

*The Horticulturists,  
Freedom Radio  
and the Erase Erasmus Society*

*Pietermaritzburg-based protest  
against the Nationalist Government  
in the 1950s and early 1960s*

***Introduction and inspiration***

Pietermaritzburg, in the heart of the English-speaking, United Party-dominated Natal midlands, seemed an unlikely breeding ground for clandestine protest against Nationalist Party rule in the 1950s. The more apparent local battleground was northern Natal, where ‘Saps’ and ‘Nats’ clashed, physically and verbally.<sup>1</sup>

The midlands was, however, a stronghold of political opposition in the immediate post-war period. The War Veterans Torch Commando and the Anti-Republican League (ARL) were both strongly represented, with the ARL headquarters located in Pietermaritzburg. As their names suggest, these two organizations, operating as they did in the public domain, provide significant clues to the formation and function of the Horticulturalists and Freedom Radio — their secret ‘cousins’.

The ARL, which held its first convention in the Pietermaritzburg City Hall on 28 January 1956, was established to resist the apparently inexorable advance of the Nationalist republic, and the government’s general erosion of the Union constitution. For Natal white extra-parliamentary opposition, the 1950s was the decade of the mass meeting. This was typified by the Natal Stand protests in support of the entrenched clauses in the constitution.<sup>2</sup>

In the military domain the Horticulturalists and Freedom Radio drew considerable inspiration, and membership, from the Torch Commando. Its renowned leader, Battle of Britain ace Group Captain A.G. ‘Sailor’ Malan, had exhorted its members in October 1951: ‘You have joined this organisation because you know that our democratic freedoms are in danger’.<sup>3</sup>

For many Natal World War 2 veterans, especially those who had continued their service in the post-war Active Citizen Force (ACF), there was ample cause for complaint. Generally, it was felt that much of their wartime

achievement and sacrifice was being compromised by the Nationalists for blatant party political ends. This was apparent in the mothballing of battle-proven officers, such as Major-General Everard Poole, former General Officer Commanding the 6th South African Armoured Division, in favour of political loyalists who had in several cases evaded service or even conspired against the war effort.<sup>4</sup> All that was rotten in the Defence Force of that time was personified in the form of Frans Erasmus, Dr Malan's Minister of Defence. In old Natal military families his name is uttered with loathing to this day.

Natal regiments, with their strong British traditions and loyalty to the Crown, were specifically targeted.<sup>5</sup> Efforts to strip these regiments of distinctive insignia, items of uniform and ceremonial procedure were bitterly resented, and resisted.<sup>6</sup> In July 1957 a senior Defence Force staff officer saw fit to question the competence of ACF commanding officers, and the reliability of their regiments.<sup>7</sup> There is even circumstantial evidence, as yet uncorroborated, that the Nationalist Government of 1957–58 intended the complete disbandment of these regiments.<sup>8</sup> The disbandment, in 1954, of the 2nd Battalion of the then Royal Natal Carbineers, based in Ladysmith, was felt in some quarters to have been politically motivated, a possible manifestation of such a policy.<sup>9</sup>

These threats to the local regiments, with their heroic record and treasured Commonwealth links, prompted the formation of a University student group, the 'Erase Erasmus Society' in 1952. While members of this society seem to have become Horticulturalists a few years later, there was no direct link between the two organisations, they merely manifested a growing spirit of derision and defiance towards the National party government among English-speaking Natalians. The story of the 'Erase Erasmus Society' will be dealt with as a postscript to this article.

### *Horticulture with a difference*

It was in this climate of political tension and rampant Afrikaner nationalism, that the organisation known as the Horticulturalists was born in 1959,<sup>10</sup> although there was no documented causal link or formal inauguration.<sup>11</sup> It was established primarily as a so-called 'pressure group' of white professionals and businessmen in Pietermaritzburg and Durban; its apparent intention to draw attention to the government's increasingly draconian policies, and to embarrass it where possible.

The Horticulturalists' highly secretive, paramilitary organization served a dual purpose: the magnification of the supposed threat posed by the movement, and the maintenance of a confidentiality essential for members with civilian and/or military careers to consider.<sup>12</sup> Central to this organization was a pyramidal cell-structure, where, from the leadership to the rank-and-file, members only knew the identity of immediate contacts. The cells, comprising six to ten members, were closely-knit and interdependent.<sup>13</sup> However, in the streets of Pietermaritzburg it was not uncommon for acquaintances to publicly ignore each other to preserve their 'cover'.<sup>14</sup> The name 'Horticulturalists' was itself coined by *Sunday Times* correspondent Roy Rudden, in order to divert the attention of prying security force eyes. An alternative title was 'The Group'.<sup>15</sup> In February 1961 Rudden published the only contemporary report attempting an assessment of the movement's operations.<sup>16</sup>

Documents seized by the police in May 1961 reveal several points of specific military-style planning, for example, explosives, codes and communications.<sup>17</sup> It is difficult to establish the extent to which such alleged planning was implemented, but one prominent Horticulturalist veteran recalls the

existence of arms caches and missions to establish the feasibility of capturing key utilities in the event of a crisis.<sup>18</sup> One leading member reportedly devised an ingenious method of sabotaging the electrified rail network: a V-shaped metal standard to be dropped onto the overhead wires and picked up by the train's pantograph, ripping the wires.<sup>19</sup> Was it a coincidence that the Government reputedly moved all rolling-stock out of Natal at one point?<sup>20</sup>

Despite the strong military flavour evident in both the Horticulturalists and Freedom Radio, there is no concrete evidence that either seriously considered military action, and only one Horticulturalist veteran remains adamant that such a course of action (in support of secession) had any hope of success.<sup>21</sup> The option of resisting the Government with force was, however, raised several times. An ARL meeting at Hilton in July 1956 was told: 'Had you known all this (deprivation of liberties) in 1948, you would have taken arms and smashed this Nazi menace'.<sup>22</sup> In the case of Freedom Radio such sentiment included the envisaged sabotage of the World's View radio transmitter.<sup>23</sup>

Despite this fringe talk of military insurrection, quickly squashed by the predominating moderate group in the case of the Horticulturalists,<sup>24</sup> the movement's activities in reality revolved around the often heated political meeting circuit. The republic referendum campaign again provided the motivation. In Pietermaritzburg it was seldom necessary to protect anti-republican speakers, as was the case in northern Natal, but rather to pack pro-Government meetings and grill the Nationalist speakers. Typical of such meetings was one held in the City Hall on Monday 19 September 1960, addressed by the Minister of Transport, Ben Schoeman. 'God Save the Queen' was sung defiantly on this occasion.<sup>25</sup>

On another unspecified occasion, a sympathetic Pietermaritzburg corporation employee engineered an unscheduled blackout in the City Hall, and gleeful Horticulturalists sprayed the crowd with fire-hoses.<sup>26</sup> The fervour that motivated a movement such as the Horticulturalists during this period can be gauged by the turnout of 20 000 – 25 000 at the 'Midlands Thunder No' City Hall anti-republic rally on 26 September 1961.<sup>27</sup> It represented a level of white political mobilization probably not seen before or since. On a lighter note, soon after the establishment of the dreaded republic, several Horticulturalists raided the Colonial Buildings in Church Street for (British) Union flags that had once flown from public buildings in the province.<sup>28</sup>

The 'away games' probably represented the Horticulturalists' greatest challenge. At short notice cell leaders could mobilize members, usually via telephone, into convoys bound for the Nationalist strongholds, particularly Newcastle and Glencoe. The response was enthusiastic and immediate.<sup>29</sup> At Glencoe the Horticulturalists probably came closest to realizing the calls to military action promoted by some of its members. They often had to form defensive cordons to protect their speakers, and weapons such as bicycle chains and baseball bats ensured that such gatherings seldom ended without several participants in Dundee Hospital.<sup>30</sup> At such meetings Horticulturalists from the relatively 'safe' urban centres came to appreciate the often brutal nature of Nationalism.<sup>31</sup> During the referendum campaign the Horticulturalists also took their campaign to such minor centres as Ixopo where, on 29 September, Nationalist MP 'Blaar' Coetzee had to endure the hostile attentions of some 700 anti-republicans who had packed his meeting to the almost total exclusion of his own supporters. Coetzee was taunted with 'God Save the Queen', as usual, 'Sieg Heil', and to add insult to injury, 'Stinkblaar', 'Stinkblaar'.<sup>32</sup>

*Pietermaritzburg's first community radio station?*

If the primary purpose of the Horticulturalists was to infuriate the Government rather than present any real threat, then for Freedom Radio this was doubly so. While Freedom Radio also carried much the same political and military baggage as its cousin, its more anglophile message was delivered with an ever-increasing menace. Black and Afrikaner Nationalism, were both perceived as threats, and the official parliamentary opposition, possibly unfairly, ridiculed as a failure.<sup>33</sup>

The words 'This is Freedom Radio — the voice of Natal', introduced by a few bars from Beethoven's 5th Symphony, specifically selected because of its association with World War 2 resistance to Nazism,<sup>34</sup> prefixed increasingly hostile attacks on the Government, especially after the republic had become a *fait accompli*. The first of two selected extracts from a broadcast tentatively dated 14 May 1961, sketches a chilling and doom-laden forecast of Natal's future under an Afrikaner Nationalist republic. The second makes an uncomfortable comparison between Verwoerd's administration and the Nazi regime which the wartime Nationalists had at least tacitly supported:

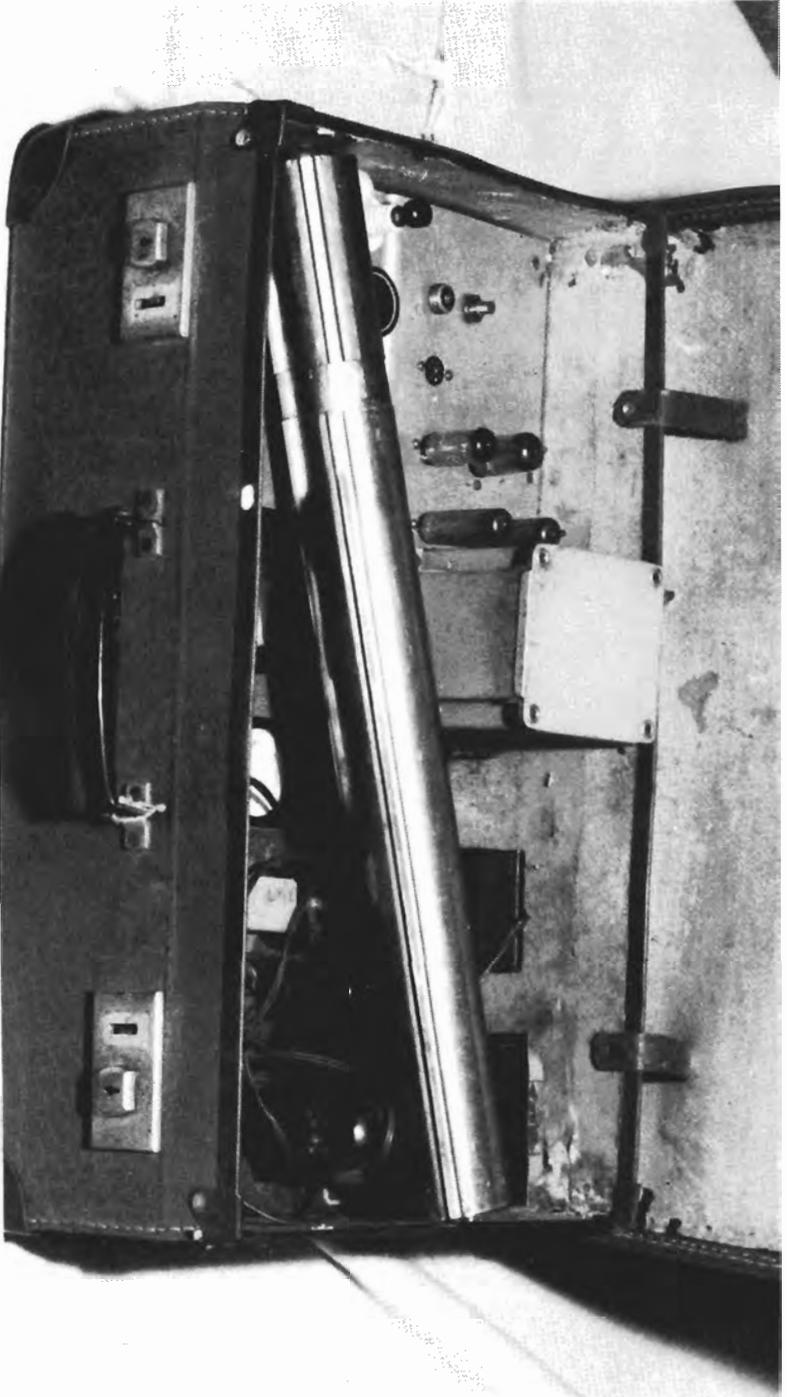
You cannot go into a laager with the Afrikaner Nationalists, that's a policy of desperation, and in any case, it will only last for a couple of years, but will end suddenly with bloodshed, and chaos, and violence.

And now, remember, that though the Government looks strong, it is now at the height of its power, it cannot increase its power any further, it can only become more mad and more ferocious, and ultimately strangle itself in its own rot, as Hitler did, in his bunker, in Berlin.<sup>35</sup>

The evidence of Freedom Radio's later years reveals a volatile cocktail of calls for resistance and secession, as well as challenging questions of conscience. For example, for those who understandably balked at defying the Government and thereby breaking the law, Freedom Radio tested listeners with a searching analysis of the distorted relationship between legality on the one hand, and right and wrong, in a country that was perceived as 'rotten'.<sup>36</sup> This was a far cry from the milder texts of 1956. In May of that year, for example, Freedom Radio had questioned the Nationalist Afrikaner interpretation of South African history.<sup>37</sup> The stakes were raised three months later when the then Prime Minister, J.G. Strydom, was dubbed 'the Little Nasser of Naboomspruit', in a reference to the Egyptian leader who was defying the British and French over control of the Suez Canal.<sup>38</sup>

The advent of Freedom Radio, at about 8.35 p.m. on Sunday 15 April 1956, was announced with a notice placed on the door of Pietermaritzburg's St Saviour's Cathedral,<sup>39</sup> and reported in the *Natal Witness* on the following Tuesday.<sup>40</sup> From this date the Natal press was to diligently, even enthusiastically, record its periodic appearances until prohibited by law from doing so in June 1961.<sup>41</sup> A Pietermaritzburg resident had stumbled on the transmission while searching for Lorenço Marques Radio. In Churchillian style it was announced that 'we will fight them on the radio, we will fight them in the shops (this referred to the boycott of Afrikaner-controlled businesses) and in the offices, we will fight them on our streets . . . we will never surrender.'<sup>42</sup>

Although there is evidence that transmissions were made from as far afield as Mid-Illovo, Durban and even Johannesburg, the major locations were in



A Freedom Radio suitcase transmitter, donated to the Natal Museum in 1994, after nearly ending up in the Msunduzi, its owner still apparently nervous of retribution.

*(Photograph: Nic Raddiman, KwaZulu-Natal Provincial Museum Service)*

Pietermaritzburg and its immediate environs.<sup>43</sup> Broadcasts were scripted and recorded in advance (Friday for Sunday), and often delivered via a courier to a contact at Kean's Tearoom, then on the corner of Longmarket and Timber Streets near the Reid's Building.<sup>44</sup> The transmitting apparatus was located in two suitcases, one holding a reel-to-reel tape recorder, and the other the transmitter with its disassembled aerial. There were apparently several such sets.<sup>45</sup> At least one of them was built by a technician at Reid's Radio who was sworn to secrecy.<sup>46</sup>

For reasons of security, every effort was made to minimize the likelihood of announcers being identified. Those with distinctive voices, for example, were a risk, and at least one person was replaced for this reason — everyone recognized him immediately.<sup>47</sup> A clear, neutral voice (i.e. no 'Natal accent') and crisp articulation was called for.<sup>48</sup> The voice on the tape in the writer's possession satisfies these criteria perfectly, and has so far defied all efforts at identification. On at least one occasion, in July 1956, a woman reader was used.<sup>49</sup> Only slightly less mysterious is the identity of the scriptwriters. One likely candidate is Mark Prestwich, then senior lecturer in the Department of Historical and Political Studies at the University of Natal, Pietermaritzburg, from 1957 to 1963 and subsequently head of department from 1963 to 1967.<sup>50</sup> A comparison of contemporary *Natal Witness* editorials reveals a distinct similarity in style to the surviving Freedom Radio transcripts.

Transmitting teams, apparently selected at random and at short notice, had to find suitable, and varied, locations. Factors to consider included the limited range of the portable, car battery-powered apparatus, and the constant risk of discovery.<sup>51</sup> Identified broadcast sites included Town Bush Valley, Hilton, the slopes of World's View, and a house in Mkondeni, close to the university's Ukulinga Research Farm.<sup>52</sup> On only one occasion was Freedom Radio late for its scheduled 8 p.m. or 8.30 p.m. broadcast. The site chosen was a farm managed by one of the broadcasting team. The idea was to wait until after work when the elderly couple who owned the farm would be going out for the evening. However, they only departed some time after 8.30 p.m., and there was a frantic rush to set up the equipment, with the aerial being slung over the nearest tree.<sup>53</sup>

Security, as always, was a major concern, and wherever possible, sites were chosen with good fields of vision, in case of intruders, and avenues of escape. At the Mkondeni house a water-tower served as a lookout post,<sup>54</sup> and the escape route, to the main road at Polly Shorts, traversed the farm of one A.E. Claasen, a staunch Nationalist — an irony indeed.<sup>55</sup> There was also the constant threat of infiltration by the police.<sup>56</sup> Even families became entangled in Freedom Radio (and Horticulturalist) security arrangements. One Freedom Radio wife recalls the phone-tapping, road-blocks and other forms of surveillance that contributed to the tension and vigilance that became a feature of those times. Equally important, in this context, was the maintenance of a normal domestic routine.<sup>57</sup> Road-blocks were a particularly awkward complication. At sites such as Town Bush Valley the equipment had to be concealed in bushes and retrieved later because the police often searched cars returning to the city after broadcasts.<sup>58</sup>

Apart from the police, the Post Office also joined the state's futile, and often amusing, efforts to locate the Freedom Radio transmitters. A Post Office 'detection' van, despatched from Pretoria, roamed the streets of Pietermaritzburg on Sunday evenings attempting to establish a fix. They were only able to get as close as 'the immediate vicinity from which the broadcasts were made,

but not the exact spot. It was on the outskirts of Maritzburg.<sup>59</sup> One night several intrepid Freedom Radio activists infiltrated the Post Office premises in the city and 'doctored' the loop-shaped antenna on the detection van so that it would not read accurately.<sup>60</sup> It would appear that the diligence of the authorities knew no bounds. In September 1956, perplexed staff at a Bernard Price Institute for Geophysical Research field station near Piet Retief were raided by the police. The research officer was grilled for six hours and two weeks worth of work ruined. Apparently the station's radio apparatus (used to relay seismic data to the Institute's headquarters at the University of the Witwatersrand) used a wavelength close to that used by Freedom Radio.<sup>61</sup> Another abortive security force tactic was the selective interruption of electrical power to city electrical sub-stations. The theory was that if Freedom Radio stopped, it could be narrowed down to a certain area. It was not likely to prove a success because the equipment was portable and battery-powered.<sup>62</sup> Although Freedom Radio was never 'captured', it often became necessary to suspend broadcasts hence their sporadic occurrence.<sup>63</sup> The information concerning the efforts of the detection van came to light during the evidence of Mr P. P. du Plessis, the hapless Post Office engineer responsible, at a curious 'treason trial' held in the Durban Regional Court between September and November 1961.<sup>64</sup> One of those accused was 65-year-old Gladys Lee from Pietermaritzburg, a stalwart campaigner against Nationalism. Incredibly, she was sentenced to R200 or 50 days for inciting malicious damage to property.<sup>65</sup>

Earlier in 1961 recordings of Freedom Radio had been confiscated from the Carbineer Street flat of E. Brian Stuart, political reporter on *The Natal Witness*.<sup>66</sup> These recordings, and others played at the Durban trial, have been lost, and those in the writer's possession appear to be the only surviving examples.<sup>67</sup>

The Horticulturalists collapsed within months of the establishment of a republic in May 1961, with an increasingly bitter Freedom Radio surviving a little longer. Once the republic was a *fait accompli*, the next logical protest step was agitation in favour of Natal secession, if necessary with military support from ex-servicemen and the province's traditional ACF regiments.<sup>68</sup> However, there existed neither the physical resources nor the willingness to accept, in good conscience, the likely consequences of such a drastic option. Most members of both organizations had deep roots in a local community that found it difficult to accept open resistance to the state, however repulsive that state's policies were. Essential local business support was reportedly withdrawn at a critical juncture, with the prospect of central government sanctions and/or a local civil war probably a decisive deterrent.<sup>69</sup> Politically too, the call for secession was doomed. At a meeting in Capetown with the British High Commissioner, Sir John Maud, probably in 1961, to gauge potential British support for an independent Commonwealth Natal, a Horticulturalist deputation was told in no uncertain terms that such a dispensation would have to include *all* Natalians. This was unacceptable to the majority of the province's white electorate.<sup>70</sup>

### Conclusion

Despite the intensity of the turbulent political era that spawned them, the achievement of the Horticulturalists and Freedom Radio was modest. As it turned out, the Nationalist Government colossus was not to be deterred by infuriating radio broadcasts and setbacks suffered on the campaign trail, and

independent Natal action was never viable. The next traumatic 30 years would demonstrate how much more it would take to realize some of the ideals of the two organizations. Mention has been made of the inherent limitations of both but there were several further weak links. Most obviously, there was no definite place for black South Africans, other than Freedom Radio's talk of a qualified franchise, and generalised condemnation of their treatment under Nationalist rule: 'the Government shamefully misuses, degrades and humiliates non European South Africans.'<sup>71</sup>

The constituency of both organizations was prominently white and English-speaking, and this factor directed much of the anti-Government protest. The omission of blacks was perceived as a problem at the time because their lack of political voice, but the exclusion of Afrikaners, intentionally or otherwise, can be construed as a major weakness, within the context of the times. Generally, it was felt in many quarters that if Nationalism was to be defeated, it had to be on a national scale. Also, ignoring Afrikaners meant the alienation of many of the most stalwart opponents of Nationalism.<sup>72</sup> Despite the best of intentions, the jingoistic baggage carried by the Horticulturalists and Freedom Radio meant that neither was able to realize the potential of full-scale resistance. Nevertheless, their story of clandestine, and sometimes unintentionally humorous, protest loomed fairly large in Pietermaritzburg and the Natal midlands.

In June 1962 the *Natal Witness* commented, in a haunting editorial entitled 'Watching for the Dawn', that 'the pessimism of opposition supporters has reached its nadir, and the political skill of the ruling party is regarded with superstitious awe'.<sup>73</sup> Did this reflect a mood of psychological capitulation in the face of apparently futile resistance, that could have contributed to the demise of such early extra-parliamentary protest, despite the continued rejection of Government policies?

### *Erasmus under fire*

As far as protest was concerned, several students on the Pietermaritzburg campus of the University of Natal were not to be outdone. While the activities of the Horticulturalists and Freedom Radio were usually cloaked in tension and mystery, there had existed on campus in the early 1950s a society that attacked the Government in a spirit of pure fun. This was the Erase Erasmus Society (a rough translation of its Latin motto 'Iste Erasmus Est Eradendum'), also known as the Society for the Prevention of Mr F. C. Erasmus.<sup>74</sup> Established in April 1952, the target was Dr Malan's controversial Minister of Defence, already notorious in Natal by that time for his efforts to emasculate or destroy the traditional, English language ACF regiments.<sup>75</sup>

According to a manifesto and five-point plan compiled by the society's 'General Assembly' on 10 April, and apparently sent to Erasmus himself, the idea was to laugh the minister out of office by mocking everything he stood for and his every action.<sup>76</sup> The organizers informed the student newspaper, *Nux*, that 'the society is purposely ridiculous, that it is not a political body but a "petty pestilence"'.<sup>77</sup> In the words of Mrs Sheila Henderson, 'what humour we had to our politics in those days.'<sup>78</sup>

However, the society's apparently frivolous nature masked serious sympathy with the Torch Commando's protest against constitutional change, and, of course, Erasmus's tampering with the Defence Force.<sup>79</sup> A publicity campaign against Erasmus was designed to coincide with the Torch Commando's preparations for mass protest in Durban on 6 June 1952.<sup>80</sup> On that day a special

'crisis edition' of *Nux* was distributed, pairing Dr Malan with Hitler, and C.R. Swart, then Minister of Justice, with Himmler.<sup>81</sup> On a Saturday morning in early May, Pietermaritzburg 'awoke to find a cardboard figure supported on wires stretched between two Longmarket Street lampposts. The figure was dressed half in naval, half in military uniform . . . and had a sign 'Erase Erasmus' attached.'<sup>82</sup> This was the highlight of the Erase Erasmus campaign, and in an 'investiture' held on the back of a lorry parked opposite the City Hall a week later, the culprits were rewarded by the society with the Order of the Unofficial Campus.<sup>83</sup> On Thursday 24 April an effigy of Erasmus had also been burned on campus.<sup>84</sup> The society's committee even included a 'Quarter-mistress', whose presumed job was to clothe the mannequins for such rituals.<sup>85</sup>

The Erase Erasmus Society was allowed to fade away when it was pointed out that its activities were embarrassing the Principal, Dr E.G. Malherbe, who at the time was fighting to save the Medical School from closure because it admitted students of colour. There had been rumours that Malherbe, as General Smuts's wartime head of military intelligence, possessed damaging material on Erasmus, and was behind the Erasers.<sup>86</sup>

So ended the Erase Erasmus Society, but in April 1958 there was an equally amusing sequel when the man himself visited Pietermaritzburg to address a political meeting at the City Hall. The temptation was too great, and in memory of the Erasers, over 100 students greeted Erasmus with a blockade of Durban Road outside the University gates. Forming a solid wedge, the students marched his convoy slowly down Durban Road, with the side-roads also blocked. At Alexandra Road he was able to escape and enter the city via the station and Church Street. Not done yet, the students gate-crashed the meeting with a black-draped coffin emblazoned with the word 'freedom'.<sup>87</sup> In a biting satire on Erasmus's problematic visit, entitled 'Un erased Erasmus New Campus Hero', *Nux* of April 1958 described his reception as follows: 'Flocking across the street the students cheered and waved banners and palms, and some were seen holding broomsticks in the air with delight. F.C. appeared quite overcome with emotion.'<sup>88</sup>

## NOTES

1. Interview, Mrs Sheila Henderson 21 October 1993.
2. *The Natal Witness*, 21 March 1951 and 11 February 1954.
3. Dering Stainbank Papers, writer's collection.
4. See *The Sunday Times*, 27 November 1960.
5. *The Natal Mercury*, 28 November 1960 and 1 February 1961.
6. Commandant J.P. Edmonds to Officer Commanding, Natal Command, 24 April 1961.
7. Edmonds to Commandant-General H.B. Klopper, 11 July 1957.
8. Brigadier J.G. Willers to the writer, 28 June 1994.
9. Henderson, 21 October 1993.
10. Colonel Peter Francis to Dr. Paul Thompson, 10 January 1984.
11. There are, in fact no written records at all, with this research relying largely on oral testimony.
12. Francis to Thompson, 10 January 1984, and Francis to the writer, 29 December 1993.
13. Interviews, Tim Kerby, February 1992; Dering Stainbank, 12 February 1993. *The Sunday Times*, 5 February 1961.
14. Interview, Peter Barnard, 4 December 1994.
15. *The Sunday Times*, 5 February 1961; interview, Roy Rudden, 2 November 1994.
16. *The Sunday Times*, 5 February 1961.
17. *The Natal Witness*, 14 September 1961.

18. Interview, Stainbank, 12 February 1993.
19. Interview, Barnard, 4 December 1994.
20. Ibid.
21. Interview, Stainbank, 12 February 1993.
22. *Federal News*, July 1956.
23. Interview, Miss Pamela Reid, 10 February 1993.
24. Interview, Stainbank, 12 February 1993.
25. *The Natal Witness*, 20 September 1960.
26. Interview, Kerby, February 1992.
27. *The Natal Mercury*, 27 September 1960.
28. Interviews, Barnard, 4 December 1994; former member of Freedom Radio, 25 July 1994.
29. Interview, Stainbank, 12 February 1993.
30. Francis to Thompson, 10 January 1984; interview, Mrs Daphne Clarke, 7 December 1993.
31. Interview, Henderson, 21 October 1993.
32. *The Natal Witness*, 30 September 1960; interview, former member of Freedom Radio, 14 December 1993. 'Stinkblaar' (lit. smelly leaf) is the common Afrikaans name for *datura stramonium*.
33. *The Natal Witness*, September — October 1961; Freedom Radio transcripts 14 May 1961 and 21 May 1963, writer's collection; interview, 21 October 1993.
34. *The Natal Witness*, 17 April 1956, 31 October 1960 and 7 November 1960.
35. Freedom Radio transcript, c.14 May 1961, writer's collection. The laager mentality was also mentioned by United Party M.P. J. Hamilton Russell in *The Natal Witness* of 12 April 1961.
36. Freedom Radio transcript, c.21 May 1963, writer's collection.
37. *The Natal Witness*, 11 May 1956.
38. *Federal News*, August 1956.
39. Interview, Reid, 10 December 1993.
40. *The Natal Witness*, 17 April 1956.
41. *The Natal Mercury*, 19 June 1961.
42. *The Natal Witness*, 17 April 1956.
43. *Federal News*, May and August 1956; interview, Stainbank, 12 February 1993.
44. Interview, Reid, 10 December 1993.
45. Interviews, Reid, 10 December 1993 and former member of Freedom Radio, 25 July 1994.
46. Ibid.
47. Interview, former member of Freedom Radio, 14 December 1993.
48. Interview, Reid, 10 December 1993.
49. *Federal News*, July 1956.
50. Interview, Reid, 10 December 1993. Biographical detail from *Natalia*, 15 November 1985, pp. 100–102.
51. Interviews, Reid, 10 December 1993 and former member of Freedom Radio, 25 July 1994.
52. Interview, former member of Freedom Radio, 25 July 1994.
53. Interview, Reid, 10 December 1993.
54. Interview, Mrs Zoe Boreham, 16 March 1993.
55. Interviews, Barnard, 4 December 1994 and former member of Freedom Radio, 14 December 1993.
56. Interview, Kerby, February 1992.
57. Interview, Boreham, 16 March 1993.
58. Interview, former member of Freedom Radio, 25 July 1994.
59. *The Natal Witness*, 19 September 1961.
60. Interview, former member of Freedom Radio, 25 July 1994.
61. *The Natal Daily News*, 4 September 1956.
62. Interview, former member of Freedom Radio, 25 July 1994.
63. *The Natal Witness*, 16 June 1958; interview, former member of Freedom Radio, 25 July 1994.
64. *The Natal Witness*, 6 to 28 September, 25 October and 28 November 1961; *The Natal Mercury*, 12 and 14 September 1961; and *The Natal Daily News*, 18 September and 28 November 1961.
65. *The Natal Witness*, 28 November 1961.
66. Ibid, 26 May 1961.
67. *The Natal Witness*, 14 September 1961; Enquiry, State Archives Service, Intermediate Archives Depot, Durban, 6 September 1994.
68. Interview, Stainbank, 6 May 1993; Freedom Radio transcripts, c. 14 May 1961 and c.21 May 1963, writer's collection.

69. Interview, Stainbank, 6 May 1993.
70. Francis to Thompson, 10 January 1984.
71. Freedom Radio transcript, c. 21 May 1963, writer's collection.
72. Interviews, Senator Jannie Moll, 25 June 1993, and Clarke, 7 December 1993; Sheila Henderson, 'Douglas Mitchell (1896–1988): A Personal Memoir,' in *Natalia* 19 December 1989, pp. 64–69.
73. *The Natal Witness*, 2 June 1962.
74. John Mitchell to writer, 24 May 1994; *Nux*, 26 June 1952; *The Natal Mercury*, 18 April 1952.
75. Interview, Senator Charles Henderson, undated.
76. *The Natal Mercury*, 18 April 1952.
77. *Nux*, 26 June 1952. Also, *The Natal Daily News*, 25 April 1952.
78. Sheila Henderson to the writer, 29 June 1994.
79. Mitchell to writer, 24 May 1994; Dr Keith Hunt to writer, 20 April 1994.
80. Mitchell to writer, 24 May 1994.
81. *Nux*, 6 June 1952; Mitchell to writer, 24 May 1994.
82. *The Star*, 10 May 1952.
83. *The Natal Mercury*, 19 May 1952.
84. *The Natal Daily News*, 25 April 1952; Mitchell to writer, 24 May 1994.
85. *The Natal Mercury*, 18 April 1952.
86. Mitchell to writer, 24 May 1994.
87. Dr John Vincent to writer, 15 June 1994. Mitchell to writer, 24 May 1994.
88. *Nux*, April 1958.

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