, H.A.), 1942 | Hopewell, Dora G., 1928 |
| Denniston, Patricia A., (Pg, H.A.), 1944 | Jerome, Muriel P., (H.A.), 1947 |
| Downing, Catherine J., 1928 | Kregeloh, Olive S., 1943 |
| Eelders, Alida, 1938 | Langley, Noel A., 1933 |
| Ferreira, Ellen H., 1947 | Lee, Margaret L., 1948 |
| Falck, Lydia de G., (H.A.), 1937 | Leisegang, Daphne B., 1946 |

DEGREE OF BACHELOR OF ARTS, FINE ARTS—*Continued*

Marriott, Elaine, 1935	Shimwell, Doreen W., 1927
Meyer, Marjorie P., 1936	Simpson, Enid M.B., 1936
Miller, Kathleen E., 1944	Smyly, Suseen E.B., 1936
Nel, Philip R., (H.A.), 1939	South, Cynthia. M., 1938
Norman, Julia M., 1944	Stamford, Cynthia (H.A.), 1939
North, Winsome S., 1937	Stayt, Marjorie W., 1928.
Parker, Gwyneth L., 1946	Stewart, Eileen, 1932
Penberthy-Watkins, Erica, 1935	Strachan, Robert H., 1948
Peberdy, Catherine D., (Pg.), 1944	Tyrell, Barbara E.H., 1932
Reich, Innes C.W., 1945	Walpole, Betty, 1933
Reitz, Elsabe K., 1948	Walsh, Sheila. E., (H.A.), 1948
Rissik, Monica, (Pg. H. A.), 1945	Wills, Pamela J., (Pg), 1948
Robertson, Sheila A., 1933	Wilson, Dorothy J., 1940
Rose, Theresa A., 1934	Wium, Eduard J.F., 1936
Selborst, Josefa. (Pg. H.A.), 1947	Wyllie, Jean C., (H.A.), 1945

FACULTY OF SOCIAL SCIENCE

DEGREE OF BACHELOR OF ARTS (SOCIAL SCIENCE)

Almon, Anne R., (S.W.), 1948	Molle, Alice, 1943
Bagley, George E., 1948	Moshal, Joan E., 1944
Baumann, Daphne J., 1944	Naidoo, Bungaree A., 1948
Bower, Joan H., 1947	Narco, Esther, 1948
Brueckner, Frieda W., (Ps), 1944	Newman, Daphne (Ps), 1945
Burnett, Sheila I., (S.W.), 1948	Oelrich, Pieter S., 1946
Caink, Ruth A., 1948	O'Regan, Mary L., 1945
Dinnes, Alva E., 1946	Palm, Jeanne M.G., 1946
Dodson, Audrey N., 1946	Rodseth, Helga E., 1947
Edelstein, Joy A., 1948	Rogers, Audrey M., 1946
Edwards, Dorothy A., 1947	Salmond, Margery I.M., (So), 1947
Ellis, Wendy L., (Ps), 1947	Scheepers, Ruby E., 1947
Gericke, Joan E.R., 1948	Slinger, Hazel, 1944
Hall, Winifred L., (So, Ps), 1946	Stafford, Joan H., 1948
Harbottle, Owen R.W., 1948	Tatham, Helen L., 1947
Hendry, Joy M., 1946	Theunissen, Aletta F., 1946
Hopewell, Arthur, 1947	Thomas, Kathleen, 1942
Huthwaite, Joan M.Z., 1946	Voysey, Jean B., (S.W.), 1948
Jordaan, Elizabeth J. van A., 1948	Wade, Margaret D., 1947
Lacey-Comes, Barbara. M., 1948	Webb, Ruth A., 1944
Law, Joan M. B., (S.W.), 1948	Westwood, Dorothy E., 1942
Le Roux, Hazel, 1948	Whiting, Annie P., 1948
Maspero, Sheila R. (So, S.W.), 1946	Wilkinson, Joan E., 1944
McGregor, Trelas, 1942	Wilson, Alice J., 1945
Miller, Mabel W., 1944	Woods, Clement A., (So), 1946

FACULTY OF SCIENCE

DEGREE OF DOCTOR OF SCIENCE

Aitken, Robert D., 1924	McLean, Allan P.D., 1935
Bayer, Adolph J.W., 1936	Shaw, William S., 1934
Dyer, Robert A., 1936	Vogel, Johann C., 1928
Howes, Frank N., 1934	

DEGREE OF DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

Coblans, Herbert, 1937	Goosens, Antoine P.G., 1934
Crawford, Victor A., 1945	Prout, Ernest G., 1945
Fisher, Beryl S., 1940	

DEGREE OF MASTER OF SCIENCE

Aitken, Robert D., (BI), 1920	Ducasse, Louis A., (Gg), 1925
Alexander, Eric A., (CI), 1938	Dugmore, Lennard M., (CI), 1921
Anderson, Ewald A., (B), 1930	Dyer, Henry B., (P Dist), 1947
Armitage, Cyril J., (B), 1923	Dyer, Robert A., (B), 1923
Bangley, Phyllis R.E., (B), 1923	Elgie, Beatrice K., (MI), 1937
Bayer, Adolph J.W., (BI), 1923	English, Edward F., (CI), 1919
Bennett, Ralph N.E., (C), 1948	Fisher, Allan, (B), 1938
Boden, Eric, (P Dist), 1939.	Fisher, Beryl S., (BI), 1929
Brett, Peter G.C., (BI), 1938	Fisher, Herbert S., (BI), 1932
Brueckner, Anna E., (B Dist), 1943	Gale, George W., (BI), 1921
Bullen, Peter S., (M Dist), 1948	Gardner, Alexander, (CI), 1921
Bursell, Einar, (Z Dist), 1947	Goosens, Antonie P.G., (BI), 1930
Bush, Sydney F., (ZI), 1924	Haines, Dennis W., (C), 1947
Candy, Henry A., (C Dist), 1947	Hardaker, Percival, (B), 1922
Carte, Alexander E., (P Dist), 1947	Heard, Carey R.C., (BI), 1938
Chapman, Harold L., (CI), 1920	Hill, Laurence M., (C Dist), 1941
Charter, Robert R., (ZI), 1938	Hillary, Olive M., (B Dist), 1947
Cherry, Donald W., (B Dist), 1942	Horn, Denis H.S., (C Dist), 1944
Christopher, Veronica, (B Dist), 1946	Howes, Frank N., (B), 1922
Clarence, Noel D., (P Dist), 1947	Huntley, Kathleen D., (BI), 1938
Clarkson, Dorothy J., (B Dist), 1947	Jacobs, Patrick W.M., (C Dist), 1943
Coblans, Herbert, (CI), 1930	Kropman, Meyer, (C Dist), 1947
Codd, Leslie E., (BI), 1928	Lachman, Sydney J., (C Dist), 1943
Coetzee, Philippus J.S., (B), 1939	Leisegang, Ernest C., (C Dist), 1947
Colam, John B., (C), 1921	Lindsay, Mitchell H., (M), 1935
Cooke, Herbert M., (P Dist), 1947	Livingstone, Donald A., (M Dist), 1945
Cornell, Mavis A.M., (B), 1932	Mackenzie, Harold A.E., (C Dist), 1941
Davidson, Helen E., (BI), 1935	MacMurray, Jean B.C., (Z), 1939
Dent, Clifford P., (CI), 1921	Mann, Denis R., (C Dist), 1940
Dent, George R., (B), 1928	Maritz, Sheila, (BI), 1925
Dent, Samuel R., (BI), 1922	Martindale, Cyril, (CI), 1920

DEGREE OF MASTER OF SCIENCE—*Continued*

- | | |
|---|---|
| McClean, Alan P.D., (BI), 1923 | Proud, Kenneth J., (P), 1934 |
| McDonald, Allan D., (C), 1947 | Richardson, Margaret F., (C Dist), 1941 |
| McGuire, Joseph J., (C), 1920 | Rycroft, Hedley B., (B Dist), 1941 |
| McGuire, Laurence P., (BI), 1922 | Schelppe, Edmund A.C.L.E., (B Dist), 1945 |
| Merrick, Thelma M., (Gg), 1943 | Scogings, John L., (GI), 1948 |
| Metcalf, Edgar S., (Gg I), 1928 | Shaw, William S., (CI), 1921 |
| Morgan, Ebenezer P., (CI), 1935 | Simpson, Muriel W., (BI), 1938 |
| Nicholson, Yvonne D., (Gg), 1941 | Skaife, Sydney H., (ZI), 1919 |
| Noble, Emily I., (BI), 1923 | Stewart, Gordon W., (M), 1937 |
| Noble, Robert D., (P), 1936 | Talbot, Patrick H.B., (B Dist), 1939 |
| North, Sybil R., (B), 1941 | Taylor, Alexander J., (CI), 1923 |
| Novellie, Laurence, (C Dist), 1947 | Temple, Dennis A., (C), 1946 |
| Ogilvie, Barbara M., (BI), 1935 | Thompson, Andrew O., (Gl.), 1940 |
| Paul, Hubert B.L., (B), 1930 | Tyrrell, Catherine E.H., (B), 1933 |
| Payn, Jacqueline A., (BI), 1936 | Vanderplank, James E., (BI), 1932 |
| Peck, John E.L., (M Dist.), 1940 | Vogel, Johann C., (CI), 1920 |
| Poupinel de Valence, Edgar L.P., (P Dist), 1947 | Williams, James M., (C Dist), 1945 |

DEGREE OF BACHELOR OF SCIENCE (HONOURS)

- | | |
|---------------------------------------|------------------------------------|
| Burnett, Raymond E., (C Dist), 1948 | Lange, Harold E., (GI Dist), 1948 |
| Canham, Peter A.S., (C), 1948 | Malherbe, Paul N., (C), 1948 |
| Cohen, Mendel D., (C Dist), 1947 | Meidner, Hans A., (B), 1948 |
| Davey, Douglas M., (Ps), 1948 | Oloff, William D., (Z), 1947 |
| England, Wilfred B., (C), 1948 | Ripley, Sherman H., (Z Dist), 1948 |
| Hargraves, Robert B., (GI Dist), 1948 | Scurr, William R., (P), 1948 |
| Hindson, Leslie L., (GI), 1948 | Williams, Peggy P., (C), 1948 |
| Killick, Donald J.B., (B), 1948 | Wilson, Stanley E., (C Dist), 1948 |
| Koekemoer, Mattheus J., (C), 1948 | |

DEGREE OF BACHELOR OF SCIENCE

- | | |
|----------------------------------|------------------------------------|
| Acutt, Elizabeth H., 1940 | Allsopp, Rosemary J., 1943 |
| Adams, Berenice Z. M., 1945 | Anderson, Nancy M., 1924 |
| Adams, Edward B., (C, P), 1937 | Armitage, James P., 1922 |
| Addison, Corrie A., 1937 | Armitage, Winifred G., 1936 |
| Adendorff, Michiel, C., 1947 | Armstrong, George J., 1922 |
| Adie, Raymond J., 1944 | Armstrong, Hugh, 1941 |
| Adnams, Joan, 1939 | Attridge, Henry L., 1925 |
| Ahrens, Herbert W., (C, P), 1933 | Balcer, Eric M., 1938 |
| Ahrens, Louis H., (GI), 1939 | Ballenden, Marcia B., 1937 |
| Aitchison, Raymond G., 1940 | Barbour, John B., 1948 |
| Alexander, Phyllis M., 1927 | Barboure, Douglas J., (C, P), 1948 |
| Allison, Albert A., (P), 1929 | Barratt, Sheila I., 1931 |
| Allsopp, Alice E.E., (B), 1943 | Bates, Agnes J., 1939 |
| Allsopp, Hugh L., 1948 | Bates, Bryan Q., 1939 |

DEGREE OF BACHELOR OF SCIENCE—*Continued*

- Bawden, Margaret D., 1935
 Bayley, Ethel M., (Gg), 1923
 Baynes, Alec H., (B, C), 1932
 Beattie, Eleanor J., (B, Z), 1947
 Behn, Adalbert F., (C), 1940
 Beukes, Carl M.S., 1932
 Beukes, Petrus J.G., 1926
 Biebuyck, Vital J., 1939
 Binns, Percy, 1926
 Birkenstock, Adolph W., 1942
 Blakeley, Lorna J., (B), 1936
 Bond, Guy W., 1943
 Boonstra, Gerard L., 1927
 Bosch, Piet R., 1948
 Bowman, Joan E., 1945
 Bowman, Maureen A., (M), 1942
 Bradley, Jean P., (B), 1942
 Bradshaw, Keith R., 1936
 Brand, Muriel MA, 1931
 Brereton, Pamela M., (Gg, Gl), 1943
 Brockelbank, Lilian, 1939
 Brooks, Elizabeth, 1947
 Brown, Michael R., (C), 1938
 Bryant, Ivie, 1926
 Budde, Cornelius W., 1930
 Burchell, Barbara I., 1941
 Bush, Brenda K., 1932
 Button, Hazel R., (B), 1942
 Buys, Bernardus R., 1932
 Calder, Myrtle E., 1922
 Carbutt, Rosamund L., 1937
 Castle, William M., 1939
 Chapman, Erica R., 1947
 Chapman, Rosemary A., 1937
 Christison, Ivan L., 1940
 Clark, Joyce M.W., 1937
 Clarkson, Alison S., (B, Gg), 1931
 Clarkson, Dorothy J., (Gg), 1943
 Clulow, Herbert S., (C, P), 1926
 Coertse, Roelof, 1938
 Corrigan, William J., 1931
 Coulon, Cyrille L.J., 1947
 Coulter, George P., 1946
 Crankshaw, Sybil G., 1947
 Crass, Robert S., 1945
 Crookes, Jean B., (B), 1946
 Cross, George F., 1946
 Cubitt, Jessie S., 1941
 Cunningham, Helen J.M., (B), 1925
 Curry, Ages M.S., (C), 1947
 Dark, William A., 1944
 de Villiers, Barendina J., 1946
 Demont, Ronald J.C., 1947
 Devlin, Una R., (B, Gg), 1946
 Diclts, Ruth J., 1936
 Diesel, George M., 1939
 Dixon, Cicely I., 1936
 Dixon, Jack F., (C), 1935
 Dodds, Shirley E., 1948
 Dodson, Richard G., 1948
 Dorey, Margaret, 1919
 Downward, George W., (C, P), 1939
 Drew, Emrys C.M., 1934
 Drews, Reinhard J.L.C., 1943
 Druce, Allan T., 1940
 Ducasse, Desmond V., 1947
 Duncan-Vale, Marguerite P., 1943
 Dwyer, Laurence W., (M), 1928
 Dyson, Lilian M.J., (Gg), 1931
 Edminson, Eric S., 1932
 Edmonds, Cynthia N., 1937
 Edwards, Elizabeth M., 1944
 Egholm, Sigrid P., (B), 1934
 Eglington, Roland A., 1948
 Emby, Gordon N., 1934
 Emerton, Ralph B., 1939
 English, Ruth R., 1942
 Erasmus, Emile M., 1938
 Ferguson, Edith, (B,Z), 1927
 Finlay, Isabella C., 1929
 Firth, George, 1933
 Firth, Hilary F., (Gg), 1937
 Fitchett, Erin E., (M, A.M.), 1938
 Fleming, Evelyn B., (B), 1934
 Fleming, Thomas M., 1948
 Forsyth, Eric F., (C, P), 1931
 Forsyth, Hugh F., 1941
 Foster, Pauline M., 1948
 Franklin, Francis A., 1923
 Fraser, Colin M., 1924
 Frow, Grace M., (B), 1940
 Fuller, Gloria A., 1946
 Fyall, James G., 1922
 Gatenby, Violet I., 1934

DEGREE OF BACHELOR OF SCIENCE—*Continued*

- Geldenhuys, David A.K., 1947
 Getliffe, Harry, 1931
 Gibson, Dian D.V., 1948
 Gillespie, Margaret E., (Gg), 1927
 Girdlestone, Marjorie E., 1939
 Glen, Dorothy C., 1926
 Goodall, Gordon, 1943
 Goodwin, George M.N., (P), 1926
 Gordon-Gray, Claude G., 1948
 Gordon-Huntley, Aileen Y., 1925
 Gorman, Ann, 1948
 Graham, Denise S., 1945
 Graham, George C.V., (C), 1939
 Gray, Harold G., 1934
 Greene, Dorothy H., 1942
 Greenstein, Abraham W., 1942
 Gregory, Alfred, 1933
 Gregory, Cornelia S., 1945
 Greville, Anthony E., 1947
 Grundy, Eva, 1920
 Hall, Lester E., 1932
 Halland, Karl A., 1937
 Hamlyn-Harding, Annette E., 1948
 Hancock, Florence D., (Gg), 1926
 Handley, John R. F., (Gg, Gl), 1947
 Harper, Iris G., (B), 1935
 Hart, Barnard T., 1929
 Hathorn, Shirley L., 1937
 Havemann, Lulu M., 1938
 Hawkins, Frederick C.W., 1938
 Haysom, Norreen M.E., 1942
 Henderson, Anthony M., 1941
 Henkel, Margaret H., 1937
 Henkel, Ormond, 1938
 Hesom, Walter G., 1936
 Hickey, Brian C.J. 1948
 Hodgson, Joan, 1936
 Hodsdon, Durand, 1936
 Hodson, Derek J., 1946
 Howden, Edith M., 1935
 Hudson, Denys M., (P), 1946
 Hulston, Dulcie D., (B), 1935
 Hurcombe, Ruth E., 1938
 Hurworth, Richard, 1938
 Ingle, Norman P., 1924
 Ironside, Leslie E., 1938
 Jaaback, Gunnar, 1924
 Jarvis, Barbara J., 1937
 Jay, Francis M., 1948
 Jay-Browne, Evelyn M., (B, C), 1924
 Jay-Browne, Rowland, 1921
 Johnson, Lionel J., 1940
 Johnston, Walter I., 1946
 Johnstone, Douglas I., 1948
 Jones, Eric A., 1942
 Jooste, Socrates, (C, M), 1934
 Jordaan, Pieter W., 1939
 Katz, Hyman B., 1948
 Kelsall, Laura M., (Z), 1923
 Kerby, Joan M., 1937
 King, Doris E., 1939
 King, Elizabeth F., 1935
 King, Elizabeth N., 1947
 King, Kenneth F., (B, C), 1930
 King, Norman C., 1936
 Klintworth, Heinrich K.G., 1927
 Klapper, Solomon M., 1948
 Knox, Bernard S., 1942
 Kolbe, George A., 1926
 Lambert, Geoffrey, 1934
 Lancashire, Jeannie M., (A.M., M), 1930
 Larkan, Gladys A., 1939
 Lavoipierre, Michel M.J., (B, Z), 1942
 Leiper, Jean M., 1931
 Leisegang, Joy M., 1942
 Levy, Sydney, 1945
 Lewis, Evan T., (P), 1934
 Lindahl, Bengt T., 1924
 Lindahl, Ray E., 1945
 Livingstone, John C., 1923
 Lloyd, Theodore C., 1920
 Lockhart-Ross, Sheila, (B, Gg), 1935
 Loney, Reginald N., 1940
 Lord, Eustace S., (B), 1932
 Laurens, Susanna O.C., 1940
 Love, Isobel F., (B), 1928
 Lundie, Harry, 1922
 Macgregor, Jean M., 1948
 Mackenzie, Callum D.M.D., 1936
 Mackenzie, Edith J., 1937
 Mackenzie, Lindsay G., 1927
 MacLeod, Dorothy M., (Gg), 1932
 MacMurray, Jean B., (C), 1937
 MacPherson, Naomi D.P., 1941
 Magni, Karl O., 1935
 Malcolm, Beryl, 1925

DEGREE OF BACHELOR OF SCIENCE—*Continued*

- Mann, Valerie, (C), 1943
 Marr, Herbert, (P), 1947
 Marriott, Phyllis, 1924
 Marshall, Agnes, 1927
 Martin, William A., 1924
 Martindale, Doreen, 1924
 Mason, Enid E., (B, C), 1935
 Mason, Joan C., (B, Gg), 1929
 Mason, Richard E., 1924
 McAlister, Joyce E., 1928
 McCulloch, Evelyn M., 1939
 McElligott, Mary C., 1946
 McGibbon, James L., (M), 1939
 McKenzie, Audrey I., 1921
 McKinnell, John, 1948
 McLeod, Gwendoline M., 1940
 McMurray, William R., (P), 1948
 McRae, Donald, (C, P), 1924
 Meston, Erica D., 1947
 Meyer, Dirkie W., 1929
 Meyer, Marthinus B.B., 1948
 Miller, Arthur A., 1923
 Miller, Henry S., 1923
 Milner, Alison M., (C), 1948
 Mitchell, Gwendoline Y., 1940
 Mitchell, Leonard G., (C), 1948
 Moir, Alexander T., 1927
 Morgan, Morfydd S., 1925
 Morin, Louis E., (M), 1923
 Murray, Frances C., (M), 1930
 Neilson, Isabel M., 1934
 Neilson, James H., 1932
 Nero, Ralph L., 1937
 Nicholson, Yvonne D., 1937
 Nicolle, Neville P. le M., (GI), 1942
 Niddrie, David L., 1937
 Niven, Barbara S., 1946
 Noble, Arthur, 1947
 Nourse, Denis G., 1939
 Nuttall, Marjorie M., (Z), 1937
 Oddin-Taylor, Rosamund D., 1923
 Odell, Beryl G., 1938
 Oscroft, Frederick B., 1931
 Paine, Richard F., 1939
 Palframan, Frank T., 1936
 Pallent, Daphne, (B, Gg), 1926
 Palin, Osborne L., 1935
 Pape, David L., 1943
 Parish, George L.D., 1948
 Parry, Alfred C.N., 1924
 Parry, Trevor L., (C), 1936
 Paton, Alan S., (P), 1922
 Payn, Phyllis E.B., 1940
 Pearlman, Julia, (C), 1948
 Pearson, William E., 1940
 Peck, John E. L., (P), 1938
 Pellew, Victor W., 1948
 Pemberton, Evelyn R., 1936
 Pennefather, Michael, 1942
 Penney, Stewart S.K., 1936
 Phipps, Valerie, 1946
 Pitcher, Michael H., 1948
 Plasket, Ronald F., 1948
 Pollock, John N., 1947
 Porter, Cecil B.I., (F), 1922
 Ralston, Joseph, 1935
 Randles, Donovan C., 1947
 Randles, John M., 1949
 Rapson, Norma D., 1940
 Raw, Margaret M., 1935
 Rees, Enid H., 1929
 Rhodes, Caroline E., 1924
 Rhodes, Mildred G., 1922
 Rice, Denis M., (F), 1933
 Richardson, Mary B., 1934
 Richardson, Vera D., (C. Z), 1941
 Ries, Cornelius W., 1945
 Roberts, Alfred O.H., 1943
 Robinson, John L., 1935
 Rogers, Lionel M., 1945
 Rohwer, Egmont F., (C, F), 1933
 Rose, Ian W.K., 1934
 Rosen, Zillah, (B), 1922
 Rosholt, Sonia. M., 1946
 Sandler, Archie L., 1932
 Sansbury, Richard F., (B. C), 1924
 Saunders, Cecil C., 1925
 Saville, Irene E., 1922
 Scheepers, Nicholas G., 1942
 Schroeder, Walter O.W., 1939
 Schuler, Victor C.O., 1948
 Schutte, Richard J.G., 1927
 Scott, Caroline D., 1921
 Scott, Shirley O. 1947
 Searle, Dudley E., 1940
 Seymour, Kathleen H.M., 1933

DEGREE OF BACHELOR OF SCIENCE—*Continued*

- Short, Joseph J.V., (F), 1928
 Shuter, Ruth L., (B), 1947
 Sidey, James L., 1946
 Simpson, Muriel H., (B), 1938
 Skinner, Thomas N.E., (M, F), 1948
 Slayen, Philip W., 1947
 Slinger, June, (B, GI), 1946
 Smellie, Allan A., 1948
 Smith, Dorothy L., 1944
 Smith, Frank, (C), 1921
 Smith, George C.W., 1924
 Smythe, Patrick M., (B, C), 1932
 Sookaloo, Baldow, 1947
 Sparks, Hugh C., (C, M), 1934
 Stanton, Hilary, D.D., 1947
 Stephens, Michael F.T., 1946
 Stephenson, John M., 1943
 Stephenson, Venetia H., 1929
 Steyn, Danie, 1943
 Stone, Shirley L., (Ps), 1945
 Strachan, Mabel R., (B), 1924
 Strong, Jane N., 1936
 Stuart, Jessie MA, (B), 1928
 Stubbings, Oswald Q., 1948
 Sutherland, Annie F.J., 1924
 Sutton, Robert S., 1931
 Tait, Gideon, 1946
 Talbot, Patrick H.B., (B, C), 1938
 Tarboton, Gerald S., (C), 1926
 Tarboton, Joyce K., 1933
 Tatham, Elizabeth M., 1938
 Taylor, Auriol U., 1937
 Taylor, Owen B., 1925
 Tedder, Esme A., 1926
 Tedder, Laurence C., (C, F), 1926
 Thienel, Agnes, (B, Z), 1944
 Thomas, Elizabeth Ann, 1948
 Thomas, Greta E., (B, Gg), 1932
 Thomas, Jane W., 1947
 Thomas, Megan E., (B), 1937
 Thompson, Douglas T., 1941
 Thompson, Frank G., 1934
 Thompson, Hugh G., 1948
 Thompson, James G., (C), 1941
 Thompson, Trevor N., 1947
 Thompson, Winifred F., 1937
 Truscott, David G., 1924
 Udal, Francis H., 1929
 Ulyate, Leonora F., 1946
 Upton, Lorna H., 1938
 Van der Lingen, Marius I., 1948
 Van Rooyen, Baurinus T., (C), 1925
 Van Rooyen, Johan W.J., (B), 1942
 Ward, Bruce, 1948
 Ward, Cecil J., 1948
 Warmington, William H., (F), 1930
 Watson, Douglas W.R.H., 1927
 Webb, Mabel M., 1938
 Webb, Michael, 1944
 Webster, George W., 1948
 White, Henry V., (C), 1937
 Williams, Bernice, (B), 1943
 Williams, Dorothy F., (B), 1938
 Wills, Anthony A., 1948
 Withycombe, Daphne, 1938
 Wood, Charlotte E., (Ps), 1938
 Wood, Desmond A., (C, P), 1947
 Woodiwiss, Claude A., (C), 1923
 Woods, Arthur F., 1929
 Woolley, David H., 1948
 Wulff, Graham, (GI), 1936
 Wyllie, Eva I., (B, Gg), 1932

FACULTY OF EDUCATION

DEGREE OF MASTER OF EDUCATION

- Adams, William M., 1926
 Barnes, Algernon S.V., 1943
 Dent, George R., 1934
 Emanuelson, Oscar E., 1927
 Jooste, Socrates, (I), 1937
 Knight, Helen A., 1948
 Miller, Henry S., 1937
 Osborne-Day, Kathleen C.M., 1948
 Udal, Francis H., 1936
 Wareham, Richard T. M., (Dist), 1948
 Webster, Alan S., (Dist), 1939

DEGREE OF BACHELOR OF EDUCATION

Dahle, Eric R., 1947	Schroeder, Walter O.W., 1947
Macdonald, John M., 1947	Stander, Johannes H., 1947
McAlister, Joyce E., 1947	Williams, Aston R., 1948
Reid, Winifred M., 1947	

FACULTY OF LAW

DEGREE OF BACHELOR OF LAWS

Anderson, Robert W., 1938	Joseph, Frank O., 1936
Beale, Gordon H., 1938	Kent, Herbert H., 1927
Behrmann, Frederick F., 1942	Kewney, Eustace Q., 1948
Bigby, Huntley C.S., 1936	Larsen, Arthur, 1932
Bizzell, Hugh V.L., 1935	Leon, Ramon N., 1947
Bland, Thomas H.J., 1931	Linton, David H., 1944
Boshoff, Jacobus F., 1948	Lowe, Frederick H., 1926
Brink, Meeuwis A., 1944	Macaulay, John B., 1929
Buchan, Andrew M., 1939	McClean, Dudley M., 1926
Bulcock, Hartley L., 1922	McGibbon, Alick T., 1939
Burchell, Exton M., 1946	McGuire, Joseph J., 1925
Caminsky, Gustave E., 1933	McKeown, Henry W., 1930
Chick, Geoffrey H.W., 1930	Mann, David K., 1947
Clark, Aubrey D.G., 1930	Mooney, John M., 1925
Cowley, Robert W., 1948	Muller, George B., 1937
Cox, Cecil W.G., 1926	Myburgh, Hendrik L., 1934
Crook, William M., 1945	Niehaus, John H., 1943
De Bruine, Pieter J.A., 1945	Nourse, Randolph H., 1947
De Bufanos, Aymone L., 1936	Paola, Louis J., 1944
Fannin, Denis G., 1929	Parkinson, William N., 1948
Feldman, Nathan, 1930	Parry, Eric N., 1929
Findlay, Marjorie J., 1937	Porritt, Brian S., 1947
Gallway, Michael H., 1926	Price, Tom W., 1935
Gerber, Lewis B., 1941	Richter, Colin E., 1940
Gibbs, Walter R., 1927	Rubin, Leslie I., 1932
Godwin, Edwin J., 1939	Seymour, John E.M., 1937
Haines, Dudley A.C., 1947	Seymour, William G.M., 1931
Hall, Lester E., 1935	Seymour, Massingham, 1936
Halm, Inez N., 1947	Smith, Harold E., 1942
Hansmann, Johannes L.N., 1930	Smithers, Maurice C., 1934
Harcourt, Arthur B., 1939	Stapelberg, Frans F., 1943
Harrison, Victor C., 1924	Stephenson, Alfred R., 1948
Hathorn, Walter B., 1926	Stevens, Francis J.Y., 1937
Hellberg, Johannes F.W., 1935	Stewart, John G., 1938
Homes, George N., 1931	Stuart, Walter B., 1924
Howes, William L., 1926	Swain, Jasper R.N., 1946
Jackson, Meredith S.S.G., 1930	Sweeney, Denis R.L., 1928
Johnston, Douglas F.I., 1938	Sweeney, George M.J., 1923

DEGREE OF BACHELOR OF LAWS—*Continued*

Tatham, Charles H., 1938	Torf, Abel M., 1948
Theunissen, Raymond H., 1942	Van den Berg, Jakobus P., 1942
Thompson, Eugene B., 1925	Whitelaw, Roderick W., 1923
Tomlinson, George C., 1928	

FACULTY OF COMMERCE AND PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION

DEGREE OF DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

Halliday, Ian G., 1943

DEGREE OF MASTER OF COMMERCE

Axelson, Charles E., (I), 1935	Holmes, Ivor Q., 1936
Busschau, William J., (I), 1932	Hurwitz, Nathan, (Dist), 1946
Ellison, Philip A., 1932	Planting, Johannes, 1944
Halliday, Ian G., 1939	

DEGREE OF MASTER OF ECONOMICS

Hayward, Marjorie G., (Dist), 1948.	Johanson, David E., 1944
Jamneck, Mattheus J., (Dist), 1942	Ringrose, Howard G., (Dist), 1948

DEGREE OF BACHELOR OF COMMERCE (HONOURS)

Allan, Ian K., 1947	Dark, Alastair H., 1947
Chambers, Robert D., 1947	

DEGREES OF BACHELOR OF COMMERCE
AND BACHELOR OF ECONOMICS

(An asterisk indicates that the student graduated as Bachelor of Economics)

Abernethy, Charles R., 1931	Borain, Lawrence W.A., (Ac), 1932
Adley, Charles (Co), 1930	Brown, Herbert J.L., 1933
Anderson, Clifford R., 1941	Brown, Philip C., 1944
Ash, Henry R., 1947	Buchanan, Langston L., 1945
Askew, Wilbert J., 1936	Buckle, Laurence A., 1946
Barnes, George R.G., 1947	Bunge, Johannes, 1946
Beck, Cyril, 1947	Burns, Arthur, 1929
Bennett, Neville E., 1947	Burton, Albert W., 1933
Berman, Jack, 1936	Calder, Valerie, (Co), 1927
Berman Paul, 1934	Cameron, Mary F., 1944
Birchall, Ronald J., 1940	Clarence, Jill, 1946
Bjorseth, Franz A.E., 1946	Clark, Clarice M., (B.M.), 1927

DEGREES OF BACHELOR OF COMMERCE
AND BACHELOR OF ECONOMICS—*Continued*

- Clark, Graham F., 1941
 Clark, Joan, F., 1935
 Clark, Lester C., 1935
 Clarkson, Cecil, 1932
 Clothier, Norman M., 1934
 Clynick, Desmond J., 1948
 Cohen, Morris, (Ec, Co), 1941
 Cowden, John W., 1935
 Currie, Moresby, (Co), 1936
 Damp, Douglas H., (Co), 1942
 Deighton, Peter E., (Co), 1944
 De Klerk, Stephanus B., 1936
 Delgado, Norman H.C., 1947
 Dell, Molly M., 1948
 Desebrock, Hans H.B., (Ec), 1936
 Drake, P.A.I., (Ec, Law), 1930
 Draper, Leslie F., (Co), 1946
 Dreyer, Alwyn J., 1944
 Drummond, Errol P., (Co), 1936
 *Ducat, Keith E., 1947
 Dyas, Dorothy W., (Co), 1942
 Dyson, Lilian M.J., 1941
 Eastwood, Freda H., (Co, Ec), 1934
 Eckhoff, Frederikke L., (Co), 1930
 Epstein, Howard J., 1948
 Everitt, Joyce F., (Co), 1930
 Farrell, Margaret M., 1929
 Field, Colin G., 1938
 Foley, Joan E., (Co), 1943
 Foreman, Alick M., (Co), 1928
 Forsdick, Albert B.M., 1946
 Franklin, Elaine S., 1946
 Friedman, Max N., (Ec), 1936
 Frost, Reginald C.S., 1933
 *Gallet, Frederic J., (P.B.), 1940
 Gibson, Laurence J., 1934
 Glover, Bertram S., 1936
 Goldberg, Joshua, 1933
 Goldstein, Montague C., 1947
 Goldwater, Phyllis R.E., 1948
 Gopaul, Narainsamy, 1948
 Gorven, Oswald D., (Ac), 1943
 Gray, John W., 1931
 Grice, Kathleen D., 1931
 Handley, Gloria R., 1948
 Hardwick, Donovan J., 1931
 Harley, John M., 1932
 Harris, Henry E., (B.M.), 1927
 Haugen, Harold E., 1933
 Haynes, Basil, J., (Co), 1940
 Henry, Alistair C., 1935
 Henwood, John Q., 1948
 Heron, Daniel, 1932
 Hind, Nora C., 1936
 Hitchins, Cyril G.P., 1934
 Holgate, Phyllis M., 1934
 Holness, Marjorie E., 1930
 Hopley, Nesta I., 1946
 Humphris, William F., 1933
 Huntley, John K., 1933
 Jackson, George C.W., 1939
 Jackson, Stanley, 1939
 Jacobson, Emanuel, 1933
 Jamieson, Gordon A., 1934
 Jenvey, Francis E., 1930
 Jones, John C.H., 1935
 Johnston, John C., 1928
 Kater, Nice, 1948
 Katzman, Shima, 1942
 Kelly, Eileen E., 1935
 Kichenside, Jack A.C., (Ac, Au, Law), 1930
 King, Arnold T.W., (Ac), 1931
 Kirk, John H., (Ec, Law), 1928
 Knight, Edna M., (Ec, Co, Law), 1927
 Knoesen, Josef S., (Ec, Co), 1936
 Koseff, Bernard, (Ac, Au), 1946
 Krinsky, Isaac, 1947
 Krog, Gabriel, 1947
 Laight, John C., (Ec, Co), 1928
 *Lander, Angela M., (B.M.), 1927
 Lander, Petal M., (Co), 1939
 Leeman, George C., (Ac, Au), 1948
 Leurs, Cornelius J., 1948
 *Lindsay, Thomas, 1943
 Looch, Adam A., 1937
 Lyle, Arthur J., 1931
 MacDonald, Catrione M., 1935
 MacMurray, Thomas C., 1939
 Magid, Henne, (Law), 1929
 Magid, Rachel, (Ec, Law), 1927
 Magid, Tavie, (Ac, Ec, Law), 1926
 Manicom, Kenneth H., 1947

DEGREES OF BACHELOR OF COMMERCE
AND BACHELOR OF ECONOMICS—*Continued*

- | | |
|---|--|
| Marcus, Thelma J., 1927 | Slatter, Edmund M.S., 1948 |
| Maret, France, (Co), 1941 | Smedley, Frank M., 1935 |
| Martin, Michael M., 1948 | Solomon, Zusman, (Ec), 1931 |
| Mason, Peter F., 1949 | Soper, Philip F., (Ac, Au), 1930 |
| Masterton, Sylvia E., (Co, Ec), 1943 | Sprinz, Fritz W.S., (M.L.), 1941 |
| McGillvray, Roy V., 1938 | Stacey, Norman B., 1936 |
| McKenzie, Angus G., 1932 | Steick, Leonard MA, 1946 |
| McLachlan, Alexander R., 1947 | Sternberg, Colin, 1933 |
| McLaren, Douglas M., (Ac), 1930 | Stewart, Elaine E., 1935 |
| McNaughton, Lionel W., 1938 | Street, Ian, 1934 |
| McQueen, Allan S., 1927 | Swan, Elsa A.M., 1934 |
| Mellor, Arthur J., 1933 | Tedder, Joan G., 1933 |
| Middleton, Desmond H., 1947 | Tees, Desmond G., 1934 |
| Millar, Gwendolen C., 1933 | Tees, Lancelot R., (Co), 1946 |
| Miller, Eric R., (Ec), 1940 | Thomas, Colin H., 1945 |
| Miller, Sylvia, (Co), 1932 | Thomas, Gordon F., 1939 |
| Milne, Cyril, 1942 | Thomas, Harry G.F., 1948 |
| Morrison, Ernest, 1946 | Thompson, Richard G., 1941 |
| *Ngcobo, Selby B., 1937 | Thomson, Frank A., 1936 |
| North, Colin G., 1928 | Thorne, Allison M., 1929 |
| *Ntusi, Durward M., 1940 | Thorp, Dorothy A., (Co, Ec, Law), 1932 |
| Oellermann, Rupert G., 1947 | Tomlinson, Charles E., (Co), 1930 |
| O'Mahoney, Desmond W.D., (Co, Ac), 1931 | Turnbull, Thomasina, 1928 |
| Paolo, Najieb, 1934 | Turner, Kathleen F., 1939 |
| Paton, Noel, (B.M. Law), 1926 | *Van Buuren, William A., 1946 |
| Pennifather, Elizabeth D.M., 1947 | Van der Westhuizen, Hendrik F., 1933 |
| Perrins, Blanche G., (Co), 1942 | Vermaak, Jacobus J.P., 1941 |
| Pickering, Eric D., 1945 | Vincent, Erie E., 1948 |
| Platt, Margaret, (Ec), 1929 | Walker, Ronald, 1942 |
| Pletnick, Aubrey A., 1941 | Walsh, B.V., 1930 |
| Puzey, Stanley H., 1939 | Walter, Henry E., 1932 |
| Reid, Robert M., 1930 | Warwick, George W., 1931 |
| Ridler, Dudley S., (Ec, Co), 1939 | Waters, Ian, 1948 |
| Rorich, Wilhelm M., 1939 | Watkins, Grahame W., 1948 |
| Rose, Irene M., (Ec), 1938 | Whitehead, Alec M., 1935 |
| Rouse, Dudley N., 1934 | Wilson, David, 1942 |
| Rouse, Reginald D., 1939 | Wilson, John E.J., 1932 |
| Rouse, Trevor B., 1929 | Wilton, Edwin G., 1927 |
| Royal, Harry E., 1937 | Wise, Dorothy C., 1932 |
| Royce, Raymond B., 1933 | Wood, Roger W., 1946 |
| Russell, Hazel, 1933 | Woods, Basil J.P., (Ec), 1948 |
| Sandilands, Sydney J., (Ac, Co, Ec), 1928 | Woodward, Herbert, 1933 |
| Shapiro, Hyem, 1933 | Woolfson, Lionel, 1948 |
| Skinner, Napier L.C., (Ac), 1945 | Yates, Leslie G., 1933 |
| Sklarchik, Joseph A., 1934 | Yeadon, Walter D., 1948 |

FACULTY OF ENGINEERING

DEGREE OF DOCTOR OF SCIENCE IN ENGINEERING

Phillips, William E., 1948

DEGREE OF MASTER OF SCIENCE IN ENGINEERING

Hellawell, Ronald A., 1948

Horn, Reginald P.S., 1948

Lurie, Harold, 1946

Ogle, John F., 1948

Phillips, Williams E., 1933

Watson, Robert J., 1935

DEGREE OF BACHELOR OF SCIENCE IN ENGINEERING

Abercrombie, Stewart, 1945

Adams, Arthur S., 1938

Adams, Hugh M., 1948

Adams, Kenneth A.H., 1940

Addison, John R., 1947

Alexander, Ronald F., 1946

Algie, Wilfed E., 1936

Anderson, Bernard, 1947

Anderson, David A., 1934

Armstrong, Stanley G., 1946

Arnold, Maurice, 1940

Asher, Peter J., 1946

Bacon, Eric J.C., 1931

Baker, Bernard M., 1928

Ballard, Derrick H., 1948

Bannister, Leslie G., 1944

Barnes, Frank H., 1938

Barrett, Arthur G., 1948

Bartha, Percival H., 1934

Barton, Robert H., 1930

Baudert, Friedrich R., 1931

Baxter, Frederick D., 1937

Bennett, Arthur P. V., 1947

Bennett, Edward L., 1944

Bennett, Victor G., 1942

Bibby, Eric W., 1938

Billinge, Frederick S., 1948

Bingham, Douglas W., 1948

Blackhurst, Donald M., 1942

Bohm, Leo, 1947

Bonia, Arthur H., 1938

Bonfa, Horace T., 1938

Bonfa, Norman, 1934

Bosch, Jacobus A., 1937

Bowles, Clive O., 1936

Boyle, Alexander D., 1939

Braby, Basil 1933

Brash, Frank A., 1947

Bremner, Alister, 1937

Brook, Denis W., 1944

Brown, Gresley S., 1948

Brown, Ronald G., 1947

Bryce, Muir R.D., 1948

Burger, Alfeus O., 1948

Burne, Dennis L., 1941

Burnett, Allan C., 1948

Camden-Smith, Derek W., 1947

Catchpole, Thomas D.H., 1935

Charlton, Hugh J., 1936

Chrystal, Eric A., 1935

Clarke, Leslie C., 1947

Clark, Anthony K.F., 1940

Cliff, Derick R., 1947

Coleman, Maurice, 1942

Comley, Ernest P., 1948

Conning, David J., 1948

Cowie, David I., 1947

Crowngold, Nathan B., 1948

Cullum, Noel J., 1936

Cullum, Stephen H.P., 1943

Cumming, Leslie B., 1946

Damant, Yvonne R., 1945

Danbrook, Kenneth A., 1945

Davidson, John A., 1935

Davis, Elsbury J., 1948

Deeb, Felix, 1944

Deeb, George A., 1947

Dottridge, Guy W., 1947

Douglas, Desmond A., 1940

Dwolatsky, Sydney, 1934

DEGREE OF BACHELOR OF SCIENCE IN ENGINEERING—*Continued*

- Dyer, John W., 1941
Edelstein, Hilliard B., 1948
Edmonstone, George R.B., 1937
Edwards, Ernest A., 1940
Egenes, Harold O., 1948
Ellis, John R., 1941
Emslie, Cyril M., 1928
English, Lionel S., 1945
Evans, Lewis N., 1934
Exter, Stephanus H., 1947
Fenn, Gerald C., 1948
Findlay, David N., 1939
Fletcher, Douglas M., 1942
Fletcher, Geoffrey H., 1936
Fletcher, John L., 1948
Fletcher, Norman C., 1933
Forte, Douglas R., 1940
Forte, Lancelot F., 1935
Franz, Philip M., 1944
Fraser, Dennis H., 1948
Frohlich, George, 1935
Frow, Edward G., 1938
Fyall, Douglas, 1934
Garstang, Anthony, 1948
Gee, Richard M., 1926
Gillan, Michael A., 1942
Glass, John W.A., 1942
Goddard, Harry F., 1943
Goulding, Ivan K., 1935
Granger, Neville A., 1945
Grant, Kenneth L., 1948
Grice, Richard C., 1947
Grose, John J., 1944
Grossert, James L., 1935
Gutridge, Austin, 1940
Hall, John M., 1947
Hamilton, Douglas J., 1948
Hands, Cecil G., 1933
Harrington, Winston F., 1939
Harris, Bryan I., 1934
Harrison, Kenneth R., 1943
Hauptfleish, George S., 1943
Haysom, Derek W.R., 1933
Hedgcock, Basil H., 1941
Hedley, Keith, 1938
Hendry, Reginald J., 1944
Henkel, David J., 1941
Herd, William R., 1934
Hermanson, Robert A., 1931
Hertz, Israel, 1940
Hesse, Francois M., 1947
Hickman, Michael H., 1933
Hill, Daniel R., 1948
Hill, Hector D., 1942
Hindle, Roy B., 1946
Hippert, Deryck G., 1938
Hitchins, Myles F., 1935
Hoffenberg, Hylton B., 1944
Hohls, Ewald A., 1942
HOLAING, Vernon C., 1949
Holzbach, Waldeman A., 1948
Hooper, John W., 1932
Hopewell, Cecil J., 1930
Hulley, Roy G., 1940
Irving, Hugh M., 1930
Jackson, Allan, 1943
Jackson, Edmund A., 1946
Jagger, Douglas T., 1943
Jagoe, Charles M., 1942
Jagoe, John F.H., 1946
James, Leslie H., 1943
Jeanes, Arthur E., 1946
Jinks, Cyril E., 1931
Johnson, Alastair W., 1948
Johnston, Roy O'D., 1948
Joubert, Jozua A., 1947
Judd, Cecil R., 1943
Kahn, Morris, 1945
Kenyon, Thomas B., 1944
Kitson, Ian D., 1941
Klintworth, Peter J.W., 1941
Klintworth, Wilhelm J., 1944
Klug, Benjamin, 1946
Kritzinger, Hendrik M., 1943
Kruger, Norman D., 1929
Laurence, Norman F., 1946
Leadbeater, Ronald H., 1943
Leeman, Eric R., 1941
Linde, Nils I., 1934
Lindsay, Gordon J., 1942
Lloyd, John H.B., 1933
Logeman, William A., 1943
Loudon, Alexander A., 1942
Lund, Basil G.A., 1942

DEGREE OF BACHELOR OF SCIENCE IN ENGINEERING—*Continued*

- Mackey, Terena C., 1946
 MacLean, Richard F., 1939
 MacLeod, Donald C., 1947
 MacLeod, Donald M., 1937
 MacLeod, Kenneth G., 1948
 Macmillan, Alastair H., 1927
 Mahon, Bernard K., 1944
 Maret, Maurice R., 1947
 Marriott, Edward B., 1934
 Martens, Herwald W., 1936
 Martin, Ronald, 1947
 Maskell, Alan D., 1948
 Mason, Vernon D., 1947
 Matthews, Samuel W.A.C., 1943
 McCullough, Stewart G., 1947
 McGibbon, Hugh P., 1938
 McIntosh, Charles S., 1948
 McKellar, Alan D., 1935
 McLaren, Ian, 1942
 McLeod, Arthur K.G., 1937
 Mees, Henry R., 1946
 Methley, John W., 1939
 Meyer, Ronwyn W., 1947
 Michel-Smith, John E.P., 1948
 Midgley, Desmond C., 1934
 Milner, Patrick H.T., 1947
 Milner, Solly M., 1936
 Mitchell, Robert, 1932
 Morphew, Allan G., 1940
 Morris, Guy T., 1936
 Morton, Thomas R., 1935
 Mullins, Dennis C., 1942
 Murray, Hugh Y., 1933
 Murray, Ian G.Y., 1934
 Myrdal, David C., 1947
 Naude, Willem S., 1946
 Nero, Kenneth M., 1945
 Nicholls, Sidney G., 1942
 Nicol, John K.J., 1948
 Niddrie, Albert A., 1940
 Norman, Eric V., 1944
 Norman, Dudley G., 1942
 Norris, Cyril W., 1946
 Norris, Peter R., 1947
 Nuyten, Peter, 1947
 O'Connor, Terence P., 1945
 Odendaal, Michiel W., 1947
 Okell, John C., 1948
 O'Mahoney, John R., 1935
 Orner, John W., 1948
 Osborn, Brian K., 1941
 Otto, Johan F., 1945
 Paice, Charles T., 1946
 Painter, David A., 1942
 Paola, Nasiem J., 1938
 Paterson, Hugh O., 1939
 Payn, Keith, 1947
 Payne, Alister A.S., 1948
 Pechey, Leigh H.C., 1946
 Perks, Brian E., 1945
 Pfothenhauer, Victor O., 1933
 Phillips, Frederick D., 1947
 Phelines, Roger F., 1939
 Phipps, Peter M.E., 1949
 Pineo, Roger M.B., 1945
 Pirie, Anthony N., 1944
 Player, Lewis O. B., 1939
 Plowden, Derek C., 1934
 Preen, Peter R., 1948
 Pullin, George H., 1936
 Radford, Norman A.W., 1943
 Rainbow, Henry H., 1930
 Ramsay, Ralph, 1946
 Rault, Alfred L., 1943
 Raw, Allan E., 1942
 Read, Lorenzo A., 1940
 Reed, Maitland, 1945
 Reed, Roy E., 1946
 Reid, David W., 1948
 Reid, William R., 1934
 Richards, Alfred W., 1948
 Richmond, Arnold J., 1935
 Ringelmann, Walter J., 1947
 Ripley, David C., 1936
 Ritchie, Ian F., 1944
 Rivalland, Marie J.G.L.F., 1943
 Robertson, Donald W., 1935
 Robinson, Basil T., 1945
 Roos, Pieter, 1941
 Rose, Alfred I., 1937
 Rose, Duncan M., 1939
 Rose, Edgar P.P., 1942
 Rose, Ernest C.W., 1936
 Rose, Phillip, 1945

DEGREE OF BACHELOR OF SCIENCE IN ENGINEERING—*Continued*

- | | |
|------------------------------|---------------------------------|
| Rowse, James E., 1935 | Swan, Howard M., 1932 |
| Salmon, Robert G., 1946 | Swann, Cedric R., 1948 |
| Salmon, Thomas C., 1935 | Tabone, Victor S.J., 1945 |
| Salmond, John L., 1941 | Temple, William W., 1943 |
| Saunderson, Douglas W., 1941 | Thesen, David R., 1948 |
| Savory, James H.R., 1925 | Thorne, Athol E., 1942 |
| Schefermann, Albert V., 1940 | Tad, Ian W.C., 1943 |
| Schmidt, Fredrich R., 1941 | Tomlin, Alan W., 1931 |
| Schmidt, Norman F., 1943 | Treloar, Bennett W., 1941 |
| Schmitz, Henry W., 1946 | Turner, Douglas H., 1940 |
| Schoeman, Dietlof S.M., 1938 | Tyrrell, Ernest F.H., 1936 |
| Sellers, James A., 1948 | Van den Heever, Daniel J., 1939 |
| Seymour, Wilfred J.M., 1947 | Van der Merwe, Gert J., 1937 |
| Shandel, Leslie A., 1944 | Van Dokkum, Jan, 1948 |
| Sharp, Geoffrey J., 1947 | Van Zyl, Adrian P., 1934 |
| Shaw, Patrick G.F., 1946 | Vercoe, Howard G., 1947 |
| Shepherd, William A., 1925 | Waddington, Lewis O'N., 1937 |
| Sherratt, Frank B., 1948 | Wadley, Trevor L., 1940 |
| Shorten, Carolus J., 1948 | Walsh, Maurice E., 1937 |
| Simpson, Denis, 1945 | Walter, Maurice W., 1948 |
| Simpson, Geoffrey S., 1944 | Wannell, Wilfred G.L., 1942 |
| Simpson, Robin N., 1943 | Warner, John S., 1947 |
| Simpson, Ronald N., 1937 | Webb, Reginald H., 1935 |
| Slater, Donald R., 1945 | White, Robert G., 1944 |
| Smith, Roy, 1941 | Wilkinson, Eric V., 1946 |
| Smith, Roy V.J., 1940 | Wilkinson, Geoffrey V., 1939 |
| Solberg, Karl F., 1940 | Williams Guy S., 1948 |
| Sole, Jack, 1932 | Williams, Owen J.R., 1941 |
| Sparks, Ernest N., 1935 | Willson, Kenneth I., 1943 |
| Spence, Colin M., 1942 | Wilson, Claude G., 1946 |
| Spence, Gordon A., 1933 | Wilson, John I.H., 1944 |
| Spence, William F., 1935 | Wilson, William W., 1941 |
| Stafford, Raymond C., 1948 | Wood, Roy W., 1948 |
| Stansell, Colin J., 1942 | Woodhead, Graham L., 1949 |
| Stanton, Ronald J.G., 1945 | Wylie, Stuart C., 1946 |
| Steel, Archibald M., 1925 | Wynn, Leonard R., 1937 |
| Stegen, Reina M., 1943 | Yelland, Desmond R., 1941 |
| Stein, Sylvester R., 1941 | Yelland, Herbert J., 1947 |
| Steven, Alan F., 1928 | Yuill, Kenneth B., 1941 |
| Street, Hallam, 1940 | Zausmer, Harry, 1929 |
| Sutherland, Alan C., 1936 | Zeitsman, Johan W., 1929 |

DEGREE OF BACHELOR OF SCIENCE IN LAND SURVEYING

Barnes, Ian S.S., 1948

Harwin, John M., 1948

DIPLOMAS

FACULTY OF EDUCATION

FIRST CLASS TEACHERS' CERTIFICATE, 1918–1923

Adams, William M., 1922	Hugman, Fanny M., 1918
Armitage, James P., 1923	Jameson, Kathleen B., 1920
Bangley, Margaret R., 1921	Kinsman, Isabel M., 1920
Bangley, Phyllis R.E., 1921	Laffan, Kathleen A., 1921
Banks, Eileen I.A., 1921	Lindsay, Gladys E., 1923
Bayer, Adolph J.W., (Dist), 1923	McPhee, Katharina S., 1921
Dent, Samuel R., (Dist), 1923	Marchant, Estelle, 1921
Dorey, Margaret, 1921	Iviarshall, Muriel F., 1923
Emanuelson, Oscar E., 1922	Pearse, Reginald O., 1922
Fishlock, Kenneth A., 1922	Peckham, Cyril E., 1923
Grundy, Eva, 1922	Perkins, Frances A., 1918
Holderness, Mildred H., 1923	Thorrold, Olive M., 1922
Holmes, Kathleen M., 1923	Thorrold, Rhoda J., 1922

GRADUATE DIPLOMA

(In 1923 the names of successful candidates were published in one unclassified list)

Adendorff, Michiel, C., 1948	Attwood, James H., 1934
Adnams, Joan, 1940	Axelson, Eric V., (I), 1934
Agar, Victor C., 1925	Balcombe, Oswald K., 1935
Akitt, Howard, (I), 1947	Ballance, Doris E., (I), 1929
Albers, John T., 1933	Ballenden, Marcia B., 1938
Alcock, Frances M.L., 1941	Banks, Doreen M., 1935
Alexander, George A., (I), 1927	Banks, Natalie M., 1925
Alexander, Phyllis M., 1929	Barden, Beryl N.A., 1936
Allison, Albert A., 1930	Barton, Dudley J.M., 1934
Allkins, Mary E., 1948	Bates, Agnes J., 1940
Allsopp, Blythe E., 1947	Bates, Bryan Q., 1940
Allsopp, Rosemary J., (I), 1944	Baudert, Friedrich R., (I), 1941
Allwright, Frazer L., 1930	Baxter, David G.J., 1 38
Anderson, Elizabeth M., 1939	Baxter, Hector M., 1930
Anderson, Helen E., (I), 1944	Bawden, Margaret D., 1936
Anderson, Mary G., (I), 1942	Bayley, Ethel M., 1924
Anderson, Nancy M., 1925	Baynes, Dorothy A., 1928
Armitage, Cyril J., 1923	Beater, Leila C., 1944
Armitage, Winifred G., 1937	Becker, Frederick J., 1947
Armstrong, George J., (I), 1924	Behn, Mona M., (I), 1934
Arthur, George V., 1931	Behrmann, Jessie E., 1942
Askew, Daphne L., 1947	Berruti, Aida F., 1939
Askew, Wilbert J., 1937	Besant, Blanche D., (I), 1946
Attridge, Henry L., 1926	Best, Rae W., 1935

GRADUATE DIPLOMA—*Continued*

- Bettie, Shirley A.S., 1948
 Beukes, Carl M.S., 1934
 Beukes, Petrus J.G., 1927
 Billing, Mary A., 1937
 Birch, Winifred M., (I), 1924
 Blake, William N., 1940
 Blakeley, Lorna J., (I), 1937
 Boden, Eric, (I), 1937
 Booyesen, Helene M., 1931
 Boshoff, Johannes L., (I), 1937
 Bourquin, Gernot, 1935
 Bowden, Norman W., 1930
 Bowman, Joan E., 1946
 Bowman, Maureen A., 1943
 Boyes, Margaret K., 1940
 Boyes, Mary I., 1936
 Brand, Muriel MA, 1932
 Brass, Eileen, 1924
 Bredenkamp, Mathys P., 1941
 Bremner, Jean D., 1938
 Brock, Natalie, 1923
 Brockelbank, Lilian, 1940
 Brookes, Arthur E., 1946
 Brooks, Elizabeth, 1948
 Brooks, Margaret M., (I), 1925
 Brown, Gertrude A., (I), 1937
 Brown, Nellie I., 1937
 Bryan, Nancy le M., (I), 1929
 Bryant, Ivie, (I), 1927
 Budde, Cornelius W., 1931
 Bullimore, Eleanor M., 1932
 Burchell, Joy M., 1938
 Blirk, Anton, 1946
 Burnett, Richard E.H., 1938
 Burrill, Joyce G., 1929
 Bush, Brenda K., 1933
 Bush, Sydney F., 1930
 Butler, Barry, 1933
 Butlin, Margaret S., 1943
 Buys, Bernardus R., 1933
 Byron, Ann R., (I), 1947
 Campbell, Margaret R., 1942
 Campbell, Mavis N., (I), 1940
 Canning, Nancy W., 1940
 Carey, Jean J.H., 1930
 Carr, Madeline F., 1935
 Castle, William M., 1945
 Chalsty, Pearl M., (I), 1925
 Chaplin, Walter G.T., 1936
 Chapman, Rosemary A., 1938
 Chater, Geoffrey, 1948
 Cheesman, Joyce E., 1925
 Christeller, Helene L., 1935
 Clarence, Noel D., (I), 1945
 Clark, Beryl G., 1933
 Clarke, Edith A., 1932
 Clarkson, Alison S., 1932
 Clarkson, Dorothy J., 1944
 Clemens, Margaretha A., 1945
 Cloete, Shirley M., (I), 1942
 Clulow, Herbert S., (I), 1927
 Coates, Sheila A., 1937
 Coblans, Herbert, (I), 1931
 Cockburn, David A., 1935
 Cockshoot, Jennie, 1942
 Commons Hector J. (I), 1938
 Corrigall, Ellen M.J., 1927
 Cosnett, Valmai, 1935
 Couzens, Dorothy L., 1941
 Crankshaw, Sybil G., 1948
 Cubitt, Jessie S., 1942
 Currin, Reginald O., 1946
 Dahle, Eric R., 1929
 Daller, Katherine M., 1932
 Davidson, Helen E., 1936
 Dawson, Olga B., (I), 1946
 Day, Charlotte K.O., 1931
 Dean, Kathleen H.C., 1924
 De Charmoy, Yvonne M., 1937
 Dent, George R., 1929
 De Villiers, Hendrik J., 1940
 De Villiers, St. Pol, Pierre L., 1933
 Devlin, Una R., 1947
 Dewar, Sheila A., 1933
 Dicks, Ruth J., 1937
 Dixon, Cicely I., 1937
 Dixon, Jack F., 1936
 Douglas de Fenzi, Leila A., (I), 1926
 Douglas, William K., 1939
 Downward, George W., (I), 1940
 Dowse, Irene J., 1939
 Drew, Sheelah K., 1935
 Drummond, Beatrice E., 1936
 Ducasse, Desmond V., (I), 1948

GRADUATE DIPLOMA—*Continued*

- Ducasse, Miriam A.I., 1939
 DuPlessis, Jan G., (I), 1928
 Dupree, Linda M., (I), 1944
 Durston, Gladys M., (I), 1926
 Dwyer, Laurence W., (I), 1929
 Dyer, Nora F., 1939
 Dyer, Phyllis E., 1942
 Dyson, Lilian M.J., 1932
 Edminson, Eric S., 1934
 Edmonds, Cynthia N., 1938
 Edwards, Ellen J., 1941
 Edwards, Neville S., 1948
 Egholm, Sigrid P., 1935
 Elgie, Beatrice K., (I), 1935
 Elliott, Valerie C., 1938
 Erasmus, Emile M., 1940
 Evans, Constance J.E., (I), 1929
 Fair, Thomas J.D., 1939
 Falck, Lydia de G., (I), 1938
 Fannin, Mary A., 1940
 Fannin, Ruth H., (I), 1938
 Farrant, Rosalie M.L.L., 1930
 Fearon, Allan C., 1937
 Fering, Leo R., (I), 1936
 Finlay, Isabella C., 1930
 Firth, Hilary F., 1938
 Fish, Raymond W., 1940
 Fitchett, Evin E., 1939
 Fleming, Evelyn B., 1935
 Florence, Florence I., 1928
 Flook, Enid A., 1933
 Forsyth, Eric F., 1932
 Forsyth, Raymond A., 1946
 Fourie, Herman C., 1937
 Fowle, Dulcie E., 1924
 Fowle, Estelle T., (I), 1930
 Fowle, Nelise J., (I), 1926
 Fox, Winifred E., (I), 1934
 Fox-Smith, Joyce, 1947
 Francis, Elizabeth J., 1939
 Francis, Eric P., 1929
 Francis, Ruth D., 1930
 Franldin, Francis A., 1924
 Fraser, Allison M., 1929
 Fraser, Colin M., 1926
 Fraser, Margaret I., 1930
 Frow, Eva O., 1936
 Frow, Grace M., 1931
 Fuller, Carmen A., 1940
 Fuller, Raymond E., 1929
 Gardyne, Eva M., (I), 1929
 Gatenby, Violet I., 1935
 Gavin, Margaret H., 1935
 Geldard, Eunice F.R., 1940
 Getliffe, Harry, 1932
 Gevers, Heinrich G.W., 1948
 Gillespie, Margaret E., 1928
 Girdlestone, Marjorie E., 1940
 Godefroy, Raymond, 1930
 Godwin, Phyllis J., (I), 1937
 Goodwin, George M.N., 1928
 Gordon, Josephine, 1934
 Grafton, Georgina E., 1939
 Grant, Archibald M., 1934
 Gray, Harold G., 1935
 Gray, William J.E., 1933
 Greenham, Rosalind E., 1940
 Gregory, Cornelia S., 1946
 Griffin, Cyril, 1931
 Griffith, Kathleen M., (I), 1931
 Grobler, Philippus du P., 1943
 Guy, Edith R., (I), 1924
 Haenen, Wilhelmus H., 1940
 Haines, John E., 1940
 Haltand, Bernice I.D., (I), 1942
 Haltand, Karl A., 1938
 Hallett, Evelyn T., 1930
 Hallowes, Francis M., 1934
 Halm, Sylva J., 1946
 Hammond, Enid, 1932
 Hancock, Florence D., 1927
 Hansen, Doris D., 1937
 Harcourt, Cyril D., 1946
 Hardaker, Percival, 1924
 Harker, John B., 1934
 Harms, Hermann L.W.H., 1934
 Harper, Iris G., 1936
 Harris, Ethel M., (I), 1925
 Harris, Marjorie L.M., (I), 1938
 Harrison, George W., (I), 1947
 Harrison, Tom C., 1940
 Hartmann, Gerald W., 1941
 Hartzenberg, Nona E.L., (I), 1943
 Hathorn, Shirley L., 1939

GRADUATE DIPLOMA—*Continued*

- Hattingh, Jacobus G., 1940
 Havemanh, Jacobus G., 1940
 Havemann, Cecilia F.E., (I), 1936
 Hawker, Henry R., 1928
 Hawkesley, Robert F., (I), 1925
 Hawkins, Frederick C., 1941
 Hawkins, Philip F., 1939
 Haysom, Noreen M.E., 1946
 Healey, Dorothy P., (I), 1941
 Hean, Jessie M.E.G., (I), 1934
 Heard, Kenneth A., 1942
 Heath-Brown, Guinevere A., (I), 1937
 Hebel, St. Mary P., 1933
 Hellberg, Johannes F.W., 1937
 Henkel, Margaret H., 1938
 Henkel, Ormond, 1939
 Henkel, Margaret H., 1938
 Henkel, Ormond, 1939
 Henley, Phyllis M.I., 1923
 Henwood, Helen M., 1947
 Hewitt, Ethel L., (I), 1928
 Higgins, Alleyne R., 1938
 Hillerman, Hans G., 1938
 Hime, Josephine E., 1934
 Hind, Nora C., 1937
 Hitchens, Joan A., 1933
 Hoch, Karl Hermann, 1927
 Hoch, Emma L.H., 1934
 Hoch, Frieda H.S.S., 1937
 Hodgson, Joan, 1937
 Hodsdon, Durand, 1937
 Hodson, Irene G., 1933
 Hodson, Norman G., 1930
 Holder, Eryl H., 1936
 Holgate, Arthur C., 1930
 Holliday, Constance, 1931
 Holliday, Marjorie, 1936
 Holmberg, Alec E.V., (I), 1947
 Holness, Marjorie E., 1932
 Holness, Joan E., 1935
 Hopewell, Cecil J., 1934
 Hopkins, James H., 1938
 Hosking, Cynthia M., 1942
 Hosking, Gerald A., 1940
 Houston, Sheila B., 1931
 Howden, Edith M., 1936
 Howden, Joan, 1939
 Hudd, Pamela U., 1937
 Hudson, Gwenyth M., 1942
 Hulston, Dulcie D., 1936
 Hunkin, Verona, (I), 1943
 Huntley, Kathleen D., 1939
 Hurcombe, Irene E., 1938
 Hurcombe, Ruth E., (I), 1939
 Hurley, Helena M., 1935
 Ingle, Laura E., (I), 1928
 Ingle, Norman P., 1925
 Ingram-Henley, Phyllis M., 1933
 Ireland, Doris M., 1923
 Irons, Ronald L., (I), 1939
 Ironside, Leslie E., 1939
 Jaaback, Gunnar, (I), 1925
 Jacobs, Patrick W.M., 1944
 Jacques, Noelle V., 1946
 James, Audrey E., 1941
 James, Eqna M., 1934
 Jarvis, Barbara J., 1938
 Jarvis, Mary E., 1937
 Johnson, Etienne M., 1934
 Johnson, Shelagh E., 1940
 Jones, Eric A., 1943
 Jones, Gladys M., 1928
 Jones, Ivor G., 1933
 Jooste, Socrates, (I), 1935
 Jordaan, Pieter W., 1940
 Kedian, Patrick J., 1943
 Keir, Mary, (I), 1943
 Kemp, Dorothy, 1939
 Kennedy, Michael M., 1930
 Kerby, Joan M., 1938
 Kidger, Joyce E., 1928
 King, Doris E., 1940
 King, Elizabeth N., 1948
 King, Kenneth F., 1931
 King, Sarah K., 1946
 Klingenberg, Albert H.A., (I), 1941
 Klingenberg, Ewald O., 1941
 Knox, Graham M., 1945
 Kolbe, George A., 1927
 Lambert, Beryl E., 1933
 Lambert, Edith L., 1940
 Lambert, Geoffrey, 1935
 Lamond, Marjorie E., 1942
 Lancashire, Jeannie M., 1931

GRADUATE DIPLOMA—*Continued*

- Langenhorst, Elfrida M.G., 1940
 Lang-Gordon, Phyllis P., 1940
 Langley, Dorothy E., (I), 1924
 Laight, Brandon, (I), 1932
 Larkan, Audrey D., 1936
 Larkan, Gladys A., 1940
 Larkin, Anthony E., 1947
 Larsen, Kari H., 1946
 Laver, Florence J., 1932
 Lawrence, Audrey E., 1933
 Leathern, Aideen M., (I), 1935
 Ledward, Monica N., 1944
 Leiper, Jean, 1932
 Leisegang, Sven E., (I), 1939
 Leisegang, Joy M., 1943
 Leroni, Prudence V., 1940
 Le Roux, Izak J., 1938
 Levinsohn Solomon, (I), 1939
 Levine, Alexander, (I), 1926
 Lewis, Evan T., 1935
 Liddell, Helen J.S., 1944
 Lilliecrona, Joan M., (I), 1936
 Lincoln, Grace E., 1941
 Lindahl, Bengt T., 1925
 Lindsay, Lorna G., 1940
 Lindsay, Mitchell H., 19a2
 Lindsay, Norma M., 1932
 Livingstone, Jane M., 1941
 Livingstone, John C., (I), 1924
 Lockhart-Ross, Sheila, (I), 1936
 Logsdon, Jean, B., 1944
 Logue, George D., (I), 1946
 Loudon, James G., (I), 1938
 Laurens, Susanna O. C., 1941
 Love, Isabel F., 1929
 Love, Jean, (I), 19 8
 Loze, Emilie, 1934
 Lundie, Harry, 1923
 Lundie, Marian J., 1937
 Luttrell-West, Pera I., 1943
 Lynch, Mary, 1943
 Lyster, Mary, 1936
 Lyttle, William M.F., 1929
 MacDonald, Rosemary K., 1946
 Macnab, Robert A., 1940
 Magni, Karl O., 1936
 Mair, Primrose H., 1944
 Malan, Jacob, 1930
 Mann, Denis R., 1938
 Mann, Valerie, (I), 1944
 Manning, Netta K., (I), 1929
 Marasas, Helen C., (I), 1924
 Marchant, Joan G., (I), 1925
 Maritz, Sherlock C., 1944
 Marr, Margaret H., 1934
 Marriott, Phyllis, 1925
 Marshall, Agnes, 1928
 Marshall, Edith, (I), 1927
 Marshall-Smith, Mary H., 1941
 Martin, Margaret, 1924
 Martin, Robert W., (I), 1928
 Martin, Ursula J., 1948
 Martin, Walter R., (I), 1945
 Marwick, Maxwell G., 1939
 Mason, Enid E., 1936
 Mason, Joan C., 1930
 McAlister, Joyce E., 1929
 McBride, Lilian, (I), 1939
 McCulloch, Evelyn M., 1940
 McElligot, Gertrude M., 1946
 McFarquhar, Roderick C., (I), 1935
 McGraw, Elizabeth T. F., 1941
 McIntyre, Kathleen I., 1941
 McIver, Alexander W., 1926
 McKenzie, Basil G., 1941
 McKenzie, Edith J., 1938
 McKenzie, Jean C., 1931
 McLaren, Marjorie P., 1923
 McLaren, Wallace H., 1933
 McLeod, Dorothy M., 1933
 McLeod, Gwendoline M., 1941
 McMichael, Thomas B., 1942
 McMillan, Sybil M., 1943
 Meehan, Nora, 1947
 Melville, Doreen R., (I), 1936
 Metcalf, Edgar S., 1925
 Millar, Mildred H., (I), 1924
 Miller, Henry S., 1924
 Mills, Lorrain C., 1947
 Milne, Eunice A., 1927
 Mitchell, Eileen B., 1931
 Mitchell, Raymond R., 1937
 Mitchell, Sheila. O., 1941
 Money, Una C., 1945

GRADUATE DIPLOMA—*Continued*

- Montgomery, Alexander N., 1940
 Moran, Sheila M., 1939
 Morgan, Llewela M., 1932
 Morgan, Morfydd S., 1926
 Morgan, Myfanwy A., 1930
 Morin, Louis E., 1924
 Morphew, Noel J.S., 1943
 Morton, John G., 1945
 Muirhead, Kathleen M., 1947
 Muirhead, Margaret C., 1943
 Muggleston, Betty A., 1938
 Muggleston, Marjorie A., (I), 1937
 Munro, Joyce A., (I), 1930
 Murray, Frances C., 1931
 Myklebust, Olav G., 1931
 Naude, Christina E., 1948
 Nero, Ralph L., 1939
 Nero, Solveig, 1939
 Newall, Amy, 1925
 Nichol, Marion, 1940
 Nicholson, Beryl, 1937
 Nicholson, James M., 1939
 Nicholson, Yvonne D., 1938
 Niddrie, David L., 1938
 Nienaber, Christoffel J., 1941
 Niven, John M., (I), 1942
 Noble, Robert D., 1934
 Norris, Enid E., (I), 1926
 Norris, Hazel V., 1942
 Nourse, Dennis G., 1940
 Nourse, Gordon B., 1937
 Nuttall, Neville E., 1925
 Oakley, Sheila M., 1935
 Odell, Beryl G., 1939
 O'Grady, Frances K., 1940
 O'Keefe, Norah I., 1926
 Olivier, Edna C., 1940
 Olivier, Francois G., 1937
 Olorenshaw, Ethleen A., 1931
 Opperman, Diederik J., (I), 1938
 Ormond, Norah W., 1941
 Oscroft, Frederick B., 1932
 Paine, Richard F., 1940
 Palframan, Frank T., 1937
 Palin, Osborne L., 1936
 Pallent, Daphne, (I), 1927
 Paola, Jameal J., 1940
 Parry, Alfred C.N., 1925
 Parry, Trevor L., (I), 1937
 Parsons, Muriel J., (I), 1940
 Parsons, Zilla K., (I), 1933
 Paterson, Mary C.B., 1945
 Paton, Alan S., 1923
 Payn, Petal J., 1936
 Payn, Phylis E.B., 1941
 Pearce, Roma N.A., 1936
 Peck, Kathleen N., 1937
 Pennington, Gerald O.M., 1946
 Perrins, Kathleen M., (I), 1935
 Pettersen, Rolf B.C., 1940
 Pitcher, Diana H., 1942
 Pollock John N., 1948
 Potgieter, Edith D., 1948
 Power, Lelia A., 1935
 Pretorius, Jan A., 1941
 Proud, Kenneth J., 1932
 Prozesky, Hermann A., (I), 1934
 Prozesky, Markus A.D., 1926
 Ralston, Joseph, 1936
 Rapson, Norma D., 1942
 Rasmussen, Doreen T., 1933
 Ravaisou, Audrey M., (I), 1 928
 Ravaisou, Margaret H., 1939
 Raw, Margaret M., 1936
 Rees, Olwen A., 1937
 Reinertsen, Luther E., 1948
 Rencken, Friederich H.A., 1947
 Reusch, Hermann F.M., 1946
 Reusch, Martin A.W., 1946
 Reynolds, John L., 1936
 Reynolds, Ruth D., (I), 1938
 Rhind, Irma. F., (I), 1938
 Rhind, Lucius W.E., 1932
 Richardson, Matthew, 1932
 Ries, Cornelius W., 1946
 Ries, Hartman E., 1927
 Rindahl, Willie O., 1931
 Ripley, Beryl I., (I), 1929
 Roberts, Douglas R., 1947
 Roberts, Elizabeth M., 1947
 Robertson, Jean Y., (I), 1936
 Robinson, Helen M., 1934
 Robinson, Rachel M., 1942
 Rohwer, Jurgen F.H., 1929

GRADUATE DIPLOMA—*Continued*

- Rose, Hilda L., 1939
 Rosen, Zillah, 1923
 Ross, Joan M., 1945
 Rouillard, Georgina E., 1935
 Rouillard, Virginia F., 1936
 Rouse, Francis A., 1937
 Rouse, Trevor E., 1931
 Russell, Norah T., 1948
 Salmond, Elizabeth C., 1935
 Sandler, Archie L., 1933
 Sandler, Max H., 1939
 Sansbury, Richard F., 1926
 Sargent, Muriel J., 1938
 Saville, Irene E., 1923
 Scannell, Johannes P., 1937
 Scheepers, Nicolaas G., 1943
 Schmidt, Wilfed H.O., (I), 1933
 Schmitz, Karoline E., 1937
 Scholtz, Dawid J., 1929
 Schroeder, Walter O.W., (I), 1940
 Schulze, Victoria L.I., 1937
 Schulze, Wilhelm K.E., 1937
 Schumann, Frederick H., 1941
 Schutte, Richard J.G., 1928
 Scobbie, Isabelle M., 1932
 Scogings, Timothy P.R., 1946
 Scott, Mona M., 1941
 Seymour, Kathleen H.M., 1934
 Sherratt, Peter H.P., 1946
 Sherwin, Irene M., (I), 1925
 Sherwood, Ivor J., 1936
 Short, Joseph J.V., (I), 1929
 Shuter, Cyril F., 1928
 Simpson, Muriel H., 1939
 Slater, Raymond G., 1941
 Smith, Dorothy L., 1945
 Smith, Earle C., (I), 1945
 Smith, Ivy E.F., 1927
 Smith, Margaret H., 1931
 Smith, Philippa R.L., (I) 1944
 Smith, Robert B., 1948
 Sparks, Hugh C., 1935
 Stead, Hugh W., 1933
 Stead, Margaret R., 1946
 Steenkamp, Willem P., 1942
 Steer, Robert C., 1933
 Steuart, Guy W., (I), 1940
 Stewart, Andrew J., 1940
 Stewart, Gordon W., 1934
 Steyn, Danie, 1944
 Stone, Ethel N., 1939
 Strachan, Mabel R., (I), 1925
 Strong, Jane N., 1937
 Strong, Rita, 1933
 Strong, Wilfred L., 1946
 Stuart, Jessie M., (I), 1924
 Stuart, Jessie M., 1930
 Stumpf, Edmund, (I), 1930
 Symons, Margaret L., (I), 1925
 Tait, Paul M., 1945
 Taitlebaum, Henrietta, 1933
 Tarboton, Joyce K., 1934
 Tatham, Elizabeth M., 1939
 Taylor, Auriel U., 1938
 Taylor, Constance J.M., 1941
 Taylor, Mavis L., 1946
 Tedder, Esme A., (I), 1927
 Tedder, Laurence C., 1928
 Terblanche, Joyce J., 1946
 Theobald, Leslie C.W., 1937
 Theunissen, Albert B., 1936
 Thibaud, Madeline A., (I), 1946
 Thomas, Greta E., 1933
 Thomas, Megan E., (I), 1938
 Thompson, Ellen E., 1941
 Thompson, Helena J., 1938
 Thompson, Kenneth St. A., 1942
 Thorrold, Ella M., 1926
 Thorrold, Ethel A., 1926
 Thorrold, Sydney A., 1933
 Titlestad, Karl M., 1924
 Titlestad, Victor A., 1924
 Tomlinson, Cecily J., 1933
 Tonkin, Ronald D., 1937
 Tremearne, Nancy C., 1946
 Trew, John B., 1936
 Trull, Joy, 1938
 Truscott, David G., 1925
 Turnbull-Davidson, Patricia V., (I) 1939
 Turner, Dorothy, (I), 1924
 Tyrrell, Catherine E., 1935
 Udal, Francis H., 1930
 Valentine, Eleanor M.F., 1937
 Van Heerden, Izak J., 1933

GRADUATE DIPLOMA—*Continued*

Van der Merwe, Jan H., (I), 1929	Webb, Marjorie J., 1936
Van Niekerk, Wessel J.J., 1938	Webb, Valerie, (I), 1943
Van Rensburg, Junae, 1945	Werndle, Dorothea A., 1941
Van Rooyen, Johan W.J., (I), 1943	West, Winifred A., 1946
Van Wyk, Johannes H., 1934	Wigg, Caroline T.T., 1942
Velleman, Doreen E., (I), 1941	Williams, Barbara O., (I), 1930
Veysey, Barbara, 1946	Williams, Berenice, 1944
Vosloo, Arnoldus F., 1941	Williams, Dorothy F., 1939
Walker, Daphne, 1945	Williamson, Anne, 1948
Wallace, Jean T., (I), 1938	Wilson, Frank G., (I), 1933
Wallace, Margaret E., 1946	Wilson, Stanley E., 1939
Walls, Jean E., 1947	Wilter, Hendrik B.K., 1928
Walsh, Mabel A., 1927	Wise, Dorothy C., (I), 1933
Walsh, Terence D., (I), 1926	Wise, Violet, (I), 1940
Ware, John C., (I), 1942	Withycombe, Daphne, 1939.
Wareham, Richard T.M., 1937	Woodiwiss, Claude A., (I), 1924
Warmington, Mary E., 1933	Woods, Brian J., 1947
Watson, Helen V.H., 1933	Woods, Lola M., 1931
Watts, Edna M., 1931	Worthington, Hazel M., 1938
Wayne, Lesley, (I), 1944	Wright, Phyllis G., 1939
Webb, Jean W., 1937	Wyllie, Eva I., 1933
Webb, Mabel M., 1939	Young, Lindsay M., (I), 1940

NON-GRADUATE DIPLOMA

(Some of these were subsequently converted into Graduate Diplomas
by students completing their degrees)

Ahern, Henrietta, 1943	Cameron, Mary F., 1938
Aitchison, Raymond G., 1936	Carlean, Ellen M., 1936
Allsopp, Alice E.E., 1942	Carter, Maurice B., 1936
Ambler, Rose H., 1934	Carter, Terence D.T., 1937
Antrobus, Penelope M., 1936	Chamberlain, Harold O., 1939
Bath, Dorothy G., (I), 1925	Chambers, Alfred, (I), 1941
Barnard, Rita F., 1943	Chambers, Ronald M., 1944
Bear, Elley A., 1937	Clark, Joyce M.W., 1936
Beater, Vivienne M., 1936	Clegg, Kathleen M., (I), 1926
Beattie, Sarah, 1926	Coady, Mary, 1945
Bernard, Ingeborg, 1946	Coombe, Arnold W., 1925
Brandt, Johannes M., 1943	Corrigall, Thomas L., 1935
Breeds, Edna M., 1925	Couper, Isabel L., 1948
Brown, Charles R., 1933	Crispe, Ellen F., 1934
Brice, Mercia E., 1947	Cullen, Nancy M., 1924
Buchanan, Ailsa J.F., 1934	Dell, Elaine R., (I), 1924
Bydawell, Ruth, 1929	Doidge, Evelyn, 1931

NON-GRADUATE DIPLOMA—*Continued*

- Doidge, Margaret, 1936
 Drew, Emrys C.C., 1933
 Drews, Ludwig C.R.J., 1942
 Druce, Allan T., 1939
 Elliott, Arthur C., 1948
 English, Margaret, 1944
 Evans, May, 1924
 Favell, Mildred W., 1928
 Fawcett, Mary K., 1927
 Fell, Desmond R., 1934
 Finlayson, Florence E.J., 1926
 Ford, E.E. Wallis, 1934
 Freedman, Jacob, 1937
 Fuller, Doreen H.M., 1932
 Gebers, Eleonore B., 1939
 Gericke, Irene E.E., 1944
 Goble, Madeline R., 1928
 Graham-Gerrie, E., 1925
 Gray, Norah E.M., (I), 1926
 Green, Charles S.T., 1938
 Handley, Felicity J.S., 1933
 Havemann, Shirley V., 1942
 Hesketh, Mary B., 1942
 Hinton, Miriam R., 1939
 Holman, John W., 1943
 Holt, Jack A., 1937
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