

Stella Aurorae: Establishing KwaZulu-Natal's First University

The early quest for university education

KwaZulu-Natal's first fully-fledged university, the University of Natal, was established sixty years ago, on 15 March 1949. The Natal University College from which it developed came into existence a century ago, on 11 December 1909. Such an institution had first been envisaged as early as the mid-nineteenth century, though from the beginning, given the colonial time and place, the intention was to advance white (and initially male) education. The issue of contention was where the university should be sited – in Durban or Pietermaritzburg. In September 1853 a group of prominent citizens launched the Durban Mechanics' Institute and, within three years, there were expectations that

it might develop into a 'young men's university'. By the 1850s there were already more than 500 such Institutes in Britain, originating in Glasgow for the purpose of providing working men with part-time adult education. Like so many of them, their Durban counterpart 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.¹

In 1858 the more established and affluent Cape Colony took the first meaningful step towards the creation of a university in southern Africa when it set up a Board of Public Examiners. Its function was to examine and issue certificates to candidates prepared by secondary schools in the fields of Literature and Science, Law



Main Building, NUC, Pietermaritzburg

and Jurisprudence, and in Land Surveying, Engineering and Navigation. This was followed in 1873 by the establishment of 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, prescribing syllabi and evaluating students prepared at secondary institutions such as the South African College (1829) in Cape Town and the Victoria College (1866) in Stellenbosch. In 1877 Queen Victoria granted the University a Royal Charter, theoretically endowing its degrees with the same status as those conferred by British universities.²

In the same year, acting on the recommendations of an 1873 commission of enquiry, Natal's Lieutenant-Governor, Sir Henry Bulwer, took time off from the looming crisis culminating in the 1879 Anglo-Zulu War to draft legislation intended to launch a 'Royal College of Natal'. His hope was that this would eventually provide local access to university-level ed-

ucation but the Colony's money-conscious white elected representatives rejected the proposal as premature. They did at least agree to finance a 'home university exhibition' to send a Natal scholar for tertiary training in Britain. Less fortunate aspiring graduates could still take advantage of the 1875 Cape University Extension Act which enabled the University of the Cape of Good Hope to hold examinations outside that Colony.

The subsequent 1896 Cape University Incorporation Amendment Act extended membership of the University's Council to Natal, Free State and South African Republic nominees, in exchange for annual contributions to its expenses. From 1897 Natal took up the offer, by which stage several of its high schools were providing post-matriculation tuition for local Cape of Good Hope candidates. These included the Durban Ladies' College and Durban High School, Michaelhouse, Girls' Collegiate in Pietermaritzburg and Maritzburg College. It was the latter institution which was to provide the Natal University College with its first modest accommodation.³

The Natal University College established

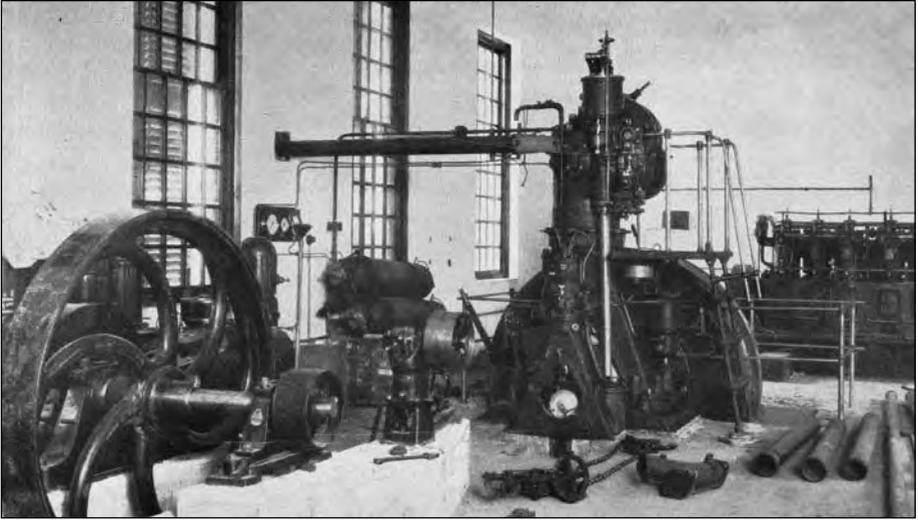
When the Colony of Natal's Government at last, in its twilight years, recognised the need for locally-based tertiary education its immediate concern was to provide appropriate technical training. What Brookes has described as 'a surprisingly utilitarian bias' was really quite understandable in view of the efforts which had been made in that direction since the 1850s and the practical needs of a colonial economy struggling to emerge from a severe post-Anglo-Boer war (1899-1902) recession. The Natal Technical Education Commission appointed late in 1904 was, predictably, dominated by members with technical interests, not least its chairman, Sir David Hunter, Manager of the Natal Government Railways. Notable exceptions were W.J. O'Brien, who was later to feature prominently in university development, and C.J. Mudie, Natal's Superintendent of Education. His liberal arts background induced him to withdraw from the Commission before it had completed its deliberations and subsequently to submit a minority report. This reinforced the dualism which had already characterised the debate about university development in the region. There was unanimity that a University College should be established in Pietermaritzburg but 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. Mudie disagreed, firmly advocating one university campus, with bursaries for promising Durban matriculants to attend there. 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.⁴

The two Reports were simply shelved without being discussed in Parliament, possibly due to indecision as to how the expectations of the two centres might be reconciled. It was more likely attributable to a severe shortage of government funds in the wake of ambitious expenditure on public works during the earlier war-time boom, the heavy cost of re-organising colonial defences under the 1903 Militia Act and the additional financial burden of counteracting a major outbreak of east coast fever in 1904. In April 1907, while officialdom prevaricated, Dr S.G. (Sam) Campbell convened an enthusiastic meeting of Durban citizens in his Berea home to discuss the establishment of a 'Technical Institute'. Chaired by local businessman Sir Benjamin Greenacre and including Sir



Colin Webb Hall as Library, NUC, Pietermaritzburg



Mechanical Engineering Lab, NUC, Durban

David Hunter, this gathering was a clear expression of the port city's perceived need for practical tertiary education. In July 1907 the Durban Technical Institute came into existence, in 1915 renamed the Durban Technical College and in 1922 the Natal Technical College. In 1912 this new institution also began to produce candidates for examination by the University of the Cape of Good Hope, though it is evident that as early as 1907 Campbell and several of his associates hoped eventually to establish a university of its own for Durban.⁵

Instead, the resolute C.J. Mudie seized the initiative by persuading his friend and superior, Natal's Minister of Education, Dr C. O'Grady Gubbins, to appoint yet another education commission in January 1909. Seven months later, after Mudie had fed it detailed proposals, this body reported in favour of establishing a university college in Pietermaritzburg, with no mention of extending similar facilities to the port. In the same year a teachers' training college was established in the colonial capital. By then, there were clear indications of an economic upswing in the region, to the

extent that the Colony's Government had £30,000 to spend on the university project. On 11 December 1909 it promulgated the Natal University College Act, shortly before ceasing to exist in favour of Union on 31 May 1910. In this way the Natal University College was formally established, exclusively for the admission of white matriculants. It 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, Grey University College (1907) in Bloemfontein, the Transvaal University College (1906) in Johannesburg (in 1910 renamed the South African School of Mines and Technology) and the Transvaal University College (1910) in Pretoria.⁶

From College To University

It took the Natal University College nearly forty years to achieve full university status. In 1916 the Universities of Stellenbosch

(formerly Victoria College) and of Cape Town (formerly the South African College) were granted that distinction, both having been strengthened by substantial endowments. In the same year a new examining body, the University of South Africa based in Pretoria, was established to replace the University of the Cape of Good Hope. The new Natal University College was placed under its federal control, along with the Huguenot, Rhodes, Grey and Transvaal University Colleges, as well as the South African School of Mines and Technology. In 1921 a new Potchefstroom University College became affiliated but the South African Native College which opened in 1916 remained outside the federal structure and in 1953 was renamed the University College of Fort Hare.⁷

By then all of the constituent colleges which comprised the University of South Africa had attained full autonomy, except for Huguenot College which closed in 1950. For some, like the university college of Natal, that goal was not easily achieved. It did participate in the administration of the new University of South Africa, whose Council included a representative from the council and the senate of each constituent

college. It also enjoyed some measure of independence in that, unlike the previous dispensation, its own teaching staff now participated in constructing the syllabi and examined their own students, with the advice of external examiners, instead of assisting them in 'spotting' questions that were set and marked by remote strangers. In addition, within a few years it was authorised to conduct graduation ceremonies in Pietermaritzburg instead of dispatching graduands to Pretoria. The College was fortunate in the quality of the inaugural staff that it attracted, primarily from Britain, to take over lecturing duties from the Maritzburg College masters in the wood-and-iron building on school property set aside for this purpose. Professors Alexander Petrie (Classics) and R.B. Denison (Physics and Chemistry) arrived in April 1910. They were joined in August by other soon-to-be local legends in J.W. Bews (Botany and Geology), Osborn Waterhouse (English and Philosophy), W.N. Roseveare (Pure and Applied Mathematics), Ernest Warren (Zoology and already Director of the Natal Museum), Gerrit Besselaar (Modern Languages and History) and Robert Inchbold (Law). These



Senior Physics Lab, NUC, Pietermaritzburg



University Hall, NUC, Pietermaritzburg

appointments established a careful balance between the arts and sciences in the courses that were initially offered.

The Pietermaritzburg City Council provided the College with an imposing site for a home of its own in the form of 18 hectares in Scottsville. Classes continued to be conducted at Maritzburg College, but also at the Natal Museum (Zoology) and upstairs in the City Hall, while the £30,000 allocated by the Natal Government shortly before its demise was used to construct the first building on the highest point of the Scottsville campus. In August 1912 the 'Clock Tower' or 'Old Main' Building, designed by local architect J.C. Tully, was officially opened. Initially there were insufficient funds to furnish it adequately and no accommodation was provided for a caretaker, cleaners or laboratory assistants. Students had to lodge in the private dwellings that were being built in the campus neighbourhood. Finance proved to be a recurring nightmare for the College as state funding was almost always in short supply, student numbers (57 in 1910) and the fees they paid were uneconomically low and other sources of income almost non-existent. Notable exceptions were

the contribution made by the Natal Law Society towards the salary of the Professor of Law and the donation of books and of funds towards a Librarian's salary with which to start a Library by the family of Peter Davis junior.⁸

The Natal University College suffered even more severe financial hardship during World War I (1914-18.) Student enrolments declined to 36 in 1916, the 'Clock Tower' Building, except for its science laboratories, became a military hospital, and its Arts classes were transferred to the former Natal Government Railways offices in town. This was followed by a post-war phase of significant expansion, with student enrolments rising to 115 in 1919, a Department of Fine Arts and a women's residence being added in 1922 and another for men in 1929. In Durban closer relations were developed with the Technical College, where from 1922 full-time classes in Engineering and Commerce were held. The following year new chairs in Electrical Engineering, Mechanical Engineering and Commerce, together with a lectureship in Auditing, were filled by appointees who were employees of both Colleges. In the same year, with total student enrolments up

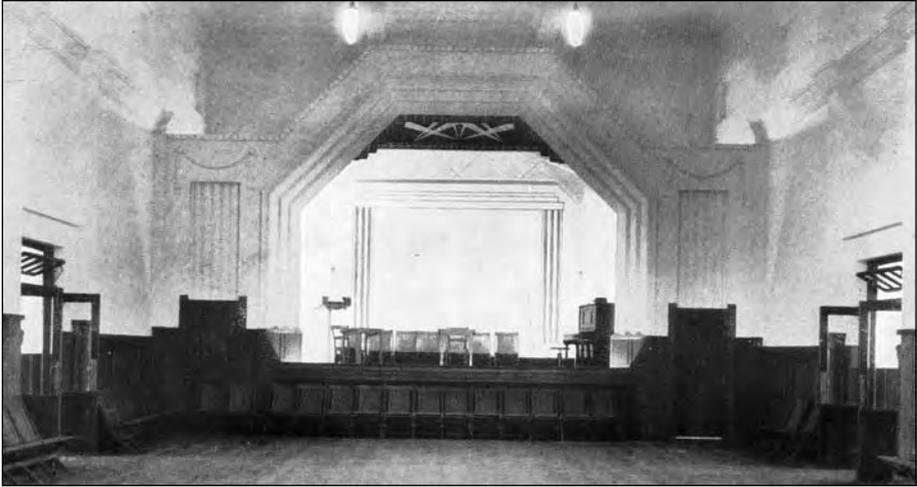
to 232, the cause of university education in Durban enjoyed a decisive financial boost. T.B. Davis, owner of a local stevedoring company (no relation to Peter Davis), donated £50,000 for the construction of what became known as 'Howard College' in memory of his son Howard who was killed on the Somme front during World War I. In 1927 part-time classes in Commerce were started at the Technical College but in 1931 the link between it and the University was weakened with the opening of the 'Howard College' building. Situated on an imposing 20-hectare site in the 'Stella Bush', donated by the Durban City Council, full-time university classes were firmly launched there. In 1936 part-time classes were transferred to what became known as the Oldham Building (named after the first head of Commerce and Administration) or 'City Building' in Warwick Avenue.⁹

By then dualism had been fully embraced as official policy, and clearly espoused by the University College's Principal, J.W. Bews (1928-38) the former Professor of Botany and Geology. In 1930 there were 337 students enrolled in Pietermaritzburg and only 143 in Durban. But in 1928 at

Inchanga, when Bews persuaded a wavering meeting of representatives from both centres that a dual-campus university was indeed viable, it was already obvious that the harbour city was the region's major population and commercial growth point and therefore the most likely future source of students and private donations. In 1932, with the latter in mind, Bews launched the Natal University Development Foundation (NUDF) and tried to strengthen ties with the local business community. He had no personal difficulty with the notion of dual campuses, having seen such structures functioning effectively at St Andrew's and Durham University. His vision for the future included incorporating the existing Adams College (for Africans) and Sastri College (for Indians) into a federal structure as well as the establishment of a Faculty of Agriculture in Pietermaritzburg (realised in 1949) and of a Medical School in Durban (opened in 1951 for black students only). Bews also gave his support to the indefatigable Mabel Palmer when she proposed part-time classes for what were termed 'non-European' students in Durban. The University College's conserva-



Howard College, NUC, Durban



Howard College Hall, NUC, Durban

tive Council and Senate reluctantly agreed to separate classes for such students, off-campus. From 1936 Palmer offered them in the belief that ‘separate’ was an improvement on none at all. They were held on Friday evenings and on Saturdays and Sundays at the nearby Sastri College, supplemented by an annual winter vacation course at Adams College south of Durban. The courses offered were primarily those leading to an Arts degree, then a novelty in Durban, and the students were mainly Indian teachers seeking to improve their qualifications and promotion prospects. Enrolments increased from an initial 19 to 130 by the mid-1940s and nearly 900 in 1960, the largest black university enrolment in South Africa, when the Nationalist Government forced its closure.¹⁰

Developments on the Natal University College’s Pietermaritzburg campus were more modest, with student numbers actually declining during the conservative principalship of R.B. Denison (the former Physics and Chemistry Professor) between 1938 and 1941. In 1939, for the first time, there were fewer students registered in Pietermaritzburg than in Durban – 418

compared with 440, including 49 ‘non-Europeans’.

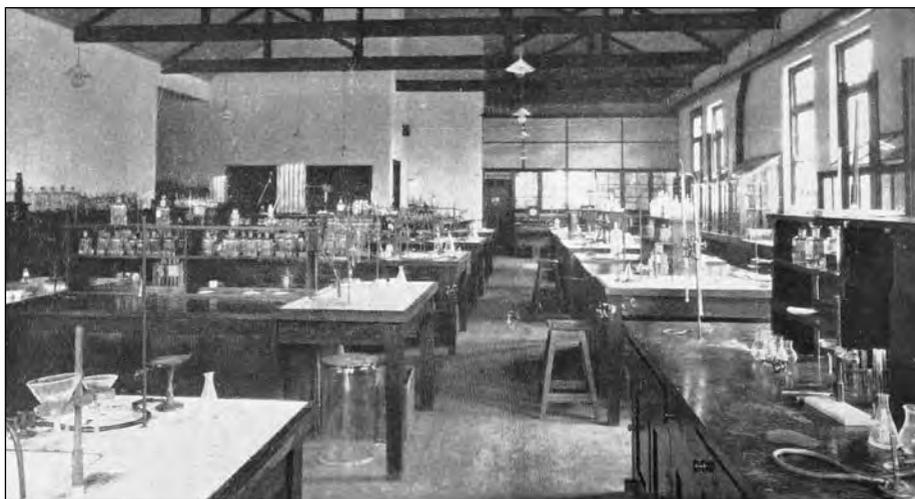
The impact of the Second World War (1939–45) on the College was far less severe than the First had been, though all universities were officially warned against undertaking expansionary programmes and no provision was made for bricks and mortar to accommodate the anticipated post-war influx of ex-servicemen. In 1944, for example, the State spent an average of £37-5s per university student compared with £55 in 1930.

Denison’s cautious stewardship was appropriate for the cash-strapped times, but unfortunately there was little in the way of forward planning that envisaged the College’s future as a dual or possibly even multi-campus institution. It needed the arrival of a new, more dynamic Principal from elsewhere to address the increasing, if uneasy, realisation that Durban’s rapid population growth demanded a full suite of university courses which extended far beyond the technical and part-time options currently offered there.¹¹

E.G. Malherbe – the final push

On his arrival the new Principal, E.G. Malherbe (1945–65), was astounded by the Natal University 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 broad higher education. In his view, it substantiated Prime Minister Smuts's observation 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 the province 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 donated by the Durban City Council and then valued at £177 000 could, with adequate funding, 'be developed into one of the most beautiful campuses in the world.'

Malherbe was determined to change the prevailing local mindset. Within a month of assuming office and attending his first Senate meeting, he announced his intention to secure independent status for the Natal University College. In an interview he 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 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. It raised fears in Pietermaritzburg that he intended to move the Natal University College in its entirety to the port. Coupled with rumours



Chemistry Lab, NUC, Pietermaritzburg



University Lodge – Men's Res, NUC, Pietermaritzburg

that the Natal Supreme Court might soon follow local Defence Headquarters to Durban, there was concern that the former colonial capital would 'sink to the status of a dorp'. It was, nevertheless, recognised that by the mid-1940s four-fifths of the province's white matriculants resided in or around Durban.¹²

In 1946 the Council of Natal University College formally advised the Department of Education and the University of South Africa that it would petition Parliament for full university status. The decisions taken in 1946 and 1947 to duplicate full-time Arts and Social Science classes in Durban clearly reflected Malherbe's commitment to the principle of dualism. In support of this the Council declared that '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....' In support of its claim to full university status, the Council pointed out that the College currently had 1 800 students 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 added that Rhodes currently had 1 100, the University of the Orange Free State 800, Potchefstroom 700 and Huguenot College 130.¹³ He coupled these developments with a vigorous campaign to raise £1.2 million worth of financial support over the next ten years in order to fund large-scale building programmes in both centres. Malherbe's personal connections with the post-war Smuts Government, his war-time service as Director of Census and Statistics as well as in Army Educational Services and Military Intelligence, and 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 to generate the skills so desperately needed for future economic development. He pointed out that the Natal University College was expecting to cater for at least 400 of the 3 200 ex-servicemen anticipating admission to South African universities.

By mid-1947 they actually numbered 650 in a total of 1 808 registrations and by 1948 overall student numbers had climbed

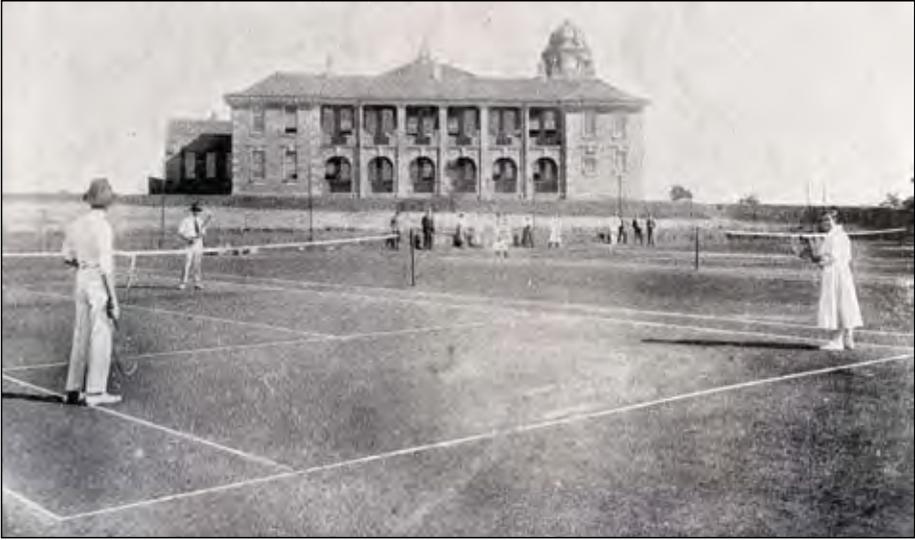
to 2 031 – 660 in Pietermaritzburg and 1 371 in Durban (including 342 ‘non-European’).¹⁴

Malherbe addressed numerous gatherings of businessmen, tapped the local sugar and wattle industries and made frequent weekend trips to rural centres in the effort to raise funds. At a meeting in Estcourt he suggested that a hundred communities in the province should try to raise £1 000 a year in memory of the fallen of World War II. His efforts were boosted by the announcement in February 1946 that Government had approved the establishment of a Faculty of Agriculture at the Natal University College but that a £55 000 shortfall would have to be met by public donations. After some dissension, the Pietermaritzburg City Council made a £10 000 grant, not specifically for the new Faculty, with the prospect of as much to follow in 1947. In November 1945 the City Council had already granted an additional 18 hectares east of Golf Road, near Epworth Girls’ School, where the new Faculty of Agriculture was to be situated. On 26 February 1946 male students began moving into the converted facilities at Oribi Military Hospital, on the outskirts of town, which Smuts had agreed to set aside as a university residence for between 200 and 300 ex-servicemen. In the Durban City Council there were objections to a proposed grant of £100 000 on the grounds that the Natal University College was not ‘a municipal institution’. In any event, the proposal was stymied by the Provincial Council’s decision to abolish the motor registration fee, which had been expected to provide the municipality with £67 000. By mid-1947 the Natal University College could rely on regular annual grants of £4 000 from the Durban City Council and £1 250 from Pietermaritzburg.¹⁵

Malherbe’s fund-raising successes (initially in excess of £150 000) ensured that

the Natal University College’s petition for university status more than adequately met at least one of the criteria which had been recommended for such elevation by the University of South Africa Commission, appointed in December 1946 to consider such applications. It also met the requirements in terms of student enrolments (nearly 2 000 compared with the stipulated 1 000), staff complement (163, including 26 professors), a now wide variety of faculties and departments generating good quality research, 116 post-graduate students, an impressive building programme in both centres and library and laboratory facilities that were at least considered ‘satisfactory’. The University of Natal (Private) Bill, which had been carefully drafted by Professor of Law, F.B. Burchell, the Registrar P.G. Leeb-du-Toit, Malherbe and others, passed through the necessary parliamentary stages early in 1948 and came into effect on 15 March 1949.¹⁶

Within six weeks the various faculty boards had been formally re-constituted and in Pietermaritzburg the Faculty of Agriculture was firmly launched. On the Howard College campus in Durban the facade, tower and south wing of 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 the Hon. Denis G. Shepstone had been installed as the University’s first Chancellor.¹⁷ Campbell and Shepstone were both eminent individuals, deserving of such recognition. Their names were also reminders of the University’s deep colonial roots, the former a member of a distinguished settler family, the latter Administrator of Natal (1948–1958) and grandson of Sir Theophilus. Indeed, it was one of several such institutions which, for



*Tennis courts where the Admin Building (formerly the library) now stands.
The early date of this photograph is suggested by the absence of the
large jacaranda tree in front of the building.*

all its initial limitations and narrow ethnic focus, nevertheless provided invaluable foundations which subsequent generations might develop, or erode.

Within a decade it was to find itself struggling to defend its hard-won, if incomplete, autonomy. The Nationalist Government's 1959 paradoxically-named Extension of University Education Act eventually deprived it of its small contingent of so-called 'non-European' students. It also nearly lost its 'blacks-only' Medical School, 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.¹⁸

BILL GUEST

NOTES

- 1 University of KwaZulu-Natal Archive (hereafter UKZNA) Malherbe Papers STP 6/10/4 A.F. Hattersley 'The early years of the Natal University College' (Unpublished Typescript, 1948) p. 1; *The Natal Star*, 5 March 1856; W. Rees *The Natal Technical College, 1907–1957* (Pietermaritzburg, University of Natal Press, 1957) pp. 11/12; *Jubilee historical sketch of the Durban Public Library and Reading Room* (Durban, Josiah James, 1903) p. 12; E.H. Brookes *A History of the University of Natal* (Pietermaritzburg, University of Natal Press, 1966) p. 1. Some of the information in this article appears in Brookes's groundbreaking *History* 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.
- 2 *Statutes of the Cape of Good Hope passed by the first Parliament, sessions 1854–1858*, see Act No. 4 of 1858 (Cape Town, Saul Solomon, 1863) p325; *Statutes of the Cape of Good Hope 1652–1905*, see Higher

- Education Act No. 16 of 1873; M. Boucher *Spes in Arduus: A History of the University of South Africa* (Pretoria, University of South Africa, 1973) pp. 40, 43; Brookes *University of Natal* p.1.
- 3 Hattersley 'The early years of the Natal University College' p. 1; *Statutes of the Cape of Good Hope, 1652–1905*, see University Extension Act No. 9 of 1875 Vol 1, p.1362 and University Incorporation Amendment Act No. 6 of 1896; Brookes *University of Natal* p. 2.
 - 4 Rees *Natal Technical College* p.5; Brookes *University of Natal* pp. 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, pp. 23–49.
 - 5 Rees *Natal Technical College* pp. 5, 34; Brookes *University of Natal* pp. 6/7; Guest 'Natal and the Anglo-Boer War' p. 46; B.M. Narbeth 'From a very small beginning', *The Natal Mercury*, 27 July 1931.
 - 6 *Natal University College Act* No. 18 of 1909; *University of Natal Calendar 1910* p. 1; UKZNA: File H 1/3/1–17 Gys Dubbeld 'A Chronology of the University of Natal' (Unpublished Typescript, nd); Brookes *University of Natal* pp. 8–11; F.C. Metrovich *The Development of Higher Education in South Africa, 1873–1927* (Cape Town, Maskew Miller, 1929) p. 13; Hattersley, 'The early years of the Natal University College' p. 2.
 - 7 *South African Parliament: University of South Africa Act, University of Stellenbosch Act and University of Cape Town Act*, Nos. 12, 13 & 14 of 1916 (See also Schedule No. 1 of Act No. 12); Boucher *Spes in Arduus; Stellenbosch 1866–1966* (Cape Town, Nasionale Boekhandel, 1966); R.F. Curry *Rhodes University, 1904–1990: a chronicle* (Grahamstown, S.N., 1970); *From Grey to gold: The first hundred years of the University of the Free State* (Bloemfontein, University of the Orange Free State, 2006); Bruce K. Murray *Wits: The Early Years* (Johannesburg, Witwatersrand University Press, 1982); *A Short Pictorial History of the University College of Fort Hare, 1916–1959* (Lovedale Press, 1961); Brookes *History of Natal*, pp. 23/24.
 - 8 A.F. Hattersley 'The University of Natal, 1909–1960' (unpublished manuscript) p. 15; A. Petrie 'NUC 1910' in *NUX*, 15 September 1945 p. 2; 'Natal University College: Description of the Building' in *The African Architect*, September 1912 p. 60; UKZNA Malherbe Papers SPP 6/10/8 Memorandum 'University Land Requirements: Provision for Future Expansion – Pietermaritzburg' 10 April 1962; UKZNA File H 1/3/1–17, containing *The Natal Witness* 'Learn with Echo' Supplement No. 231, 6 April 1995; Brookes *History of Natal* pp. 12–16; for an account of Library development at the NUC see Nora Buchanan 'A history of the University of Natal Libraries, 1910–2003' (PhD, UKZNA, PMB, 2009).
 - 9 UKZNA File H1/3/1–17 Dubbeld 'Chronology of the University of Natal'; Hattersley 'University of Natal, 1909–1960' p. 3; Rees *Natal Technical College*, p. 130; Narbeth 'From a very small beginning' p. 2; Brookes *History of Natal*, pp. 17/18, 26–31.
 - 10 UKZNA File H1/3/1–17 Dubbeld 'Chronology of the University of Natal'; George W. Gale *John William Bews* (Pietermaritzburg, University of Natal Press, 1954); William Bizley 'John William Bews: a commemorative note' *Natalia* 14, 1984 pp. 17–21; *University of Natal Gazette*, November 1955 p. 36 – Retirement of Dr Mabel Palmer; M. Palmer 'How non-European classes began at Natal University' letter in *The Natal Daily News*, 15 March 1957 p. 15; S. Marks (ed) *Not Either an Experimental Doll* (Pietermaritzburg, University of Natal Press, 1987) p. 5; UKZNA Natal University College Students' Union 'Memorandum submitted to the Natal Indian Judicial Commission' (Unpublished Report, n.d.) p. 3; Brookes *University of Natal* pp. 38,40–7.
 - 11 UKZNA Malherbe Papers BIO–P3/2/1 *The Natal Witness* 4 April and 11 September 1944, 16 April 1945 'University of Natal', *The Natal Mercury* 11 August 1944 and 15 May 1945 (Editorials); Dubbeld 'A Chronology of the University of Natal' p. 3; Brookes *University of Natal* pp. 48–51.
 - 12 UKZNA Malherbe Papers BIO–P3/2/1 *The Natal Witness*, 29 December 1944,

- 16 April 1945, *Natal Mercury*, 6 July 1945; E.G. Malherbe *Never a Dull Moment* (Cape Town, Howard Timmins, 1981), pp. 290, 293; Brookes *University of Natal*, p. 66.
- 13 UKZNA Malherbe Papers BIO-P3/2/1 *The Natal Daily News*, 1 August 1946, *The Natal Witness*, 18 July and 3 August 1946; *South African Parliament Universities Act No.12 of 1946*; Dubbeld 'Chronology of the University of Natal'; Brookes *University of Natal*, pp. 57,59.
- 14 UKZNA Malherbe Papers BIO-P3/2/1 *The Natal Mercury*, 3 June 1947, *The Natal Daily News*, 6 March 1954; Dubbeld 'Chronology of the University of Natal'; Brookes *University of Natal*, p. 58.
- 15 UKZNA Malherbe Papers BIO-P3/2/1 *The Natal Witness*, 13, 16, 20, 22 February and 26 March 1946; *The Natal Mercury*, 18 September 1945, 13, 19, 20 February 1946, 3 June 1947; Malherbe Papers Press Cuttings 1942-48 SP 6/12/1-15 *The Farmer*, 22 February and 15 March 1946; Bill Guest 'The Establishment of a Faculty of Agriculture in Pietermaritzburg 1934-1949' *The Journal of Natal and Zulu History* 26, 2008 pp. 60-80.
- 16 UKZNA Malherbe Papers BIO-P3/2/1 *The Natal Witness*, 2 July 1947; *South African Parliament, University of Natal (Private) Act No.4 of 1948*; Malherbe *Never a Dull Moment* p. 305; Brookes *University of Natal*, pp. 66-73.
- 17 UKZNA Senex Minutes 28 April 1949, pp. 8/9; Senate Minutes 24 June 1949; Dubbeld 'Chronology of the University of Natal.'
- 18 T.R.H. Davenport and Christopher Saunders *South Africa: A Modern History* (London, MacMillan Press Ltd, Fifth Edition, 2000), pp. 398, 680/1; Brookes *University of Natal* pp. 87-92.