

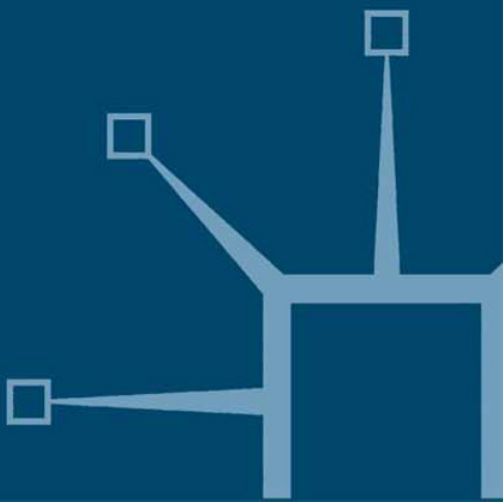
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# A SCHOOL IN AFRICA

Peterhouse and Education in Rhodesia and  
Zimbabwe

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Alan Megahey



# A SCHOOL IN AFRICA

*Also by Alan Megahey*

THE IRISH PROTESTANT CHURCHES IN THE  
TWENTIETH CENTURY (2000)

HUMPHREY GIBBS, BELEAGUERED GOVERNOR:  
Southern Rhodesia 1929–69 (1998)

A HISTORY OF CRANLEIGH SCHOOL (1983)

PETER HOUSE. ZIMBABWE



Ed: 0.10

Chats April 2005

## Note on the Jubilee Memorial Window (shown in the frontispiece)

The memorial window above the great west door of the chapel (geographically on the south front of the building), marks the school's Golden Jubilee and commemorates the many people who have contributed to our community. Its design and execution are the work of Jacques Loire, master glassmaker of Chartres at his studio close to the famous Cathedral. With his father, he has created stained glass for Salisbury Cathedral, England, St Georges Cathedral, Cape Town and in the Americas, Europe, Japan and the Middle East. The window has been made possible through the generosity of Petreans who have contributed the individual panels in memory of members of the Peterhouse family whose names will be recorded on a plaque at the rear of the chapel. The window will be visible from the chancel and the front of the nave, and a quiet space will be created around it in the gallery. It will radiate light across the Great Court during the hours of darkness.

The window is rich in symbolism and is dominated by the figure of St Peter, fisher of men and patron saint of the school. The fishermen's net and the prow of the boat (in the shape of an episcopal staff) is set against the calm waters of Kariba and the turbulence of the Victoria Falls. To the left of Peter's hand, raised in blessing, are the symbols of Peterhouse. These rise out of an impression of Parrot Rock at Ruzawi, the original independent Anglican school in the district, reminding us of Canon Robert Grinham. The base of random granite rock alludes to the Chapel – 'on this rock I will build my church' – and the school motto, 'Conditur in Petra'. Against a background of royal blue – the school colour – reflecting a crystal clear Zimbabwe sky and the famous blue windows of Chartres – the school symbols are displayed. The cross 'Moline' contrasts with the cross 'crosslet' of Springvale (the Jerusalem cross) and the cross 'potent' of Ruzawi (the Malta cross), and symbolises the consequences of human sin (Peter's denials, the crucifixion) and the importance of sacrifice (Christ on the cross, ours in our Christian lives). The martyr's or celestial crown is a symbol of joy and triumph. The golden cocks are an unusual reminder of St Peter, who is usually symbolised by keys. The keys are displayed on the right and resemble that on the Driefontein statute of Peter in the Chancel and represent the pre-eminent founders of the school – Bishop Edward Paget and Founding Rector Fred Snell.

The figure of St Peter rises from the scenes and symbols of Zimbabwe which cover the lower portion of the window. The flora and fauna of the country are shown against the natural colours of the Mashonaland countryside – rich earth and sandveld, the golden grass of winter, the verdant green of tobacco and maize, and the blue horizons of the Eastern Highlands and of Hwedza. The pink spring foliage of the Msasa represents renewal, the flame lily, antelope and birds, the richness of Goshu Park and Springvale. The central panel depicts life shown in the rock art of the Marondera district – 'The Tree of Life' from Waltondale Farm near Ruzawi shows prayers for rain, and the struggle for survival rewarded – and to the right are the hunters and gatherers of Rakodze. The Zimbabwe Bird, the national emblem is set against the bright colours of the national flag – green for agriculture, gold for wealth, red for the struggle for independence, and black for the people. To each side the vertical chevron patterns represent the granite stonework and the ancient cultures of Zimbabwe.

# A SCHOOL IN AFRICA

*Peterhouse and Education in  
Rhodesia and Zimbabwe*

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*Alan Megahey*



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*To all members of the Peterhouse family  
Past and Present*



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## *Abbreviations and Place Names*

### ABBREVIATIONS

AGB	Association of Governing Bodies of Independent Schools in Rhodesia/Zimbabwe
ATS	Association of Governing Bodies of Trust Schools in Zimbabwe
CAS	Capricorn Africa Society
CBF	Central Bursary Fund of the AGB
CCF	Combined Cadet Force
CHISR	Conference of Heads of Independent Schools in Rhodesia
CHISZ	Conference of Heads of Independent Schools in Zimbabwe
ESAP	Economic Structural Adjustment Programme
EXCO	Executive Committee of the School – to which the Governors delegate authority
FINCO	Finance Committee of EXCO
HMC	Headmasters' Conference
MDC	Movement for Democratic Change
PH Mag	Peterhouse school magazine – references in the endnotes
RF	Rhodesian Front
UDI	Unilateral Declaration of Independence
UFP	United Federal Party
ZANLA	Zimbabwe National Liberation Army
ZANU	Zimbabwe African National Union – Robert Mugabe's party up to the pre-Independence elections
ZANU (PF)	Zimbabwe African National Union (Patriotic Front) – the ruling party after Independence in 1980

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ZAPU	Zimbabwe African People's Union – Joshua Nkomo's party with its main support in Matabeleland
ZIPRA	Zimbabwe People's Revolutionary Army

The abbreviations after names denote the house and year of departure of boys, thus:

E	Ellis [as in (E66)]
P	Paget
G	Grinham
M	Malvern
F	Founders
S	Snell

The girls are indicated thus: PHG, followed by the year of leaving

### PLACE NAMES

Although place names have been changed by government (mainly during the years 1980–83), the names in the text are those appropriate at the time.

The relevant changes are as follows:

<i>Rhodesian</i>	<i>Zimbabwean</i>
Balla Balla	Mbalabala
Essexvale	Esigodini
Fort Victoria	Masvingo
Gatooma	Kadoma
Gwelo	Gweru
Hartley	Chegututu
Inyanga	Nyanga
Marandellas	Marondera
Melsetter	Chimanimani
Mrewa	Murewa
Mutare	Umtali
Que Que	Kwekwe

## ABBREVIATIONS AND PLACE NAMES

Salisbury	Harare
Selukwe	Shurugwi
Sinoia	Chinoyi
Umtali	Mutare
Umvukwes	Mvurwe
Vumba	Bvumba
Wankie	Hwange
Wedza	Hwedza

### Country name changes:

Northern Rhodesia	Zambia
Nyasaland	Malawi
Tanganyika	Tanzania

### Rhodesia:

1923–53	The Colony of Southern Rhodesia
1953–63	The Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland
1964–70	Rhodesia
1970–79	The Republic of Rhodesia
1979	The Republic of Zimbabwe-Rhodesia
1979–80	The Colony of Southern Rhodesia
1980	The Republic of Zimbabwe

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*Foreword*  
by  
*The Lady Soames, LG, DBE*

I was fortunate, when my husband was the last Governor of Southern Rhodesia, to be present at the birth of the new nation of Zimbabwe in 1980, and like many people in Britain and elsewhere I cherish great affection for the country and its peoples. I am sure that others, like me, have been saddened by the events of recent years. A School in Africa restores some faith in the country and its institutions.

When I visited Peterhouse in 1996 I was delighted to find a large, multi-racial and purposeful community. Its buildings, recently enhanced by the memorial to one of the founders, Sir Humphrey Gibbs, were impressive. The entire estate was rich with beautiful plants and bird life. The pupils themselves – and I spoke to many of them personally – were enthusiastic, eager, and loyal both to their school and their country, and I was moved and happy to meet the current holders of the bursaries founded in memory of my husband.

This book tells the story of how the Peterhouse group of schools grew from small beginnings, and through years of national crisis, to become the place it is today, educating over a thousand boys and girls. This school in Africa takes its place alongside the many schools throughout the Commonwealth which were established in the days of the Empire, and which have grown and adapted to provide first-rate education for their pupils in the 21st century.

My father used to enjoy returning to his old school, Harrow, for their annual ritual known as ‘Songs’. I hope many who read this book will relish returning to their old school through the pages of



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its history. I am sure also that many people who are interested in boarding schools, or in education generally, and many who want to know more about Zimbabwe, will read this book with profit and pleasure.

*Mary Soames*

## *Preface*

This book is not an ‘official history’; the Governors of Peterhouse have exercised no editorial control, nor are they responsible for any of the views expressed. They have however been most generous in allowing me access to all records; and individually many of them have helped by answering questions and giving information. I am very grateful to them.

I am in debt – in many ways – to the two Rectors who preceded me at Peterhouse, and the two who succeeded me. Their help and encouragement, in the past, and as regards this book, have meant a great deal to me. I am sorry that the founding Rector did not live to see his school’s golden jubilee, but I know that everyone connected with Peterhouse will realise just how significant he is in this story, and I hope his contribution shines out in these pages. I am glad that for most of my time as Rector, he was on hand to advise, to be consulted, and to contribute his own undimmed enthusiasm for what we were doing.

Many people have helped me, and in particular Petreans world-wide who responded to my plea for information. In this respect, I must offer particular thanks to Oliver Beaumont, whose Peterhouse website (<http://home.vicnet.net.au/~petrean>) has done so much to ensure that news of Peterhouse, and contact with its former staff and pupils, is continually updated. It is a most significant contribution to the history and continued well-being of the school.

My wife has, as always, been my mainstay, during my Rectorship, and in my writing of this book. Her constant support, and her devotion to the school, are inadequately recognised herein, as is the contribution of the wives of the other Rectors, and of members of staff.

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Special thanks must go to Christopher Paterson, Petrean, Governor of the School, and director of Macmillan, without whose encouragement and enthusiasm, knowledge and commitment, this book would never have been written.

Schools, particularly boarding schools, are intense places: people feel deeply about their own time at a school, and have their own interpretation of events. ‘What is truth?’ was Pilate’s question – quizzical rather than cynical. Our memories distort; episodes are gilded in retrospect, or carry resonances which others may not hear.

On another occasion, I wrote this, and it may well be appropriate both for a Church school, and for a school in Zimbabwe at the present time: ‘The historian cannot predict. Nor can he tell the whole story. He can record the “changes and chances of this fleeting world”; those indeed are the stuff of history. He can and must seek to explain them. The workings of Providence meanwhile ... are beyond his terms of reference.’

Many – Petreans, staff and others – may be disappointed that their own views, or their own achievements, are not mentioned in this book. I apologise in advance for any failures on my part to acknowledge the significance of each and every member of the Peterhouse family. This book is nevertheless dedicated to them all.

*Alan Megahey*  
*December 2004*

## Acknowledgements

The author and the publishers are most grateful to the many people who have given encouragement, time, and assistance to make the timely publication of this book possible. Particular thanks are due to the late John Carter who enthusiastically encouraged the project from its inception and to Petreans worldwide who have generously volunteered and checked information. Among the many who have helped are Kevin Baverstock, Mike Bawden, John and Jenny Calderwood, Richard Corfield, John Davidson, Bruce and Liza Fieldsend, Peter Ginn, John Greenacre, Barrie Hammond, Jacques Loire, Stuart and Tessa Mattinson, Graham Peebles, Anthony Ryder, Catriona Taylor and Dick Turpin. The staff of the Cambridge University Library, National Archives of Zimbabwe, Rhodes House, Oxford, and the Surveyor-General's Department, Harare have gone out of their way to help in the progress of the work.

The author would like to thank John Peacock, Jon Beck and Samantha Jeskins of Macmillan for their enthusiasm and commitment to the project.

The following people and organisations have provided photographs and other illustrations for this book. To them all, many thanks.

### *Front cover*

The late Fred Jeffery – view from the Rector's Lodge

### *Back cover*

Barrie Hammond – Tessa's Pool

Alan Megahey – Acutt Library

Christopher Paterson – Peterhouse rugby tour

Peterhouse Archives – Great Court

### *Front endpaper*

Oxford Designers and Illustrators Ltd – Artist's impression of Peterhouse 2005

### *Back endpaper*

The late Roderick 'Archie' Maclaren – The Three Schools Map

### *Map of Southern Rhodesia/Zimbabwe*

Kevin Baverstock

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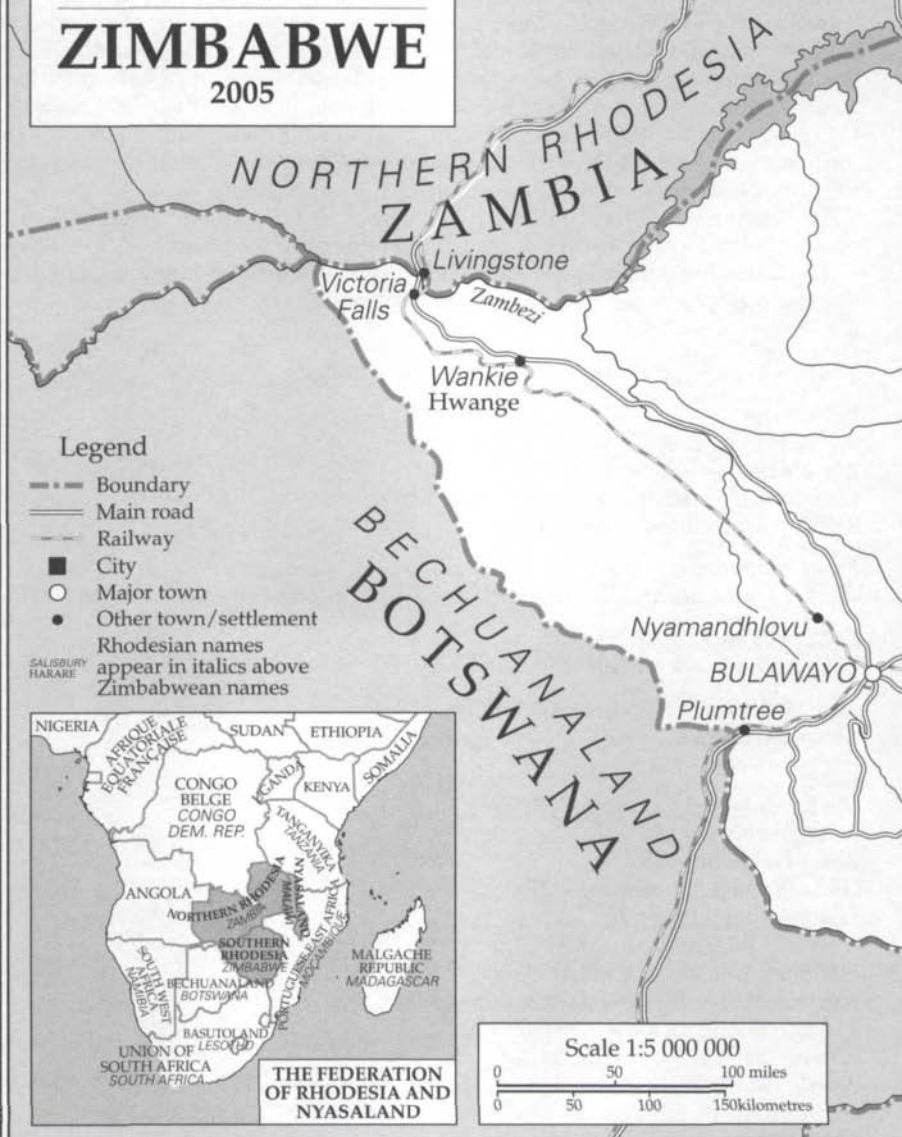
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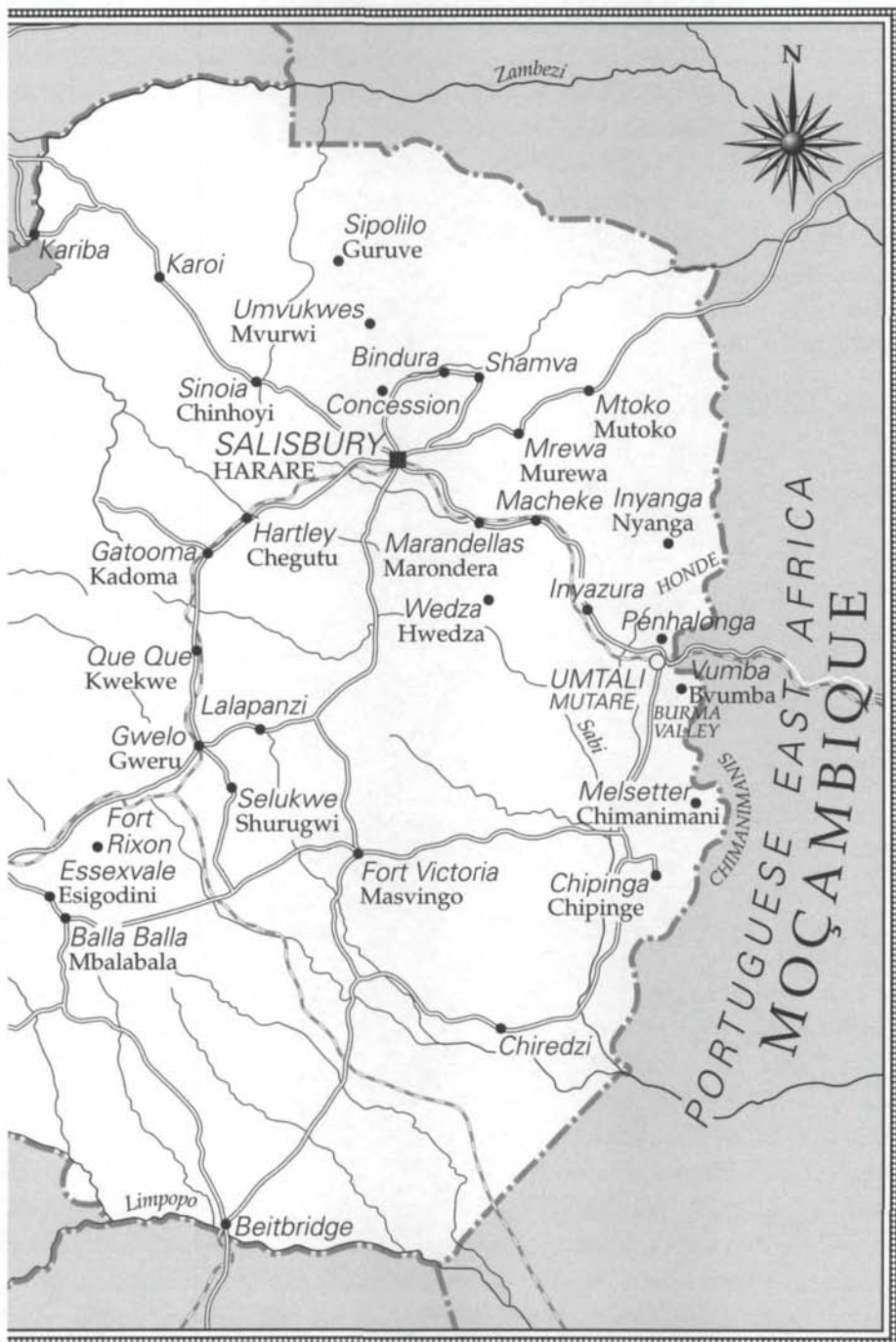
# SOUTHERN RHODESIA

1955

# ZIMBABWE

2005





# 1

## *A Colony in Africa*

On the political scene two events deserve mention. First, there was the visit of the Royal Family in 1947. Secondly, there was the movement for closer association with Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland which has become a very live issue. The post-war period has by no means been free from difficulties, but there can be little doubt that the past few years have brought Southern Rhodesia to a position far in advance of anything she has known before.

*Official Year Book of Southern Rhodesia 1952* (Salisbury 1952), p 37

Southern Rhodesia in the early 1950s was not a colony in the usual sense of the term, and its history was relatively short. The land first came into the orbit of Britain's African Empire when the pioneer column of adventurers, traders and would-be farmers travelled north in 1890. It was given its name in 1895 by the administrator of the British South Africa Company, which virtually owned the territory, and ran it until 1923. The impetus to drive north from South Africa (into what are now Botswana, Zimbabwe and Zambia) came from Cecil Rhodes who, by the 1890s, had created a huge business empire based on the diamond mines of Kimberley and the gold mines on the Witwatersrand. But Rhodes had further ambitions. As Niall Ferguson writes: 'He was at once business genius and imperial visionary; a robber baron, but also a mystic ... it was not enough for Rhodes to make a fortune from the vast de Beers diamond mines at Kimberley. He aspired to be more than a money maker. He dreamt of becoming an empire builder.'<sup>1</sup> Central Africa might yield yet more profits; but it would also be a stepping stone towards creating a huge swathe of

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British territory from the Cape to Cairo. Southern Rhodesia became the longest-lived portion of that dream.

Unlike other African colonies, Southern Rhodesia had its own Legislative Assembly, created in 1923 after the settlers had rejected union with South Africa. With a population in 1923 of 893,000 blacks and 36,000 Europeans, it was governed by the elected representatives of the white minority. Its black population, 1 million in 1931, had doubled by 1951. Its white population more than doubled, from 50,000 to 136,000 in the same period. The five years after the Second World War saw the largest increase, with 64,634 new settlers offset by 17,447 white emigrants. Such was the influx that the Minister for Internal Affairs, Hugh Beadle (later the Chief Justice) complained in the Legislative Assembly that 'the social services are breaking down' despite government's aim to reduce the numbers immigrating. But it was an ambivalent comment, because Beadle, like most Rhodesians, wanted to see the numbers increase. There were jobs for people with transferable skills – in mining, on the railways, and in farming. And businessmen increasingly saw the advantages of cashing in on what might be called the 'Federation boom'.

For many years the Prime Minister, Godfrey Huggins, had cherished the ambition of the two Rhodesias linking up; but the British government had always opposed this on the grounds that while Northern Rhodesia was a protectorate (under the Colonial Office), Southern Rhodesia was half way to being a dominion (and was actually under the Dominions Office). The mind of the Colonial Office dwelt upon the idea of 'trusteeship', and the colonial service saw its job as controlling, guiding and ultimately freeing the 'natives'. Southern Rhodesia's racial policies were hardly compatible with that, and were directed from Salisbury not London. Huggins, and the new white leader in Northern Rhodesia, Roy Welensky, hatched a plan in 1948 not for amalgamation, but for federation. This certainly would be more acceptable in London; besides, for the British Labour government, the perspective had changed. South Africa was now controlled by the Afrikaner Nationalist Party, whose victory at the polls in 1947 meant the rigorous introduction of apartheid to which it would adhere for over 40 years. The British government now wanted to ensure that South African power and influence would be stopped, as far as possible, on the banks of the Limpopo. A Federation of the Rho-



## A COLONY IN AFRICA

desias, with Nyasaland thrown in, seemed an opportunity to create a counterweight to Afrikaner power, and to ensure the continuance of British influence in Africa south of the equator. The new Federation was inaugurated late in 1953. Godfrey Huggins became its first Prime Minister, and when he resigned in 1956 (to be succeeded by Sir Roy Welensky) he was the longest serving Prime Minister in British or Commonwealth history. In 1955 he had become Viscount Malvern of Rhodesia and Bexley, encapsulating in his title not only his adoptive country, but also his school (Malvern College) and his place of birth in Kent. In the 23 years of his premiership, his country had developed out of all recognition. Modern cities and towns had arisen, industry and agriculture had developed, and financial and social services had grown as nowhere else on the continent outside South Africa.

Emigration from the United Kingdom is one of the themes of imperial and Rhodesian history. In the first half of the 20th century, some 6 million people emigrated from the UK to non-European destinations. It was a huge outflow, with some two-thirds of them ending up in Canada, Australia, New Zealand, and Southern Africa. In 1950 G.F. Plant, who had been secretary to the United Kingdom Government Oversea Settlement Committee from 1918–1937, was recommending that ‘although at present the United Kingdom cannot spare large numbers of suitable people for settlement overseas, it is desirable that as a matter of long-term policy, ways and means should be considered of reducing our sadly congested population by settling a reasonable proportion of it in the Dominions’.<sup>2</sup> State assisted emigration had been introduced by the Empire Settlement Act of 1922. Private enterprise was at work too: some 30 organisations were funding schemes and encouraging emigrants, including one with a specific Rhodesian link. Kingsley Fairbridge, a third generation South African, grew to manhood in Umtali, and indeed for many years his statue stood at Christmas Pass, overlooking the town. As a teenager he visited England and ‘saw a street in the east end of London. It was a street crowded with children – dirty children, yet lovable, exhausted with the heat. No decent air, not enough food. The waste of it all! Children’s lives wasting while the Empire cried out for men.’<sup>3</sup> He wasted little time in planning the scheme, while a Rhodes Scholar at Exeter College, Oxford. His first school was to have been established on the Rhodesian high veld, but he could not persuade the British South

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Africa Company to cede land for the purpose, so the first Kingsley Fairbridge farm school was created in Australia in 1912. The Rhodesian school was finally opened in 1946 in an old RAF base near Bulawayo; the last children arrived from England in 1958. Fairbridge did not live to see the Rhodesian school established (even if in the wrong place!); but his name lives on not in his eponymous school, which closed in the 1960s, but in Ruzawi, the Anglican preparatory school near Marandellas. When the founders in 1928 were looking for names for their houses, they chose Fairbridge and Grenfell. Julian Grenfell, the poet son of Lord Desborough, had boxed against Fairbridge at Oxford, and was killed on war service. In 1965 a Commonwealth handbook still listed five bodies involved in what was by then called Commonwealth migration – the Big Brother Movement, the Commonwealth Migration Council, the Commonwealth Immigrants Advisory Council, the Overseas Migration Board, the Royal Overseas League – and the Fairbridge Society.

Southern Rhodesia, a dominion in all but name, was one of the beneficiaries of Empire migration. What was the appeal of Rhodesia, which has been variously disparagingly described as ‘the privates’ mess’ (as opposed to Kenya, the ‘officers’ mess’), ‘Surbiton (or Basingstoke) in the bush’, or a ‘sociological museum’ preserving archaic Edwardian values? But there was another way of looking at it. In the 1890s E.F. Knight described how the traveller ‘rides or walks like the old Athenians ‘through most pellucid air’ with generally a keen health-giving breeze blowing and a cloudless sky overhead’.<sup>4</sup> The authoress Sally Macdonald wrote letters back to England before the First World War enthusing that ‘the place gets a grip on one’, and describing how ‘the sun sets in a glory of cloud effects, and our Rhodesian night begins’.<sup>5</sup> Journals dedicated to the Empire carried the message throughout the inter-war years. L.M. Hastings reported on the countryside: ‘pleasant it is, and spacious and humane, and there is nothing there of that stark hostility that mars African landscape in the desiccated regions’.<sup>6</sup> Churton Inge, remembering his ‘short but happy sojourn there’, became lyrical: ‘I sometimes feel the pangs of separation. Strange tuggings at my heart come and go. The call of the veldt is always there in the hearts of those who have tasted its elusive charms.’<sup>7</sup> For Edward Salmon, ‘The Rhodesias for me just stand for romance’.<sup>8</sup> A traveller in 1950 reported on ‘that peculiar Rhodesian

quality of light and colour and space. Loveliness of flowering shrubs and trees which seemed to know no season but were prodigal with their blooms the year round.<sup>9</sup> For James Parker 'sheer scenic sentiment' did much to explain why Rhodesia was 'the most British of all the colonies'.<sup>10</sup> Andrew Meldrum, expelled from Zimbabwe in 2004 when he was the *Guardian's* reporter there, found when he arrived in the country in 1980 that one thing above all others did not disappoint: 'People told me Zimbabwe had "champagne air" because it is dry and sparkling, and I found it delightfully intoxicating.'<sup>11</sup> So climate and scenery were a pull. So too was the emptiness of a country the size of France with just over 2 million inhabitants – so different from the crowded island from which most settlers came. Godfrey Huggins had proclaimed in 1935 that Southern Rhodesia had 'vast areas that are empty', and called on the imperial government to encourage Empire emigration.<sup>12</sup> 'Spaciousness leaves its mark on anyone who has lived for any time in Central Africa', one commentator noted.<sup>13</sup> John Gunther reported an Indian friend in Salisbury telling him that 'the greatest wealth of Southern Rhodesia is its emptiness'. In the year that Peterhouse opened, Gunther remarked that 'the country is, virtually speaking, still a vacuum'.<sup>14</sup>

The climate, the emptiness, the scenic beauty attracted settlers. In the aftermath of the Second World War, many of the RAF men who had been in the country under the Empire Air Training Scheme returned to make their home there. The prospect of federation raised hopes of prosperity, and for the whites, these were fulfilled; by the end of the 1950s they enjoyed a standard of living equalled only in the United States of America. There was a spin-off for the black majority as well – more schools and a higher standard of living than anywhere else in Africa. The capital, Salisbury, had yet to develop into the strikingly handsome city it became in the 1960s, but there was a prosperous feel to it in the 1950s, and a third of its 300,000 inhabitants were white. And the people who came to settle found, increasingly, the support networks which they would have had in Basingstoke or Surbiton. There was 'law and order'. There were hospitals, shops and cinemas. There were roads, improving as the strips gave way to tarmac, and car ownership (one for every four Europeans) was almost as high as in the United States. There were all the organisations which gave people a sense of identity and purpose: churches and

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service organisations like Rotary and Round Table and the Women's Institute. In the cities and towns there were opportunities for music and drama – and it must be remembered that despite the existence of a powerful farming community, in 1951 over 70% of all whites were urban dwellers and the proportion was rising. In remoter areas there were clubs, for drinking and debating and amateur dramatics; and for sport – ‘that fetish worshipped more ardently in southern Africa than anywhere else in the world’.<sup>15</sup> The region had a climate which encouraged outdoor living and the opportunities for sport were boundless: polo and polocrosse could be played by people who in England would not have been able to afford such indulgences; the same could be said of hunting and fishing. Rugby, cricket, tennis and swimming could be enjoyed virtually all the year round. Sport had been at the heart of the imperial enterprise for 100 years, and the men who had brought order and governance to much of the world also sought to ‘seek out and codify its recreations’.<sup>16</sup> A renewed interest among historians in the role of sport in society and in the Empire has been evident in recent years, with implications for the history of education as well as of the Empire. ‘Organized games were at the heart of the public-service ideal’, Harold Perkin comments, neatly combining the themes of public schools and the Empire with the role of sport.<sup>17</sup>

For white settlers in Rhodesia, schools for their children were of paramount importance; there, sport could be played in an organised fashion. The children of farmers could socialise and be educated in boarding schools even if their homesteads were remote. ‘Home’ or ‘distance’ education might be possible for young children, but older ones needed the company of their peers, and the state (or ‘government’) boarding schools made this possible. Education was free, universal and compulsory for all European children aged 7–15. Government schools were built to a high standard, and a 1952 schools survey suggested that the education too was of high quality, with school leavers outclassing their British contemporaries by a significant margin.<sup>18</sup> Some, perhaps most, of the government secondary schools were run on British public school lines – this particularly applies to older establishments like Plumtree, and Prince Edward in Salisbury: schools with impressive buildings (including a school chapel), fine playing fields, and all the ‘public school’ hallmarks, like fagging, beating, elaborate uniforms, begowned masters, *esprit de corps* and so on. But despite

all that, there was a growing demand for the establishment of 'independent' schools. All sorts of motives were probably at work – there were those who wanted a specifically Anglican ethos; perhaps for some it was simply snobbery. Colin Leys casts an interesting light on the subject. He noted (writing in 1958) that the 'policy-making and decision taking group' within the European population was very small; 'its members meet frequently and are more intimate with a larger proportion of their whole number than is possible in countries as large as Britain or the USA'.<sup>19</sup> Salisbury was the natural centre of their operations, though with 'outposts' in Bulawayo, Ndola and Lusaka. They met at the Salisbury (or Bulawayo) Club. He suggests that 'a large proportion of the boys at the private secondary schools ... would probably be found to have parents who belonged to this group'. This was not simply snobbery; it was a product of habit and upbringing. There was a high proportion of men in this group who had themselves been educated at the public schools in England or South Africa; they naturally thought of sending their own sons through a similar institution. Maybe the same urgings can be seen in the problem of 'accent'.

As far back as 1912 the Director of Education in Salisbury had circularised parents, warning that their children were becoming 'accustomed to variants of the English language far from pleasant to hear and which, if acquired, would in later years betray a lack of cultured training'.<sup>20</sup> A 1936 report warned more specifically: 'There appears to be a tendency – not very marked at present – for a 'Rhodesian accent' to develop'.<sup>21</sup> A quarter of a century later it was certainly 'very marked'. Around then Evelyn Waugh (Lancing and Oxford) reported a conversation during his second visit to Rhodesia, with the Prime Minister, Sir Edgar Whitehead (Shrewsbury and Oxford). He said to him: 'I think you are a bachelor. I should not care to bring up children here.' Whitehead asked him why not. 'The accent', said Waugh, who claims he noted 'a glance of sympathy in his eye'.<sup>22</sup> (In passing, one might note the slightly bizarre aspect of this conversation about accent – between a deaf Prime Minister and a novelist who was given to 'exaggerating the degree of deafness that was afflicting him, using his hearing aid, generally a large old-fashioned trumpet, in an aggressive manner'.<sup>23</sup>)

Already in 1950 there was a significant independent school presence in the country, in the 'Ruzawi Schools Group'. Ruzawi had been

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established as a traditional English-style boys' boarding preparatory school near Marandellas in 1928 by two Oxford graduates, Robert Grinham and Maurice Carver. They had taught in India, and had tried their hand at schoolmastering in South Africa before moving north to start a boys' preparatory school near Marandellas, 50 miles east of Salisbury. It opened in 1928, under the enthusiastic patronage of the new Bishop of Southern Rhodesia, Edward Paget. After the Second World War Whitestone School (for boys) in Bulawayo, and Bishopslea (for girls) in Salisbury were acquired and all three schools came under the control of the Ruzawi Schools Group. In 1951 the headmaster of Ruzawi, Robert Grinham, moved eight miles away to start building another boys' prep school, and Springvale opened in 1952. Another prep school had meanwhile started up; Eagle, in the stunning setting of the mountains in the Vumba (with views of Mozambique) was opened in 1948. The parents of children at these schools had little choice thereafter. Where could they send their boys, or girls, for their secondary education? St George's in Salisbury was the oldest independent school in the country. Established initially in Bulawayo in 1898, it boasted all the features of a 'public school' – its own Board of Governors, talented (and often eccentric) members of staff, boarders, boaters, beating and so on. But it was run by the Jesuits, which was not to everyone's taste, and it was in the middle of Salisbury. Bothashof (much later renamed Eaglesvale) was an Afrikaans-medium school, and therefore even more unacceptable to 'British' parents. For girls, there was the Dominican Convent, another Roman Catholic institution and, as Doris Lessing remarks on her being sent there – 'a snobbish choice'.<sup>24</sup> The settler population of Kenya faced the same problem and tended to favour the 'UK option' – sending their children back to Britain for their secondary schooling, though some looked to the schools in South Africa.

For Rhodesian parents who wanted independent education but did not want St George's or Bothashof, the 'South African option' was the answer. But that meant sending boys of 13 many hundreds of miles south to attend schools such as Hilton and Michaelhouse in Natal, Bishops in Cape Town or St Andrew's, Grahamstown. This option was becoming less attractive to many, for although travelling was getting easier, the atmosphere in South Africa, dominated after 1947 by the Afrikaner Nationalist Party, was unappealing to many

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Rhodesians, in that most British of colonies. It was also a great deal more costly than educating them locally.

So it is understandable in the post-war years – with economic advancement, growing numbers of immigrants, the prospect of a Central African Federation, and a growing number of prep schools – that there should be an increasing demand for local independent secondary education. Other parts of the Empire where whites had settled – Canada, South Africa, Australia, New Zealand – could boast a thriving independent school economy. Even in parts where they did not, the public school ideal was transplanted, along with the English language, cricket and Christianity. In Southern Rhodesia, the Ruzawi Schools Board had long cherished the idea of a church secondary school (that is, an Anglican Church school) for their pupils to proceed to locally. With the economic, political and social conditions favourable, all that was needed was a catalyst, and this was provided by two men in particular, who became the founding fathers of Peterhouse.

## 2

### *Founding Fathers*

Speaking at Cambridge in December 1857, David Livingstone said: 'I beg to direct your attention to Africa. I know that in a few years I shall be cut off in that country, which is now open. Do not let it be shut again! I go back to Africa to try to open a path for commerce and Christianity. Do you carry on the work which I have begun. I leave it to you'. As the Chinese proverb has it: 'If you are planning for a hundred years, plant men'. The planning and the planting have followed Livingstone's Cambridge speech, and no matter what selfish motives may be imputed to those Europeans who have their roots deep in the soil and in the soul of Africa, Livingstone's challenge has been accepted.

B.G. Paver, *His Own Oppressor* (London 1958) p 91

In 1950 Edward Paget celebrated the 25th anniversary of his consecration as Bishop of Southern Rhodesia. He was a towering figure, physically and otherwise, and he looms large in the story of Peterhouse.<sup>25</sup> He was born in 1886 in Christ Church College, Oxford, where his father, Francis, had recently become a canon of the cathedral and Professor of Pastoral Theology, in succession to Edward King, one of Edward's godfathers, after whom he was named, and who went on to be the great (and controversial) Bishop of Lincoln. Paget's paternal grandfather was Sir James Paget, a leading Victorian surgeon and vice-chancellor of the University of London; James's brother became Sir George Paget, Regius Professor of Physic at Cambridge. Edward's maternal grandfather was Richard Church, the renowned Dean of St Paul's. So he grew up in that small, upper middle class world in Victorian England, where privilege and money were taken for granted, but where duty also called, not least Christian duty. Daily prayers were said at home (the servants attending); 'service' – to the Empire,



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the sick, the unchurched – was a moral imperative. This message was reinforced by his education. Edward went to Shrewsbury, where his father and uncles had been pupils. He seems to have made little impact there. He found university more congenial. When he went on to his father's college he made his mark on the sporting rather than the academic front; he rowed in the boat race in 1907, when Oxford was defeated. His closest friends were the kind of men who in later life were pillars of the establishment – Sir Offley Wakeman (Lord Lieutenant of Shropshire) and Sir Geoffrey Codrington (Gentleman Usher to the Queen; High Sheriff of Wiltshire). Another contemporary was an American Rhodes Scholar called Ellis Robins, who was later to figure largely in his life in Rhodesia.

On going down from University, Edward joined the lay staff of the Christ Church Mission in Poplar in the East End of London. It was one of the many university 'settlements' staffed by keen young graduates, and its first Warden had been Edward's uncle, Luke, who was 'fascinatingly ugly',<sup>26</sup> and who in 1909 became Bishop of Stepney. 'It was unusual, after 1900,' Edward Norman writes, 'to find a bishop who did not regard the declaration of social principles as a primary duty.'<sup>27</sup> That was to be a significant factor in the direction Edward's life was to take. His uncle was chairman of the Stepney Council for Social Welfare. Bishop Winnington-Ingram (who was to ordain Edward priest) had inveighed against the slum landlords when he had been Bishop of Stepney, and continued his denunciations when he became Bishop of London. Archbishop Lang, whom Luke Paget succeeded at Stepney, was something of a father figure to many of the young men who worked in the slums after university; he advocated ensuring that all prospective clergy be trained in Economic History, the Poor Law, and the laws of health and housing. Young Christian graduates like Edward were therefore challenged to see opportunities for service in a social system which promoted inequality and tolerated poverty and deprivation. It was to serve in this world – miles away from Barchester – that Edward was made a deacon by his father, who had been Bishop of Oxford since 1901. Bishop Paget has a small but significant place in the history of ordination: just four years before Edward's, he had refused ordination to a young man who, he believed, was insufficiently orthodox as regards the doctrines of the Virgin Birth and the bodily resurrection of Jesus. The young man was

William, son of the ex-Archbishop of Canterbury, Frederick Temple, who was finally ordained just a year before Edward, and with Bishop Paget's agreement, by Archbishop Davidson, his father's successor at Canterbury. William Temple was himself to become the great and all too short-lived wartime Archbishop of Canterbury. Temple was made deacon just two years before another Oxford contemporary of his and of Edward's was ordained: Geoffrey Fisher, who succeeded William at Lambeth. Fisher was to play a significant part in the lives of both Paget and Peterhouse.

Bishop Francis Paget died in August 1911. Edward had meanwhile returned to Poplar, and was ordained priest in 1912 by the Bishop of London. He was part of a group of young clergy called 'the Clique' or 'the Click', who drew inspiration from the Bishop of Stepney and from the young head of the Oxford Mission, H.A.L. (Dick) Sheppard, a protégé of Archbishop Lang, who had made an unusual leap from Stepney to York. It was a distinguished group, most of whom had grown up in the upper middle class world which the Paget family inhabited. It retained the upper class *mores* – Sheppard continued to patronise the clubs and hairdressers of the West End, and to buy his clothes in Jermyn Street. But he also immersed himself (to the point of illness) in his social work, though it was more than social work, for he and his friends 'pledged themselves idealistically to evangelise the world'.<sup>28</sup> The group included Alan Don (later Dean of Westminster), Wilfred Parker (later Bishop of Pretoria), Arthur Hill (later Dean of Salisbury, Rhodesia) and Edward's cousin, Robert Moberly (later Bishop of Stepney). In the years before the First World War these young men – from privileged backgrounds – were working amid the poverty and deprivation of the East End, especially among the boys and young men upon whom its future depended.

They also had that wider vision. Many of them planned to go abroad, in groups of three or four, to serve the Church overseas: the 'evangelization of the world in this generation' had been a clarion call – particularly to Oxford and Cambridge undergraduates – for some 30 years. In 1907 the Archbishop of Canterbury himself had launched a book called *Church and Empire*, which contained a contribution from Bishop William Gaul of Rhodesia, 'the smallest bishop with the largest diocese in Christendom'.<sup>29</sup> In his chapter, Gaul wrote of the situation in South Africa (that is, Africa south of the Zambezi):

'I am more and more convinced that all individual differences of race, language, policies and politics, and even the more accentuated prejudices in religion, at least in the Christian religion, are gradually being worn away, as the sea washes away an obtrusive promontory, by the persistent ebb and flow of the great tidal thoughts of the brotherhood of man in the fatherhood of God.'<sup>30</sup> Three years later, in the year that Edward Paget became a deacon, the first World Missionary Conference took place in Edinburgh. Amid scenes of great enthusiasm, it heard reports on the missionary activities of the churches: 'The spectacle of the advance of the Christian Church along many lines of action to the conquest of the five great religions of the modern world is one of singular interest and grandeur. *Vexilla Regis prodeunt!*'<sup>31</sup> Such enthusiasm, such triumphalism, appealed to Edward and the other members of the Click. They initially thought of responding to a specific call from the church in western Canada, but then were enthused by a appeal from Michael Furse, the new Bishop of Pretoria: a group of them decided to swap darkest England for darkest Africa. Dick Sheppard was in demand to lead the team, but in the end, that role was undertaken by Edward Paget.<sup>32</sup>

In July 1914 Paget arrived in South Africa, along with three of the Click, to take over the recently established parish of Benoni, in the eastern Rand. Edward, the least academically distinguished of the four, became vicar and leader of the team. The challenges were not so very different from those in the East End of London – deprivation, industrial strife, and the gulf between rich and poor. A different kind of challenge also faced him, as it faced his friends back in England: the First World War. Edward served as a chaplain with Smuts's troops in East Africa, and was awarded the Military Cross. After ten years at Benoni, and just as he was beginning to think he should return to England, Paget was asked to allow his name to go forward in the election for the bishopric of Southern Rhodesia. He was elected in May 1925, and consecrated in Johannesburg in September. He arrived in Salisbury, Rhodesia at the same time that a young medical practitioner, Godfrey Huggins, was beginning to carve out a new career for himself as a member of the country's Legislative Assembly. These two men – Paget and Huggins – were to be key members of what became known as the 'Establishment Set' in the self-governing colony during subsequent decades.

## A SCHOOL IN AFRICA

Bishop Paget might under normal circumstances have been thinking of retirement in 1950. He had been a bishop for longer than most men; he was 64. But he had several unfulfilled ambitions. One was the sub-division of the huge diocese of Southern Rhodesia. He had long cherished the idea of creating two dioceses in the country, one centred in Salisbury, and the other in Bulawayo. But not only was Southern Rhodesia growing in terms of population; its orientation was changing. The Church in the British territories in central Africa was part of the Province of South Africa; so its archiepiscopal centre (Cape Town) was 1,500 miles away. Huggins's quest for a Federation of the territories in central Africa meant that eyes were turning north, and it seemed natural that the Church should follow. Paget had already been in discussion for nearly a decade with his brother bishops in Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland, with a view to carving out a new Anglican province in central Africa. In 1948 the Lambeth Conference had noted 'with satisfaction', and encouraged, the steps being taken towards the formation of provinces in Africa and the Pacific – in an ecclesiastical equivalent of what was politically to become 'decolonisation'.<sup>33</sup> So both politically and ecclesiastically change was in the air, and Paget wanted to be there to oversee the transformation for the Church. But he had another ambition as well, and one that was understandable in a man whose Christian work had started among the deprived boys of the East End, and whose incumbency on the Rand had seen the growth of Scouting and of Church schools. Paget dearly wanted to see the establishment of a Church senior school for boys in Southern Rhodesia. As we have seen, the time seemed ripe for such a development. When Paget heard that the Rector of Michaelhouse, whom he had met in Natal while on holiday there, was thinking of coming north to launch a Church school project, he began to believe that his ambition might be fulfilled.

In 1950, Fred Snell, the Rector of Michaelhouse in Natal, was 47. Fred's origins, though humbler than Paget's, were not dissimilar. The son of a vicar, he had gone as a scholar to Winchester, and then to Oriel College, Oxford. Perhaps he had a chuckle at the story about the head of his college, Provost Phelps. When Fred met him, the old man with his long white beard must have looked ancient (he was almost 80). Back in 1879 he had been part of a delegation of Fellows sent to congratulate their most distinguished 'Old Boy', John Henry

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Newman, on his creation as a cardinal by Pope Leo XIII. When they were ushered into Newman's presence, Phelps, with fine Anglican and public school heartiness, went up to His Eminence, shook him firmly by the hand, and said, 'Well done, Newman, well done!' It was to be a great pleasure for Fred in India in the 1920s to receive regular letters from Provost Phelps. Fred entered Oriel to read chemistry at the same time that A.J.P. Taylor (who recounts the Newman story) went there to read history. Fred might have gone on to do research in chemistry, and indeed he stayed long enough to gain an extra degree in his subject. But instead, he chose to go into teaching, as did another Oxford man who was just two months older than Fred and who also went on to be a great headmaster (of Charterhouse and Eton) – Robert Birley. Both of them became schoolmasters for the same reasons – a sense of service, a feeling that this was a significant way to use one's talents; a desire to pass on to succeeding generations the riches of a civilisation which had seemed all but to destroy itself in that war to end all wars. For Oxford in the 1920s was not merely the Oxford of *Brideshead Revisited*; it was also the Oxford of Fred's radical Winchester contemporaries Dick Crossman and Hugh Gaitskell; the Oxford of the General Strike and political activism. Reaction to the First World War sometimes expressed itself in the indulgent hedonism of cocktails, the Charleston, the world of Bertie Wooster; but it also took the form of great social and political causes or, as in the case of Birley and Snell, a firm commitment to the education of the young.

In 1927 Fred heard the same 'call' to serve overseas that Paget had responded to nearly two decades earlier. He went under the auspices of the Church Missionary Society to teach in India, at St John's College, Agra. His father, the Revd Charles Dashwood Snell, who had been afflicted by deafness, had given up his parish and had become Secretary to the Church Missionary Society. He had written a pamphlet about the Society's work among the hill tribes of India. So it is not surprising that Fred moved in that direction. In 1928 he married a clergyman's daughter. Margaret Sidebottom's family was more 'gentry' while the Snells were more sons of the soil, Fred liked to claim. She was an Oxford graduate who was up at Somerville College with Birley's sister. She followed him out and they were married almost as soon as she stepped off the boat in India. Their first two children, Janet and Pippa, were born there, in the India of the Raj, which was

already beginning to feel the stirrings of Gandhi's nationalism: that India so vividly and caustically recorded by Malcolm Muggeridge, an exact contemporary of Fred's who had also taught under Fred's principal, the Revd W.E.S. (Willy) Holland. As Muggeridge was sailing back to England after his three year stint, Fred was sailing to India to begin seven years of teaching there. It was a formative experience. He was a 'lecturer' rather than a teacher, though the chores he found himself undertaking – such as running the annual sports day – were schoolmasterly, as was his job of containing the students' ill-discipline. Gandhi's campaign was well under way, and Fred was not unsympathetic to it, and managed to hear the great man speak. He – and Margaret – were convinced that India should get 'home rule', and get it soon. But when the students went on strike, or tried running up the 'flag of independence' instead of the Union flag, Fred had to take disciplinary action. As he wrote to his father, 'The utterly amazing thing I think is that this sort of thing has been going on all over such a vast country for so long with as few lapses into actual violence as there have been. It is a most remarkable testimony to the grip that Gandhi's ideas have got that the whole place hasn't gone up in smoke long ago.'<sup>34</sup> Margaret put their 'liberal' ideas into practice by holding tennis parties which included Indians, Anglo-Indians and *some* English people.<sup>35</sup>

Fred had already discovered the joys of mountaineering in the Swiss Alps and the Austrian Tyrol in his student days, and now was able to enjoy them to the full in the great peaks of the Himalayas, three years after George Leigh Mallory (another Wykehamist) perished on Everest. Added to his teaching and climbing, another activity beckoned. Fred became active in Toc H, founded after the war on the four principles of Fellowship, Service, Fair-mindedness and the Kingdom of God. He was to the fore in establishing the Agra Toc H group, which included British and Indian members and from 1933 met regularly for meetings and services.<sup>36</sup> Even now, in Giant's Castle up at Nyanga, there hangs a picture of the Prince of Wales flanked by Toc H Founder Tubby Clayton, lighting the fire to kindle that movement: the photo is a leaving gift inscribed by Fred's colleagues, 'Agra 1934'. The idea of 'service' gripped Fred; he was impressed with the school run by the Tyndale-Briscoes which he visited, where social service was a major part of the curriculum. At the time, the 1929 general election

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was being fought in Britain, and Fred noted that 'I don't know who I want to get in excepting that I would like somebody with a *really* drastic programme of industrial reorganisation & thoroughgoing disarmament.'<sup>37</sup> When Holland tried to give more space to social service within the college activities, Fred was enthusiastic in his support. His Christian principles were central to all this, and in a curious link to Edward Paget (whom he did not yet know) he lamented to his father that 'I wish there were more people like Dick Sheppard to make people see their scales of values more clearly.'<sup>38</sup>

During the seven years in India, as well as acquiring a family, Fred Snell had learned and experienced much. He had become a teacher, and not always in the easiest of environments. He had been what would be called (in a school) a 'housemaster' – running the hostel for the Christian students. He and Margaret had been exposed to some of the most exciting political movements in the Empire, and had responded with some sympathy to the Indian demand for home rule. And at a more personal level, Fred had become a devotee of Toc H, had nurtured his love of climbing, and had learnt to ride a horse. And he and Margaret had become parents twice over: all this, and Fred was not yet 30. But the Snell girls needed education, and it seemed the right time to finish his contract and not renew it. The family moved back to England as Hitler consolidated his power and in the wake of the great depression. Fred became head of science at Eastbourne – a public school in Sussex far from the worst of the depressed areas. He was offered a boarding house, but turned it down, anxious to devote his energies to running an academic department, but when offered later the housemastership of the day house, he accepted. Service called, and he took over from the headmaster as the leader of the school's Toc H group. He became vice-chairman of the Eastbourne Unemployment Council and took parties of boys to Yorkshire and Wales to do social service in those distressed areas, before he allowed them and himself to indulge in a holiday with the inevitable climbing. Margaret's contribution was to start a nursery school for her own children (Janet and Pippa had been joined by Hilary) and others – and she was to do the same thing again both at Michaelhouse and Peterhouse. But it was unlikely that she would be satisfied with this, and unlikely too that Fred, an active and ambitious man, would remain much longer at Eastbourne.

Fred began to look around for promotion. Calling in at Gabbitas Thring – the educational clearing house – he saw an advertisement for the headship of a public school in South Africa. Almost on a whim, he applied. He got the job. At the age of 35, a few months after the Munich Crisis, Fred and his family arrived at Michaelhouse in Natal. It was one of some half a dozen schools in South Africa which were, as a history of the schools is entitled, ‘little England on the Veld’. Many of them had English heads and staff; all of them perpetuated the traditions and styles which are easily recognisable as ‘English public school’. Fred was the youngest Rector ever appointed at Michaelhouse, and certainly the youngest looking. The story is told of how one day, returning from a swim clad only in a towel he was accosted by some prospective parents who asked this ‘boy’ where they would find the Rector. Fred directed them to his study, proceeded there himself by a quicker route, and the astonished parents found themselves ushered into the presence of the same towel clad ‘boy’, now the Rector of Michaelhouse. The chapter in the school history which deals with his Rectorship is well entitled ‘Creative vigour amid war’s disruption’. There were wartime constraints as staff went off to the forces, money was tight, building was prohibited. Yet by the time Fred left Michaelhouse in 1952, the enlarged chapel had been completed – a war memorial to all those who had died. And, largely thanks to Fred’s insistence, it contained magnificent stained glass windows by Bossanyi. Again, too, he left a record of the importance of service: links were encouraged with Adams College, a school for blacks – and testimony to the importance of those links was later recorded at a Peterhouse Speech Day by an old student of Adams, Mr Douglas Sagonda, a member of the Peterhouse Governing Body. The Michaelhouse estate got its own school for workers’ children. These were the actions of a man who viewed with unease the National Party’s policies, which after their election victory of 1947 were taking South Africa in the direction of a more divided and intolerant society.

Still not 50, Fred had to decide what to do next. Britain hardly beckoned: the public schools in the early 1950s were replete with men who had served with distinction during the war, who had done their apprenticeship as housemasters, and were the kind of men likely to appeal to Governing Bodies. Besides, Britain can have held few attractions for a man who loved the bush and the mountains. So



his thoughts turned northwards. Fred's Chairman of the Governors was Bishop Parker, Paget's old friend from London and Benoni days. Perhaps he put in a word. We know he met Bishop Paget who was on holiday in Natal, and in September 1951 Paget wrote to Snell virtually appointing him as head of a school which did not yet exist: 'I think your appointment as Head would be cordially welcomed... If the nomination lies with me – as it would if Ruzawi starts the Senior School – I shall have no hesitation in nominating you.'<sup>39</sup> Carver and Grinham of Ruzawi were indeed keen to support any such new venture; they had left India just as Fred was going out to teach there, and had subsequently taught in South Africa before establishing their school at Ruzawi in 1928. They now offered Fred a teaching post as a base from which he could pursue the dream of a Church school. That was enough. At the Michaelhouse Speech Day at the end of 1951, Snell announced that he would be resigning as Rector in December 1952.

During 1952 Fred could manage only a few trips up to Southern Rhodesia in the school holidays. It became obvious in the first few months of the year that the project for the new school might stall if a site could not quickly be found. Not only would this give the new school greater credibility; it might also prevent the whole project from being overtaken by the efforts of others. Already by the end of 1951 various schemes were being floated, and it seemed unlikely that funding – and suitable pupils – would be forthcoming for all of them. Four different projects were already at a planning stage. Frank Cary, the headmaster of Eagle School in the Vumba, was anxious to see a new senior school in operation as soon as possible; his experience running a preparatory school told him there was a parental demand. He would, as we shall see, become the first headmaster of Falcon College, which opened the year before Peterhouse. Even more advanced in the planning was a scheme spun from the fertile, and very Anglo-Catholic, mind of the Revd Maurice Lancaster, parish priest at Balla Balla; this eventually came to fruition when St Stephen's, Balla Balla, opened in 1959. Yet another scheme was more of a pipe-dream in the mind of Ian 'Skinny' Hammond, a farmer and son of the legendary headmaster of Plumtree. Hammond did not want a Church school; he thought that sectarian divisions were the bane of the modern world. Yet early on (in mid-1952) he agreed to suspend his efforts and throw his weight (with reservations) behind what was by then known

as Peterhouse. Finally, and most crucially for Snell, there was the great desire by Paget and the Ruzawi Board to see a senior Church school open as soon as possible. Despite some disagreements and hiccups, it was the combination of Fred Snell and the Ruzawi plan – backed by Bishop Paget – which saw the creation of Peterhouse.

The problem of finding a site – and thereby providing a focus for the new school project – was a worry to Snell over the Christmas holidays in 1951. Fortunately, a man came forward who was free to do much of the leg-work in scouring the country for a site. Hugh Hodgkinson was a distinguished naval officer, who had joined the service at the age of 13, in 1925. He had been ADC to the Governor-General in South Africa, where he met and in 1938 married Wendy Ward-Jackson, from a wealthy Natal family. Hodgkinson twice won the DSC during the war, as a destroyer commander; he was eventually invalided out in 1948 with persistent sinus problems, though his last posting, at the Royal Naval College, Dartmouth, teaching new entry cadets, had given him the inspiration for a second career. While completing a history degree as a mature student at St Catherine's College, Oxford, he contacted Snell in May 1951 with a view to taking up teaching in South Africa or in 'Southern Rhodesia, where a new public school is projected'.<sup>40</sup> Nothing came of the possibility of a temporary job at Michaelhouse, but by the time Snell had made his public announcement of his departure, Hodgkinson had been out to Rhodesia, staying with his sister and brother-in-law in the Eastern Highlands. He had been in contact with some of those who were interested in starting a public school. In early January 1952 he wrote to Snell 'to offer my wholehearted services in helping you and all others involved in getting the work begun', and offering to work without a salary for the time being, while his wife and children remained behind in England.<sup>41</sup> Snell accepted the offer, highlighting the need to 'ensure that there is either an amalgamation of all the various projects which have been aired, or that one emerges as clearly the more practical and the others fade out'.<sup>42</sup> This was a theme that loomed large in the very first memorandum on the proposed school published by Snell on 1 March 1952. By then, he had had many approaches from people in the country interested in his project, and he set out the programme (for them and others) with a typically trenchant summary of what needed doing:<sup>43</sup>

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- (i) Find out whether the various interested groups can be combined into one and so avoid competition.
- (ii) Find a possible site.
- (iii) Work out a draft constitution.
- (iv) Attack the raising of the necessary interest and funds.
- (v) Concurrently work out plans for building by stages.
- (vi) Gather the nucleus of a staff.
- (vii) Build.
- (viii) Open, and go on building.

A month later, during the Easter holidays, Fred went to Rhodesia, based himself at Ruzawi, and met up with Hodgkinson, whom he was soon calling his 'most valuable lieutenant'.<sup>44</sup> A meeting at Ruzawi with Ellis Robins formed another important link. Robins was chairman of Ruzawi Schools Ltd, and the powerful resident director of the British South Africa Company in Salisbury. He had been up at Christ Church, Oxford, with Paget before the First World War, as a Rhodes Scholar from the USA. His career had become firmly embedded in British imperial concerns, and indeed he was to end up as one of only two Rhodesians raised to the peerage (the other being Godfrey Huggins). His economic clout meant a great deal to the Ruzawi Group, and would undoubtedly lend great weight to the campaign for a new senior school. As regards the nature of the new school, Robins was happy to go along with Snell's vision. But of course Fred was only briefly in Rhodesia at this stage, and on his return to Michaelhouse had to leave the search for a site, and the further definition of the nature of the school, to others. Hodgkinson therefore had a leading role to play in polishing and filling out the plans for the new school, and so had Humphrey Gibbs.

Gibbs can be regarded as one of the founders of Peterhouse. He was a farmer, businessman and MP, and a scion of the English aristocracy: his grandfather had built Tyntesfield, the glorious high Gothic mansion near Bristol, acquired in 2002 by the National Trust. Gibbs, an Old Etonian, had sent his first four sons, after Ruzawi, down to the Cape to the Diocesan College (Bishops) for their education. His youngest son was currently down to go to Whitestone. Gibbs fully backed the idea of a local public school, and as a prominent churchman was keen that it should be a Church school. He had been involved initially in Maurice Lancaster's plans in Matabeleland, where the Gibbs family lived. Perhaps, like Snell and Hodgkinson, he found

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Lancaster too eccentric, and too Anglo-Catholic; perhaps also he agreed with them that the site was hardly suitable – stuck out in the dry Matabele scrublands. At the first moves by Snell to recruit local talent, he came on board, as the chairman of what at this stage was simply called 'The Committee'. Another member was Geoffrey Ellman-Brown, Southern Rhodesia's Minister of Transport, and an accountant with extensive business interests. The important link with the Ruzawi Group was represented by Laurence Smith. He was Rhodesian-born; private secretary to Godfrey Huggins before the war, he had joined up and was on Lord Mountbatten's staff. He was awarded an MBE in 1947 and in that year became the local secretary of the British South Africa Company, and was also secretary of the Ruzawi Schools Ltd. These three men were to become founding Governors of Peterhouse under the chairmanship of Robins. In addition 'the Committee' comprised R.A. Hill, an accountant, Rex Reynolds, who ran a publicity firm, Harold Poole, an Umtali architect, and R.W. Foot, chairman of Wankie Colliery. Of these, only Hill continued his association beyond the early months. So from April 1952 the 'proposed school' had the beginnings of a Board, and a strong link with Ellis Robins and the Ruzawi Group – a link that was to provide the funding in these early months.

Snell and Hodgkinson had spent ten days together over Easter 1952 touring the Salisbury area and the Eastern Districts, petrol expenses being met by the Ruzawi Board. Eastern Rhodesia was the sort of country that appealed to Fred, and he was drawn back to the Chimanimani mountains, but decided that Melsetter was simply too inaccessible as a site for the new school. But two other possibilities attracted him. One was just north of Troutbeck Inn at Inyanga, part of Charles Hanmer's 37,000 acre estate. Fred managed to assemble a powerful local committee, including Hanmer and Herbert MacIlwaine, the founder of Troutbeck. But he was realistic enough to admit that the Hanmer land 'might easily make a splendid school site in fifteen years when good communications have opened up the Eastern Districts', and that meanwhile a portion of it could be used for a school camp – which is precisely what happened. Another powerful committee, including Sir Ian Wilson, the Speaker of the Federal Parliament, and several members of the Meikle family, was established at Umtali, near which was the preferred location for the new school.

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It was a portion of land belonging to the members of the Community of the Resurrection, alongside St Augustine's, the African secondary school which they ran at Penhalonga. When Fred returned to Natal, he was fired up with the possibilities of this site, and delighted when the Principal of St Augustine's wrote to him equally enthusiastically about the prospect 'of having two Church schools side by side, one black the other white'. He noted that 'the eyes of the country will be very much upon it'.<sup>45</sup> And meanwhile – before leaving Rhodesia – Fred had come up with a name for the proposed school – "Peterhouse", for the sake of the kinship with Michaelhouse'.<sup>46</sup> The dream of having Peterhouse alongside the prestigious and thoroughly Anglican St Augustine's was, however, soon shattered: Fred's enthusiastic response to the Principal crossed another from the Principal to Hodgkinson, reporting that a meeting of the Chapter had unanimously decided that the Community should not sell any land for fear of jeopardising its future expansion.

With Fred back at Michaelhouse, it fell to Hugh Hodgkinson to scour the country for other possible sites for Peterhouse. By the middle of June the number of discarded locations was mounting.<sup>47</sup> In the Eastern Highlands, Penhalonga was no longer possible, and the Vumba was both too inaccessible and too close to Frank Cary at Eagle, for it was feared he might muscle in on the project. The prospect of a school at Balla Balla was still being pursued energetically by Maurice Lancaster, but Hodgkinson regarded him as a harmless crank with a 'Heaven sent mission from the Almighty', who had best be left to get on with it. There had been the offer of a site at Selukwe, in the Rhodesian midlands – 'not so much a one horse town as a one mare town', as Hodgkinson called it. The local cultural scene – 'an annual holocaust of folk dances, piano recitals, Eisteddfods and Shavian productions' – did not appeal, and more seriously, its proximity to mining operations suggested the possibility that 'a hole might appear in a rugger ground overnight'. The locals were, apparently, very upset at their rejection; one old man 'on being told of my misgivings exclaimed "then all is lost", and nearly swooned on the pavement'.<sup>48</sup> Sadly, however, the story that the derelict Bushtick mine, not far away at Essexvale, had been inspected and rejected appears to have no basis in fact, though has a secure place in the folklore of Falcon College, which was to open there in 1954. So Hodgkinson reported that the three most

likely sites at this point were at Headlands (between Marandellas and Umtali), at Bromley, east of Salisbury, and 15 miles north east of Salisbury on the Nyasaland road. Fred returned to Rhodesia in July still keen to pursue the Penhalonga project, and not very enamoured of the three sites on offer. The ones near Salisbury were too near the capital, while the Headlands option was too remote. However, a new focus of attention had meanwhile appeared – near Marandellas. This area was suitably distant from Salisbury, but had good rail links, and decent local medical and shopping facilities in the town. It was the area that Grinham and Carver had settled on when they were looking for a site for what became Springvale School, despite pressure from the Ruzawi Board to look elsewhere.<sup>49</sup> There were some 2,500 whites in the area, about half living within the town – but the number was growing, and would double in the subsequent decade. Marandellas was a regional centre for the farming areas which stretched south to Wedza and east to Macheke. There were two primary schools, and of course two prime Anglican feeder schools – Ruzawi and Springvale – were in the vicinity. Fred had to return home before the Marandellas options could be explored fully, but in early August Hodgkinson sent him a sketch map with three possible sites marked. One was Liddle's farm (where Peterhouse now is), one a farm (Revolt) to the north west, adjacent to Springvale School and belonging to Jim Blake, from whom Canon Grinham had acquired the land for his school. The other was a farm (Alexandra) to the south west, adjacent to Ruzawi. Hodgkinson was optimistic: 'I really do think that we are drawing in the circle on the elusive prey.'<sup>50</sup>

A crucial meeting was held at Springvale School on Tuesday 19 August 1952, with Humphrey Gibbs in the chair. At it, Hodgkinson pressed hard for an agreement to go for Liddle's farm, though as Gibbs later reported to Snell, this was largely because he was impatient with the delays in making a decision, and – more to the point – was anxious to get the matter settled before going on holiday in England.<sup>51</sup> Fred demanded, and got, an aerial photograph of the site, and a report from the government's assistant irrigation engineer indicated that a dam could be constructed which could supply adequate water for the proposed school population. By October Fred was in direct contact with Mr Liddle, who confirmed that there was a 'gentleman's agreement' that he would not sell to any other bidder until

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Peterhouse had made a decision. Although he was anxious to settle the matter, he and his wife were keen 'to be associated with a scheme such as you are contemplating on our own broad acres'.<sup>52</sup> But by the end of October, tetchy letters were being exchanged between Snell and Gibbs, and between Snell and Laurence Smith. The problem of the site was still not settled, and with Snell in Natal and Hodgkinson in England there seemed to be no one on the spot willing to push the matter forward. In addition there were differences of opinion about the nature and control of the new school, which had in fact been rumbling on as a backdrop to the site search over the previous six months.

In the broadest terms, the nature of the school had never been in doubt: it was to be a 'Church school'. That was from the first the intention of Paget and Snell, and it fitted into the relationship which the proposed school had – from the beginning – with the Ruzawi Group. But what more was it to be? Snell's first detailed memorandum, before the school had even been named, sketched out the 'Nature of the School': it was to be a Church school, with the bishop as a key player, though the school would be open to boys and staff of all Christian denominations. It was to be a boarding school for boys aged 13–18, and its size would be eventually in the region of 300–400. It was, finally, to be a 'Rhodesian school in the sense that it will exist to adapt all that is best in the Public School tradition to African conditions, and to serve these British African territories'. At the same time, however, 'it must not be narrowly Rhodesian. In any small new and somewhat isolated country an arrogant insularity is a real danger. It is the business of any educator to beware this tendency and to correct it. Particularly is it the duty of a Christian school.'<sup>53</sup>

It was Humphrey Gibbs who came up with a further memorandum, emphasising the Christian nature of the proposed school, and adding some refinements. He wrote that although the founders wanted a traditional public school, they believed 'that there is much in the system practised at Gordonstoun school which is suitable for the colony'. In addition, 'it is hoped to acquire land suitable for farming and forestry with the school, and the boys will be integrated with the land'.<sup>54</sup> There is little doubt that we can see the hand of Hugh Hodgkinson in all this. Gordonstoun, in the remote north of Scotland, was founded by Kurt Hahn. 'Enthusiasm as the tonic for listless

adolescents; team-work to harness the individual; dedication in service to the community' – these were his ideals, but in addition, 'this prophet from Germany had flung open the windows of classrooms and dormitories and pointed to the mountains and sea, where the human spirit could learn its limitations and, with practice, master them'.<sup>55</sup> Hahn was an influential figure in the early 1950s, and his Outward Bound movement was already spreading beyond Britain, as would the Duke of Edinburgh's Award scheme, launched in 1956 and inspired by the same ideals.<sup>56</sup> Hodgkinson picked up on these, and alongside his farming plans, pursued them over the coming months. Indeed he was soon to 'vanish' to Scotland and spend a year teaching at Gordonstoun. However, Gibbs was soon passing on the strong feeling of the committee that 'we should aim first and foremost at establishing an ordinary Church Public School', and that while boys should take an interest in the food problems of the world, and farming in general, 'we do not want the school to become a semi agricultural College'.<sup>57</sup> Snell agreed, though he did think that the chosen site should be productive enough to ensure the possibility of growing vegetables and keeping cattle, for economic rather than educational reasons in the main. Hodgkinson sought a month later to elevate the debate by asserting that 'the main cause of spiritual sickness in the western world to-day is that historic events arising out of the industrial revolution have driven the majority of mankind into a form of living bereft entirely from the deep joys of craftsmanship or creative work of any kind'.<sup>58</sup> And in an amazingly percipient comment which neatly summarised the 'education with production' philosophy of the Ministry of Education in the new Zimbabwe 30 years later, he asserted that 'boys ought to be integrated into the whole productive activity of the country while still in boyhood. School should be an education for life.'

In a first stab at writing a prospectus towards the end of 1952, Hodgkinson had not dropped the farming aspect, but confined it to the sentence: 'Thus farming and forestry activities will be carried on by the boys', and generations of boys who toiled in the pine plantations, weeding and planting and trimming, might well assert that this is precisely what happened. Hodgkinson noted too that 'many of the methods so successfully applied at Gordonstoun School in Scotland appeal to the founders'. He also raised a particularly thorny issue in the sentence: 'The great specific problem of Rhodesia – the African



European relationship and partnership will be actively recognised and tackled as a school subject.<sup>59</sup> In proof-reading this, Snell marked this whole section, on farming, Gordonstoun and African European relations, 'rewrite less definitely'. The first printed prospectus, published in April 1953, contained no references whatever to these 'contentious' issues, except for a short description of the site and a comment that there was 'ample room for playing fields and scope for farming and forestry'. Hodgkinson's grand philosophical themes were touched upon briefly: '... the founders of Peterhouse believe that the dominant problems of the second half of this century will be human not technical. The paramount need is therefore for qualities of leadership and faith rather than for technical skill.' There was no mention of Gordonstoun, though Fred had in fact met its founder, Kurt Hahn, when they had both spoken at a Toc H conference in 1937.<sup>60</sup> While aspects of Gordonstoun had an obvious appeal for Snell (challenge, outdoor activities, a certain Spartanism) it may just be that we can see here some of the strains in the Snell-Hodgkinson relationship which were to surface later. Perhaps Hodgkinson's very enthusiasm for Gordonstoun made Snell less enamoured of it.

Snell's meeting with Ellis Robins at Ruzawi in April 1952 had left another, and crucial issue unresolved. How was the new school to be governed? Was it to be a part of the Ruzawi Group? Fred did not think so, and his memorandum written soon after the meeting was typically trenchant. 'I am not prepared to undertake that I would be willing to act as the head of a senior school under their [Ruzawi Group's] Constitution.' While hoping for a close relationship with the Group – perhaps in the form of a large representation on the school's Board – he was sceptical about a closer affiliation. 'A girls' prep school, 2 boys' prep schools 300 miles apart, and a boys' public school which might be 100 miles from the nearest of the others look to me a somewhat indigestible mixture for one pudding.'<sup>61</sup> It wasn't until August that the problem of governance was tackled, with Fred offering the Michaelhouse constitution as a basis for discussion. But in October, Humphrey Gibbs delivered something of a bombshell. He told Snell that he had recently met Ellis Robins, who was adamant that 'unless Peterhouse comes under the Ruzawi Board of Governors, there is no chance at all of raising the necessary capital'.<sup>62</sup> A few days later, Laurence Smith wrote reinforcing this, but offering the thought

that 'perhaps the position need not be so difficult as at first seemed likely', in that Peterhouse could have a committee of management (as Bishopslea and Whitestone did) with the full powers of directors, which they would need if they were to raise money.<sup>63</sup> Fred responded in an equally conciliatory tone, but concluded that there could be no final decisions on the constitution until he reached Marandellas; his own diary for November and December was understandably stuffed full of leaving functions, dinners and speeches. A similarly irenic letter was sent to Ellis Robins. When the committee met in January 1953, chaired by Humphrey Gibbs and attended by Messrs Snell, Smith, Ellman-Brown and Poole, it appeared that subject to Sir Ellis's agreement, the draft constitution was ready to be formally adopted. Fred had in effect triumphed. Peterhouse was to be registered as a non-profit-making company, with 51% of the nominal shares owned by Ruzawi School Ltd. There would be up to 15 governors, with a Ruzawi representation of six. An executive committee (EXCO) appointed by the Board, to include two members nominated by the diocese, would normally handle the company's affairs.<sup>64</sup> And the head of the school would be called 'Rector'.

Fred imported this term from Michaelhouse, whose founding head, J.C. Todd, was a Scot. In 1896 he had brought the term 'Rector' from his homeland, where it was – and is – widely used to denote the head of an institution. Todd intended that the Rector should always be in holy orders, but this was changed at Michaelhouse in 1910.<sup>65</sup> The title 'Rector' (from the Latin *regere*, 'to rule') has in fact a long history within Christendom. Seminaries, colleges and universities in Europe and beyond are often headed by a Rector. The head of the University of Louvain, in Belgium, rejoices in the even more grandiose title, 'Rector magnificus'. The Pope himself, on receipt of his tiara, is called 'Rector of the world'. And of course, in the Church of England, incumbents are often called 'rector'; the distinction between rector and vicar is non-existent in modern times, but reflects a time when the former had more power and income than the latter. In the public school world, the term 'Headmaster' (or 'Head Master') is most common, though 'Principal' is sometimes used. Other titles include 'Warden' (Radley, St Edward's, Oxford), 'Master' (Marlborough, Wellington), 'Chief Master' (King Edward's, Birmingham), 'High Master' (Manchester Grammar School, St Paul's). But the other Rectors whom Fred joined

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on the Headmasters' Conference were all (except for Michaelhouse) in Scotland, where there were eight. Rather more grandly, two Oxford colleges (Exeter and Lincoln) boast a Rector. One other school in Rhodesia employed the term – St George's. I found during my time that the Ministry of Education or the press might sometimes address me as 'Headmaster', 'Principal', 'Head Teacher' or 'Director'. Despite its ecclesiastical connotations, the title did not imply any religious content, though Fred Snell was always amused when addressed as 'The Reverend'.

'Peterhouse School', was incorporated under Southern Rhodesian law on 13 March 1953. The Rector always insisted that the school be called, simply, 'Peterhouse'. When introducing Robert Birley at Speech Day in 1965 he underlined the fact that the guest of honour was a former headmaster of Charterhouse – 'not of course any such redundant nonsense as Charterhouse School'.<sup>66</sup> That was something all subsequent Rectors insisted upon, though in fact legally the entity was indeed 'Peterhouse School'. When David Hatendi (G71) pointed out to EXCO in 2000 that 'the word "School" should be omitted from the frontispiece of the annual Accounts' he was being true to the Snell tradition; but Dick Turpin directed that 'the correct title of the school is Peterhouse School for the purpose of the annual report'.<sup>67</sup> A month after incorporation, the first prospectus was at the printers, and Snell had been authorised to build up a workforce on the site. The agreement with Liddle to transfer his farm to Peterhouse was signed in May.

### 3

## *Getting Started*

Parliament was opened by Sir John Kennedy on 14th April, 1953 in a speech which was considerably brighter than the usual dull affair one had got accustomed to. It referred to three matters concerned with royalty: the death of the Dowager Queen Mary, the impending coronation of Queen Elizabeth the Second, and a prospective visit to Rhodesia of the Queen Mother and Princess Margaret. It went on to refer to the Rhodes Centenary celebrations, and the acceptance of federation at the referendum. These events, in conjunction with the inauguration of the new order, gave 1953 the promise of an *annus mirabilis*.

Julian Greenfield, *Testimony of a Rhodesian Federal* (Bulawayo 1978) p 133

The year 1953 opened with a good deal of optimism, in the country and among those involved with Peterhouse. On 6 February the *Rhodesia Herald* carried a small article headed 'Building of New School to Begin This Year'. At last it was public knowledge that it was to be situated near Marandellas, 'on a healthy and attractive spot 5,400 feet above sea level', on a 1,300 acre site. The school was to cost some £350,000, of which £100,000 had already been promised in donations of unsecured debentures. It was almost a year since Snell in Natal and the Committee in Salisbury had come up with this figure, though of course – as is the way in these matters – by 1957 it was clear that the cost of the buildings and equipment would be nearer £550,000.<sup>68</sup> However the fund-raising was going well, and by the time the foundation stone was laid in July 1954, nearly £250,000 had been promised or received. The biggest single donor was the British South Africa Company and its various offshoots, which thanks to the efforts of Ellis Robins had donated £5,000 and had promised loans (redeemable at 5% in 20 years but never redeemed) of £80,000. The

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Beit Trust grants amounted to £45,000 spread over the years 1954–58. Underlining the school's role within the Federation as a whole, the Northern Rhodesian government had given a loan of £25,000 and the various copper belt mining companies donated some £10,000. Shell, Gallagher's, Barclays Bank and the Standard Bank, the Rhodes Trust and Tanganyika Concessions Ltd had donated a combined total of £16,550. If some of these sums seem small by modern standards, an updating of them is instructive. By most indices the purchasing power of the pound sterling was in 2004 some 16 times less than it had been in 1954. This would mean the sundry donations (from Shell etc) would now be worth some £264,000, and the total projected expenditure would be about £5.6 million.

With the school now having a legal existence and a site, and with money coming in, it was time to start building. An architectural competition was launched in March. In July the EXCO received the verdict of Professor L.W. Thornton White of Cape Town, who had agreed to act as assessor of the 16 designs which were submitted. The drawings were on view in the Cathedral Cloisters in Salisbury, and the winners and runners-up were presented with prizes by Sir Ellis Robins. The chosen design was by Messrs Montgomerie, Oldfield and Robson of Salisbury. It was a modern one, placing the main entrance (or administration) block on stilts, and making use of the local grey granite which could be excavated on site. 'The buildings', as the *Sunday Mail* reported, 'are being constructed in an attractive contemporary style and are based on some of the modern schools which have been built in Britain since the war.'<sup>69</sup> The main buildings would comprise this block, and the attached dining halls and kitchens. Work also began concurrently on the detached library, which would act as a chapel until a proper school chapel could be funded and built. Meanwhile, with great good sense, Fred Snell prospected the whole site for a suitable place to build the Rector's Lodge, and found a perfect area to the south east of the main campus, with panoramic views down to Wedza mountain. There the Lodge was constructed as a separate project (and as the legal headquarters of Peterhouse School, as the plaque there still testifies), and was completed in April 1954, so that after 15 months of temporary lodging at Ruzawi, the Snell family could now settle into their spacious new house, though it also acted as an office and a hotel for newly arrived staff during its first two

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years. Three months later, amid oceans of red mud, the foundation stone of the new school was formally laid by Sir Ellis Robins, and blessed by Bishop Paget. Already much building had been completed – five staff houses, four workshops (where the design centre now is) and the swimming pool (later to become the staff pool) were ready, and a boarding house (now Ellis) had reached a respectable height. The ceremony took place on Wednesday 28 July: the bishop blessed the granite foundation stone; Godfrey Huggins, the Federal Prime Minister, introduced Sir Ellis who formally laid the stone, watched by the chairman of the EXCO, Humphrey Gibbs. Canon Grinham read a lesson. The Union flag and the new Peterhouse flag (a white martyr's crown on a blue background) flew overhead. Fred Snell bustled about in gown and mortarboard, attended by his dogs, 'Nuts' and 'Bolts'. The cine film of the occasion reminds us of the contrasts: the mud, on which are parked the gleaming official limousines of the Prime Minister and Sir Ellis; the workers in their overalls and the platform party in suits and robes; the partly constructed granite and brick walls on their muddy surrounds, against a backdrop of vivid green countryside and a bright blue winter sky.

The six months following the laying of the foundation stone were a battle against time, if Peterhouse was to open in January 1955. The library was completed to act initially as the school chapel, to the west of the area already pegged out as the 'Great Court'. (It is curious that Fred Snell, an Oxford man, should have used the Cambridge term instead of the Oxford one, 'quadrangle' or 'quad', to describe this area.) The Great Court was a wonderful concept: around it would arise the main school buildings. On its western side would lie the boarding houses, and on the east side the classrooms – so it became the Piccadilly Circus of Peterhouse; if you stood there long enough, you would see every member of the community. Also to the west the first of the main school buildings were completed during 1954 – the kitchens and dining halls, and the first boarding house, called for the moment 'House No 1' but later to become 'Ellis'. It was in its uncompleted wall that the foundation stone was laid, only to be moved later to the wall of the (inelegantly named) administration block, which from 1959 until the building of the Gibbs Centre in the 1990s was the main entrance to the school buildings. Throughout 1954 the building operations were spurred on by the Rector, whose particular delight

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was to prospect and measure and plan. Bruce Berrington and his band of 230 African workers were responsible for the actual building. On one occasion, as Berrington recalled a few years later, the Rector was roped in to help him connect piping to the bore hole (near the present science department); it was a long, tedious and messy job with Fred becoming more and more tired and dirty as he painted the threads on the pipes with graphite. When they had finished and had sat down to enjoy a smoke, and possibly a drink, they were interrupted by Margaret Snell's arrival to remind Fred that they had an evening appointment at Wedza. After Fred had been scrubbed down (using Vim, or so Margaret related) they went off to the debating society at Wedza, where Fred won the debating prize. There were two other unlikely helpers in the building operations during late 1954. The first two boys had arrived at Peterhouse in September, a term early. The Cross family of Inyazura were visited by Hugh Hodgkinson in 1952, during his search for a site for the proposed school, and they had offered him part of their land, which was not taken up largely because their estate was too remote. But the Crosses decided that when their boys were ready to go to senior school, they would end up at the new one, wherever it should be. Their younger son, Robin, was at Springvale, and their elder boy, Anthony, at REPS (the Rhodes Estate Preparatory School near Bulawayo). Anthony had outgrown prep school, so when his mother got an invitation from Fred Snell to send her son as the first boy at Peterhouse, she gladly accepted. In October 1954 he and another youngster, Murray Alexander, arrived at the Rector's Lodge, clad in their khaki shirt and shorts, and thus became the original two Peterhouse boys. They were sent to live with the estate manager, Bryan Curtis. Margaret Snell taught them science, Fred divinity, and the one and only assistant master thus far appointed, Bruce Fieldsend, took them for all other subjects. So even before the school 'opened', Peterhouse had some buildings, some boys and some staff.

Bryan Curtis had arrived at Eastbourne as a new boy in 1938 just as the Snells departed for Michaelhouse. He was one of those 'orphans of Empire', educated in England while their parents toiled in remote areas – in this case, not quite the Empire, as Curtis's father (an Irishman) was Bishop of Chekiang (1929–50), and the first diocesan bishop consecrated in the newly formed Anglican Church in China. Bryan went on to read agriculture at Trinity College, Oxford. He

gained a rugby blue, and later played for Ireland, and was capped three times. He served in the RAF (his brother was killed on active service) and married Babs. They moved to Southern Rhodesia and began tea-planting in the Honde Valley, in the Eastern Districts. With the arrival of children, they began to worry about the remoteness of their location, and Bryan approached Fred to ask for a job. He was appointed estate manager though, as Fred always averred, longed to be appointed to the academic staff – which happened in 1956. Bruce Fieldsend, the sole assistant master in 1954, had far stronger prior links with Snell. A Southern Rhodesian, he had been a boy at Ruzawi and at Michaelhouse during the Snell regime. After reading maths at Rhodes University, he won a Rhodes Scholarship to Oxford where, for the sake of mind-broadening, he read English. He taught at two government schools (Guinea Fowl and Chaplin), and while on honeymoon in December 1952 heard that Fred was to leave Michaelhouse and start a new school, so in May 1953 the two met at Ruzawi, and Bruce there and then became the first member of staff appointed to the new school. He and Liza moved into the Rector's Lodge in September 1954, while their staff house was being completed. Bruce records the arrival of the two boys the following month: 'Their dismay at a staff/pupil ratio of 3:2 can have been no less than mine when I realised that the Rector was too busy as a building contractor and the housemaster (Curtis) was equally too busy as estate manager, to do any teaching.' The boys enjoyed those twelve or so weeks as pioneers. They were taught in the mornings, and spent the afternoons swimming or visiting Springvale by bicycle to do some cricket practice in the nets there. They also did their bit in the creation of Peterhouse. They helped the estate manager peg out the playing fields; and they mapped the boundaries of the whole estate, and built stone cairns as markers – which survive. On Sundays they were driven to church in Marandellas by Fred 'at 100 miles an hour', and to breakfast afterwards at the Lodge. As Bruce Fieldsend recalls, it was 'disappointingly tame' when the school opened in earnest in 1955.

The first term was due to begin in January. In the midst of a record rainy season, the opening was delayed, as work had become bogged down in mud and, more importantly, the kitchen stoves had not yet been installed. After a week's delay, on 3 February, the 50 boys arrived to a sea of mud; Snell commented that the first parents 'were quite



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heroic to go away and leave their wretched offspring roosting in all this mess'. Half of the new boys were from prep schools (mainly Springvale and Whitestone) and the other half from government junior schools. 'They shook down together quickly, and regard it as a privilege to be the pioneers', as Margaret Snell reported.<sup>70</sup> They lived in 'House No 1', which also provided a room for the tuck shop (soon to move to its present site under the main dining hall), and Hugh Hodgkinson was their housemaster. Other staff had arrived. Late in 1954 Ian Ferguson and Godfrey Sellars moved in. Ferguson was a Northern Rhodesian and an old boy of St George's, who had seen active service during the war, and had taught chemistry at Michaelhouse while Fred was still there. Godfrey Sellars became the first Director of Music. At the end of the first term, Hugh Hodgkinson went back to England – and never saw Peterhouse again. It was a parting of the ways perhaps foreshadowed by the arguments over the prospectus back in 1952. Hodgkinson had been teaching at Gordonstoun from September 1953 until the summer of 1954, so he had missed out on the planning and building which saw the site he had selected slowly transforming into a school.<sup>71</sup> He was, in the memory of the boys, a striking and vigorous housemaster during that first term, but they were unaware of the currents beneath the surface. Undoubtedly he and Snell, both used to being in command, rubbed each other up the wrong way. For Hodgkinson, it must have been a blow when the Rector appointed his first senior master – Charles Fisher, sight unseen, who was teaching at Harrow and who, even more significantly, was one of the five sons of the Archbishop of Canterbury. Snell must have seen the appointment as something of a coup for a new Church school; for Hodgkinson, it must have been a bit of a slap in the face. He took himself off back to England in the Easter holidays; there had always been the worry for him that his wife did not really want to be a pioneer in Rhodesia, and he had long agonised over this and his separation from the family. The Rector reported to the Executive Committee in early June that he had received a cable from Hodgkinson refusing the offer of a 'teaching mastership' for the rest of 1955 – in other words, he could no longer expect to be a housemaster. Exactly one month later, on 8 July, Hodgkinson was offered the headship of Milton Abbey School in Dorset. He had applied for a housemastership there and had been told by the Chairman of the Governors, Captain Angus Hambro (with whose

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family the Hodgkinsons had some links): 'It's not a housemaster we need, but a headmaster.'<sup>72</sup> Milton Abbey had only been open for ten months, but even the grand buildings and spectacular surroundings had not prevented the school having a fairly disastrous first year, at the end of which the headmaster was sacked. 'Milton Abbey school owes much to the pioneering spirit of its founders and the charismatic personality of its creator, Commander Hugh Hodgkinson', the school history records. Perhaps it was best that the 'faithful lieutenant' of whom Snell had boasted in 1952 should now make his own mark in his own public school. At least at Peterhouse he left behind a lasting memorial: the area outside the dining halls is still called the quarter-deck, and there hangs the naval shell rung to mark formal mealtimes. And when he died in 1996 his obituary awarded him the title of 'one of the founders of Peterhouse School'.<sup>73</sup>

Charles Fisher arrived with his family at Easter 1955. Africa wasn't quite *terra incognita* to him, as his uncle – who lived in Grahamstown – had been Bishop of Natal (1928–51) and Snell's Chairman of the Governors at Michaelhouse. His cousin Anne was a headmistress in Kenya and was soon to become head of Arundel in Salisbury, the girls' school which opened a year after Peterhouse and which she set on course after 'a bad start'.<sup>74</sup> In addition, in 1952 he married Anne Hammond, daughter of 'Skinny' who was a Governor of Peterhouse. Fisher had been a boy at Marlborough, and had read chemistry at Keble College, Oxford. After war service he taught at Harrow. One of his brothers was headmaster of St Edward's, Oxford; another was a fellow of All Souls. For Snell, he was a great find; because of him this new Church school was to be visited by the Archbishop of Canterbury twice during its first five years – something of a PR triumph.

Later in 1955, Paul Lucas (Winchester and Christ Church, Oxford) arrived for a five term spell before going on to Cuddesdon to train for the ministry.<sup>75</sup> His cousin farmed at Umvukwes and was a friend and neighbour of the Hammonds; another curious link was that his father, as an undergraduate, had been a pall bearer at the funeral of Bishop Paget's mother at Christ Church, Oxford. In 1956 other men joined the staff: Tony Cheetham (Keble, Oxford), who had taught at St Paul's, Michael Slot (Eton and King's, Cambridge) and D.T. Byron (Harrow and Pembroke, Oxford). Then in 1957 there was a further influx: Anthony Mallett (Dulwich and Brasenose, Oxford) who had

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done six years' teaching at Haileybury, Martin Graham (Glenalmond and Oriel, Oxford), who was another episcopal offspring (his father was Bishop of Brechin, Scotland), R.A. Rees (Kingswood and Trinity, Oxford), who had done a short spell of teaching at St Andrew's, Bloemfontein and Ian Campbell (Canford and Trinity, Oxford), a triple blue who had taught at Rugby. The first full time (though short term) resident chaplain arrived from Michaelhouse – Trevor Bush, who stayed just two years. It was, all in all, a young staff, and a mixture of those straight from university and those with experience. Fred could feel he had a staff which would not have disgraced any English public school; indeed his very success in recruiting a fairly distinguished bunch turned to the disadvantage of the school in that many gained promotion, some all too soon after their arrival at Peterhouse. Tony Cheetham stayed just two years before becoming headmaster of Whitestone. Anthony Mallett after seven years became Principal of Bishops in Cape Town and Ian Campbell left after three years and in 1968 became head of St Stephen's, Balla Balla, and subsequently of King's College, Auckland. Bryan Curtis left in 1962 to take over Ruzawi. After many years of service, two others gained headships – Martin Graham at Chisipite, and Bruce Fieldsend at Peterhouse. But perhaps the most influential of Snell's assistant masters in the early years was Charles Fisher. In his six years at the school, as the Rector said at Speech Day, he 'left his mark for good on everything he touched, and there was little he did not'. He was senior master and housemaster; he taught chemistry, coached rugby, and started the unison choir. He acted, and assisted in chapel, and took boys up to Peterhaven. It was this last activity which helped create the first 'crisis' of Fred's Rectorship. The 'problem' was what has subsequently been termed 'skinny-dipping'.

'Skinny-dipping' was a term invented in America in the mid-1960s, but the practice wasn't invented then. During the 19th century, and much of the 20th, men who went to public schools and the universities were as used to nude bathing as the urchins famously photographed skinny-dipping in the Serpentine and being chased by a policeman in the 1920s. Fred Snell was thus a product of his own upbringing. He had bathed in the nude at Winchester, and presumably too at 'Parson's Pleasure' when up at Oxford. A contemporary of his, J.R. Darling, was an enthusiastic swimmer, and when he became head-

master of Geelong Grammar School (where Fisher would end up) he fell in with the custom there of swimming naked. Perhaps it could be said of Fred, as it was of Darling, that thereby 'he put sharply to the test a boy's sense of the ridiculous when confronted by his headmaster clothed in much less than a little brief authority'.<sup>76</sup> Fred Snell's commitment to hardiness and adventure was to have important implications for the tone and structure of Peterhouse. As far as swimming was concerned, however, he met his match in Humphrey Gibbs who was horrified at the proposal that the boys at the new school should swim naked. Gibbs was an Old Etonian, and his school had abandoned nude swimming in 1893; indeed it has been noted that Etonians tended towards a prudery uncharacteristic of public school boys. Humphrey had his way; swimming at Peterhouse meant wearing bathing costumes. Not so in the mountains – especially at Inyanga and the Chimanimanis. Snell's deputy, Charles Fisher, was 20 years younger than Snell, but he had bathed naked during his time at Marlborough, and arrived at Peterhouse straight from a teaching post at Harrow – where naked bathing in the 'Ducker' was an integral part of school life. Interestingly, another Harrovian, Andrew Hunt, introduced compulsory swimming when he was headmaster of Bernard Mizeki College, and found, to his surprise, 'that African boys would not bathe in the nude', which had seemed to him the cheapest option.<sup>77</sup> Daphne Rae records her somewhat prurient campaign to have the practice stopped at Harrow in the 1950s.<sup>78</sup> The practice seems to have died out in most schools in the UK by the 1970s. At Marlborough the date is precise – 1968, with the arrival of girls at the school. But there is a serious aspect to all of this. British society, which became much more 'tolerant' and 'permissive' after the 1960s, at the same time became much more sensitive to young people being seen naked, by each other or by their masters. This was largely due to an increasing obsession in the media with 'sex', and by the end of the 20th century with paedophilia as well.

Such sentiments were rare in the mid-20th century. Yet in the second year of the existence of Peterhouse a parent stirred up a hornets' nest. He or his son had noticed, in Charles Fisher's study, some photographs, probably of boys swimming at Inyanga. He was horrified that they were naked, and raised a complaint, enlisting other parents and demanding Charles Fisher's head. Undoubtedly a current national

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scandal had a bearing on all this. Frank Cary, the first headmaster of Falcon, had resigned after charges had been brought with regard to his time as headmaster of Eagle.<sup>79</sup> He was accused of molesting boys, and was due to stand trial in October 1956. Fred was quick to jump to the defence of his second master; he briefed the staff, and circularised parents trying to head off the storm by explaining his own belief that swimming in the nude encouraged a 'healthier matter-of-factness about the human body', and a reduction in the number of lost costumes.<sup>80</sup>

But there was more to it than that. Every new headmaster faces – at some stage – complaints about his methods or performance, and invidious comparisons are drawn with the more successful ways of his predecessor. But headmasters of new schools are not immune; and they have no traditions or track record to fall back on. So it is not surprising that the parents meeting, which took place in Salisbury on 25 September 1956, should have seen the demand for a Parent-Teacher Association, and a committee of parents. As Snell reported to EXCO, 'The latter, perhaps, may be useful.'<sup>81</sup> He, like his successors, had no desire to have his hands tied by a PTA: there was the strong feeling that current parents will always have a short term and partial view; there was a belief that the complex and professional job of running a boarding school should be left to the professionals; and of course there was always the understanding that (unlike state schools) private schools were in the marketplace, and parents had a choice of sending or not sending their children. By sending them, they were buying into a system which had never given the customers much say in what happened in the school. Nevertheless, complaints – once stirred up – were for Snell (as for his successors from time to time) both irritating and unfair, and only confirmed the 'partial view' argument about parents. In this case, Snell found that they overwhelmingly rejected any suggestion of impropriety by Fisher, but managed to pile up a whole heap of other objections. There were complaints about food and about beards (presumably on members of staff); there were suggestions that staff were untidily dressed at sports meetings. More worryingly, there were what would now be called 'racist' complaints: that the school had allowed a meeting of the Capricorn Africa Society to take place on its premises; that 'an African was permitted to attend class with our boys' (he was a lab assistant); that African servants

were allowed in the gallery at film shows. Neither the committee of four parents that was set up, nor the Rector, regarded any of these as substantial criticisms, and the storm abated as quickly as it had blown up. EXCO commended the Rector for his actions, and noted also its sorrow at the death of the Fishers' adopted son, whose grave was the first one in the Peterhouse graveyard.

By the end of 1956 the school was entering a new phase. The editorial in the school magazine at the end of that year drew a comparison with the life of the new boy at school: in his first term he 'is vividly conscious of a new world with larger freedom, of wider horizons, and exciting possibilities', but during his second term 'the novelty is wearing off and life is tough and earnest'. So with the school during its first and second years: the novelty had worn off and 'the testing time is begun' though 'in many respects the pioneer stage is far from completed'. There had been 50 boys when the school opened; in 1956 there were 115, with the prospect of more than 250 in the following year. The oldest boys were now 15 or 16. They would be divided among the three boarding houses now completed, and building had begun on a fourth. One classroom block was finished, and a second begun. Playing fields were now extensive, and the school swimming pool under construction. The dam was almost completed. And, perhaps closest to the Rector's heart, the foundations had been laid for the chapel and its walls were beginning to rise.

Bishop Paget, now nearing retirement, could look back on a very long life of service in Africa, but, as his biographer suggests, 'the sweetest achievement of all may well have been the opening of Peterhouse, the "Senior Ruzawi" which had been visualised right back in 1928'.<sup>82</sup> In 1954 Paget had dedicated the foundation stone laid by Ellis Robins. In May 1955 the ecclesiastical equivalent of the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland – the Province of Central Africa – came into being, and Paget was elected its first Archbishop. Guy Clutton-Brock, who always maintained that 'racial partnership was a sham', nevertheless admitted that there were 'many good people trying to make it work'. One of those was Paget, who 'had for ever one foot in the establishment and one in the kingdom of God'.<sup>83</sup> He genuinely believed, as did others, that Federation was the way forward. There is a lighter side to this story. For years Paget had signed himself †Edward Southern Rhodesia, and then briefly †Edward Mashonaland; now he would

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use †Edward Central Africa, though Bishop Oliver Green-Wilkinson (Northern Rhodesia) made the puckish comment: 'We are thinking of calling him Ted Fed.'<sup>84</sup> The Archbishop of Canterbury came out for the inauguration of the new Province, and visited Peterhouse where his son and family were just settling in. Archbishop Paget visited the school in November, and delighted the boys: in the absence of a pulpit in the temporary chapel (the library) he stood in the 'chancel' for his sermon, and preached so vigorously that when he walked backwards, he hit the altar and ended up sitting on it. His next visit, a year later, was for confirmation, and for the laying of the foundation stone of the chapel. In retirement, he was to return for its dedication. Fred got on well with Paget – they were both determined, bullish, opinionated, enthusiastic and convinced of the centrality of the Christian faith to education. For Fred, that meant the urgent need for a chapel. He had been very moved by a letter he received in 1952 from Mrs Liddle, whose property was to become the Peterhouse site, but which he had not yet seen. She told him of the efforts of an 85 year old local woman, Mrs Wedgwood: 'From the moment she heard that there was a probability of Peterhouse coming to Marandellas she has worked day and night sewing and knitting to raise funds for a chapel for the school'.<sup>85</sup> Snell wrote to thank the old lady. 'I have just finished seeing the new Michaelhouse Chapel built', he told her, adding that 'it seems almost too much to hope for that the same man may have the privilege of presiding over the building of yet another school Chapel'.<sup>86</sup>

At the end of the first school year, Fred extracted from EXCO an agreement that 'the Chapel must be regarded as an essential part of the school's equipment and not as an optional extra', though it was stressed that the funding should come through gifts specifically for this purpose.<sup>87</sup> At the same time, EXCO viewed the design of the proposed chapel, in the form of a model. Fred's daughter Pippa, who was still studying architecture at Cape Town, had been commissioned to produce a design which would use local materials, accommodate at least 600, and dominate the Great Court. So the chapel was to be built in granite, and the design was similar to the newly completed Coventry Cathedral – louvred sides with the floor to roof windows casting light towards the altar. Acoustics were a problem – and one that was never entirely overcome. The granite walls fragmented sound, and the acoustic panels forming the ceiling and the front of

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the large gallery went only some way to correcting the problem – and when later the chapel roof was blown off, they were never replaced. Nevertheless, it was a grand conception. Fred's passion for music was to be accommodated: choir stalls flanked the chancel, and behind and above them were large – ambitiously large – spaces designed to accommodate the organ that would eventually be installed. The pews were to be of mukwa – that strikingly handsome local hardwood. The altar, in good Anglo-Catholic fashion, would be set high at the east end; the wall behind might display a mural. The louvred walls would be particularly effective in this sanctuary area, flooding light onto the altar. There were additional out-buildings to house the chaplain's study and the music rooms, and on the plan there was to be a large campanile (or free standing bell tower) – the only part of the design which never materialised.

To finance all of this, while at the same time planning to build more boarding houses, classrooms, administration block and staff housing, was a huge challenge. The chapel appeal was launched in the first issue of the school magazine, distributed in April 1956, and a photograph of the model was included. As a result, some £2,000 in cash and promises came in. A fete, organised by Charles Fisher, was held at the end of the Rhodes and Founders weekend, and raised a further £2,000. They were almost at their target of £5,000. On 4 November 1956, Archbishop Paget laid the foundation stone. It was his last official function at the school before his retirement.



## *Metamorphosis*

School is a place of initiations, discoveries, loneliness, sociability, tests and failures, full of dramatic possibility – where friends are made (and betrayed), and all too easily enemies, where bullies and victims abound, where rules of appalling artificiality circumscribe our every move, just waiting to be broken, and where a few teachers loom large in our consciousness as ogres or objects of worship. Schools are places of protection from the adult world – and prisons from which we escape into the adult world. They are places where we grow up, or fail to.

Philip Horne, 'Lessons in how to live', *Daily Telegraph*, 9 September 2002

In his report to EXCO in September 1957, Snell summarised the situation: 'In general the process of metamorphosis into a Public School continues normally, and the omens are good.' By the end of the year he was able to list the achievements of the building organisation which between 1953 and the beginning of 1958 would have completed the major works which translated 'Peterhouse' into a fully-equipped school. The list was this:

- Four school houses for 60–70 boys each
- The Kitchen and two dining halls
- The Laundry
- The Sanatorium
- The Library
- The Chapel
- The Science Block (to be completed in mid-1958)
- Three blocks of classrooms
- Six buildings for use as workshops etc
- The Rector's lodge and 9 staff houses
- Brick housing for African staff: 20 families and 42 singles

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A variety of miscellaneous minor buildings  
A considerable area of concrete walks and paving  
About 14 acres of playing fields levelled and grassed  
About 8 acres grassed at the natural slope  
100 acres of plantations (and 30 more being planted)  
The necessary reticulation for electricity and water  
Necessary roads, storm drains etc.

If we add the full scale swimming pool, the music school and the administration block – all completed by mid-1959 – we can see the school as it would remain for the next 20 years. The number of boys in 1958, just over 300, would also remain much the same. There is a sense therefore in which the years 1957–58 did indeed see the metamorphosis of Peterhouse into the school it would be. But there were other milestones apart from buildings. In January 1957 the two major feeder schools – Ruzawi and Springvale – saw changes at the top. Carver and Grinham both retired, and it is tempting to say that the torch was passed to a new generation. That is true of Springvale, with the arrival of John Paterson; it was less true at Ruzawi where the new head was Ronald Currey, Fred's predecessor as Rector of Michaelhouse and subsequently headmaster of St Andrew's, Grahamstown. Also in January Bryan Curtis was able to move into the newly built Grinham, plucking his boys from Ellis and Paget where they had been distributed until their own house was ready. In September the fourth house, Malvern, opened with Bruce Fieldsend as housemaster.

Other developments took place. EXCO voted £300 for another building – the nursery school. It was run by Margaret Snell (who had done the same at Eastbourne and Michaelhouse) and Jean Morton for the small children of staff and others. This was a great 'staff perk' and when it looked as if it must close in 1980, people rallied round and ensured its continuance. It was the first of the ventures which eventually created an educational environment not just for boys aged 12–18, but for boys and girls aged 3–18. One other building project was far from Peterhouse, but close to the Rector's heart. In August 1953, Fred met up again with Charles Hanmer, whose vast estates at Inyanga were being covered in plantations, and were dramatic in their scenery. As we have seen, he had thought that a site in that area would be ideal for school purposes, and had already roped Hanmer in on the local committee tasked with finding a site and pupils for the planned school. By mid-1953 he had exacted a promise that Peter-

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house could have some land. The gift of nine and a quarter acres was finally made over in mid-1955: a little valley in a (then) bare tract of land near World's View. The Rector persuaded EXCO to allow £300 for building a cottage with a loft, which could be used by staff and pupils, though they 'noted with disapproval' a few months later that the project was over budget by £200. However they also gave permission for the Rector to build his own cottage there, with control of it for use in his lifetime. So Peterhaven, and the Rector's cottage (Giant's Castle) were established. Often Margaret Snell would report to her family on the 'wonderfully peaceful and refreshing' days she and Fred spent there, in what Fred claimed was the highest inhabited building in the whole Federation – only to be overtaken by other villas and holiday homes in later decades. 'The scenery in these parts was lovely in the extreme', wrote one traveller in 1960. 'Mountains rising to over 7,000 feet dropped steeply to rugged valleys where occasional crystal-clear streams chattered among the rocks. The warm sunshine and the bright blue sky decorated with powder puffs in the form of clouds added to the beauty of the scene, whilst, in addition, the whole countryside was covered with flowers.'<sup>88</sup> Troutbeck Inn was nearby, its name evoking the English Lake District, as did the comment of a first-time visitor in the Giant's Castle visitors' book – 'a little bit of heaven', reminiscent of Thomas Gray's description of Grasmere as 'a little unsuspected Paradise'. Peterhaven became a favoured resort not only for the Rector, but in those early days for Charles Fisher, Ian Ferguson and Pat Hogg who all took groups of boys with them to enjoy a respite from school routine. It was later patronised by Archie Kennedy and the art club, by John Greenacre doing the timetable, and as John Davidson records, by his grown-up family when they came home and insisted on visiting Peterhaven 'as their first step in the journey back to a wonderful childhood'.

While Fred was arguing the toss with the EXCO over expenditure at Peterhaven, he was also embroiled in a rather more serious debate. It was the issue of a Cadet Corps – to have or not to have? Well before the school opened, Laurence Smith – an ex-serviceman himself – had been in correspondence with the Defence Headquarters about the possibility of getting instructors for a Corps which the new school might establish. In fact, it was low on the Rector's list of priorities; Fred was not a pacifist, but he had little time for Cadets. Writing to his father in

1929, he reported he had had a letter from J.W. Cowland who had been his senior at school and who 'swore he remembered me – probably as a little blighter. He thought I wasn't militarist wh[ich] was true. You remember when I got off camp by saying frankly that I didn't *want* to go & making no excuses? I don't think he ever quite forgave me that!'<sup>89</sup> An attack of polio in his student days had left him technically unfit for military service (but not for scaling mountains) though it is doubtful anyway whether the South African authorities would have wanted to enlist the martial skills of the Rector of Michaelhouse.<sup>90</sup> Fred's admiration for Dick Sheppard, which we noted during his years in India, may well have grown in the 1930s back in England, when Sheppard was a leading light in the Peace Pledge Union. So whether Fred had deeper pacifist leanings than he ever voiced is not known. But certainly he felt that a Cadet Corps was unnecessary, and reported to EXCO in 1956, when Laurence Smith had again raised the issue, that the Defence Department could not spare any instructors, and therefore no Corps would be established. The issue did not go away, however. St George's boasted a Corps going back to 1898, and Falcon had started one. Wasn't a Cadet Corps an authentic mark of a public school?

In 1961 Fred was moved at Speech Day to state publicly that while the matter had been under consideration, the Defence Department was unable to give sufficient help. In fact there had been a bust-up in EXCO earlier in the year. Winston Field raised the matter several times. Field, whom Robert Blake describes as 'well-known, good-looking, personable and wealthy',<sup>91</sup> was a Marandellas tobacco farmer and MP. He carried some weight as Leader of the Opposition in the Federal House of Assembly, the more so when in the following year he became leader of the Rhodesian Front, and then Prime Minister of Southern Rhodesia. In March 1961, when he raised the question of Cadets, the Rector declared that he was 'very sceptical of the importance of a Corps as regards discipline or leadership', and was against starting one. Then, we read, 'Mr W.J. Field left the meeting, owing to a previous appointment.' The reason given may have been true, but he never returned; at the next meeting his resignation was announced, 'owing to great pressure of business'. So he was not present at the renewed discussion when the Rector had the (probably vociferous) support of the Dean of Salisbury, Gonville French-Beytagh. The dean, who after a somewhat wild youth in China and South Africa, had

returned to the Christian faith partly through his friendship with Toc H people in South Africa, had been a pacifist when war broke out, though he later retreated from the out-and-out pacifist position.<sup>92</sup> Both his Toc H links and his moderate pacifism must have endeared him to the Rector. And both Rector and dean were pretty outspoken and opinionated advocates. They were joined in their opposition to a Cadet Corps by the humane and kindly Dr Robert Fynn. He was the son of Sir Percy Fynn, Finance Minister in the 1920s, whose support for Huggins helped to create the United Party in 1933. Robert Fynn was a leading Salisbury doctor, who had met Snell during the search for a site and spoke out strongly against going for the Eastern Highlands. His sons and grandsons were at Peterhouse, and he attended the first Speech Day and was still attending them at the end of the century.<sup>93</sup> Bob Williams abstained, but four other members of EXCO supported, including the chairman, Geoff Ellman-Brown, who reported at the meeting in April 1962 that he was coming under significant pressure from the minister who 'made it clear that he felt that Peterhouse should have a Cadet Corps'.<sup>94</sup> The issue rumbled on for the rest of the year, but the Rector felt sufficiently confident to announce at Speech Day in 1963 that 'Much of the possible benefit of a corps is attained in a school of this kind through the operation of ordinary discipline and some through that of the labour organisation', and he noted that D and E Blockers were 'out before breakfast twice a week' for foot drill, arms drill and PT. That was as far as it went at Peterhouse, until the national emergency when, as we shall see, rather more rigorous training was felt to be needed. In fact the government itself in 1968 abolished the old-style Cadet Corps in schools. The boy who wrote to a school magazine in 1979 calling for Peterhouse to have a Cadet Corps 'to improve the discipline of the school as well as prepare us for the army' can have had no idea of the battles fought over the issue some 20 years earlier.<sup>95</sup>

At the end of 1957, the Rector felt that the school was established enough to hold its first Speech Day, with as guest of honour the Governor of Southern Rhodesia, the wonderfully named Vice-Admiral Sir Peveril Barton Reibey Wallop William-Powlett, resplendent in his blue naval uniform. It is worth noting that Governors of Southern Rhodesia wore service dress or court dress rather than the tropical whites more suited to the climate. The tropical uniform was

apparently abandoned after the experience of Sir John Kennedy, William-Powlett's predecessor, who laid Springvale's foundation stone in 1952. When he became Governor in 1947, he alighted from the Cape Town train at Bulawayo for a civic welcome. The new Governor – dressed in a white uniform – was ignored by the receiving mayor and his staff who assumed the Governor to be the large Scottish highlander beside him, who was actually his ADC.<sup>96</sup> Fortunately there was no such confusion at Peterhouse. The Governor and Lady William-Powlett were given a tour of the school before speeches, and visited the sanatorium where one inmate, C.R. Ramsay, thus became the first Peterhouse boy ever to receive a prize on Speech Day. Humphrey Gibbs (who was to succeed William-Powlett as Governor) chaired the occasion. The first head boy – Michael Honey – was confirmed in his position by the Rector. Snell took the opportunity not merely to report on the progress of the buildings, which as we have seen would soon be virtually complete, but also to sound the trumpet for larger matters: 'We have to forge a weapon for the service of God and State, a tool to fashion men who will fight and labour not just for themselves, but for social justice and fair dealing and for the building of a great and united nation.'<sup>97</sup> It was a theme to which he would return, and his very wording seems to foreshadow Sir Edgar Whitehead's noble but abortive 'Build a Nation' campaign that would dominate the political scene in 1962. A year later, Bishop Paget was the Speech Day guest of honour, and Michael Honey, now about to leave, delivered the first head boy's speech. The Rector reported on the school 'becoming a fully fledged public school in the great tradition of such which stems from England'; and he noted that the capital buildings programme would now end with the completion of the chapel and the administration block.<sup>98</sup> In another indication of the metamorphosis, the Petrean Society was founded early in 1959, with Charles Fisher as its first chairman.

But, as is so often the case in school communities, just as things seemed to be getting on an even keel, there was a crisis. The school year in 1958 ended with two deaths within the school community in the weeks after Speech Day. Russell Sessford had arrived as a new boy in Ellis in January 1958. He was from Kampala, Uganda, where his family had recently settled. Just after Speech Day he contracted viral pneumonia and died after a few days' illness. It was, as Snell

## METAMORPHOSIS

reported to EXCO, 'a grievous blow', and one that unsettled a community which was still small enough for everyone to know everyone else. It was followed a few weeks later by another tragedy. Laurence Smith, the bursar, shot himself. Smith had been a key figure, as Secretary of the Ruzawi Board and of the British South Africa Company, in the drawing up of the school's constitution, and in the search for funding. He had been involved in the appointment of Mr H.P. Hudson as the school's first bursar in August 1954, but within a year it became clear that the appointment was not a happy one. Hudson was a good and energetic bursar, but seems to have fallen short 'in the sphere of personal relations'.<sup>99</sup> This came to a head when Bruce Berrington, mastermind of the building operations, tendered his resignation because he could not work with the bursar. Snell felt he had to back Berrington, so Hudson left. Some stop-gap arrangements on the bursarial side saw the school through 1956, but Fred was delighted when Laurence Smith himself accepted the position in January 1957. But it was perhaps an odd appointment. Smith had been a Governor of the school (and of Springvale) since the beginning. In June 1958 EXCO had discussed the naming of the fifth house (Ellis, Paget and Grinham had been named in 1956 and Malvern in 1957). 'Skinny' Hammond turned the honour down; but it was reported that Laurence Smith 'was hesitant, but he would agree' to the new house being called 'Laurence'. To name a house after the current bursar was a curious decision. However, it was not to be. The next meeting of EXCO in November began with the members standing in silent tribute to Smith, who had been buried in the Peterhouse graveyard just a week before. He had been, it was reported, 'greatly and universally loved'.<sup>100</sup> These two deaths cast long shadows over the school as the year 1958 ended.

But it is important to remember that for schoolboys, whatever great events were taking place, what mattered most at school were the rhythms of everyday life. So it is a good moment to look at the school from a boy's point of view. If we first look at the boy, we can see what he was wearing. David Caute remarked that 'Rhodesians are crazy for school uniforms'.<sup>101</sup> It is certainly true that elaborate school uniforms, and an emphasis on 'smartness' were to remain hallmarks of the education system in the country; and when the Minister of Education in 2002 tried – in what must surely have been an ill-considered

move – to impose a standard uniform on all schools in the country, he met implacable opposition from parents and schools, and dropped the idea. Public schools in the British tradition have – certainly from the late 19th century – emphasised the importance of school uniforms, often with bewildering arrays of different ties, blazers, badges, and sartorial peculiarities such as having trouser pockets sewn up, or regulations concerning the number of buttons a boy might do up on his jacket, depending on his status in the school. The newspapers made great play of the fact that the Peterhouse everyday uniform was tie-less. For the Rhodesian climate, it was an ideal uniform, and not unlike those of Ruzawi and Springvale: khaki shirt and shorts, with long socks and brown shoes. The socks were kept up by garters, each of which had a coloured tab (denoting the house) which had to be visible peeking out from the turned down sock top. The shorts were kept up by a belt, which was all too often used as a weapon – just the kind of thing that boys will do, and about which schoolmasters will huff and puff. ‘Belt flicking to stop’, the Rector decreed in 1973.<sup>102</sup> The opportunity arose in 1980 to abolish belts, now that the khaki shorts did not invariably have the slots into which they fitted, and the housemasters jumped at the idea. Curiously, belts were made compulsory again in 2003, this time for use with long trousers, to counteract the fashionable tendency of having the trousers droop around the hips.<sup>103</sup> The khaki shorts themselves were meant to be of a standard length: three inches from the back of the leg while kneeling. Parents found that their sons grew so quickly that their shorts soon became too short: so new boys were usually easily identifiable by their big, baggy shorts. Boys will always make their own adjustments to uniform and this was an area which caused the new Rector in 1968 some concern: ‘Shorts (both khaki and white) become shorter and tighter by the year’, he lamented, and ‘some now verge on the obscene’.<sup>104</sup> But the working uniform had the great advantages of comparative cheapness and lightness, the latter not really a recommendation during the Marandellas winter, but successive Rectors ignored pleas to allow khaki longs (usually demanded by senior boys as a mark of superiority as much as for their greater warmth) and the only adjustment to the ‘Numbers Two’ uniform came in 1989 with the introduction of white shirts for prefects, in an effort to make them more readily identifiable, and perhaps therefore more responsible.



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After showers in the evening, before supper, the boys changed into 'Numbers One' which consisted of pale grey (later, charcoal) longs with white shirt and school tie. In the early years this presented a challenge, for most 13-year-old boys had never before had to grapple with collar studs. Fortunately the collar-attached shirt soon became universal. To complete 'Numbers One', a blue blazer was added when going to chapel or away from the school. In cold weather boys could don a pullover, grey originally but after 1982 the same royal blue as the blazers. In the beginning, grey trilby hats were on the clothing list, as were blue school caps and (optional) boaters. These last never caught on, and Peterhouse boys looked with some pity at their St George's or Prince Edward contemporaries for whom this headgear was compulsory. The grey hats were soon discarded, as were caps, except on the cricket field. Indeed, more generally hats became unfashionable in the 1960s, though in the 1970s concerns began to arise about skin cancer. Bruce Fieldsend responded by announcing in 1970 that boys could wear white bush hats, and must wear caps at matches. By the 1980s, however, it was recognised that caps offered little protection, and the white bush hat or broader brimmed white 'cricket' hat became almost universal, though never compulsory. For most boys most of the time, outside lessons and evenings, the preferred 'uniform' – originally known as 'Numbers Three' – was the simple white T-shirt and shorts, normally without footwear.

In the early years, each schoolboy's day began at 6.15am with PT on the main rugby field, supervised by the staff on a rota basis – 'Spartan and unpopular stuff', as Bruce Fieldsend remembered it. There were lessons each morning, including Saturdays. Until the 1980s, there was a pre-breakfast lesson, starting at 6.30am, followed by breakfast. This was abandoned largely because it was felt to be time-wasting to gather up books for just one lesson, to disperse to the classrooms, and then to have to congregate again for breakfast and chapel, followed by more gathering up of books. Saturday morning school has always been a feature of boarding school life – one way of bridging that long gap between Friday afternoon and Monday morning. Most boarding schools in Britain retain it; Peterhouse was the last boarding school in Zimbabwe to abandon it – in 1988 – not because it was intrinsically unacceptable, but because since no other school taught on Saturdays, there was great pressure to start inter-school matches as early as

## A SCHOOL IN AFRICA

possible. The Rector and senior master, and the Board of Governors, were uncomfortable with the abandonment, but realistically it was the only way forward. Then on three (later two) afternoons a week there were lessons, though a national poll in 1960 revealed that few pupils or parents in Rhodesia supported them.<sup>105</sup> They survived at Peterhouse, simply because the increasing demands on the timetable meant that the requisite number of periods could not be fitted into the mornings – indeed, morning school (which for decades ran from 7.45am, after chapel, until 1.05pm) came dangerously close to creating too long a gap between meals. Afternoons were devoted to games and societies. The major sports – as in every other European school – were rugby, hockey, cricket and athletics. The first societies were the Young Farmers Club and the debating society, soon to be joined by the snake club, falconry, woodwork, music and natural history: the fortunes of societies tended to fluctuate according to boyish enthusiasms and the quality of the staff input. A cross-over afternoon activity – part physical exercise, part social service – was ‘labour’. This long-running activity meant that boy labour (about an hour a week) was used for the planting of pines, or the grassing of new fields; the school getting labour on the cheap, as most boys complained. After sport or societies, and obligatory showers, boys had to change into their ‘Numbers One’ for roll call and supper, followed by prep. It is one of the indicators of a public school or boarding education that people use the word ‘prep’ (or preparation) to describe what in the wider world is called homework.

On Saturday evenings there was often a film – one boy maintains he saw every film ever made featuring Mario Lanza. Peter Guy (M65) remembered watching the film *Great Expectations*, which was stopped to announce the assassination of President Kennedy in 1963. Another remembered the younger boys being sent to bed, and hearing of the tragedy because someone in the dorm had a crystal set. Every day the tuck shop opened, where purchases could be made using books of tickets (worth nine shillings and sixpence, but sold for ten shillings!) Only these were ‘legal tender’ in the tuck shop, though pennies were allowed, so many boys sported long strings of pennies – which conveniently had holes in the middle. On Sundays things were rather different. After morning chapel (usually a Eucharist) the boys were required to leave the main school campus and go out into

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the bush. For some, this lives on in their memory as a time of purgatory, a period of utter boredom. But for many, perhaps most, it was an opportunity to feel 'free'. They could fool around or build hide-outs. Some remember creating quite elaborate constructions in which to eat their packed lunch, or enjoy an illicit cigarette or bottle of beer. Snake club boys could search for snakes. Some boys who lived nearby could make arrangements with compliant parents to trudge (or get a lift) home so that they and their friends could enjoy a proper Sunday lunch. More intrepid souls were known to hitch to Salisbury or Umtali and hoping to escape detection at evening roll call.

The main focus of a boy's life was the boarding house. There he slept and worked and changed and socialised. Much trumpeted in the press when the school opened was the innovation of 'toyes'. These were a Winchester tradition; though spelt 'toy' there, the 'e' seems to have been added at Peterhouse sometime in the early years. The toye was a 'study carrel' (as it was called in later years in many schools) initially for all but the youngest boys; it contained a bench and desk and shelving, and the possibility of having a curtain to cover the opening for greater privacy. Fred Snell had hoped to introduce them at Michaelhouse (they eventually arrived there in 1962<sup>106</sup>), but at Peterhouse from the start they were a characteristic arrangement. Once in his toye a boy was cut off from his neighbours, and discipline could be the more easily enforced during prep (which was never called 'toytime' at Peterhouse as it was at Winchester). Resourceful fellows did find ways of contacting others – as the holes bored in the timbers of many toyes testify. By the time more sophisticated toye-busting tools became widespread (notably mobile phones) toyes had ceased to be used except for the junior boys. But in the 1950s, in common with many boarding schools in Britain, there were no 'bedsits' and virtually every boy laboured under the same arrangements, with only the prefects having the additional luxury of a prefects' room. That was a haven where they could listen to the radio, eat (with fags serving) and gossip. Housemasters knocked before entering. Bruce Fieldsend's Malvern knock was well known – four short raps and a long one – and much imitated. Tim Peech (M65) used to recall the occasion when he entered the Malvern prefects' study giving the knocks, opening the door on the final long one, and in the same rhythm saying 'How's that

for a Bruce, boys?’ Bruce, already in the room, responded dryly and equally rhythmically: ‘That will do for tonight, Tim.’

The absence of bedsits meant that all boys slept in dormitories, which could be pretty terrifying places, especially for new boys. They were unheated and uncurtained, and the glass slats in the windows (for ventilation) meant chilling draughts in the winter months. Boys who had previously boarded at prep school were at least prepared for the very public undressing, the rough and tumble, and the sexual experimentation which could go on. But even such boys must have found the showers a gruelling experience: boys of twelve were awed (as some testify) by the physical development of their seniors, and chilled to the marrow by cold showers, the seniors having used up all the hot water. But if all this sounds gruesome to the 21st century adult, it should be stressed that most boys simply accepted all this as the way things were. Life even in the homes of the wealthy was far more Spartan in the 1950s and 1960s than it was to become later, so the contrast between home and school was not that great. Parents too were more willing to discipline and ‘punish’ their children, so being beaten by a prefect for chewing gum, or being caned by the house-master for more serious offences, was regarded as quite normal.

One unusual punishment – a local variant on ‘lines’ – was called ‘bicolour’. This involved copying a passage from a book, or writing a short essay, in which the letters had to alternate between red and blue or black, but in joined up writing. But it is not beyond the inventiveness of schoolboys to find ways of circumventing the regulations: ‘We taped blue and red ballpoint pens together and became very adept at turning the pen to write every alternate letter in a different colour ... Some enterprising boys made what was then quite a bit of money doing it for other boys.’<sup>107</sup> Under the new regime in 1968 it was abolished and replaced by the more traditional ‘lines’.<sup>108</sup> Bicolour had reappeared in the early 1980s by some mysterious mechanism, possibly through the reminiscing by some Petrean to his prefect son, and aided by the discovery of supplies of the special lined bicolour paper lurking in the bursar’s book store. It was the school prefects themselves who took the lead in killing it off and introducing what became the standard prefectorial punishment – ‘tasks’. Peter Beaven (E85), the Head of School, masterminded this new departure, which

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meant that miscreants were given jobs to do around the school under the supervision of a prefect acting as 'taskmaster'. It had the great advantages of combining social service, teamwork, and the impossibility of 'delegating' the punishment to another, as well as acting as something of a replacement for 'labour', which had been virtually squeezed out of the working week by the many demands of other (and probably more productive and satisfying) pursuits.

But despite all the schoolboy dramas, punishments, chores, discomfort and boredom, these are not what most people remember. Hind-sight casts a glow of nostalgia even over the time spent on bicolour. And for many, the camaraderie, the occasional excitements and dramas, and the gradually acquired knowledge of how to relate to others and what growing up might entail, all made the experience of boarding school relatively enjoyable. Lifetime friendships were forged; and what later generations would call 'male bonding' took place naturally, within a community which was unashamedly hierarchical. At Peterhouse (and in Zimbabwe generally) even at the end of the century, the 'boundary between youth and maturity' was maintained, while in more advanced societies in the west it had been eroded to the point where many people lamented the 'death of childhood'.<sup>109</sup>

Adults appear to feature far more in the memories of the boys of that time than they did in their everyday life. This is probably always the case: adults may think they have a huge impact on their charges, and sometimes they do. But the letters and diaries of schoolboys tend to suggest that the masters were in a sense peripheral. There is a curious parallel here. Doris Lessing examined over 100 novels by blacks which would never be translated into English, and discovered 'something unexpected': 'Whites figure in these novels hardly at all... We assume they [blacks] are fascinated by us, the way we are by them. But we are simply noises off.'<sup>110</sup> In the everyday life of boys, masters were usually 'noises off'. Hugh Hodgkinson, in a perceptive report on one of the first intake, recognised the need sometimes to draw attention to this: 'At present his world seems peopled entirely by boys; but I hope one day that he will allow a few grownups into this sanctuary, as I feel that our friendship could help him grow.' Masters did sometimes move centre stage in a boy's life. One boy remembers stealing avocados from his housemaster's tree; inevitably the housemaster could be expected to play a large part in the ensuing investigation,

and the discipline he might then mete out certainly ensured that the boy would (literally) feel the weight of his wrath. And of course there were the daily lessons, and many boys would remember these contacts with staff more often with affection or amusement than with dislike or distaste. They would remember Anthony Mallett's growling voice, made almost incomprehensible because he was invariably sucking on his pipe, and his accuracy with the blackboard duster. They would recount the occasion when Ian Ferguson (known for his fondness for the bottle) arrived in his chemistry lab to find all the lights swaying in unison, set in motion (unbeknown to him) by the boys just before his arrival. Thinking he must be suffering from a more massive hangover than he had realised, he fled back to his quarters, much to the delight of the boys. Sometimes, a boy's interest was sparked in music or history, English or science, which might stay with him for life.

But the everyday currency of life was exchanged between the boys themselves, and especially during those early years at Peterhouse when – as at other boarding schools – much more was left to boy management than was the case in later years. Sometimes, especially in retrospect, a boy might lament the fact that his housemaster was too distant – that, for instance, he seemed uninterested in or unaware of the bullying going on in his house. Quite often, a lonely boy would find in contact with a master – in music or in a society – a period of respite. Often too, boys who were confident and successful games players would forge a special bond with their coach on the rugby field or cricket ground. But boys spent almost all of their social contact time with other boys, largely beyond the view of the masters. The 'squack's test' is a case in point. The new boy at Peterhouse was called a 'squack', a corruption of the Michaelhouse term, 'cack', which in turn derived from the Greek word *kakos* meaning 'bad', or – perhaps more appositely – 'troublesome' or 'disagreeable'. How 'cack' became 'squack' is a mystery, though Bruce Fieldsend suggests a possible connection to 'squeaky' and 'duckling'. The squack's test was an initiation rite – the new boy had to learn such useful facts as the names of housemasters and their nicknames, the names of school prefects, and also such titbits as the names of staff dogs. Failing the test might mean punishment for the squack, or for his 'mentor' – the boy a year older who was supposed to have guided him in his first few weeks. The Rector in 1969 urged the housemasters to 'get rid of, or at least

personally supervise and control' the test.<sup>111</sup> The 'underground' tradition evidently persisted as housemasters in 1974 were again asked to be 'present throughout the whole of the testing and any subsequent re-testing', a request repeated in 1981.<sup>112</sup> With the opening of Tinokura in 1988, the responsibility for administering the squack's test fell upon the housemaster, Allen French and (given the numbers involved) the Head of School; in a sense it became even more important that the new boys should learn about the school of which they were temporarily slightly detached members for their D Block year. C Block tests, if administered when boys joined their boarding houses, were the responsibility of the housemaster.<sup>113</sup> All this did not prevent older boys from imposing their own demands on junior boys: asking them to recite the names of the 1st XI or 1st XV was a favoured inquisition. At St George's in Salisbury, there was actually an officially sanctioned punishment for failing such a test.<sup>114</sup> Peterhouse in the 1960s did not have the long tradition of St George's, but traditions in boarding schools can develop with astonishing rapidity. One boy recalls his bemusement in the mid-1980s at 'being told again and again by older pupils that Peterhouse's traditions were cast in rock', though as he adds wryly, 'I am very sure that this was not in reference to *Conditur in Petra*.'<sup>115</sup>

The persistence of 'traditions' and of 'initiation rites', of whatever variety, does appear to have what might be called anthropological origins. The rites of passage in ancient Sparta, in primitive tribes, and indeed in colleges in South Africa and the USA, indicate a need on the part of a small community to test and challenge new arrivals before they can be fully accepted as members. In a sense the squack's test was institutionally regularised, or the attempt was made so as to control it. This did not prevent older boys doing it their own way: lifting smaller boys up by their underpants ('wedgies') or punching them in the chest ('chesties') are attempts to establish and reinforce the pecking order. They are unacceptable to adults, and painful for the recipients, but all too common among schoolboys. They are not condoned, but are hard to stamp out, and when a particular boy was a frequent victim, he was undoubtedly being subjected to bullying. It was, as we shall see, an issue which all Rectors have had to face.

All Rectors have also had to face the usual schoolboy rule-breaking. Smoking and drinking, banned by the school authorities, are time-

honoured ways in which boys experiment with what they see as adult pursuits. I was always less worried about smoking than drinking: its long term effects may be worse, but it is not going to cause immediate death. Smoking was almost universal among the staff in the early days, and in the early 1980s there were still many smokers in the common room, and some who smoked in class. Bruce Fieldsend remembered the first Petrean dinner, presided over by Pat Normand (M59); Petreans were reminded that they should not smoke until after the loyal toast. However, service was slow and after the first course, Sir Humphrey Gibbs asked the chairman if they could have the loyal toast straight away. He could not have foreseen that the building named after him would include a boardroom which was 'non-smoking'. In the early days of Peterhouse, when smoking was socially acceptable, cigarettes were very inexpensive – a penny for the cheap variety or three pence (the Rhodesian ticky) for a more upmarket packet. So there can have been few boys who did not have a puff. One, Chris Morton (P75), remembers a year when the prefects in his house were not very assertive, and boys would smoke throughout the house, and dispose of the 'fag ends' (or stompies) by pushing them through holes in hollow plywood doors. Boys caught smoking were punished (by being beaten); but given that they had over 1,000 acres to get lost in, there was no need for them to get caught, unless (as occasionally happened) they set the bush on fire.

Drinking was of a different order of seriousness. It was more expensive, and its consequences could also be very serious, though as far as I remember, no boy had to be taken to hospital for stomach pumping in my time. But undoubtedly drink was available; workers could be bribed, or boys could 'bunk out' to the 'African store' (latterly Zama Zama) just across the road. Staff could (and did) entertain boys and offer beer or wine to the older ones; spirits were not allowed. Despite the fact that many boys may have indulged in smoking and drinking (and those caught, punished) it also has to be said that the average Peterhouse boy was very fit – more fit, probably, than his contemporary in a British public school. And while some boys were bullied, or were unhappy, for the majority – it would seem – their time at school was a positive experience. For many, it was even more than that. This chapter began with the suggestion that school 'is a place of initiations, discoveries, loneliness, sociability, tests and failures, full



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of dramatic possibility...’ The writer was considering the films about school (usually boarding school) life which have made a mark, noting in particular the boost to boarding schools given by the Harry Potter novels and films. ‘Hogwarts’, he continues ‘is not a place of rebellion, but an ideal home from home, a refuge where conformity is a pleasure; the orphan Harry declares that “I belong”.’

There is a tendency for public school Old Boys to look back very selectively on their schooldays, and to see those who taught them as giants in the land, compared to the pygmies who teach their own children. Generally this is unfair; the refractions of memory and the growing sense of nostalgia that seems to come with age combine to create an image of the past that distorts in the manner of those convex mirrors in old amusement arcades. One writer has put it like this: ‘I sometimes think that adult life is a vast echo chamber for the voices of childhood, a vast screen on which reflections of the past are captured in unexpected moments’.<sup>116</sup> But then, echoes and reflections do have an authentic link with reality. When Peterhouse boys of the 1950s and early 1960s look back on the staff in their days, perhaps they do not exaggerate too much. The first housemasters – Mallett, Fisher, Curtis, Fieldsend, Davis – were an exceptional bunch. And of course Fred Snell himself towers over them all – the founding Rector. As we shall see, neither Falcon (opened in 1954) or Arundel (opened in 1956) could boast of such a figure. He had, almost literally, built the school from scratch, and had done much of the work himself. He had already had a successful 14 year tenure as the head of a prestigious school. His experience and energy ensured that the metamorphosis from pioneering school to fully-fledged public school happened relatively quickly. It is now time to look at the broader educational scene, in which Snell played a prominent part, and at the national context within which the growth of Peterhouse was taking place.

## *The Wider Scene*

Despite the traditional rivalry between those of our members who live in the Union and those who hail from the distant fastnesses of Rhodesia, it will be a matter of common regret that the number of entries to the School from non-Union sources is rapidly declining and seems likely in the near future to cease altogether. Next year only two Rhodesian new boys will be coming to the School, together with a further three from Kenya and Tanganyika. Rhodesian boys in the past and at the present time have made great contributions to the community both while at school and in later life. While recognising the infinitely greater convenience of attending a school in the Federation, we shall all regret the disappearance of our Rhodesian contingent.

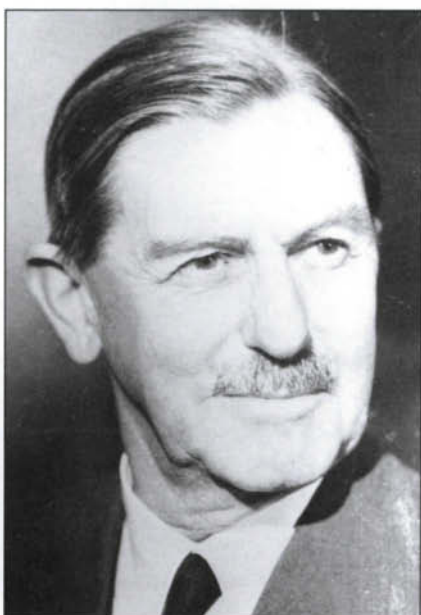
*St Michael's Chronicle* [Michaelhouse magazine], vol xii,  
(November 1956) p 11

The years during which Peterhouse was built and established saw significant growth in the independent sector throughout the country. The list of new schools is impressive:

- 1953 Christian Brothers, Bulawayo (senior boys)  
Springvale, Marandellas (junior boys)
- 1954 Falcon, Essexvale (senior boys)  
Chisipite Senior, Salisbury (senior girls)
- 1955 Peterhouse (senior boys)
- 1956 Arundel, Salisbury (senior girls)  
St John's Prep, Salisbury (junior boys)  
St Thomas Aquinas, Bulawayo (junior boys)
- 1958 Marymount, Umtali (senior girls)  
Carmel, Bulawayo (junior boys and girls)
- 1959 St Stephen's, Balla Balla (senior boys)  
Nagle House, Marandellas (senior girls)



1. Edward Paget, Archbishop of Central Africa. 2. (right) Canon Robert Grinham, founder of Ruzawi and of Springvale.



3. Sir Humphrey Gibbs, Governor of Southern Rhodesia and founding Governor of Peterhouse. 4. (right) Godfrey Huggins, Viscount Malvern, Prime Minister and the school's first Patron.



5. Fred Snell at the laying of the foundation stone in July 1954.

6. Sir Geoffrey Huggins, Archbishop Paget, Fred Snell and 'Nuts' or 'Bolts' (dog) on the same occasion.



7. The Archbishop of Canterbury (Geoffrey Fisher) planting a tree – in what became the Great Court – during his first visit to the school in 1955, his son Charles recording the scene.

8. (right) Sir Ellis Robins speaking before laying the foundation stone.



9. Frederick Rowlandson Snell (1903–1991), Founding Rector.



10. Ruzawi School – at the time of the founding of Peterhouse it was 27 years old. The buildings are ‘Cape Dutch’ in style; the boys’ uniform was the prototype for Peterhouse day-time dress.



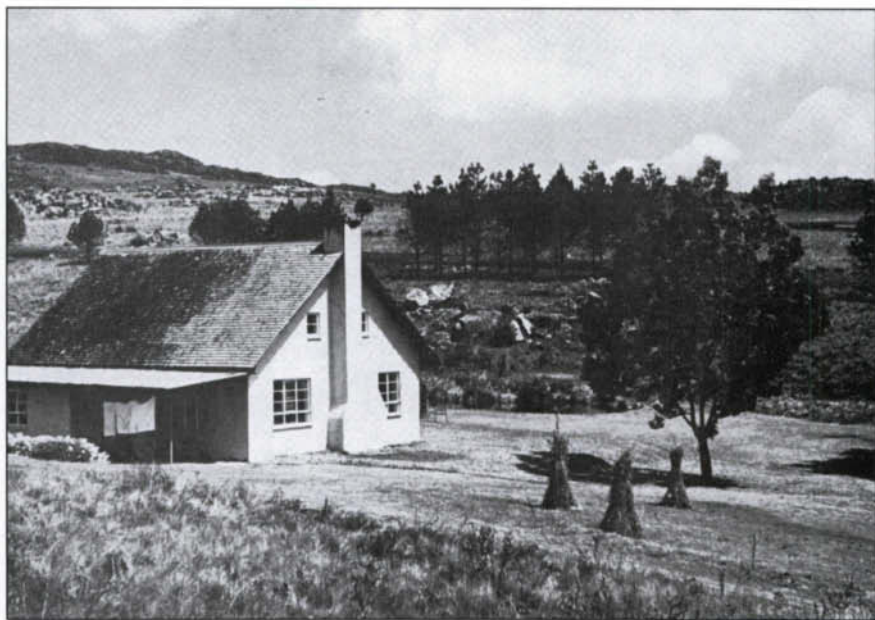
11. Father Tony Grain (‘Popcorn’) taking a Scout service at Springvale on the site which would become Goshu Park (the ‘well-developed brachystegia woodland’ visible in the background).



12. The Great Court in 1960; centre on stilts is the staff common room and Rector's study; to its left behind the tree is the junior (now senior) dining hall and the Quarterdeck. The chapel dominates the scene. The kitchen chimney is off to the left, so the full 'jam factory' effect is not so evident.



13. Sir Roy Welensky, Federal Prime Minister, with Fred Snell, inspects the building of the Administration Block (Easter 1959); behind him are the pillars over which the Rector's study is being built. The 2005 'Jubilee Memorial Window' was destined to occupy the space above the great west door of the chapel.



14. Peterhaven, the school cottage at Inyanga, before the rampant afforestation; the Rector's cottage – Giant's Castle – is 100 yards to the left.

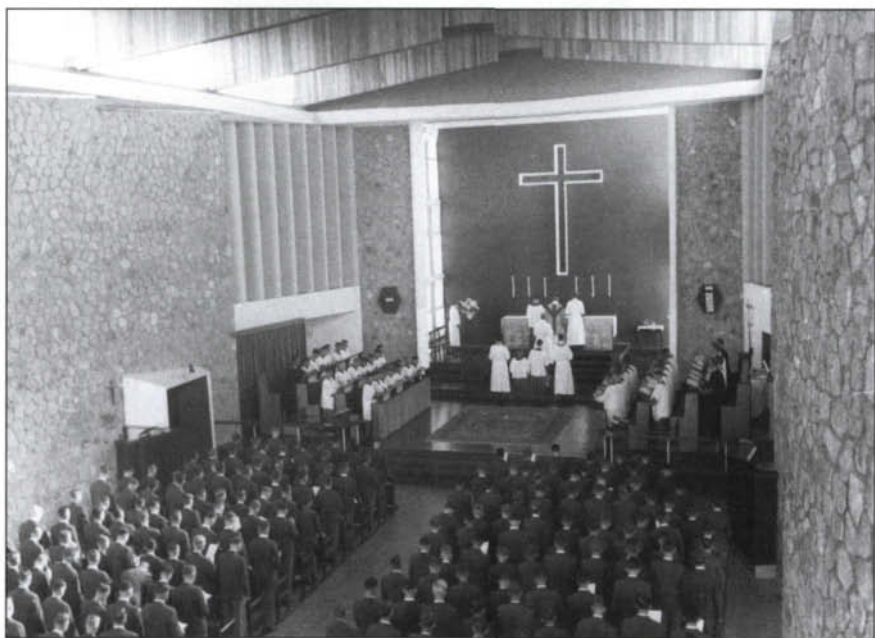


15. Some holders of the prized 'Honours Tie' in 2002 in the Senior (formerly Junior) Hall, under the watchful gaze of Bruce Fieldsend and Fred Snell, while Sir Humphrey Gibbs looks towards the Great Court: (back row, left to right): Phil Ward (Staff since 1968), Jeff Dick (Head of School, P62), Stuart Mattinson (Chairman of EXCO, P63), Rupert Pennant-Rea (E65); (front left to right): Chris Paterson (P65), John Greenacre (Staff since 1959), Alistair Sole (Head of School, P02).

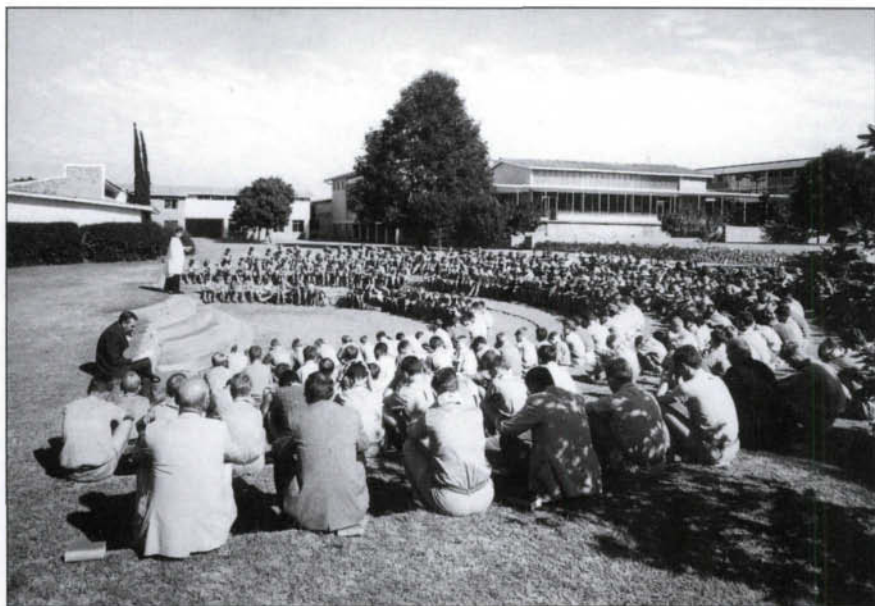




16. The Governor of Southern Rhodesia (Chairman of the Governors of Peterhouse) and Lady Gibbs at Government House in Bulawayo in May 1960, with the Queen Mother, prior to her opening of the Kariba Dam.



17. 'High Mass' on Ascension Day 1963. The celebrant is Pat Hogg; to his right is Ivan Turkington, and behind and below is Fred Snell (in alb). Note the wooden panelling disguising the roof trusses, and the empty spaces above the choir where the organ pipes would eventually be housed.



18. A service in the open air theatre after the chapel roof was declared unsafe in 1970. John Hodgson sits (hunched) facing the congregation; Sandy Singleton's back is nearest the camera. Curiously the priest cannot be identified, though may be Leslie Gilbert. The buildings (left to right) are the Library, Ellis House, the dining halls and Quarterdeck, and the 'admin block'.



19. The Chaplain (Pat Hogg) on the Quarterdeck with school prefects (*left to right*) A. D. Ledingham (G), J. Cross (M), J.F. Trouncer (M) and P. McG. Thom (F) in 1961. The blazer badge is the 'martyr's crown' from the school coat of arms; the 'Nos 2' khaki uniform here includes the school belt, abandoned in 1980.

## THE WIDER SCENE

It is not surprising that moves to give the independent schools some communal identity were soon in the air, and the stimulus came from a perceived external threat. This had been the motive for the establishment of the Headmasters' Conference (HMC) in Britain. Its first meeting, hosted by Edward Thring at Uppingham in the winter of 1869, was called to defend the schools against possible government interference. Membership of the HMC by the headmaster of a school was soon seen as an indication that an institution was indeed a 'public school' and not a proprietary or private one. Fred Snell had been an overseas member of the HMC when he was Rector of Michaelhouse, and in March 1960 was able to report to EXCO that 'the status of Peterhouse has been recognised by my election to this body'.<sup>117</sup> He and the Rector of St George's were then the only two members in Southern Rhodesia, until joined later by the head of Falcon. Fred had been chairman of the South African HMC in 1948, and subsequently became one of its three honorary life vice-presidents. So it is not surprising that he should become the driving force behind setting up an equivalent organisation in Rhodesia.

Late in 1955 the Federal Government announced its intention of bringing in an education bill which would seek to 'invest the government with adequate powers to fulfil its responsibilities under the federal constitution',<sup>118</sup> which had transferred responsibility for European (but not African) education to the Federal Government. When Fred caught sight of some of the proposed clauses in the bill, it looked like the kind of external threat that Edward Thring had identified. He consulted initially with his colleagues at Springvale and Ruzawi, and then called a meeting of all like-minded heads. So the first gathering of Rhodesia's equivalent of the HMC took place in Salisbury in January 1956. Those present were Miss A. Nicol Smith (Arundel), Miss Elspeth Bradford (Bishopslea), Sister Ethel Mary (St Peter's), Canon Grinham (Springvale), Maurice Carver (Ruzawi), Frank Cary (Falcon) and Claude Mellor of Eagle. Apologies were received from Frank van Heijst (Whitestone) and Mrs Anderson (Chisipite). Not surprisingly, given his experience and the fact that his school was the largest, Snell was elected chairman.<sup>119</sup> He can be called the founder of the Federation Branch of the Conference of Headmasters and Headmistresses of Southern Africa, a title which was changed at the first Ordinary General Meeting (held at Peterhouse in

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August) to the Conference of Heads of Private Schools of the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland. In 1963 it became the Conference of Heads of Independent Schools in Central Africa, and in 1965 the Conference of Heads of Independent Schools in Rhodesia (CHISR). Political change meant a slight adjustment in 1980, to CHISZ. But at least the name adopted in August 1956 defined the new body as separate from its South African equivalent. While it retained fraternal relations with the South African conference, it was thus, almost from the beginning, an independent body devoted to the needs and aspirations of the independent schools in the Federation.

A deputation arranged to see the Federal Minister of Education, J.M. Greenfield. Grinham, Snell and Mrs Anderson 'spent two and a half hours with the minister and had been most courteously received'.<sup>120</sup> The delegation made its case principally against the clauses in the draft bill which would give government significant powers of inspection of independent schools, and the ability to withdraw a school's registration, with no right of appeal; potentially, government could also control the curriculum of such schools. As Snell told the minister, these were powers which were not available to governments in the UK, or in Natal in South Africa. Such powers did in fact exist in the Transvaal and the Free State, and, as he told the minister, 'there are indications that the State is trying to use its power to make independent schools subservient to the policies of the political party in power'. When Greenfield introduced the second reading of the bill in the Federal Assembly in June, he made a point of noting that there had been very little public response to his proposals, save from the heads of private schools concerned that 'the Government – not this Government, but some Government in the future – might attempt to regulate them out of existence'. While he thought this unlikely, he had conceded that an appeal tribunal would be set up to adjudicate.<sup>121</sup> The minister was acting in good faith, and could not have foreseen that subsequent governments would indeed seek to extend their control over independent schools, and nothing in his particular education act could have avoided that: governments cannot bind their successors. It has been a trend in Britain as well; independent schools there had become, by the end of the twentieth century, circumscribed and regulated in ways that would have been inconceivable in the mid-1950s.

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When the heads met at Peterhouse in August, they expressed qualified satisfaction at the outcome of their intervention, and while deploring the retention of powers of regulation, 'did not consider that the effect in practice was sufficiently serious to continue opposition'.<sup>122</sup> In fact they had spotted what many of them regarded as a very positive aspect of the Education Act: the possibility of the admission of non-Europeans into their schools. The Standing Committee was instructed to give the topic some consideration and produce proposals. The Conference of Heads had been born out of a defensive reaction to government proposals, but the most important result of their coming together was the launch of an initiative which would most significantly attack the racial underpinning of the colony.

All this must be seen within the context of the country as a whole. In 1953 when the Federation came into being, Godfrey Huggins chose to move onto the federal scene as Prime Minister; the vacancy for the premiership of Southern Rhodesia was filled, to the surprise of many, by Garfield Todd, a New Zealander who had come to Rhodesia as a missionary. The more obvious candidate, Julian Greenfield, had decided at the last minute that he preferred to follow Huggins into federal politics – where as we have seen he was in charge of education. In 1956 Roy Welensky succeeded Huggins (now Lord Malvern) as Federal Prime Minister. The old order was changing, and for many it was changing too fast. Todd – too 'liberal' by the standards of the time – was ousted from office in a palace coup early in 1958, and replaced by Sir Edgar Whitehead, at that time not even an MP. But in fact the momentum for change continued during his premiership, and as one commentator has pointed out, between 1958 and 1962 more social, economic and anti-discriminatory legislation was enacted than by any previous administration, 'and the bulk of it was designed specifically to benefit the African'.<sup>123</sup>

Just as important as legislation was the work being done to change attitudes. The Interracial Association of Southern Rhodesia was launched in the Cathedral Hall, Salisbury, in July 1953. It was the result of meetings held at the invitation of a prominent local solicitor and ex-serviceman, Hardwicke Holderness, whose brother Richard was to be 'honorary' chaplain at Peterhouse in 1977. Among those supporting these meetings were Bob Williams and Geoff Ellman-Brown, both wealthy businessmen who had service in the war, and

significant members of the Peterhouse Board in later years.<sup>124</sup> More high profile in the work of educating public opinion was the Capricorn Africa Society (CAS), founded in 1949 mainly through the efforts of Colonel David Stirling, who is known to history more for his founding of the SAS than for his somewhat grandiose schemes for Africa, which he developed when he moved to Rhodesia after the war to found an investment company. He liked the company of fellow-Englishmen, preferably of upper middle class or aristocratic origins like his own. He enlisted the support of the Courtaulds at Umtali and the Plunkets at Melsetter; he was once beaten by Humphrey Gibbs in a boiled-egg eating contest during an expedition to the Victoria Falls. But his CAS had a serious purpose, which went beyond its enthusiasm for the proposed Federation. That purpose was most publicly demonstrated when delegates from all over central and eastern Africa held their convention on the shores of Lake Nyasa in June 1956. The 'Contract' they signed stated their resolve to 'work for the establishment of a society free from racial discrimination'. They agreed that ultimately this could best be achieved, 'and our concept of common citizenship best ... served by inter-racial education'.

One of the delegates who signed was Margaret Snell, who came back to Peterhouse (after experiencing her first flight on an aircraft) believing that the Capricorn ideal was – as she wrote to friends – 'the only practical as well as the only morally acceptable solution to our various problems'.<sup>125</sup> In the following month, when Peterhouse was only 18 months old, a CAS meeting was held in the school hall, attended by some 100 members of the public and boys who wished to go. It was addressed by Colonel Hickman, recently retired Commissioner of the British South Africa Police and chairman of the Southern Rhodesian Branch of the CAS, and by Chad Chipunza, who had been headmaster of Highfield North school, and would go on to be an MP. There was a fuss in the press, and as we have seen, this meeting became one of the grievances presented by parents in September. The Rector, who had chaired the meeting, was not one to be easily bullied, though he was taking on some formidable opposition. In parliament Humphrey Wightwick 'spoke of the 'Kaffircorn Contract' and denounced 'the mystics and cranks and Pharisees from overseas', while Brigadier Andrew Skeen mocked 'the pride of drawing room lions sunbathing in Lake Nyasa'.<sup>126</sup> Snell's response was robust.

He wrote in a letter to the *Rhodesia Herald*: 'It is the business of a school to educate its pupils in as full a sense as possible. This means concern with very much more than the academic. As boys grow up they should be encouraged to take an intelligent interest in public affairs, and to apply their minds and reason to them.'<sup>127</sup> His letter subsequently 'received the full approval' of EXCO, though the Rector was cautioned that 'no unnecessary risks should be run of identifying the school as such with any particular outside body'.<sup>128</sup>

The first general meeting of the independent school heads in August 1956 had taken up the challenge presented by the Capricorn Contract, and had asked its Standing Committee to suggest a way forward. At the second, in April 1958, they tackled the question of 'multi-racial education' and took an important step forward by agreeing that heads should 'put before their respective Governing Bodies their earnest conviction that admission to these schools should not be subject in any way to considerations of race or nationality'.<sup>129</sup> At the Peterhouse EXCO meeting in June, chaired by Humphrey Gibbs, the Rector requested members to recommend to the Board of Governors that the resolution on school admissions be adopted as school policy. There was prolonged discussion. The point was made that admission of Africans might mean the withdrawal of 'large numbers' of white boys; some members were sceptical about this. It was noted that the resolution did not 'declare or mean any intention of making the school a multi-racial school', though it is difficult to avoid the conclusion that this would be the result of implementing the policy. In the end, it was agreed unanimously to recommend its adoption by the Board of Governors. One of those who thus voted was Winston Field, the future Rhodesian Front (RF) leader who, as Chairman of the Springvale Board, also gave his support there for the proposed admission of Indians and Africans.<sup>130</sup>

Characteristically, Snell wasted no time in pushing forward. He had previous experience. In 1946, without consulting anyone else, he had admitted a Chinese boy to Michaelhouse, which caused the resignation of a Governor, and grave rumblings of discontent among certain old boys.<sup>131</sup> He had prepared the ground better this time, and in September 1959 admitted the school's first non-white pupil, an Indian boy who came from a school in England into the fifth form to do his A levels, an event which gained a small mention in London

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in *The Times*.<sup>132</sup> The Rector reported to EXCO in November his satisfaction that the boy's arrival 'caused hardly a ripple on the school pond', and noted that he had received 25 letters of approval from parents, and only one of disapproval – from the same parent who had led the 'revolt' in September 1956.<sup>133</sup> At Speech Day that same month, Harry Oppenheimer, who was a Governor of the school, was guest of honour. He had recently succeeded his father at the head of South Africa's greatest business empire, and he told the audience that in 'Rhodesia was being worked out what basically was the greatest problem that faced the world today: the problem of relationships between the various races'. That problem, he asserted, could only be solved by the creation of a multi-racial society.<sup>134</sup> Peterhouse had begun its contribution to solving the problem in the shape of one Indian boy. In retrospect, a number of Old Boys make the comment that 'within a short time he was just another one of the boys at the school'. Others remember that in fact 'the experiment failed'. It did, and very quickly. In June 1960 Snell lamented to EXCO that 'the Indian boy has left, unable to face virtual ostracism any longer'.<sup>135</sup> To its credit, however, the school did not brush the incident under the carpet, and the editorial in the school magazine recorded the 'failure', and noted that 'at Peterhouse, in microcosm, has occurred the same sort of tragedy as is occurring in the Federation as a whole'.<sup>136</sup>

But the work of preparing the ground went on. The Heads' Conference in 1959 received responses to deliberately framed questions which had been sent to Church authorities. A letter was tabled from the Archbishop of Central Africa, emphasising that 'no person who is in good standing in the Church can be excluded from any service of the Church on the grounds of race or colour'. A similar message came from the new Bishop of Mashonaland, Cecil Alderson, formerly Bishop of Bloemfontein, who had impressed the diocese by preaching in Chizezuru the evening before his enthronement. He 'expressed his personal view that if he found that non-Europeans were being deliberately barred from any school chapel he would feel himself unable to visit such a chapel or to carry out Confirmations therein'. More input came from the bishop in August 1962, when he spoke at Speech Day. He warned the boys that they 'were going to enter an adult world where the entrenched superiority of the European, legalised segregation and land apportionment would no longer exist', adding (with

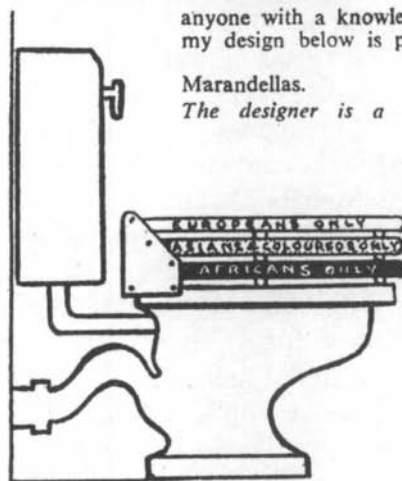


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some prescience) that 'it might in fact be a world where it would be a disadvantage to be white'. He appealed to them to realise that 'there was a crying need for Black and White to meet and talk', and thus for the whites to understand the African, his ideas and aspirations, his political parties and their agendas; a more reliable way of finding out, he added, than relying (as, he implied, the politicians did) 'on the reports of the CID to the Government'.<sup>137</sup> Margaret Snell reported to her family and friends that his 'boldly provocative speech' had been widely reported, on the BBC news as well as in the local papers. She continued the work of educating local public opinion. She and Fred were leading lights in the Marandellas Dolphin Club, established 'to provide opportunities for people of all races, occupations, ages or convictions to meet freely and to study together subjects and problems of interest and importance to us all'. Its first meeting, in June 1962 in the Playhouse at Marandellas, attracted 100 people, and a meeting at the end of the year, chaired by Fred, had an audience of 200.

### 'The Specialist' in Salisbury

**S**IR,—Now that the Salisbury Municipal Council insists on three separate lavatories for three different racial groups in the city's hotels, can anyone with a knowledge of engineering tell me whether my design below is practicable?



MICHAEL SNELL.

Marandellas.

*The designer is a 16-year-old Rhodesian schoolboy.  
—Editor, Examiner.*

**THE MULTI-RACIAL W.C.**  
(Patent Not Even Applied For)

#### DIRECTIONS FOR USE

For Europeans: Use with all seats down.

For Asians and Coloureds: Fold white (top) seat back.

For Africans: Fold white (top) and brown (middle) seats back.

Four- and five-seat models available for countries with more than three colour-groups

This cartoon, by Michael Snell (F61), was published in the progressive *Central African Examiner* (26 September 1959); his parents would have approved of the irony.

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It was important, as Fred Snell knew, to mobilise opinion, and to have the Church publicly on side was obviously vital. But other influential 'movers and shakers' were needed, and in March 1960, the Rector suggested to EXCO that the independent schools would benefit from setting up 'an association corresponding to the Governing Bodies Association (GBA) in England'. This would give the schools' governing bodies a similar network to the one that school heads already had. Here Fred was on new ground, for there had been no such organisation in South Africa, and indeed none was formed there until 1974.<sup>138</sup> But to have an Association of Governing Bodies (or AGB as it came to be called) would emphasise the links which the schools had, through their Governors, with all the major sectors of Rhodesian society – parliament, banks, mining, finance, agriculture and so on. The Rector suggested approaching Keith Acutt (Chairman of the Peterhouse Board; Ellis Robins's successor at Anglo American; knighted in 1962). At the Heads' Conference in May, his colleagues agreed unanimously. It took two more years of lobbying and planning before the inaugural meeting of the AGB finally took place on 19 October 1962. Acutt had been supportive, but was not available. Sir Robert Tredgold was elected chairman. He was a 'white Matabele' for whom Bulawayo was home and who had a long association with Falcon, where a house is named after him. His impeccable 'liberal' credentials were widely known, especially after his resignation as Chief Justice of the Federation in 1960 in protest against the emergency powers pushed through by the Southern Rhodesian government. Less known was his association with the 'United Liberal Front', the inaugural meeting of which Tredgold attended in October 1961 in the company of – among others – Ndabaningi Sithole and Robert Mugabe.<sup>139</sup> The AGB's secretary was H.H. Cole, founder of Ruzawi's predecessor, Cedric School, who was about to resign as headmaster of Falcon. Tredgold's deputy chairman of the AGB was N.A.F. Williams, whose importance in the history of Peterhouse was to be crucial for nearly 40 years. He had joined EXCO in 1960. He was born in Salisbury on Christmas Day 1915 (hence 'Noel', though always called 'Bob'), and was a founder-pupil of Ruzawi. From there he went to St Andrew's, Grahamstown, and then to Rhodes University. His winning of a Rhodes Scholarship took him to Magdalen College, Oxford (where he read English under C.S. Lewis) – and he undoubtedly relished the ceremonial and the camaraderie of Oxford life in those exciting pre-war years; his friend

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Hardwicke Holderness noted his 'nice streak of childish hankering ... for chivalry and the high life'.<sup>140</sup> He was an outstanding sportsman, representing Rhodes at rugby, cricket, squash and rowing, and becoming the South African universities' light heavyweight boxing champion. At Oxford, he had one game of rugby for the university, breaking his leg. After war service in the Royal Navy, he returned to Rhodesia to take over the family dairy business, and he built up an impressive portfolio of business interests. His involvement in the Interracial Association in the 1950s led him into support of the United Party, led by Huggins, who as a doctor in 1922 had saved his life when he severed an artery. He was to chair the Rhodesia Constitutional Association and then the Rhodesia Party, successors to the defunct United Party in the late 1960s and early 1970s. But he was no political leader. His importance to Peterhouse was his willingness to back 'liberal' developments, and his ability to raise money through his extensive business contacts. These were crucial to Snell as he sought ways of making African entry possible.

Meanwhile, the Federal Parliament had evinced some enthusiasm for multi-racial education.<sup>141</sup> In July 1962 it was debating amendments to the 1956 Education Act, which would allow Africans to attend non-African schools which were under independent control.<sup>142</sup> Mrs Muriel Rosin declared that 'it is a very good thing that in this country private schools should be given the opportunity of opening their doors to people of any race', while H.E. David QC said he welcomed the bill as 'at least it enables education on a multi-racial basis to commence'. But the most compelling speech came from John Beaumont, the ex-Peterhouse bursar who was now Federal Member for Mrewa. In his maiden speech in the house, he described the 'little town' of Marandellas which had become an educational centre. 'I have on many occasions', he declared, 'discussed this particular problem with headmasters of these schools, and they have always been looking for a way to allow children of other races – particularly Africans – to enter their schools.' He ended on a personal note: 'I do not want my little children to grow up with any idea that they have some sort of innate racial superiority.' It was a debate with much enlightened comment, which gave an extra impetus to the plans which Fred Snell was already laying.

At the beginning of the Michaelmas term 1962, the Rector used the occasion of one of his housemasters' dinners to share with his col-

leagues his plan for 'African entry'. The housemasters (Mallett, Dunt, Davidson, Fieldsend, Davis) were present along with the Chaplain (Hogg) and the bursar (Reynolds). He was pleased to know that he would have the support of them all, 'with various degrees of enthusiasm or apprehension'.<sup>143</sup> Pat Hogg was particularly enthusiastic; he was later to condemn publicly those who had a desire 'to entrench white supremacy', and to claim that their motives were 'based on selfishness and racialism'.<sup>144</sup> Armed with this support, Snell met EXCO on 22 November with a plan of action. He would approach some of the big corporations and financial institutions to raise bursary funds; he would then inform Peterhouse parents of the plan, and invite applications from African parents whose boys would sit the Peterhouse entrance exam in April 1963, and join the school in September. EXCO was chaired by Dr Fynn, in the unavoidable absence of Ellman-Brown, who had recently joined the Cabinet as Minister of the Treasury and Irrigation. Fynn was fully supportive of the Rector's plans, as Ellman-Brown was to be at subsequent meetings. The members in general were 'sympathetic in principle' but concerned about the current political climate.

The general election campaign was in full swing. Whitehead's United Federal Party (UFP) faced a challenge from the new Rhodesian Front, led by former EXCO member Winston Field, who was supported by more hardline politicians, notably Ian Smith, William Harper and Desmond Lardner-Burke. The election campaign reflected their more hardline approach, in for example the poster showing black and white girls' legs with a school in the background, and the caption 'Rhodesia is not ready for this'. The same poster was used in 1987 by the ultra-right-wing Conservative Party in South Africa.<sup>145</sup> Whitehead had become more outspoken in his desire to see franchise revision and dismantling of the Land Apportionment Act. In December he told an audience in Marandellas that if his party were returned, he would appoint three to six African ministers. Most people expected the UFP to win, though 'people were afraid of the consequences of Whitehead's policy'. That fear, plus the boycott of the elections declared by the Nationalist leader Joshua Nkomo, resulted in the UFP winning 29 seats against the Rhodesian Front's 35. As Robert Blake dryly observes, 'The boycott was decisive. In that sense Joshua Nkomo was the true architect of the victory of the Rhodesian Front'.<sup>146</sup> In October, Whitehead had told the UN that African voters would be in

a majority within 15 years. The outcome of the election ensured that it would in fact take 18 years and over 20,000 war dead to achieve. Against this background it was thought wise to postpone any further action on African admissions to Peterhouse until the new year. Unfortunately, as the year 1963 unfolded, it proved to be no more auspicious than the previous one. The Federation was in the process of dissolution; Nyasaland (soon to be Malawi) and Northern Rhodesia (soon to be Zambia) were on the brink of seceding. The Southern Rhodesian government was pushing for independence from Britain. Sir Roy Welensky, the Federal Prime Minister, lamented to a friend: 'The full impact of the tragedy that is unfolding in Central Africa has not yet been felt.'<sup>147</sup> In truth, there never was an auspicious time to launch the grand new venture of multi-racial education.

In January 1963, the Rector began the fund-raising required to make African entry viable. He approached Anglo American, the Rhodesia Selection Trust, and the British South Africa Company, and received a positive response. The first four African boys (not yet selected) at Peterhouse would have their fees assured for the whole course of their careers at the school. At the beginning of April, EXCO gave its support for the scheme to proceed. As yet it was to remain confidential. Towards the end of the month, Snell shared the details with fellow heads. The chairman of the Conference of Heads, John Paterson of Springvale, was enthusiastic in his support, and agreement was unanimous that all schools should search out suitable candidates, and that the AGB should be kept fully informed; the public announcement that independent schools intended to take African pupils had best come from that body. The CHISR Standing Committee was convinced that 'as far as the country was concerned, the sooner African children were admitted the better'.<sup>148</sup> In addition, it seemed wise to ensure consolidated bursary funding for such pupils. Peterhouse agreed to ask its donors to channel their promised bursaries into an account under the auspices of the AGB – resulting in the creation of the Central Bursary Fund (CBF), which was to fund 14 pupils in 1964; in 2002 it was supporting 144 boys and girls.

Snell now began the task of finding suitable candidates. He was determined that the boys selected must take and pass the entrance examination in the same way as the white candidates, and that in terms of age, they must not exceed the average age of entry at this

level by more than 18 months, a requirement in force already for white boys. He approached privately the heads of African primary schools, who proved most cooperative, and four boys sat and passed the entry tests. Snell would have preferred double that number, but EXCO was of the opinion that on both economic and political grounds the smaller number was desirable. When he reported to them at their meeting on 26 July, they gave the go-ahead for the boys to be admitted to Peterhouse. Three days later Geoff Ellman-Brown, chairman of EXCO, called an emergency meeting at which the Rector, Dr Fynn and Bob Williams were present. The chairman felt that to avoid exposing Peterhouse to undue publicity, the announcement of the proposed admission of the four boys should be delayed until the AGB went public with a more general statement relating to multi-racial education, along with the news of the creation of the CBF. In fact, there was a more serious obstacle. The Governor, Sir Humphrey Gibbs, was to be guest of honour at Speech Day on 9 August. Given the political climate, Ellman-Brown reported that 'it would not be possible for H.E. to be present if an announcement of any kind on this matter was to be made'. This left the Rector with no option but to delay the entry of the new African boys until January 1964 – which was actually the beginning of the new school year for all schools but Peterhouse. He took the eight school prefects into his confidence; two were enthusiastic, and the others, while demonstrating various levels of anxiety, nevertheless evinced 'a clearly genuine determination to do everything in their power to make it a success'.<sup>149</sup>

On 8 September – while the Rector was on a term's leave – the *Sunday Mail* carried the story that 'Southern Rhodesia's private schools have agreed to open their doors to pupils of all races, and a bursary fund is being set up to help finance students'. It noted that the scheme would begin at 'the Federation's most expensive school – £330 a year', and if successful there would 'be extended to other private schools in the country'. On the next day the *Herald* came out in support: 'If, as most people concede, understanding between the races is the greatest need for the future, this experiment has everything to recommend it.' The *Daily News* (which had an African readership, and was to be banned in 1964) joined in the chorus of approval, hailing it as a step towards ending racial discrimination, since education had a vital role 'in eliminating this crippling disease'.<sup>150</sup> Not everyone was pleased. A

letter signed 'Peterhouse Parent' appeared in the press claiming that this was 'a move to undermine the European way of life by mixing groups through their policy of Africanisation', and he went on to say that the 'greatest need in our schools today is a good grounding in Afrikaans to better fit our sons for the future they will have to face at the side of our South African friends'.<sup>151</sup> Perhaps this was the one parent who withdrew his son from the school on hearing the news, though Fred Snell always maintained that the boy was withdrawn because the parent couldn't afford the fees. Anthony Mallett, acting Rector, was able to report to the EXCO that 'he had heard no serious undercurrents of criticism from either staff or boys', and that 'there had been little criticism from outside'.<sup>152</sup> In fact, Peterhouse was not alone, but merely attracted the most publicity. Already in 1963 there were two Indian boys at Springvale, a coloured boy at Whitestone (the son of Seretse Khama and his English wife<sup>153</sup>), and two white boys were attending the new Roman Catholic secondary school, St Ignatius. But inevitably the Peterhouse experiment was more high profile. St George's College admitted one African in January 1964, into the sixth form. This was 'ill-advised', as the Rector confessed in 1969.<sup>154</sup> The boy actually arrived a week after term began, so that boys and parents could be forewarned, and years later he recorded that most of his future peers 'lined the road to the school to get a glimpse of the oddity arriving'.<sup>155</sup> Things improved the following year when he was joined by ten others. Indeed 1965 was the year of breakthrough, as other schools implemented the policy. In all, 11 of the 23 schools took Africans (see Table 1).

In these 11 schools, a mere 1.8% of their total roll was African, or 0.9% of the total pupil population of all the independent schools. It was hardly revolutionary, and yet in a sense it was. Lord Alport, surveying the scene when he arrived as the British High Commissioner to the Federation, noted that 'There were some who realised the facts of the situation clearly – the Governor of Southern Rhodesia, Sir Humphrey Gibbs ... Sir Robert Tredgold ... industrialists, educationalists and most of the top newspapermen as well as the leaders of the various Christian denominations – all were acutely aware of what was needed and what was at stake. Unhappily they did not possess the ruthlessness necessary to force public opinion in their direction, or the opportunity and power to bridge the chasm of

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suspicion and animosity which divided black from white.<sup>156</sup> Yet it could also be said that the independent schools, more than the various inter-racial societies, were now doing just that. But the comparative ease with which the experiment began was short-lived, as the stumbling block soon appeared to be, not finance, or parental opinion, but the Ministry of Education.

*Table 1*

<i>School</i>	<i>Level</i>	<i>Total pupils</i>	<i>African pupils</i>	<i>Percentage Africans</i>
Dominican Convent, Gwelo	Junior girls	240	4	1.7%
Dominican Convent, Salisbury	Junior/senior girls	1090	2	0.2%
Marymount, Umtali	Senior girls	170	4	2.4%
Nagle House, Marandellas	Senior/junior girls	240	1	0.4%
Peterhouse	Senior boys	360	13	3.6%
St George's, Salisbury	Senior boys	600	11	1.8%
St Michael's, Salisbury	Junior boys	220	5	2.3%
St Peter's, Bulawayo	Junior/senior girls	200	11	5.5%
St Thomas Aquinas, Bulawayo	Junior boys	170	1	0.6%
Springvale, Marandellas	Junior boys	150	5	3.3%
Whitestone, Bulawayo	Junior boys	100	2	2.0%

In October 1964, as Peterhouse prepared for its second intake of Africans, and other schools prepared to dip their toes in the water, the Secretary for Education sent out a circular advising heads that 'the permission of the Minister of Local Government and Housing must be obtained in terms of the Land Apportionment Act, before African pupils are enrolled'.<sup>157</sup> So while the Federal Education Act of 1956, and its amendments, had put no barriers in the way of enrolling Africans, Southern Rhodesia's Land Apportionment Act did. Schools were breaking the law by allowing blacks to live in white areas. Peterhouse duly applied to the minister in November 1964; no reply had been received by the end of January 1965, by which time the new pupils had been enrolled. The Ministry of Education now informed schools that their circular of October 1964 had been defective in that it failed to identify precisely what information the Ministry of Local Government needed; a new circular now remedied that situation.<sup>158</sup> Snell responded by a new application at the end of February, but by April had still heard nothing, and when he pro-



tested was told by the Secretary for Housing and Local Government that no application had yet been received; 'I can only assume it went astray in the post.'<sup>159</sup> Meanwhile Christopher Paterson (P65), then in the sixth form, had interviewed the Prime Minister in his office in February. He reported that he asked Mr Smith about his views on integration in private schools. 'His policy was one of non-interference and allowing integration where the people concerned wanted it. However, he said, the schools had a long way to go in proving it was the right policy.'<sup>160</sup> Fred must have smiled when he read that. Despite a renewed application for permission to admit the Africans already admitted, no further communication arrived from the Ministry until September, when Snell was informed that the government was reviewing the situation, and that the Ministry of Local Government was therefore 'postponing further action in the matter until a final decision has been reached'.<sup>161</sup> The Heads' Conference, of which Snell was chairman, pointed out that the government's election manifesto had simply stated that 'enforced integration will not be tolerated', but that 'any families that may wish to educate their children in such a way may be allowed to do so'. Was there, Snell asked, 'a change of policy by the Rhodesia Front Government?'<sup>162</sup> In a low-key response in the press, the government announced that the problem was that 'there appeared to have been breaches of the Land Apportionment Act'.<sup>163</sup> But to add to the confusion, the Rector then received a letter from the Ministry of Mines, informing him that he should 'address any future correspondence in this connection to this Ministry as your school is situated in a rural area where the Minister of Mines and Lands is responsible for the administration of the Land Apportionment Act'.<sup>164</sup>

In retrospect, this tergiversation on the part of the government and its civil service looks very like an attempt to sidestep any major decisions on the whole issue. At the time, however, it did look as if the government was intent on stopping the multi-racial experiment. The Rector of St George's entered the fray by writing to the press denouncing the Land Apportionment Act, claiming that it 'causes grave injustice to the Africans of Rhodesia, and it is a gross injustice when the ... Act is invoked to deny a right given by the Education Act'.<sup>165</sup> It soon became clear that the government was unwilling to get on a collision course with the schools. A high-powered delegation was set up in

early October to lobby ministers. It included the outspoken ex-Chief Justice of the Federation, Sir Robert Tredgold. It met with three ministers – Local Government, Mines and Lands and Education, and the meeting was deemed to have been friendly. The ministers raised no objections even to ‘an increase of Africans up to 50%, at which point a school would technically become an “African school”’. However, the ministers also indicated that there would be a further government investigation of the matter, and that ‘a decision by the Cabinet should be possible by the end of November’.<sup>166</sup> But great changes on the wider scene were soon to have profound implications for Peterhouse, for multi-racialism and for the whole country.

As we have seen, major developments had taken place in the independent sector throughout the country, in terms of its expansion and of the advent of multi-racialism. But before exploring the changes which took place at Peterhouse and in the nation in the mid-1960s, it is worth narrowing the focus to the Marandellas area. In 1963 the Prime Minister (and local MP) Winston Field, wrote to congratulate the Rotary Club of Marandellas for ‘celebrating the 50th anniversary of the founding of the “village”’ by producing a jubilee history. One of the chapters is entitled ‘Rhodesias’ “Grahamstown”’.<sup>167</sup> The oldest educational institution in the area had begun in 1891 at Theydon with the work of Bernard Mizeki, a gifted young lay evangelist born in Mozambique and appointed by Bishop Knight Bruce to work as a teacher at Theydon. He was martyred in 1896, but mission work revived again after 1899.<sup>168</sup> The teaching capacity at the Mission was massively expanded in 1961 with the opening of Bernard Mizeki College, ‘to be a boarding high school for boys, predominantly or entirely black, as a partner to Peterhouse, founded by many of the same people, for predominantly or entirely white boys’.<sup>169</sup> The Mission’s old primary school became Bernard Mizeki School. The main impetus behind all this came from Canon Robert Grinham, aided by Fred Snell and Humphrey Gibbs. Almost as old was the Wesleyan Mission founded at the beginning of the century, which became Waddilove Institution in 1916. It taught industrial and agricultural courses, and opened a teacher training department in 1940; a school for teachers of the blind was opened there in 1961. We know already about the other independent schools in the area: Ruzawi (1928), Springvale (1952), Nagle House (1959), and of course Peterhouse.

## THE WIDER SCENE

There were government schools as well. The first one was started in 1911, and had become Godfrey Huggins School; also at primary level, there was Digglefold (1948) and for African pupils Nyameni (1946). Two government schools (for whites) opened in 1960: the Marandellas Nursery School (so the Peterhouse one predates it), and Marandellas High School. The African villages at Springvale and Ruzawi had schools for their workers, as did the Mere Estate and the Grasslands Research Station, which, focussing research on pasture development to improve beef production, might also count as an educational centre. In addition there were numerous small schools on the nearby commercial farms. The total number of children (black and white) educated in the Marandellas area (excluding the farm schools) was over 4,600.

Other schools would be established in the future. In 1976 Bruce Cerda-Pavia arrived from Gatooma to start what became known as Rakodzi, a fine school in Dombo Tombo for boys and girls up to O level. 'If Rhodesia had more men of the calibre of Bruce Cerda-Pavia to influence the sphere of education for all races, our secure future would be assured', a local paper commented.<sup>170</sup> I found that to be true, when in 1984 we met and arranged that some of his best O level pupils would come each year to Peterhouse on special bursaries; he did us proud. It was a terrible blow when he was murdered by intruders to his home (just across the road from Peterhouse) in 1990. Characteristically, he had already arranged that his estate, in the event of his death, would be settled in a trust fund for the benefit of the pupils of Rakodzi, with the Rector of Peterhouse and a local solicitor as its trustees. So his impact on education and on Peterhouse continued after his death, until the terrible inflation of the late 1990s rendered the funds valueless. Another latecomer to the area was Watershed, established, as we shall see, in the 1980s as an independent school. There were plans afoot in 1963 for Bothashof (later Eaglesvale) to move to Marandellas.<sup>171</sup> That plan did not materialise; nevertheless the Marandellas area – in its provision of government and independent schools, for blacks and whites, boys and girls – was by the mid-1960s something of a model of what might be. A third of all African pupils at independent schools were being educated in the 'little town' which, as John Beaumont had told parliament, had become an educational centre.

## 6

### *Changes All Round*

It was not surprising that Southern Rhodesia's new Prime Minister brushed off the change of premiership as being nothing to get excited about, and certainly not important enough to necessitate the recall of Parliament, let alone an election. The groups which make up the present Rhodesian Front are in the habit of changing leaders frequently. – Mr Smith is the sixth in as many years. This characteristic underlines the Front's greatest internal problem, which is that the only 'principle' its supporters have in common is a determination to hang onto white minority rule and white privilege indefinitely.

*Central African Examiner*, May 1964, p 2

As the first African new boys were settling into their second week at Peterhouse in February 1964, dramatic events were taking place thousands of miles away. Evan Campbell, Rhodesian High Commissioner in London (and a Governor of Peterhouse from 1962 to his death in 1980) handed the British government a demand for Rhodesian independence. The other component parts of the now defunct Federation were on their way to full independence, as Zambia (under Kenneth Kaunda) and Malawi (under Hastings Banda). The British Prime Minister, Sir Alec Douglas-Home (Humphrey Gibbs's contemporary at school) was thought to be not unsympathetic to this request. But there was no political will in Britain to tackle the issue; a general election was in the offing, and indeed Campbell had already held talks with the Leader of the Opposition, Harold Wilson. The Rhodesian Prime Minister, Winston Field, who had personally presented Rhodesia's case in London in January, had returned home empty-handed. Wild talk of a Unilateral Declaration of Independence (UDI) was in the air. In April, the Rhodesia Front party caucus

deposed Field, and in his place installed Ian Smith as Prime Minister. Unlike the English public-school educated Field, Smith, ex-head boy of Chaplin and president of the Students' Representative Council at Rhodes, was a right-winger through and through. Although he had served with distinction in the RAF during the Second World War, his roots and his perspectives were those of the Rhodesian midlands. He represented a distinct shift to the right in the Rhodesian Front. At what stage he became convinced that UDI should be declared is unclear. What is clear is that from the moment of his promotion, the character of Rhodesian politics changed, and warning signals soon emerged. Ten days after Smith became Prime Minister, Joshua Nkomo was put in detention. In June, Smith was miffed at not being invited to the Commonwealth Prime Ministers' Conference, attended by Rhodesian Prime Ministers since the 1930s, and marking the country's status as a 'virtual' dominion. In August, his government banned the Zimbabwe African National Union (ZANU) and the Zimbabwe African People's Union (ZAPU).

In October, Harold Wilson became the British Prime Minister, after 13 years 'of Tory misrule', but with a tiny majority. He lost no time in warning Smith of the consequences of UDI, which would leave Rhodesia 'isolated and virtually friendless in a largely hostile continent'.<sup>172</sup> Smith replied with an 'indaba' (meeting/discussion) of chiefs and headmen at Domboshawa which unanimously voted for independence on the basis of the 1961 constitution, and with a national referendum in which 60% of the largely white electorate did the same. Any hope that the slenderness of the RF majority would mute the talk of independence was dashed when at the general election in May 1965, the Rhodesian Front won all of the white seats, and a two-thirds majority in the Assembly. The Rhodesia Party (successor to the United Party which under Huggins had dominated politics in the post-war years) now split. Its African members in Parliament became the United People's Party, while the whites (with no parliamentary representation) formed the Rhodesian Constitutional Association, led by Bob Williams. It is ironical indeed that just as black and white were coming together in the independent schools, their political representatives were now permanently riven along colour lines.

Changes at the top were also being planned at Peterhouse. In mid-1964, the Rector was 60, and soon to celebrate his 61st birthday.

He had been in office for eleven years. Sir Humphrey Gibbs, Geoff Ellman-Brown and Bob Williams met to discuss the question of his retirement, and suggested the end of 1967. Snell put on record that while he would be prepared to go on until 65 (in 1969), he would be willing to comply with the suggested retirement date, though if anything were to come up which might mean employment which would go on beyond his 65th birthday, he asked that his obligation to give two years' notice should be reduced to one year. This was agreed, as were the arrangements for his pension. Fred professed himself 'flabbergasted by the generosity' of the proposed sum of £2,000 pa – equivalent of the annual fees of five boys, and only £500 less than the salary the Board intended to pay any incoming Rector.<sup>173</sup> In fact the sum which was finally agreed, in November, was £1,600, made up from payments from the Provident Fund, supplemented by the school, and payable only in recognition of the 'unique circumstances' of the retirement of the founding Rector.<sup>174</sup> But the plans were not made public as yet, and the political changes later in the year delayed the announcement until the end of 1966.

The Speech Day in August 1965 was the last 'normal' one for many years. It was presided over as usual by the Chairman of the Governors, Sir Humphrey Gibbs, Governor of Rhodesia. The guest of honour was Robert Birley, whose connection with the Snells went back to their Oxford days. He had been headmaster of Charterhouse, and of Eton from 1949 to 1963, and was currently Visiting Professor of Education at the University of Witwatersrand. He had become friendly with the Mandela family, who called him 'Uncle Robert', and he was later to meet and become an admirer of Steve Biko.<sup>175</sup> My own memory of Robert Birley dates from 1972 when he lived in retirement in the Somerset village of Somerton, where I was doing a locum. So, as his (temporary) parish priest, I was invited to dinner, and 'entertained' thereafter with viewings of the cine films he and his wife had made of Black Sash events in South Africa. Like Snell, he was no radical – despite his nickname of 'Red Robert' – and he was similarly humane and civilised, and an inspirational enthusiast. Unlike Snell, he stood six feet six inches high, with a large expressive face that seemed a male version of Margaret Rutherford.<sup>176</sup> His benign appearance belied the strong feelings he nursed about apartheid; he was scandalised by the system, and did what he could to

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speak out against it. In May 1965 he had addressed the Heads' Conference, meeting at Peterhouse, on the subject of 'Liberty'. In 1966 he was to visit Rhodesia as an 'independent commissioner' charged with examining the problems which the University College of Rhodesia and Nyasaland was then facing. In his report he declared: 'I do not see how anyone can support the UCRN as the multi-racial institution it now is who does not believe that Rhodesia should move towards the creation of a multi-racial society.'<sup>177</sup> His Speech Day address also touched upon contemporary issues. His theme was 'Loyalty': 'People who could oppose and yet be loyal were necessary to any society'. Conflict of loyalties could be difficult; he noted the dilemma facing the leader of the Protestant Church in Czechoslovakia in 1948 when the Communists took over, who stayed and in a series of compromises probably weakened the church. Another Czech, a student, organised resistance and was sent to a concentration camp. Birley noted that there was no clear-cut answer to the question as to which man had been right; one simply had to do what one believed was morally right in the circumstances.

What went through the minds of Birley's audience? One cannot help feeling that the chairman – faced with a similar dilemma later in the year – may have thought wryly of those comments as he tussled with questions of loyalty to his Queen, the government and his adoptive country. Others listening must have realised that they might all face such dilemmas in the future; Governors like Geoff Ellman-Brown, Robert Fynn, Bob Williams, all members of what had in some sense been the 'liberal establishment'. They would cope in different ways with the problem of 'loyalty'. Bob Williams continued to lead the RCA, and his wife was one of the volunteers who with others gathered at the Governor's residence during UDI to compile an impressive collection of 'press cutting books' which recorded the day-to-day press comment during the UDI years – books which, appropriately enough, are now housed in the archives room of the Sir Humphrey Gibbs Centre at Peterhouse. Geoff Ellman-Brown, ex-Federal Minister, well illustrates the complexities of 'loyalty': he had been part of the plot to depose Todd, but supported Snell's multi-racial policy; he was to oppose UDI, but nevertheless he used his significant prestige and considerable clout to help his country during 'sanctions', and was awarded an honour for his work by the Smith

regime. And parents would also face the problem of 'loyalty'. One, Alfred Gallaher, a Salisbury attorney, would be charged with 'spying' and be deported in 1970. Another, Josiah Chinamano, was already in detention along with Joshua Nkomo. Perhaps most poignant of all – though none knew it at the time – was the challenge that would face the boy who spoke at this Speech Day. Tim Peech, in his head boy's speech, declared that the point of a Church school was to produce a climate of opinion in which the influence for good would be felt not merely by those at the school, but also by those with whom they came in contact. He put that into practice in his own life, and paid the ultimate price, as we shall see. If Birley had come to hear of that tragedy, it would surely have entered his extensive repertoire of the illuminating and inspiring stories with which his lectures and conversation were liberally illustrated.

The 1965 Speech Day also marked a significant development. At last, it appeared that the installation of a proper pipe organ in chapel would be possible. John Hodgson, the Director of Music, was perhaps the most notable organist in Rhodesia, so he was enthusiastic, as was his star pupil, Murray Somerville (M65), who patiently explained the need. He discovered that there were people in the school who thought that the current instrument was a pipe organ: 'On the contrary, it is a pipeless instrument which produces its notes by an arrangement of radio valves, condensers, resistors, and whose tones emerge from a loudspeaker'.<sup>178</sup> The Rector, a keen amateur organist, was committed to the idea of installing a pipe organ, if the funds could be found. The Peterhouse fete was to come to the rescue. It had originally been planned for Speech Day, to replace the usual exhibitions, but the Governor's offer of the paddock at Government House as a site was gratefully taken up. So the fete took place on the day after Speech Day, and parents organised by Mrs Honey in Salisbury, and Mrs Bantoft in Umtali, did the major job of setting it up, and eliciting support. The resulting profit of just over £4,000 (equal to the annual fee income from twelve boys) meant that the programme of capital expenditure – which had been on hold for several years – got going again, and resulted in the installation of the organ in chapel and the provision of a pavilion for the main cricket square.

But of course 1965 also saw huge national changes, which had long been foreseen. Just a month after Speech Day one member of the



Legislative Assembly summed up the situation in a private letter to Sir Edgar Whitehead: 'We appear to be on the brink of something or other perhaps UDI and there are masses of rumours flying around. It is rather unsettling. We have had this for about a year now and the situation hasn't changed at all. I wonder what you think will happen? There seems to be no one one can talk to these days – everyone seems to be madly RF!'<sup>179</sup> In October the British Prime Minister, Harold Wilson, arrived in Salisbury for what was to be a 'last ditch' attempt to avert catastrophe. The talks were inconclusive, which emboldened Ian Smith, as did Wilson's subsequent radio broadcast ruling out the possibility of any British military intervention in the event of a declaration of independence. At 1.15pm on 11 November, Ian Smith broadcast to the nation.<sup>180</sup> He began by reading out a proclamation which was couched, as some observers noted, in the kind of language used in the American Declaration of Independence. In fact, the language was in some cases identical to that of Ulster's Solemn League and Covenant of 1912. Like that document, it trumpeted loyalty to God and the Sovereign: 'Now therefore we, the Government of Rhodesia, in humble submission to Almighty God, who controls the destiny of nations, conscious that the people of Rhodesia have always shown unswerving loyalty and devotion to Her Majesty the Queen and praying that we the people of Rhodesia will not be hindered in our determination to continue exercising our undoubted right to demonstrate the same loyalty and devotion in seeking to promote the common good so that the dignity and freedom of all men may be assured, do by this proclamation adopt, enact and give to the people of Rhodesia the Constitution annexed hereto.' Rhodesians were now faced with the great question of 'loyalty' which Robert Birley had spoken of just a few months before. The Governor's instructions were censored by the government, not because it disapproved of the content, but because it was trying to airbrush Sir Humphrey out of the national picture. In fact, having consulted London, the Governor called upon 'all citizens to maintain law and order in this country and to carry on with their normal tasks. This applies equally to the judiciary, the armed services, the police and public services.'<sup>181</sup>

The Rector was putting the finishing touches to his November Rector's Report when he heard the news. He called the school together and addressed them, and then spoke to the African staff in the same

vein, through an interpreter. Subsequently he made sure that the staff and parents had a copy of what he had said:

The Government has issued a proclamation of Rhodesia's Independence. There are those, including the Prime Minister and his Cabinet, who believe that this is in the best interests of the country and there are also those who believe that it is not; only time will show which is right. I would remind you of what I said at Assembly three weeks ago: that it is always the path of wisdom, in any matter in which there is nothing that one personally can do, not to worry but to do one's best to get on with one's immediate everyday duty. The truth will probably turn out to be that the result of this step will be neither as beneficial as the one side to the argument expect nor as disastrous as the other believes. It will be some time before the actual effects are apparent and there is nothing to be gained by trying to anticipate them. I wish further to reiterate my conviction that in the long run the future of the country depends, far more than on any political factors, on black and white learning to live together and to understand and to respect each other. Here is a way in which every one of us can do something to serve the future.

It was a judicious statement, which rather belied the private feelings of Fred and Margaret Snell, who had no time for Smith and his government. But, as Margaret wrote just four days later in her Christmas letter: 'There is still a lot of confusion, in the midst of which we go on living our ordinary lives exactly as before.' The role of a headmaster in times of great national stress and upheaval (and there were to be more such times in the future) is primarily to ensure the continuing education of the pupils, and the operation of the school in as 'normal' a fashion as possible. And there was always room for humour. The chaplain mused on what he must do when he got to the printed prayers for 'our Governor' and 'the Ministers of the Crown', and suggested that he might remain silent while the assistant chaplain raised a placard saying 'censored'. But the fact that Rhodesia was now governed by ministers who had been 'sacked' by the Queen's representative did not materially affect the operation of the school in the short term. Ian Smith had declared, in 1963, that 'there are few countries which are as peaceful and as quiet as Southern Rhodesia today'.<sup>182</sup> It was still possible to look out from Rhodesia at the rest of the continent and feel somewhat smug: coups during 1965 and 1966 had rocked the governments of Zaire, Benin, Algeria, Upper Volta, Nigeria (twice), Ghana, the Central African Republic, Burundi and Uganda.<sup>183</sup> Rhodesia wasn't like that; most Africans and some

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Europeans opposed UDI, but for the moment got on with their lives in comparative tranquillity.

There were some worries for the Rector, however. One was staff recruitment, which had always been a problem. 'Of the three men who were to join us [in January 1966], one, Mr Barham, took fright in consequence of the UDI', as Fred reported to the EXCO, though two others, Archie Kennedy and C.T. Priestley, did turn up.<sup>184</sup> Two valuable members of staff announced their imminent departure – Raymond Dunt and Dr James Milford. The former, housemaster of Paget and founder of the biology department, went on to Repton. The latter, son of an Oxford friend of the Snells, and a Wykehamist, was a physicist and founder of the school's bell-ringing society; he was to take up an appointment at Reading University. Another worry was pupil recruitment. There appeared, as the Rector reported on Speech Day 1966, to be a trend which had been evident since the end of the Federation: it was not so much a problem of recruiting new boys, as of 'the abnormal number of boys who have left before completing their schooling', mainly due to emigration.<sup>185</sup> And while the school continued to be full, there was a growing reliance on boys from Zambia which was to be a critical factor in the independent schools' crisis a decade later. The 1966 Speech Day, however, was notable for the announcement of another change, and one that would affect Peterhouse more immediately and directly than had UDI. Certainly as far as the boys were concerned the change at the top in Peterhouse was of more immediate import than the great national changes: the Rector announced his resignation. He reported a 'combing of the independent schools of Southern Africa' to find his successor. The unanimous decision of the EXCO, approved by the Board and the Visitor, was that the second Rector was to be Bruce Fieldsend, who was to take a sabbatical during the Trinity and Michaelmas terms of 1967, working at Shrewsbury and Charterhouse, and returning to take over the reins at the end of that year.

One major issue remained unresolved. In October 1965, Snell had reported to the other independent school heads that government intended to make some decisions about 'multi-racial' education 'before the end of November'. Throughout September and October there were letters and articles in the press, attacking or defending multi-racial education, so there was good reason for the government

to state its policy. A newspaper report on 7 November was headed 'Decision soon on Africans in private schools'.<sup>186</sup> A letter from one ex-Peterhouse pupil stated the situation in terms which his former headmaster would have approved: 'If given a fair chance, and if unnecessary, hostile pressure is not imposed upon a highly delicate problem, I believe that with good example, understanding, discretion and patience (qualities which this particular school has among those in authority whose duty it is to engender this atmosphere throughout) a real and lasting triumph for Rhodesia's security and happiness will be achieved. Any realist must recognise that the Africans will ultimately predominate in government and that it is our duty to educate and condition them into an acceptance of a sense of responsibility.'<sup>187</sup> The letter appeared on the morning that UDI was declared. Now that the Cabinet had rather larger questions on its agenda, it is not surprising that no decisions about multi-racial education were in fact made 'before the end of November'.

Nevertheless, on 19 December, after the end of term, the *Sunday Mail* carried a report headed 'Schools win reprieve', quoting a government spokesman as saying that 'the pattern which has been followed in the past shall continue during 1966'. This was confirmed in writing to the Rector on 21 December, quoting the newspaper report and promising 'further consideration of the overall policy' in 1966.<sup>188</sup> The Secretary for Education, J.D. Slaven, followed this up with a circular two days later confirming that 'private schools which had Africans enrolled for the year 1965 will be allowed to retain them for the year 1966', and that such schools 'will be able to admit new African entrants if permission is obtained from the Ministry of Education'.<sup>189</sup> Mr Slaven had actually attended the Peterhouse Speech Day in 1964, greeted by the Rector as the first Secretary of Education to grace the occasion, in a speech which also noted the arrival at Peterhouse of its first four African pupils. The Rector went on to speak of his 'hope of the emergence in the next 20 years of a state which is based not on domination but on cooperation. To build any bridge between the races is to increase that hope.' Those words were to be recalled by Robert Mugabe when he was guest of honour at Speech Day 23 years later. Perhaps the Secretary for Education in 1964 agreed with those sentiments; but his political masters were, and continued to be, reluctant to make any firm statements on the issue of multi-racial

education, or as Snell characterised the situation, 'the cabinet had decided not to decide'.<sup>190</sup> The Rector was not slow to exploit the situation. In September 1966 he informed the Ministry of Mines and Lands that he proposed to admit two African boys (in a week's time!). He was ticked off by the Secretary for Mines and Lands on the grounds that parents might be faced with embarrassment as 'you do not know whether approval for the admission of their sons will be forthcoming and of removing them from the school if it is not'.<sup>191</sup> It was in fact forthcoming – from the Secretary for Education, a month after the boys had already started. When he applied for permission to admit four Africans for 1968, he was reminded by the Secretary that 'the number of Africans allowed to enter any particular school shall not exceed the number admitted in the previous year', which would mean that Peterhouse would be restricted to three. Which three was it to be?<sup>192</sup> Snell was quick to point out that the minister had told independent heads a year previously that such a requirement 'would not be applied in the rigid way indicated in the final paragraph of your present letter'.<sup>193</sup> A week later, permission for four pupils was received; this was fortunate as the fourth name on the list was David Hatendi, later a Rhodes Scholar and a Governor of Peterhouse.

The situation was never entirely resolved. But Fred could leave Peterhouse content that he had triumphed in principle, and secure in the knowledge that his efforts were appreciated by those whom they were intended to benefit. Josiah Chinamano, whose son was in Paget, wrote to lament Snell's retirement and to congratulate him on his efforts to make the school multi-racial. 'I have nervously watched your experiment in this field', he wrote from Wha Wha Restriction Camp. 'I must congratulate you, your staff and governors on the success of this project. I know you would have liked to see more progress in this field. But anyone who can do what you did, particularly during the last two years, deserves high commendation.'<sup>194</sup> As the founding Rector cleared his desk in December 1967, other multi-racial issues were looming, in particular in the area of inter-school sports. That would be a problem for his successor, as would the increasingly difficult problems arising not so much from UDI itself, but from the growing momentum of the Rhodesian war. The Second Chimurenga (liberation struggle), according to Zimbabwean nationalists, started in April 1966 with the incident at Sinoia when seven

ZANU insurgents entered Rhodesia from Zambia to attack police and white farmers, and were killed. They were the martyrs of the Battle of Chinoyi. But in fact, the full impact of the bush war would not be felt until the 1970s.

Nevertheless, the departure of Fred Snell in December 1967 was 'the end of an era'. He had not been merely the first headmaster; he had, in effect, been the architect of the whole venture. Now he was 64, and still vigorous. He and Margaret planned to retire to their house in Marandellas, and to make full use of the Rector's cottage at Inyanga, which they had much enlarged. But Fred was also taking another job; he was appointed Provincial Officer of the Church of the Province of Central Africa. For an ex-headmaster used to ordering people (even bishops) around, who enjoyed beetling hither and thither by car at high speed, and who was above all a devoted Anglican, it was the perfect job, and 'particularly good', as he himself reported, 'for one who lives in Rhodesia so sadly isolated by her own follies and those of others, to be taken across her borders'.<sup>195</sup> For nine years he travelled, organised, and made friends with the bishops, especially Patrick Murindagomo (suffragan, Mashonaland), Jack Cunningham (Central Zambia) and Josiah Mtekatoka (Malawi). In 1976 he was relieved of most of the travelling and administration but retained the title of 'Treasurer' until 1982. Only then, at the age of 78, was he able to sit back and enjoy retirement. By then too Margaret had given up the regular bumpy drive to Bonda Mission, where she had thrown herself into being a very active Governor of the Anglican school for African girls.

When the school reassembled in January 1968, it was not the political situation that was uppermost in the minds of the boys, but the fact that Fred Snell had gone, and there was a new Rector in place. When change at the top takes place in a school, there is invariably a sense of discontinuity, and new heads almost always run into problems – or identify problems – sooner or later. This was true even though Bruce Fieldsend was known to most of the boys. But it was different now that he occupied the Rector's study. There was another difference too which was becoming apparent, even in Rhodesia, where the economy was expanding and immigration increasing despite international pressures. The great swell and shift in western society sometimes identified as the birth of the 'permissive society', and the related phe-

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nomenon of 'student rebellion', were beginning to be felt. Already in Western Europe and the USA social changes and discontinuities were evident, every bit as radical and innovative as the concurrent Mao-inspired 'cultural revolution' that was turning China upside down. Year by year in Britain, the phenomenon gained in impetus. In 1962 the 'Establishment' found itself lampooned in the satirical review *That was the week that was*; 1963 opened with the Beatles cutting their first record, and ended with wild scenes of 'Beatlemania'; in 1964 public order was rocked by violent clashes between 'Mods' and 'Rockers'; in 1965 the miniskirt appeared on the streets of London, and by 1966 the capital gave the world Carnaby Street and the King's Road as centres of wild uninhibited clothing worn by young people with long hair and a new-found irreverence. In 1967 the first 'Flower Power' festival took place; in 1968 violent student unrest spread to Britain from France and the USA, with protests against the university authorities, and mass demonstrations against the war in Vietnam. Rhodesia might be a little colonial backwater, but it was not immune to the impact of all this. The discontent at the University of Rhodesia – leading to its temporary closure in 1966 – was obviously inspired by the local political situation, but took the same forms as university agitation everywhere: the protest marches and sit-ins, the involvement of the more radical lecturers, the outbreaks of violence on campus. Peterhouse boys could see this going on. At home they could hear on the radio, and watch television (which had been on air since 1960). They could read in local newspapers (or in the *Illustrated London News* or *Punch*, both taken by the library) details of what was happening elsewhere in the world. The local papers had always included British domestic news. And there was now a tendency for the press, and for ministers, to draw contrasts between the social and moral chaos in Britain and elsewhere, compared with the peace and tranquillity of Rhodesia – an argument which might increase the 'feel good' factor among middle-aged whites, but which was unlikely to appeal to young people.

During the new Rector's first term a drama was being played out in Salisbury. His brother John (later Sir John) was a judge. Disturbed by the turn of events in the judiciary which seemed to indicate that it was 'recognising' the illegal regime, he went to the Governor to offer his resignation. Sir Humphrey, hoping for a political settlement,

persuaded him to delay, but two months later, in March 1968, he resigned, and would leave the country soon after.<sup>196</sup> It was a blow for the Fieldsend family, but at least in the school Bruce was still in his 'honeymoon period'. No dramatic changes were envisaged; though as ever with a new head, some 'tightening up' of discipline seemed to be called for, and Bruce tackled a thorny issue – that of corporal punishment. The problem was the use of the cane by the boys themselves. From the beginning of Peterhouse, prefects were permitted to beat, normally with a tackie (gym shoe). As one founding Petrean remembers, run-of-the-mill prefects could use this sanction (without the housemaster's approval) for one offence only – chewing gum. It will seem odd to many people in the 21st century that such practices were allowed, but it must be remembered that a 1966 survey in Britain revealed that in 103 of the 166 public schools, boys were permitted to administer corporal punishment, and in only 16 of the 95 for which the information was available was it confined to the head boy.<sup>197</sup> Bruce had obtained a copy of this report. In September 1968 he issued an edict confining the use of the cane to the head boy, under strict conditions – that the prior consent of the Rector must be obtained, that no more than four strokes were to be administered, that the boy's housemaster must be informed, and that no other prefect could use the cane. In addition, 'any boy always has the right of appeal to the Rector'.<sup>198</sup> It was a reform which was already happening in schools in Britain – where the impetus was such that by the mid-1980s almost every school had abandoned the cane, whether used by prefects or by masters. That development did not take place in Rhodesia.

By mid-1969, when the Rector's 'honeymoon period' could be expected to have ended, a larger issue loomed. 'Concern was expressed', as the EXCO Minutes record, 'that potential parents seem to be critical of Peterhouse. Two reasons seem to be uppermost in their minds – the examination results and the appearance of boys in the holidays.'<sup>199</sup> It was the sort of rather vague criticism which any head, but especially a relatively new one, dreads, and indeed finds almost unanswerable. It is generalised enough to contain some truth, but not specific enough to rebut. He cannot reply that the examination results reflect boys' progress over the course of six years, and he has only been in the saddle for 18 months. He knows that he has no



control over the behaviour of boys in the holidays. And he dreads it most because it is an implied attack on his leadership, and says more about the morale of pupils – and their parents – than it does about the actual issues. Bruce was aware that the school's liberal reputation sat uneasily with the tide of narrow-minded Rhodesian nationalism which was at its height at the end of the 1960s. But he also knew that there were issues to address. He had already issued an edict to house-masters demanding action in getting rid of 'attention-drawing side whiskers'.<sup>200</sup> Later in the year he reported to EXCO that he had 'not been altogether happy with the atmosphere in the VIth form', with 'a larger, or at least a more vociferous group of grumblers than usual, who feel that Peterhouse is too repressive and restrictive'. Whether it was a result of the character of the particular group of sixth formers, or a sign of the times, he was not sure, but 'certainly it is not a unique phenomenon; "pupil power" is already a very real problem in UK schools'.<sup>201</sup> The 'vociferous group of grumblers' were planning some form of protest or demonstration, possibly a hunger strike (unlikely to be a success among boys!). It was improbable that Bruce would face the kind of sit-ins, protests and demands which Walter Adams (until 1967, Principal of the University College in Salisbury) was currently having to cope with at the London School of Economics, where the students 'were destroying property and wielding dangerous instruments'.<sup>202</sup> Nevertheless, school protests in their own small way could be just as frightening and destabilising. It was not merely a Peterhouse phenomenon. In 1971 Rhodesia's parliament was to devote three hours to debating the problems which now confronted headmasters – smoking, pornography, pop music, alcohol, and indiscipline.<sup>203</sup> The Rector's response to the Peterhouse unrest was to set up a committee, under the chairmanship of John Davidson (housemaster of Grinham and now senior master) to enquire into the complaints. This committee of staff and boys met with sixth formers in general, and had closed meetings with one or two sixth formers at a time. The general feelings of frustration were well summed up in the report's findings:

1. A feeling of being cut off from their social and intellectual life outside Peterhouse at a time when they are becoming, and being encouraged to become, aware of what is going on outside the school.
2. A feeling of boredom brought on probably by the same routine which has been experienced since their first arrival at Peterhouse.

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This feeling in some cases, and especially at weekends, led to frustration, anger and a desire to get out at all costs... .

3. A feeling of a lack of purpose in school life. The general feeling in the VI form was that apart from actual examination success there is nothing to aim at on entry into the school. ...
4. A feeling of lack of pride in the school. This was specifically mentioned by some VI formers, and admitted by others when questioned. No concrete reason for this could be given but there seemed to be instances of causes for shame, which led in some to a desire to remove the school blazer when in public. One of these instances was the school haircut which brought ridicule; another was the image the school seems to have gained of being one riddled with homosexuality. It was strongly stated that this image had no grounds of truth and probably arose from a lack of understanding of the all male boarding community, amongst those who had not attended such a school.

It was a list of the kind of complaints which would have found an echo in England, where 'disaffection spread through the public schools during the latter half of the sixties [and] reached a climax in most schools in 1969'.<sup>204</sup> Most British headmasters would also have recognised the more specific complaints which the report focussed on: the lack of exeat, the frequency and style of compulsory school haircuts, the prohibition of wirelasses, the lack of social contact with girls, and the subjection of sixth formers to a regimen of compulsory sport and labour (in the UK it would have been sport and CCF) which they had endured since their first arrival. One Peterhouse complaint however was unique: 'the puerile insistence that senior boys should have to deal in pennies in the tuck shop'. But other, less generally felt, complaints would have had a familiar ring: distaste for compulsory chapel, the demand for the 'right to smoke', the complaint that 'senior boys were often treated as children by members of staff'. When it came to making recommendations, the committee focussed on a few of the most generally expressed and deeply felt issues, and suggested: more short leaves; better and less frequent haircuts; more social contact in the form of more frequent dances; more relaxed rules about friends from outside visiting at weekends, and the possibility of having a sixth form social centre; a cash regime in the tuck shop; and that the school should adopt a more flexible approach to compulsory sport, labour and rest as far as sixth formers were concerned. Of course, the 'hair' issue wouldn't go away. As we have seen, the Rector had only recently issued an edict about side whiskers. A few years

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later, he lamented to EXCO: 'I sometimes wish the human race had been born hairless!'<sup>205</sup> A year later they were sympathetic enough to suggest that 'there was no need for boys' hair to be unduly short'.<sup>206</sup> As a housemaster, I was fighting the same battle at this time; though anyone who looks at family snaps from the 1970s will see that the generally acceptable hair length was by then notably longer than at any time before or since. When I got to Peterhouse the main problem seemed to be tinted or dyed hair.<sup>207</sup> My successor faced another variant: 'steps', or shaved heads.<sup>208</sup>

The Rector had already addressed these issues in general terms: at Speech Day in August 1969 he had spoken about 'youthful revolt against contemporary standards', and had suggested that the appropriate response was 'a combination of firmness and charity'.<sup>209</sup> The year ended with Bruce applying those principles. He addressed the sixth formers, and fulfilled some of their demands – there was to be a more relaxed dress code at the weekends, and reform of the haircut system and of the tuck shop; permission would be more freely granted for sixth formers to take exeats. One of the 'protesters' looking back some 30 years later wrote: 'I think full credit must go to Bruce Fieldsend for the way he handled a situation which could really have led to unrest and expulsion for those not toeing the line', with the result that 'he defused the situation to everyone's satisfaction'.<sup>210</sup> That, and the long Christmas holiday, and the change of personnel in the sixth form, all combined to dispel the agitation, and it could be claimed that Peterhouse had an easier ride than many similar schools, certainly than many in Britain where the agitation started earlier and continued longer. It must have given the Rector particular satisfaction when he saw the A level results for 1969; they were very much better than those of the previous year. But he was too much of a realist to think that the great educational enterprise of nurturing the bodies, minds and souls of pupils would be plain sailing thereafter.

## *Mind and Soul*

[Arnold] set his ideals out in a definite order: 'first, religious and moral principle; second, gentlemanly conduct; thirdly, intellectual ability'. As it happened, this was exactly how the parents who would make use of Rugby viewed education. Squire Brown, sending Tom off for the first time, reflected on what he hoped for. 'Shall I send him to mind his work, and say he's sent to school to make himself a good scholar? Well, he isn't sent to school for that – at any rate, for that mainly. I don't care a straw for Greek particles, or the digamma; no more does his mother. If he'll only turn out a brave, helpful, truth-telling Englishman, and a Christian, that's all I want'.

Vivian Ogilvie, *The English Public School* (London 1957), p 145

Any independent school – and certainly a Church one – will emphasise the importance of the physical, moral and spiritual development of its pupils. The great headmasters who 'invented' the public school tradition were agreed on this – notably Arnold of Rugby, Thring of Uppingham, Benson of Wellington and Percival of Clifton. For Arnold, there was no doubt about the hierarchy of values; for more than a century thereafter (he died in 1842) many schools and schoolmasters would have agreed that Christianity came first, gentlemanly conduct (and 'playing the game' literally and metaphorically) came second, and the things of the mind came last. It was not universally acknowledged. College at Winchester and at Eton, and great old day schools like Manchester Grammar, were self-aware breeding grounds for scholars. Some schools, like Gordonstoun and Bryanston, chose to emphasise physical (and moral) development. A few, like University College School, were devoid of a chapel or of explicit Christian emphasis. But there was a general agreement – certainly still the

consensus in the 1950s – that nurturing ‘our three-fold gift of body, mind and soul’ (as the Peterhouse hymn puts it) was the primary object of a public school education. In what order those different aspects of the human personality might be placed depended upon the headmaster, the tradition of a school, the occasion on which they were propounded.

For the founding Rector of Peterhouse, the ranking was undoubtedly the reverse of the order (body, mind and soul) which, for the sake of scansion, was set out in the school hymn. Christianity came first, scholarship second, and games came third. It made sense to him as a Wykehamist – games at that school never occupied quite the same pedestal which they did at many, perhaps most, other public schools. That coincided with Fred’s own predilections. He understood the importance of fitness; he was, after all, a keen swimmer and walker, and an avid mountaineer. He was realist enough to acknowledge the importance adolescent boys attach to sporting prowess. But fundamentally, what mattered to him was the spiritual and intellectual development of his pupils. We shall later examine the place and importance of games at Peterhouse; but, following the founding Rector’s priorities, we shall first examine the way in which the school tackled the task of nurturing of minds and souls, especially during its first two formative decades.

From the beginning, Peterhouse was out of step with the rest of the country because of the decision to pursue Oxford and Cambridge (O&C) Ordinary and Advanced level syllabuses, instead of the Cambridge School and Higher School certificates; it was the only school in the country to do so. This meant that the school year was skewed: O&C examinations could only be taken in June, while the rest of the country sat their exams in November. And since the June exams finished about five weeks before the end of the Trinity term, the sixth form had time on their hands: they were unleashed on an unsuspecting Salisbury to do projects of their choice in groups of two or three; a good time was had by all, with probably minimal scholastic gain. There were implications too for new entrants; they either had to come in September, and miss the last delightful term when they would be at the top of their primary or prep school; or they had to come a term late (in January) and try to catch up. It was also a bursarial nightmare, as numbers dropped in the third term, with numbers of new

entrants not compensating for the number of sixth formers lost after the June exams. A partial solution was found in 1959, when boys who needed to could take an extra year to O levels. The final solution – conforming to the national practice of starting the school year in January – came later, as we shall see.

Peterhouse also diverged from other schools in the nomenclature Snell chose; there was no 'Form 1', 'Form 2' and so on. Instead there were to be 'blocks' – D, C, B and A led to O levels; the fifth form and the sixth form led to A levels. His predecessor but one at Michaelhouse had tried to adopt this system, but (during his short tenure) failed; it had been left to Snell to make the innovation. There, as at Peterhouse, setting was introduced within each block in as many subjects as desired. It meant that a boy could be in B1 for maths and B2 for English, and even (though it was unlikely) B3 or B4 on other subjects. Setting in this way is a more costly (in staff terms) arrangement, but arguably a more academically satisfactory one. From 1959, boys who arrived from preparatory schools (where they had already studied languages) went into D Block, and those from state primaries joined a newly established E Block. The boys in the top half of D Block proceeded to B Block for their two year run-up to O Level; those from E Block and the bottom of D had to spend a year in C Block first.

We know a good deal about the school's early academic performance because in 1960 the (Federal) Ministry of Education was invited to conduct a full-scale inspection. The report was generally pleasing. The staff was described as '30 masters of good intellectual calibre and wide cultural interests', and special mention was made of the senior master (Fisher) 'whose personal qualities and loyalty to the ideals of the school during its formative years have contributed greatly to the establishment of a growing tradition'.<sup>211</sup> But there were weaknesses on the academic side; 'attainment has tended to fluctuate', the inspectors commented, noting that this was related to the problem of staffing, as 'only four Masters have been at the school since its foundation'. However, given that the school had begun only five years previously with six, this was hardly a damning criticism. The problem of staffing did, however, remain. At Speech Day just a few months before the inspection, the Rector was lamenting 'how gravely perturbed the Government is by the acute shortage of teachers', and noted that the

'commotions in Africa coupled with a bout of prosperity in England' contrived to make it more and more difficult to recruit staff from the U.K. Government statistics soon underlined this. In 1964, 460 teachers left the teaching profession in Southern Rhodesia, while only 216 joined it; and recruits coming in from Britain or South Africa had been 247 in 1958, but only 35 in 1964.<sup>212</sup> The problem would get worse as 'commotions in Africa' worsened. In 1974 Bruce Fieldsend reported on the understandable reluctance of teachers to move to Rhodesia, which meant that 'all schools fish in the same understocked pool. The catch of one means an empty creel for another'.<sup>213</sup> It was a problem which was never solved, and was indeed exacerbated by the serious difficulties the country faced, particularly in the late 1970s and then in the late 1990s.

The inspectors' report commented at length on every subject. The mathematics department received high praise for its 'above average' results in public examinations, attributable largely to 'the enthusiasm of individual masters, whose interest in their pupils' welfare is most marked'. One of those masters, John Greenacre, was still teaching in 2004, when the Rector was able to point to a department where continuity was also represented by Phil Ward who had served since 1968, and Patience Mansfield since 1987. Its other members in that year were Rodney Brooker, ex-headmaster of Ruzawi, and Grant Sinclair (P84), who had learnt his maths from Messrs Greenacre and Ward. By then, too, it could boast a 100% A level pass rate. Soon after the inspection Peterhouse became the first school in the country to adopt the new 'Southampton Mathematics Project', and O level SMP maths candidates were first examined in 1965. The only criticism in 1960 was the lack of firm control by the head of department, and the absence of departmental meetings; but this was a weakness in all subject areas, and one that was to persist for decades. Indeed it was a feature of the traditional public school system: the key figures in a boarding school were the housemasters, and heads of departments tended to have low status – a situation really only remedied in Britain in the 1990s when a national curriculum, and the advent of 'league tables', demanded a more professional approach to departmental organisation. At Peterhouse, heads of departments' meetings became more effective and efficient in 1986, when the previous practice of holding them at 6pm

over drinks gave way to less convivial but possibly more productive minuted meetings with a proper agenda.

The English teachers in 1960 were found to be 'enthusiastic and hardworking', and in particular the upper school specialists were 'men of sound scholarship' with 'deep personal interests in literature'. But overall there were weaknesses. One relates to the cultural climate in the country as a whole. John Coates later described asking at the beginning of a new term what books the boys had read in the holidays; one pupil reported that he had read nothing, as the only reading materials in his house were the Bible in Afrikaans and *Farmers Weekly*.<sup>214</sup> They did not live in a very bookish society, though the problem of getting teenage boys to read books was certainly not confined to Rhodesia. The school library was one way of tackling the problem. It was one of the original school buildings, though used during the first year as a chapel. The stock of 700 volumes in 1956 had increased to some 3,000 when John Davidson took over in 1961; he was already housemaster-designate of Grinham, and would become one of the school's most successful rugby coaches, as well as second master, and indeed would return to run the library again 40 years after the start of his first incumbency. An actor and historian (he had taught at Sandhurst), 'Shorty' was the ideal person to bring vigour and imagination to running the library. 'He was a superb teacher', one of his former pupils writes, challenging his tutees 'to read a book a week', and giving his A level candidates periods off, in which to read and then present the results of their researches. But the school was dogged by the problems of acquiring books, especially during the sanctions years. In 1964 the library enjoyed a unique windfall. Major Cecil Mercer, better known as the writer Dornford Yates, had moved to Umtali after the war, and when he died his widow presented the school with 2,500 volumes – many of them beautifully bound first editions of his 'yarns', which did not have the same appeal for boys as would their paperback equivalents, but which nevertheless added a certain distinction to the library. In 1969 the storeroom next to the librarian's office was fitted out as a fiction library, as a result of a donation from Mr Mahon in memory of his son Patrick (E63), who had died in 1968 at the age of 23. The 'Patrick Mahon Room' was later moved to the other end of the building, and in the 1980s the whole of the library was upgraded in terms of furnishings, fabrics,



and most important – books. These were acquired in greater numbers than ever before as a result of the Peterhouse appeal in the UK. By then, the larger-than-life Penny Bond ('Librarian Bond'), and a full-time library assistant (Eliot Muchena), were breathing new life into what in 1988 was renamed the Acutt Library.

The science side came in for some criticism by the inspectors. There was no continuous science course in the first two years, partly because of the different backgrounds of the prep and non-prep school entrants. In the middle school, the offering of physics and chemistry only as an alternative to geography and history was criticised. Biology, 'a popular choice', was an optional subject only, and certain aspects of the syllabus were 'inappropriate for Central Africa', as the papers were set with UK pupils in mind. The science department was to be transformed when the Nuffield science course was adopted, and again, the school was a pioneer in Rhodesia: O level Nuffield chemistry was examined for the first time in 1969, and physics in 1970. In 1974 Bruce Fieldsend was able to boast that Peterhouse accounted for nearly half of all the Rhodesian candidates taking O level physics as a separate subject, and a third of those taking O level chemistry. Lack of funds and sanctions combined to keep the science department somewhat constricted and ill-furnished, until an attempt was made in 1986 to improve the situation by adding two new chemistry labs, with a Beit Trust grant of £20,000 for equipping them. They were very utilitarian buildings, but linked up with the existing laboratories to form a courtyard which was enhanced by the creation of a water garden. Its building was supervised by Kevin Randle, and the landscaping and planting by Mrs Liz Ginn. The result was, to my mind, a triumph: the noise of the running water and the amazing variety of plants (all labelled by Liz) made it a most attractive spot. But it was not until 2001 that the sciences were able to take a great leap forward. A magnificent new building – the John Carter Science Block – was opened, with fittings and equipment of world class quality. The inspectors of 1960 had written of the accommodation as 'adequate to present needs, and the stock of equipment sufficient in most respects'. It was a long way from the 'state of the art' equipment and buildings on display at Speech Day in 2001.

The inspectors noted that Latin and (to a much lesser extent, Greek) were flourishing, as was French (and German for just two pupils with

a German background). It seems strange that in Rhodesia generally no Portuguese was taught, despite the fact that after English it was the most widely spoken European language in Central/Southern Africa, in the Portuguese colonies of Angola and Mozambique. In the mid-1960s Portuguese classes were offered by Sam Stoye, but evinced little enthusiasm. In this respect however, Peterhouse was following, rather than leading as it did in SMP maths and Nuffield science. In later years, the linguistic imperative came to be the learning of a local language. Snell's Michaelhouse had a fine tradition of teaching the vernacular (Zulu), but that particular practice did not travel north with him. In 1972 the need to offer Shona (at least as an option) was mentioned at the EXCO, and in 1973 the headmaster of St Francis (the primary school for workers' children, at Springvale) came over in the evenings to run a 'Shona for beginners' course; it attracted 24 boys, the wife of a member of staff, and a local farmer.<sup>215</sup> Five years later the Education Department announced compulsory courses in Shona or Sindebele for government schools.<sup>216</sup> But in the 1960 report, it was not an issue.

The inspectors made an interesting comment on woodwork. This was offered as an afternoon activity, not as an alternative within the curriculum. It was suggested that the school should consider 'the possibilities of a Practical Side', which would be 'in keeping with tradition in some Public Schools in England', and which would offer 'a more balanced training of head and hand for those with the right bent and cast of mind'. They acknowledged that it would require considerable financial input, and it was an issue which the school did not take up until after 1980, when money and equipment became available, and when government policy encouraged the acquiring of such practical skills. The 'design centre' was opened by Liza Fieldsend in 1985. Soon afterwards, the school's maintenance workshops were at last moved away from the area – the place they had occupied since the beginning of the school. This released more rooms, so extra woodwork, technical drawing and engineering classrooms could be added. The result was the opening in 1988 by the Archbishop of Canterbury (Robert Runcie) of a much enhanced design centre. One of its notable features was a new building for engineering added in 1991, equipped with magnificent machinery donated by Rolls-Royce. It was the only reminder in the country of the contribution to Zimbabwe's

history that had been made by Lord Carrington, British Foreign and Commonwealth Secretary in 1980. He was to have come out to open the building and be the guest of honour at Speech Day in 1991; in the event, his skills were required by the United Nations in war-torn Yugoslavia, though he did indeed open the building named after him – but sadly a year later and during the school holidays.

What inspectors' reports of schools fail to record, because they cannot, is the excitement engendered or the deep impressions left by a teacher or a subject. Anthony Fletcher (F62) remembered long afterwards how he and ffolliott Fisher (F62) had been inspired by reading in the *New Scientist* and *Scientific American* about the invention of the hovercraft. They determined to make one. Anthony found an old Hoover at home which provided the motor, while plastic wash basins provided the body. Dr Milford allowed them access to the science department's equipment to construct their 'Hoovercraft', which was successfully demonstrated to admiring parents at Open Day. Fletcher also remembers teaming up with John Dawson (F62) after being inspired by John Greenacre's description of the new-fangled 'computer' during higher-maths lessons. They created a mechanical computer, electrically powered and fed with data on punched paper tape. And inspiration was not only on the science side. One of their contemporaries recalls not only 'endless days of subjection to bullying and humiliation', but also the stimulus he found in English lessons, when Ronnie (David) Howarth read them selections from the works of C.S. Lewis. It gave him a lifelong, indeed life-changing, interest in Lewis, and he wrote many years later that 'we so rarely sing the praises of those heroes who lovingly teach largely ungrateful children'. Unfortunately it is the fate of teachers seldom to learn of the sparks they have struck or of the life-enhancing comments or suggestions their lessons may have embedded in the minds of their pupils.

One of those whose teaching was praised by the inspectors was 'Mac' Mason who ran the geography department from 1958 to 1961. He was, as his son records, 'happier at Peterhouse than he had ever been anywhere else', despite the fact that he felt that 'Fred Snell had squandered what he [Mac] saw as a golden opportunity to create something new and original which would fit the needs of a new country in a new era', and had instead produced 'an imitation of Winchester ... circa 1918'. It is a harsh criticism, though with a grain

of truth. While it is possible to argue that more could have been done – perhaps on the ‘practical side’ (as the inspectors called it), or in the language provision – it is in fact extremely difficult to come up with a brand new model of what a school should be like. Besides, in a fee-paying school, the requirements of the customers have to be taken into account. Fred Snell’s ‘radicalism’ was certainly evident in his multi-racial policy, which Mason was not there to witness. Anyway – Mac Mason got his revenge, so to speak. Every time he went to a party at the Rector’s Lodge, he chose beer, on the grounds that it was the most expensive drink on offer. More seriously, he ‘stole’ the Rector’s secretary, who became the second Mrs Mason. Fred was distraught at losing Eileen Hathaway – she had managed to cope with him in a way that few could have managed.

The report of 1960 makes no mention of the successes which the Rector was able to announce at Speech Day that year. Six of the initial 13 A level candidates who had left in 1959 were destined for Oxford and Cambridge. At Oxford, Rupert Hill (P) went to Trinity and David Gemmill (E) to University College; at Cambridge, Michael Fane (G) to Emmanuel, Alan Hill (P) to Trinity, Michael Honey (P) to Jesus and Ian Teunon (E) to Peterhouse. Even though there was not then the same fierce competition for places at England’s greatest universities as there was at the end of the century, it was nevertheless a notable achievement. Soon afterwards, Andrew Ledingham (G61) became the first Petrean to win a Rhodes Scholarship, which took him to University College, Oxford. Michael Williams (M63), David Hatendi (G71) and Tim Cumming (G75) were the next Rhodes Scholars. Others followed: Alan Bedford-Shaw (S87), Peter Hildebrand (M88), Leslie Mapondera (G90) and Simon Lewis (P92). Simon belonged to one of only two ‘three-generation Rhodes Scholarship families’ in the country, being the grandson and great grandson of Rhodes Scholars. Michael Williams made his a two-generation family, his father, Bob Williams, having been at Magdalen just after the war. The Petreans who won this coveted (and lucrative) award, especially in the 1980s and 1990s, had the distinction of being regarded as among the best Rhodes Scholars at Oxford. Sir Anthony Kenny (warden of Rhodes House) commented in the early 1990s that in recent times ‘Zimbabwe Scholars coming up to Oxford rank in the top 20% of all current Rhodes Scholars.’<sup>217</sup>

When Fred Snell decided that boys at Peterhouse would take the O&C O and A levels, he was following the tradition and practice of the public schools in England. Increasingly, from the seventies on, this changed in Britain, as heads of department shopped around for the syllabuses they preferred from any of the nine examining syndicates (or Boards). The complexities of organising that from Rhodesia/Zimbabwe meant that was never an option for Peterhouse, or the other independent schools. However, Peterhouse's commitment to the O&C Board did not last long after Fred left. Bruce Fieldsend announced at Speech Day in 1968 that the school would move to using the examinations set by the Associated Examining Board (AEB). When the government decided in 1959 that its schools should no longer pursue a school certificate course but rather the English GCEs, the AEB was the Board they chose to use, which would happily set examinations in November. From 1969 this was the Board employed by Peterhouse, and the school's year then could conform to that at all other schools – starting in January and ending in December. From 1987 onwards, the examinations were set by the Cambridge Board, who offered a very comprehensive world-wide service; all schools in the country then transferred to it, and it supervised the move towards 'localisation'. The other change which government had considered in 1959 was the creation of its own examination board, but this raised 'formidable difficulties', in that there were not enough examiners to be found in the Federation, nor in some subjects were there enough candidates.<sup>218</sup> These considerations still applied when 'localisation' was finally adopted after 1987. But after some years when an ordered handover seemed to go well, the system faltered – as we shall see.

In September 1972, the position of academic work and scholarship in the school was given a boost. The housemasters decided that there would be a trophy, to be awarded annually to the house which performed best academically. As the result of a donation from the parents of Nigel Gallaher (P68), it would be named the 'Gallaher Trophy', and would be based upon the term orders for each boy calculated on a points system which required a mathematical mind (John Greenacre's) to process.<sup>219</sup> It became one of the gold standard awards presented annually thereafter. Another proposal, that boys who performed outstandingly well academically should receive colours, was debated in 1980 in the pages of *Vortex*.<sup>220</sup> The school

blazer trimmed with silver braid and with a silver badge was a much prized ('colours') award – limited to a very few each year for sporting excellence. Should it not also be used to denote the high value the school placed on academic achievement? The housemasters discussed the issue, 'but there was no great enthusiasm for a colours award'.<sup>221</sup> Five years later, the position was rectified. Ten years after that the former editor of *Vortex*, Nick Hammond (E81), became a Fellow of Gonville and Caius College, Cambridge.

The things of the mind are, to some extent at least, measurable. They are what exams and mark orders try to quantify. Far more difficult to measure are the spiritual aspects of a school. Nurturing body and mind produces results while a boy is at school; no such measurement can be made in nurturing the things of the soul. Inevitably one has to look, as a partial measurement, at the significance and activity of the school chapel. We have already seen how much the founding Rector wanted to have a chapel, and how quickly it materialised. He, and subsequent Rectors, liked to claim that it was at the heart of the school in more than a geographical sense. 'To anyone taking a bird's eye view of Peterhouse', Snell declared in 1960, 'the Chapel dominates the scene; it forms the centre of the picture. That is of course a parable of the intention of the founders of this school, that the chapel should play a central part in the life of this place.'<sup>222</sup> Indeed after 1996 the symbolism was further extended when, with the creation of the Gibbs Court, the chapel formed part of the gateway into the school proper.

But perhaps too much emphasis on the centrality of chapel can detract from other Christian input; house prayers, 'RE' or 'divinity' lessons and personal witness were also part of the texture of the Christian nature of the school. The 'informal' side is evident in the creation of 'Heretics', a discussion group started by George Martin which in 1966 became a recognised society, attended by some staff and older boys, with an emphasis on 'inquiry rather than instruction'.<sup>223</sup> He brought it to an end in 1975 feeling that 'the need for this society has temporarily fallen away'.<sup>224</sup> Meanwhile, there had been a mission at the school in 1974, led by the South African evangelist, Michael Cassidy. Some 90% of the boys attended the voluntary services and meetings, and the Rector thought that the 'effect on the spiritual life of the school has been continuing and significant'.<sup>225</sup> Out of this grew

a Christian Fellowship, which received a boost in 1980 after another mission, this time conducted by Chris Sewell. One of the speakers was Doug Darby (P76) who told of his conversion during the first mission. Some 60 boys (a third of the school) made some positive Christian commitment. This benefited the Christian Fellowship, as did the arrival in 1982 of George Niven, who ran it thereafter first as a Scripture Union, and then as a Christian Forum, which was designed to have a broader appeal and more participation by the boys. At least two of its stalwarts in the 1980s, Derek Vincent (P87) and Peter-John Smyth (E89), ended up in full-time Christian ministry. Nevertheless, all boys, and not only those who chose to listen and to respond, were required to attend chapel on a regular basis. Sometimes they heard great preachers: Trevor Huddleston, ordered by his superior in the Community of the Resurrection to leave South Africa, and just before the publication of his book, *Naught for your Comfort*; Gonville French-Beytagh, outspokenly attacking injustice in general and the RF government in particular; Arthur Lewis, of a very different political persuasion, telling stirring tales of missionary work in the Honde Valley; Brother Peter from Cerne Abbas, bringing his Franciscan gentleness to chapel and to the retreats which he conducted for boys at Robert Fynn's Inyanga cottage. Of forms of preaching, 'none is more difficult, or so fraught with pitfalls for the unwary', as that of speaking to schools.<sup>226</sup> Often the answer was to invite members of staff into the pulpit, for they knew their audience. Sometimes the visiting preacher spoke at great length. Often visitors, preachers and others were astonished at the scale of the building which dominated the centre of the school.

The foundation stone of the chapel had been blessed by the Archbishop of Central Africa in November 1956, and the chapel was dedicated by the Bishop of Mashonaland on All Saints Day 1958. It was to be full of symbolism. The original cross on the high altar was from the old chapel at Michaelhouse.<sup>227</sup> It was much too small for the scale of the sanctuary, and was later incorporated in the memorial wall in the school graveyard. Humphrey Gibbs came up with a suggestion for the east wall: 'My idea was to depict a young Christ blessing school children of all races and showing children both at play (team spirit) and at work, possibly in a science room; the idea being to stress that at school one learns how to live a Christian

## A SCHOOL IN AFRICA

life, learning to keep oneself fit, and to mix with everyone irrespective of race or position, and in the science room to make the best use for Christianity of the brains one has been given by the Almighty.<sup>228</sup> He wrote this a few weeks after the decision to open the school to African pupils ('The sooner we can do something the better') so the symbolism would have been potent. In the event, the wall was simply painted terracotta, surmounted by a huge white cross, and on the altar was placed a silver cross, the edges of which are a stylised representation of chains.<sup>229</sup> In keeping with Snell's idiosyncratic choice (as we shall see) of the cock rather than keys to represent St Peter on the school's badge, so too he rejected the Feast of St Peter as the patronal festival day, and chose instead St Peter's Chains. It is a festival (on 1 August) not widely kept in the Anglican Communion, but there is clear symbolism in the story of Peter's release from captivity (in Acts 12), celebrated in Charles Wesley's conversion hymn, 'And Can It Be', with the triumphant lines:

My chains fell off, my heart was free,  
I rose, went forth, and followed thee.

Other symbolism made its way into chapel. The visit of the Archbishop of Canterbury, Robert Runcie, in 1989 resulted in a window. He was celebrating the Eucharist at the Bernard Mizeki shrine, and afterwards attended a service in chapel. His gift to the school was a replica of a window in Canterbury Cathedral depicting pilgrims going to the tomb of Thomas Beckett. It was reproduced by a local craftsman as a large stained glass window to replace the frosted glass in the Lady Chapel, facing the route which pilgrims use returning from the shrine of Bernard Mizeki. The organ pipes above the Lady Chapel symbolise the link with Springvale. The defunct organ there, which had originally come to country by ox wagon in the 1890s, was dismantled and the smaller pipes utilised when the chapel organ was enhanced in 1988, with help from the Beit Trust and friends overseas. In 1991 a large statue of St Peter (in this case, clutching a key) was commissioned from Driefontein Mission, and a locally sculpted statue of the Virgin Mary was placed in the Lady Chapel. In 1993 Canon Paul Lucas, who as a young man had taught at the school from 1955 to 1957, visited the chapel and presented it with a cross of nails – the powerful symbol of reconciliation from Coventry Cathedral.



## MIND AND SOUL

Much of the symbolism in chapel probably escaped the notice of the boys, but the services were not so easily missed. They were at the heart of the school's timetable – on weekdays and on Sundays. A school service book was printed, very much along the lines of the one in use at Michaelhouse. Also from Michaelhouse came the school hymn. It had been written by Hugh Carey, a member of staff there and a son of Snell's headmaster at Eastbourne. At Fred's suggestion Carey had written a replacement for the Michaelhouse 'school hymn', which was J. M. Neale's 'Stars of the Morning, so Gloriously Bright', composed for the Feast of St Michael and All Angels. The new hymn was published in the school magazine,<sup>230</sup> but never adopted by Michaelhouse, where the boys would still 'Raise the "Trisagion" ever and aye'. Snell purloined it; Peterhouse boys would sing a hymn of simple directness, with music by John Hodgson:

Lord, in this place we pray that we may find  
Those bonds of service that can make us free;  
Our sacrifice of body, soul and mind,  
With thankful hearts we offer here to thee.

Though called as saints, without thy help too weak  
To follow in the way that thou hast trod;  
Grant us the grace of courage, strength to seek  
The hard high calling of the sons of God.

Help us to know and to uphold the truth,  
To fight undaunted, mindful of thine aid,  
Fulfilling with our lives the dreams of youth,  
Our ceaseless quest a crown that shall not fade.

In humble penitence we here unfold  
Our tale of failures and of deeds half-done,  
False words, vain thoughts, and actions uncontrolled,  
Imperfect loyalty to thy perfect Son.

Forgive us, sinners easily content  
With feeble strivings to attain the goal,  
Who, saved by sacrifice, again present  
Our threefold gift of body, mind, and soul.<sup>231</sup>

The school's coat of arms, designed by Fred's daughter Hilary, also carried the Christian message, in and beyond chapel. The symbols used are the cocks, the cross and the crown. The cocks, as they appear in gold on the badge, are an unusual reminder of St Peter, who is usually symbolised by keys. The cross, it was felt, had to be different from

those of Ruzawi (cross potent) and Springvale (cross crosslet). The cross moline was chosen. It symbolises the consequences of human sin (Peter's denials, the crucifixion) and the importance of sacrifice (Christ's on the cross; ours in our Christian lives). The martyrs' or celestial crown (a five-pointed crown with a star surmounting each point) is a symbol of joy and triumph.<sup>232</sup> The motto chosen was from Matthew 7, 25, the story of the house built upon rock. 'The rains came down, the floods rose, the wind blew and beat upon that house; but it did not fall, because its foundations were on the rock'. So the motto was 'Conditur in Petra', 'rooted in rock' as Snell liked to translate it, and with the obvious punning reference to St Peter ('on this rock I will build my church', Matthew 16, 18). The school motto was thus, as the Rector declared, 'something between a prayer and a battlecry'.<sup>233</sup>

Even before the chapel was built or the service book printed, the Rector wanted a chaplain who could mastermind the services, provide pastoral care, and offer a theological perspective on what the school was doing. The Revd Lionel Bell, the first chaplain, was a retired priest. He had been chaplain of Sherborne School (in Dorset) after the war, and then Rector of Marandellas. On retirement he served as chaplain of Ruzawi from 1954, and also (part time) at Peterhouse from Easter 1955, where he was nicknamed (inevitably) 'Ding-dong'. But ill-health forced his departure after only four terms. The gap was filled by the already-overworked Sam Wood, Rector of Marandellas, later Dean of Salisbury; as Bishop of Matabeleland he would return to the school in 1972 as guest of honour at Speech Day.<sup>234</sup> The first full-time chaplain arrived in January 1957: Trevor Bush was a South African, who had been assistant chaplain of Michaelhouse. He had a two year contract, leaving to become chaplain of St Andrew's, Bloemfontein. He was replaced by the Revd Michael McCay, from England via Cape Town; he also did a two year stint, and went on to be chaplain of Eagle, before returning to Peterhouse for a brief spell as assistant chaplain in the mid-1960s. By then however the chaplaincy had been filled by the man who was to serve longest in that role – the Revd P.H.A Hogg. After graduating (Trinity, Cambridge) Pat Hogg had spent a year at Ruzawi, where he taught a very small Bruce Fieldsend. After war service (he was awarded the MC) he took holy orders, and served in curacies in the East End of London, and

then as vicar of New Milton, before coming out again to Rhodesia. For twelve years he was a popular figure in the school, described by one of his (not particularly devout) colleagues as 'first-class company, and sufficiently worldly to cope with adolescents and with his colleagues'.<sup>235</sup> He left at Easter 1972 to become Rector of Crawley (East Sussex), thinking that this would be a final posting before retirement. But he soon heard again the call of Africa, and became Dean of Pretoria in January 1974. After a short illness, he died in October of that year, and a simple plaque commemorates him in St Alban's Cathedral. Peterhouse was the place where he had ministered longest. The school was also the place of ministry held in highest affection by Hogg's assistant, Ivan Turkington, who had arrived at Peterhouse as McCay's assistant in 1958. Called 'Tum-tum', because of his fondness for food, he was praised by Snell for 'his bland innocence, his mastery of the four-minute address and his palpable sincerity'.<sup>236</sup> He left Peterhouse for Australia, and was chaplain at Geelong Grammar School when Prince Charles was a pupil; he was one of those invited to the Investiture of the Prince of Wales at Caernarvon in 1969. In the early 1990s, soon after he had paid a visit to the school and had assisted at a school Eucharist, Ivan Turkington died. We then heard that he had so enjoyed his six years at Peterhouse, regarding them as the best time in his life, that he had left the school his entire estate – books, records, money and two houses. According to his wishes, the Turkington Bursaries were thus funded to enable boys to attend Peterhouse.

Hogg and Turkington made a good team, if rather too 'Anglo-Catholic' for the Archbishop of Canterbury's taste. When Fisher visited in 1960 he was impressed with the new chapel – 'a wonderful place in which to celebrate – surrounded by light and space'.<sup>237</sup> He was not so impressed when he wandered into the vestry a few days later to inspect the service book. As he recorded in his diary: 'I changed the service I took from "Mass" to "Holy Communion"'. Looking back, till 1958 it was Holy Communion – now always Mass. In the school calendar it is "Holy Communion" except for Sunday "Sung Mass" and the Patronal Festival (St Peter's Chains!) "High Mass"!'<sup>238</sup> But even the Archbishop of Canterbury's disapproval would not make the chapel any less 'high' – the vestments, candles, incense and bells being 'the norm in these parts', where, as Snell once wrote, 'the old High/Low Church controversies have no vitality'.<sup>239</sup> For adolescent

boys controversy over the nature of church ceremonial has little appeal; they had other complaints. In the early 1960s there was 'the sometimes bitter, usually thoughtless, but always rather wounding "anti-chapel moaning"' which distressed Hogg.<sup>240</sup> It seemed to abate in the mid-1960s, but appeared again at the end of the decade – part of the package of 'student rebellion'. Hogg's response to the criticisms about the dullness and compulsory nature of chapel was to exclaim: 'If only people would make this positive effort instead of moaning and grouching, how splendid it would be!'<sup>241</sup> Almost as worrying for him was the state of the chapel roof. The two waves of anti-chapel feeling were accompanied on each occasion by roof problems, though there is no evidence of anyone suggesting that this was a sign of Divine displeasure.<sup>242</sup> In 1964 a freak storm removed practically the whole roof – with fortunately no injuries, as the whole thing was carried off the walls and trusses and deposited on the ground nearby. It was an event rather fondly remembered by numerous Petreans. And in 1970 the roof was again declared unsafe, and for nearly two terms services were held in the open air or in the music school until new roof trusses could be installed.<sup>243</sup>

Hogg's replacement as chaplain was John Read, who had been educated in England and South Africa, and ordained in Northern Ireland. He came to Peterhouse from Cape Town, where he had been chaplain of St Cyprian's School. Under him, there was what Bruce Fieldsend called 'a quiet revolution in the Chapel'. It was happening too in England, where the 'sea of faith' was ebbing at an alarming rate, and where students intent upon 'rebellion' found in chapel 'the weakest part of the engine of compulsion' in their school.<sup>244</sup> Few schools abandoned chapel altogether, but many could have echoed the Rector's description of the new style at Peterhouse: 'Voluntary services have, for the most part, taken the place of compulsory; traditional has moved to more modern; and there has been a much greater emphasis on personal commitment and less on formal attendance.'<sup>245</sup> The reminiscences of Petreans who were at school during this chapel revolution bear witness to the selective memory which we all have when looking back on our schooldays. One who 'hated going to church every day' (which didn't happen during his time) nevertheless remembered the camaraderie at the back of the chapel among the seniors who tried to raise the roof in their singing. Another

complained about 'the never-ending stream of American-style evangelistic missions that flooded the school' – presumably a reference to the Cassidy mission. Few remember the relaxation of the compulsory chapel regimen.

In fact, it didn't last long. Read left in 1976 (to be chaplain at the University of Cape Town) and no suitable replacement was found. However, George Martin was able to do much to fill the gap. He had been at Michaelhouse under Snell, had been interviewed for a job at Peterhouse by Charles Fisher in Lambeth Palace in 1961, and had been housemaster of Malvern since 1967. The Cassidy mission of 1974 put him again on a path which he had begun as a young man at Mirfield: he took holy orders in 1977 and was able to undertake chapel responsibilities – as he was to do again in the new century. The next few years were, as we shall see, a time of crisis – with numbers at the school falling dramatically. This meant that the appointment of a chaplain might strain resources at a time of unprecedented belt-tightening; at the same time, the smaller numbers developed a sense of camaraderie which probably made more possible the reintroduction of compulsory chapel in 1978 – a move welcomed by EXCO.<sup>246</sup> A pupil survey in that year revealed that 88% of the boys claimed to believe in God. To the question 'Do you strongly object to attending the Sunday Holy Communion Service?', 42% said 'yes'; of all those who strongly objected, 47% agreed that this was because they were 'lazy'.<sup>247</sup> There are of course no statistics as to how many boys continued to attend church, or remained believers. Some would say that it was only later in life that they became believers. One Petrean recalled that 'religion was a major part of the daily life and although I was not that enthusiastic at the time, I am grateful for the good grounding it gave us, and still enjoy a proper sung Eucharist'.<sup>248</sup> In late 1983, with the school's growing numbers, a new chaplain was appointed. Like the very first one, he had been chaplain of Sherborne. Ken Anderson made an immediate impact on chapel life. His father had taught at Ruzawi (1938–43), and Ken and his twin brother had been born there, so he was coming home – he acted as Ruzawi's chaplain as well. He could sing; he could preach. Even more powers were attributed to him when he and the choir sang the Litany in 1984 (reviving an old tradition); at one point, the chaplain's versicle elicited

a response from the heavens, and the roof seemed almost to tremble as the sound of a huge roll of thunder filled the chapel.

John Hodgson, Director of Music, was central to chapel worship. 'His soul', as one of his colleagues nicely put it, 'was steeped in music.'<sup>249</sup> Many Petreans would echo the feelings of a boy who left in 1974; he recalled that although he 'found the religious aspect of the school overbearing', he nevertheless 'had the deepest respect for Hodgy and simply loved his music'. Hodgson had been Snell's Director of Music at Michaelhouse where, as that school's history records, 'in quality and enthusiasm music was well established' under him.<sup>250</sup> He followed Fred to Peterhouse in 1956 and remained as Director of Music for 30 years. Soon after he retired, he came back to open the Hodgson Room in March 1987. The main room in the music department, near the chapel, had been redecorated and refurnished in his honour. He continued to serve as a visiting organist for another decade. His compositions, and his settings of (for instance) Simeon's Song and the Magnificat, continued to be used. The large choir (robed on Sundays except for a short time in the late 1970s and early 1980s) continued to lead chapel worship – not an easy task in a building where the acoustics are so unsympathetic. But the chapel regime was never again quite as rigorous as it had been in the early years. There were fewer weekday chapels, and the services then and on Sundays tended to be shorter and simpler than in the past. High Church ceremonial had been much curtailed during the 1970s – partly because there was no chaplain, and partly because this reflected the second Rector's own preferences: it was said that he had thrown the thurible (where incense is burned) into one of the school dams! The chapel was probably more 'High Church' again from the mid-1980s onwards, though – reflecting current attitudes – not as much as had been the case in the Snell years. The Church's 'Liturgy 75' was a modernisation of the structure and wording of services (paralleling the similar changes in the Church of England) which the school adopted as soon as it was published. It was another 20 years before the Peterhouse Service Book itself underwent a mild modernisation. In the preface which I contributed (1993), I tried to sum up something of the Christian aspirations of Peterhouse:

The Peterhouse Service Book was first published in January 1958. In the Foreword to that book the Founding Rector of Peterhouse wrote:

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'The Christian life may be likened to a tree, the roots of which are faith, the fruit the love of God and of our neighbour which is the core and centre of all Christian morality. Worship is then the leaves through which the tree breathes and draws its nourishment. This book therefore, like its forerunner the Michaelhouse Service Book, is based on the assumption that worship must be founded on faith and sound doctrine, and grow out of them.'

Since those early days of Peterhouse the school has grown, the liturgical and ecumenical movements have had their effect on Anglican worship, and the colony of Southern Rhodesia has become the Republic of Zimbabwe.

This edition of the Service Book was completely revised to take account of these changes, and also to incorporate as far as possible within one cover all the various services used in Chapel.

The intention however remains the same: to provide Peterhouse with services which reflect as far as possible the Apostolic Faith of the Church, to emphasise the Lordship of Christ in our world and in our lives, and to offer praise and prayer for public worship and for private devotion.

The 'mild modernisation' involved some updating of language. In about half of the 28 services in the book (short ones for weekday use and longer ones for major services), modern language was used ('you' when addressing God, instead of 'thee'); similarly, some 18 of the 36 'prayers for various occasions' were modern in form. I felt it wise, however, to retain in their traditional wording both the school hymn and the school prayer, which thousands of boys over the years had been required to learn by heart. I considered that the school prayer, like the hymn, had a directness and simplicity about it which transcended any arguments about 'old fashioned' language. Readers may judge for themselves:

Almighty God, who didst put it into the hearts of men to found this school, we thank thee for the faith and vision which brought it into being.

Inspire us so to use the opportunities given to us here, that we may be fitted for the service of thee and of our fellow men.

May we grow daily in knowledge and wisdom, and in reverence of thy Holy name. Help us to heed the voice of conscience that cries out when we deny thee; Strengthen us to share the burden of the Cross, and give to us at last the Crown of everlasting joy that waits for all thy faithful servants.

Save us and help us we humbly beseech thee O Lord; and use us to thy honour and glory, through Jesus Christ our Saviour. *Amen.*

## 8

### *War and Peace*

Slowly at first, and then in spates, Rhodesia was bleeding to death. Although the guerrilla war, led by Joshua Nkomo and Robert Mugabe, had begun back in the early years of the 1960s, it was only in the latter part of the Seventies that the killing began in earnest and finally put an end to indifference and to the Smith regime, but not before something like forty thousand people had died, most, but not all of them, black.

Christopher Hope, *Brothers Under the Skin: Travels in Tyranny*  
(London 2003) p 73

Rhodesia declared itself a republic in March 1970. This did not seem to make much difference to the life of Peterhouse, except that in June Sir Humphrey Gibbs was able to make his first appearance at Speech Day after his five year enforced absence. He and Lady Gibbs were given an ovation by those present, and he filled the dual role of being Chairman of the Governors and also guest of honour. The Rector's speech was upbeat. With the end of the 'Swinging 60s', he wondered what epithet would be applied to the 1970s – 'Square?', 'Sober?', 'Sane'? His next comment may have surprised the boys: 'I hope', he said, 'there will be no going back in the 70s; "that no winter shall abate the spring's increase".'<sup>251</sup> The increase in the numbers at the school certainly gave some hope that the 1970s would be a time of going forward for Peterhouse. In 1970 there were 367 pupils; the average for the previous five years had been 353, and the average for the next five years would be 377, culminating in a record 390 in January 1976.

It seemed a good time to consider improvements. The overcrowding in the school led in 1972 to discussions about the possibility (as Fred Snell had originally envisaged) of a sixth boarding house.<sup>252</sup> In 1973



the Rector produced an overall plan for developments.<sup>253</sup> There were two main motives: first, that 'things are running down. Equipment is constantly breaking... We have sat still, which in days of constant educational change and development means we have retrogressed.' Secondly, other schools were getting ahead: he mentioned a range of current developments elsewhere – Falcon's science block, Arundel's chapel, St George's chapel, science block, pavilion and other amenities. All these highlighted the lack of development at Peterhouse. Even more shaming were the improvements in government schools: new boarding accommodation at Churchill and at Marandellas High School was 'infinitely superior' to anything at Peterhouse. The school now looked much the same as the place that had reached 'maturity' in 1959. The Rector had a vision for its transformation. He suggested that the first priority was a hall (for 'plays, films, dancing classes, dances, music, lectures, PE maybe, indoor games, examinations and so on') to relieve pressure on, and offer a superior environment to, the overused large dining hall. The other major need was for 'sixth form study rooms or a sixth form centre', in part an answer to one of the complaints made by the senior boys in 1969. Numerous smaller projects were itemised: to improve the quality of the shower facilities, the games equipment, crockery, cutlery and furnishings; to build a new dam. In the slightly longer term (say over five years) there was a need for the sixth house, more privacy within the houses, and better kitchen and laundry equipment. At Speech Day at the end of the year, he summarised his Development Plan for the parents, and reported on the appointment by EXCO of a development committee. But problems at the national level would soon render these high hopes null and void, and Peterhouse, in common with all the independent schools, would face grave problems in the years ahead.

The decade opened with the independent schools still at loggerheads with government over two issues – African entry and multi-racial sport. In 1969 the proposed replacement of the Land Apportionment Act with a new Land Tenure Act rang alarm bells in the churches and independent schools. One of the implications of the act was that it might affect the residence of Africans in European areas (where independent schools were situated). And it appeared that while an independent school would not be inhibited from taking Africans, the total would be limited to 6%, who must be of similar age and

academic attainment to the white entrants.<sup>254</sup> Of course the land issue was far greater in import than the issues debated by the schools and churches. The forcible eviction of the Tangwena people from their ancestral homelands on the Gairezi ranch by Bill Hanmer (Charles's brother) did much to encourage young Africans to join the liberation struggle. 'My grievances were based', said Josiah Tongorara, 'on the question of oppression ... particularly in the deprivation of land.'<sup>255</sup> The heads of independent schools who met in Salisbury in 1970 to discuss the implications of the new act were concerning themselves with the much narrower question: whether it would inhibit them from continuing their multi-racial experiment. The Bishop of Mashonaland told them that 'the Prime Minister, when meeting Church leaders on 24 August, had twice declared that the policy of Government in regard to the Independent Schools was not yet decided upon'.<sup>256</sup> It was reminiscent of Snell's comment four years earlier that 'the cabinet had decided not to decide'.

But the heads and their chairmen were also reluctant to push too hard, aware that the RF congress in 1969 had noisily upheld the party's ninth principle, opposing compulsory integration and calling for separate facilities for blacks and whites, as it was to do again in September 1970. The schools had to ensure that their own very modest foray into the field of multi-racialism did not become too much of a public issue. They were aware too that just the day before their meeting, the Prime Minister had been notably emollient in parliament when he dealt with Church opposition to the Land Tenure Act and declared himself willing to amend the act, at least to go some way to 'removing whatever causes of friction there may have been between the churches and Government'.<sup>257</sup> It appeared – we can put it no more strongly – that schools could continue doing what they had been doing. On 28 August the Rector of Peterhouse began the process of getting permission for the new African boys for 1971; it was not until 9 December that the Secretary of Education finally informed him that he no longer had jurisdiction in the matter, and that if application were made to the local authority 'I have reason to believe ... the Minister of Local Government and Housing will direct that a permit be issued.' It was hardly a definitive statement, though the conditions the Secretary mentioned were those the schools had come

to expect: a limit of 6% and with age and educational levels similar to white pupils.<sup>258</sup>

Similar confusion surrounded the issue of multi-racial sport. Even before the admission of African boys, Peterhouse had hosted regular inter-schools cross-country events with schools like Waddilove and Bernard Mizeki. When they were admitted they took a full part in school sports. White boys were defensive of their black team mates when visiting white teams came, and Andy Smith (E75) remembers 'being disgusted that a visiting team demanded to know which bed was an African's, and would not touch it'. But in 1966 a Ministry of Education circular (E64) had sounded a 'cautionary note' regarding multi-racial sports fixtures, and followed it up with another in mid-1967 lamenting 'unpleasant incidents and continued protests from parents', as a result of such fixtures that had already been calendarised for the first term. The complaints, the Secretary for Education said, were two-fold: that schools 'are continuing to arrange such fixtures against the wishes of the majority of the parents' and that parents were unwilling to withdraw their children from playing in such matches 'because they are afraid that they will be subsequently penalised'.<sup>259</sup> The Secretary now ruled that no further inter-racial fixtures (including those with 'private schools which admit races other than European') were to be made except with the express approval of the School Advisory Council or PTA. And no government school could host a sporting event which included non-Europeans unless the PTA agreed.

The government was obviously jittery. In September 1967 a British newspaper carried the headline 'Rhodesia right wing push Smith towards apartheid'.<sup>260</sup> A week later the local press carried reports of an astonishing sequence of events at Thornhill School. An unnamed individual had entered the school and approached the boys, stating that he was a member of the secret police; he had talked to them about multi-racial sport and told them it 'was one of the methods used by Communists to subvert the country', and asked 'how would they like a kaffir next to them in the rugby scrum?'<sup>261</sup> This individual had organised the boys into collecting signatures for a petition against multi-racial sport. The PTA members were having none of it; they had already agreed earlier in the year that such fixtures should continue. But the Ministry was not happy, and after a consultation with

government heads, decreed that schools hosting teams from independent schools should insist on an all-European team; where the independent school was host, no such requirement would operate.<sup>262</sup> When the Secretary informed CHISR of this, he asked that it should remain confidential, as 'no good purpose would be served by publicity, which could fan the flames of controversy'.<sup>263</sup> Fred Snell (as chairman of CHISR) replied stating that 'this decision will do harm to satisfactory race relations in this country', and warning that the letter could not be regarded as 'confidential': 'the public has a right to know that it is not the Heads of schools who have taken it upon themselves to over-rule the decision of PTAs throughout the country'.<sup>264</sup> After more letters to and fro, and after Snell had vacated the Rector's study, a letter arrived from the Secretary of Education stating that the circular (about which all the fuss had taken place) was in fact 'a very brief and confidential circular ... to the effect that no circular was to be issued'.<sup>265</sup>

The independent schools kept up the pressure during Bruce Fieldsend's first year as Rector, and he, along with two members of the AGB Committee, was granted an interview with the Minister of Education, Philip Smith (an Old Uppinghamian). Smith averred that he sympathised with the position of the independent schools, but warned that the government's disapproval of multi-racial sports was a result of populist pressure within the RF membership, and that measures had been 'introduced as quietly as possible' because of the impending visit of the Secretary of State for Commonwealth Affairs, George Thomson. He promised to raise the matter again in Cabinet and inform the AGB of any decision.<sup>266</sup> By the end of the year, having heard nothing, CHISR tried again with a direct approach to the minister. He responded early in 1969, saying that the Cabinet were to have discussed the issue in December, but didn't do so due to pressure of business: this is hardly surprising as the Anglo-Rhodesian summit (partly a result of the Thomson visit) had taken place in November on HMS *Fearless* at Gibraltar, and the Cabinet was therefore much exercised by the results of (or the failure of) that initiative. When Cabinet did discuss multi-racial sport, in early January, it decided, as the minister informed the secretary of CHISR, that 'the present arrangements should stand'.<sup>267</sup> He did not add that far more weighty matters were currently being discussed, including the design for a new constitution, which would be put to the electorate in April, and

lead a year later to the declaration of a republic. The question of multi-racial sport continued to be a niggle, rather than a major issue, throughout the early 1970s. When Mr Moraka asked the Minister of Education in parliament in 1972 whether he was 'aware that his policy in relation to multi-racial sport was a contributory factor to Rhodesia's athletes being excluded from the Olympic Games' and whether he intended to change the policy, Philip Smith replied that the 'answer to both parts of the hon. Member's question is in the negative'.<sup>268</sup> But it was an issue that touched Rhodesians on the raw; the growing exclusion of the country from international sporting events could not be circumvented by the kind of clever dealing which was operating in the business community in the form of 'sanctions busting'. It tended to unite both private and government school heads, the latter claiming in 1972 that 'if the Government could remove this ban now it would be an expression of good faith which would be of inestimable value to the country'.<sup>269</sup> In 1973 Dougal Turner (headmaster of Falcon) found himself putting the case for multi-racial sport on behalf of all secondary heads (government and independent) at a meeting with the Ministry.<sup>270</sup>

The sports issue featured largely in the evidence presented by the AGB on the Quenet Report on Racial Discrimination in 1976. The eight page submission concluded with a strong attack on the *status quo*: 'Though it is outside the scope of our Association's activities, we are acutely aware of the difficulties that Rhodesia faces with the International Olympics Committee when the attention of that Committee is drawn to the fact that whilst adult sport in Rhodesia is multi-racial, school sport is not', concluding that 'it is in the National interest that this situation should now be rectified'.<sup>271</sup> The report had recommended that 'multi-racial sport at school level should be permitted with this proviso - every parent should have the right to refuse permission in the name of his child and no compulsion or pressure should be brought to bear on him. Subject to this proviso school sport should be completely unfettered'.<sup>272</sup> A circular from the Secretary of Education in August ruled that 'heads of schools ... may in future arrange sporting fixtures as they wish, with the approval of their school council'.<sup>273</sup> This was in effect a reversion to the system that had pertained until 1967. Nine years on, a small victory for multi-racialism had been won. But it was won within the context of a worsening

situation, both in the country as a whole, and within the independent school sector.

David Caute says that 'the beginning of the end of white Rhodesia dates from the early months of 1976'.<sup>274</sup> The bush war intensified; 30 members of the farming community were killed in that year. In 1977 the number rose to 132, then 117 in 1978 and over 70 in 1979. The 1966 Battle of Chinoyi may mark the start of the Second Chimurenga, but the bush war only began in earnest in 1972. In January 1973 Ian Smith closed the border with Zambia, to the consternation of the business community and the independent schools. The year ended with the great international escalation of oil prices, undermining the economies of Rhodesia and of Europe. Then in 1974 the coup in Lisbon allowed Mozambique to become independent, and a base for the Zimbabwe National Liberation Army (ZANLA). Not long afterwards it became clear that Rhodesia could no longer count on the unconditional support of South Africa. And from 1976 onwards, in a pattern repeated many times in different situations in world history, as the government made concessions, so the violence escalated.

In 1975 Bob Williams, as chairman of the AGB, sounded a warning that many of the private schools were experiencing trading deficits, and a loss of pupils, reaching 'crisis proportions in one or two cases'.<sup>275</sup> At the end of 1974 St Stephen's, Balla Balla, was forced to close; it had been in financial difficulties for some time; 80% of its boys had been drawn from Zambia, and numbers were sinking to the point of non-viability. Peterhouse was aware of its vulnerability as well. At a 1972 meeting of EXCO, concern was expressed 'at the increasing percentage of Zambians in the school'. They had formed 14% of the school's population in 1962, but by 1973 were 31% – the highest level for any year. But of course the school was comfortably full, so the picture did not at that stage look bleak, and indeed the mood of confidence persisted, with EXCO in 1974 asserting 'that the general reputation of the school had never stood higher'.<sup>276</sup> The events of 1976 changed all that, and not just for Peterhouse. Bishop Burrough reported in mid-1977 that in the previous 18 months, 200 diocesan schools had been forced to close because of the war.<sup>277</sup> Nationally, the year 1976 was blighted by increased emigration, higher petrol prices and big curbs on travel and emigration allowances. In that one year, the fortunes of Peterhouse experienced an astonishing downturn. As

## WAR AND PEACE

Bruce Fieldsend recorded it: 'At the beginning of 1976 we were a bigger school than we had ever been with over 390 boys here. By the end of the 2nd term of 1976 we were smaller than we had ever been - 330.' The numbers thereafter illustrate the problem (see Table 2).

*Table 2*

<i>Year</i>	<i>No. of boys</i>	<i>Percentage change</i>
End of school year 1976	330	(-15% in the course of the year)
Start of school year 1977	285	
End of school year 1977	260	(-9%)
Start of school year 1978	225	
End of school year 1978	216	(-4%)
Start of school year 1979	194	
End of school year 1979	187	(-4%)
Start of school year 1980	183	
End of school year 1980	180	(-2%)
(Overall shrinkage January 1976 to December 1980 = 54%)		

The school's response to the crisis was two-fold - to try to put in place sufficient funding to get the school through the immediate crisis, and to mount a campaign to attract more pupils. But as numbers continued to shrink, it was doubtful whether either of these strategies would work. Emigration of whites was not the only factor. The fact that Peterhouse was a rural school militated against its appeal during a period when the bush war was intensifying. The drop in numbers from the all-time high of January 1976 was dramatic and damaging. There was an unprecedented drop-out of boys in August of that year from C Block, while the drop-out in December was mainly from A block, the boys having written their O levels. Not counting boys who would leave from the sixth form after A levels, around 58% of the leavers' total was boys from outside Rhodesia. In 1976 these 'extra-territorials' accounted for 30% of the total of boys in the school, but they would account for only 11% in 1978. The Rector explained to EXCO the reasons behind the loss of these non-Rhodesian boys: transport was difficult and expensive; the transfer of money to Rhodesia to pay the fees was 'slow, complicated, arbitrary and uncertain'; the press in Zambia and Malawi reported 'the terror war with a good deal of glee', raising parental fears for their

children's safety. As regards the 42% of the leavers who were Rhodesian, he reported that emigration accounted for much of the loss. But there were other factors: some parents were removing their children to schools in South Africa or overseas 'with the idea at the back of their minds of avoiding National Service commitments'. Then there were those who simply could not meet the rising fees at a time of economic downturn.<sup>278</sup> Bruce Fieldsend could only conclude that '1977 will be a very difficult year', but felt optimistic that the 'unthinkable' would not happen, and that political progress would mean that by the end of 1977 the way ahead would be clear. Some independent schools, he declared, might see their role as providing the traditional all-white education for people who 'do not want to see rapid educational or social change'. Peterhouse, however, must develop as a school which was not 'one step behind all the time', but rather as a multi-racial, academic environment 'setting out to educate those who will eventually lead the country regardless of whether they are black or white'. He went on to discuss the school's needs: a massive scholarship fund, and capital developments in terms of a sixth house, a hall, more privacy, and a sixth form study centre.

While the Rector and the EXCO never lost sight of the need for such developments, the requirement in 1977 was simply to survive. The previous year had ended with the school showing a small surplus of \$27,000. But during the first term of 1977 it became clear that the year would end with a deficit of around \$60,000; indeed in August the school's overdraft facility of \$30,000 would be exceeded. 'So', as the Rector bluntly reported to the Governors, 'we are stuck with the thought of cheques bouncing from the middle of August onwards.'<sup>279</sup> He presented them with the stark choices they faced:

- (i) To close at the end of 1977.
- (ii) To reduce staff as much as possible and try to weather 1978. This would involve giving notice at the end of this term to a number of staff that they would not be employed in 1978. The consequent lack of confidence in the school would reduce numbers further for 1978.
- (iii) To amalgamate with some other school. Unless this were done from a position of strength and the amalgamating school came to Peterhouse this would be tantamount to closing.
- (iv) To continue as we are with faith in the future. To do so requires money to cover operating losses in 1977 and 1978 without saddling the school with an enormous debt to be repaid in the future.



Already, however, the Finance Committee (FINCO) had begun to tackle the problem of deficit. Two people – John Carter and Syd Hayes – were particularly active in drumming up support and raising the required funds. They were great friends, and both had sons at the school. They were key figures in the Salisbury business community, and both had recently joined EXCO. They were perfect examples of John Rae's dictum regarding Governors: 'Give me the busy head of a great corporation any day, rather than a local worthy or former pupil with time on his hands.'<sup>280</sup> John Carter was an Old Marlburian, who had been awarded the Sword of Honour at Sandhurst, and had emigrated to South Africa, where he married Angela Tatham, whose family had been involved with Michaelhouse since its foundation. Syd Hayes was from the East End of London; he left school at 14, served in the Royal Navy, and moved to Rhodesia in 1950 where he built up a very successful business career. John was tall; Syd was short. John was vice-chairman of EXCO; Syd was chairman of FINCO. John was a man of vision: at EXCO in March 1977, in the midst of attempts to save the school from closure, he asked that 'a plan be prepared for future developments'.<sup>281</sup> He was to show the same sort of vision and daring at the end of the century – pushing for developments in the midst of national crisis and farm invasions. In March they both – at their own expense – visited the United Kingdom to raise funds. Their success meant that the Rector was able to address the staff – even before the Governors' meeting at which his 'stark choice' document would be debated – to tell them that they could 'rest assured that the financial future of Peterhouse for the years 1977 and 1978 is secure and we are in a position to weather whatever difficulties may confront us'. He praised (without naming) Carter and Hayes for their 'devotion and faith in Peterhouse'.<sup>282</sup> When the Governors met in April, the outlines of the rescue package were already in place. By May, an appeal document had been printed, aimed at ensuring the survival of the school in the short term, and the building up of funds for capital development in the longer term. By August the papers were drawn up for the establishment of a Petrean Trust, which would help finance the deficit and provide development funds; gifts and loans of \$70,000 were already in the bank. By December the total had risen to \$113,000. Meanwhile an approach had been made to the Beit Trust at the suggestion of John Ingham, a Governor who

was the Trust's representative in Salisbury. The response, just before Christmas, came in the form of what was, effectively, a donation of \$100,000, payable in two tranches in 1978.

Important as the rescue package was, there was great need to 'sell' the school more effectively, for only by building up pupil numbers would its long-term future be secure. So in June 1977 an unprecedentedly large Open Day was held at Peterhouse. Prospective parents (mainly) were entertained to music, displays, games, plays and a 'positively Lucullan' lunch laid on by Dorrit Bekker. A Rhodesian Television crew filmed much of what went on. The whole affair cost just under \$3,000, and it was reported that there was 'much favourable comment' in Salisbury as a result.<sup>283</sup> Everyone who attended had already received a letter from the Rector asking them 'to give us your support by telling your friends about the school'. And in an attempt to enlist the current parents, in both 1978 and 1979 a weekend was arranged in April when they could attend a full programme: watching the athletics, having drinks and supper with housemasters, watching the school play, staying overnight, attending the school Eucharist the next morning and then watching the remainder of the sports before taking their sons home for the holiday. In May 1979 – with numbers for 1980 still looking unhealthy – the campaign was extended. In his circular to parents in May, the Rector appealed to them: 'We are at a stage when we desperately need the support and involvement of every single Peterhouse parent to ensure we have a large new boy entry next year into forms I and II', and he concluded by challenging them – 'Can *you* find a potential new parent family?' One parent, Mr Don Bell, masterminded the creation of a 'Parents' Council', and throughout the country current parents were enlisted to take the message to their children's primary schools. The boys themselves were also mobilised. The Rector told them, before an 'At Home Sunday' in May, 'first, that the impression that schoolboys made upon members of the public, during term-time or holidays, was a far stronger means of gaining public support for the school than anything which had been mentioned in the media; and secondly, that what people were told about Peterhouse and its students by their friends was also more effective than what newspaper articles, wireless sets or television could do in selling Peterhouse to them'. Nevertheless, the media were used also. Edmund Katso (E71) – the first black member of staff – was inter-

viewed on the radio, and John Hodgson appeared several times on television. Boys and staff were interviewed for newspaper articles, and as a writer in the pupils' magazine reported, 'All of this publicity has been favourable.'<sup>284</sup>

As the Peterhouse Appeal document of September 1978 recorded, six independent schools had already been casualties of the war. The closure of Eagle (in the Vumba) and Whitestone (in Bulawayo) at the end of 1976 had of course impacted upon Peterhouse. Springvale (and therefore Peterhouse) made some temporary gains, in that Mike Hammond (headmaster of Eagle) returned to Springvale, bringing some remaining boys with him and giving Springvale a further lease of life. But it was not enough. The Springvale Governors assured the parents at the end of 1977 of their 'determination to keep Springvale alive, if humanly possible', but a year later they concluded that they could see their way forward only to the end of 1979, when they had to close down. The Rector had an additional worry; in 1977 he reported to EXCO his concern that about a third of Ruzawi leavers were now going to Falcon. He had been assured by the head and senior master at Ruzawi that 'as far as could be seen there was no prejudice against Peterhouse'.<sup>285</sup> While he accepted that 'it was a fashion that had developed because one or two strong charactered boys had gone to Falcon recently', it was a fashion that could not have come at a worse time. Indeed, it was not reversed until the late 1980s.

In a curious way, the very smallness of the school seemed to inject a new sense of what it meant to be part of Peterhouse. For staff – and their wives – there was that sense of camaraderie sometimes experienced in beleaguered circumstances, rather like Londoners during the Blitz. Wives helping at the hospital or at the police camp in Marandellas, or manning the Agric-alert system, or staff doing their regular 'call up' duties – it all made for a neighbourliness and sense of purpose which many would look back on with nostalgia in the years ahead. John Davidson, the senior master, reacted to the imposition of a curfew in the Marandellas area by instituting 'film suppers' in common room to allow the staff to socialise, to have supper and drinks, and to watch the weekend film which was shown to the boys the next night. These occasions survived into the mid-1980s. The Rector told the parents in 1978 that, despite the continued slippage in numbers, it had 'been a good year. Neil Rogers has been first class

as Head Boy – one of the best I have known.’<sup>286</sup> To the Governors he went further, calling him ‘the best he had known’, and continuing: ‘He was responsible for the very high morale amongst the boys and for the happy atmosphere which prevailed.’<sup>287</sup> ‘Of course,’ he continued ‘a smaller school is, in many ways, a delightful place to run.’ He had to admit that the bursar could not view it in the same way. In 1979 the head boy, Jonathan Forrest (G), was able to report that ‘the atmosphere has never been friendlier ... the lack of numbers has aroused more humanity in us’.<sup>288</sup>

These reports of a happy atmosphere in a shrinking school must also be seen against the state of affairs in the country. In the year in which the war intensified, 1976, Ian Smith, under pressure from South Africa (and Dr Kissinger), seemed to hold out hope for black majority rule; in the following year the Anglo-American plan for solving the Rhodesian problem gained widespread support and Smith ended the year conditionally accepting ‘one man one vote’. In 1978 the ‘Internal Settlement’ brought blacks into the Cabinet, and in 1979 the country was renamed Zimbabwe-Rhodesia under its first black Prime Minister, Bishop Abel Muzorewa. But the war did not end. In 1977, 3,046 men, women and children were killed on Rhodesian soil; in 1978 the total was 2,600. That year too saw some particularly horrific incidents. In June, 13 missionaries and children were massacred at the Elim Mission, which had taken over the buildings of Eagle School in the Vumba. In September a Viscount carrying holiday-makers from Kariba to Salisbury was shot down by the Zimbabwe People’s Revolutionary Army (ZIPRA); 38 passengers and crew were killed when the plane crash-landed, and then 10 of the 18 survivors were massacred by Nkomo’s ZIPRA guerrillas. In February 1979 a second Viscount was shot down: 59 people died. The Internal Settlement had not worked. The Lancaster House Conference opened in December 1979, as the new (Conservative) British government tackled the problem by convening all the parties in the place which had seen so many such post-colonial conferences in the past. Nicholas Soames, Winston Churchill’s son-in-law, was dispatched to Government House, Salisbury – ‘the first time in the history of decolonisation that a black President had been replaced by a white governor’.<sup>289</sup> The scene was set for the dawn of a new era in 1980. By the time the

ceasefire was declared in December 1979, a total of 20,350 people had died in the period since 1972.

The impact of war was first felt at Peterhouse in 1976, the year of the great contraction. The security situation had much to do with the decline in numbers, and it also meant that the Chimanimani expeditions had to be abandoned. By the end of that year security arrangements were in place at the school, and plans were prepared to give sixth formers 'some simple instruction in handling small arms'.<sup>290</sup> The Rector reported on the arrangements in March 1977:<sup>291</sup> 'Security drills are practiced regularly and seriously. There are two Night Watchmen; two five band radios which can be in instant touch with the Marandellas Police Station, internal security phones and also external lines to Marandellas. We now have two sirens – one operating from the mains, the other from a battery; I believe that these are an additional and effective deterrent. I can see no point in trying to fence the school. The police are happy with our arrangements.' He continued: '... all Salisbury and Marandellas schools believe it is important to keep life as normal as possible if morale is to be maintained. Once afternoon or evening bus transport stops on even one occasion, inter-school sport will virtually collapse for Marandellas schools.' But by September, he was informing the parents that 'no school transport may leave Salisbury for Marandellas after 5pm', which meant that 'cricket matches will be slightly curtailed'. Within the school, security was stepped up as a result of a visit from a government security officer. He suggested floodlighting and grenade screens for the houses, and transparent coating on the large hall windows to prevent them splintering in the event of an explosion. He did not recommend a security fence.<sup>292</sup> But a year later, a security fence was established; it stretched some three kilometres and was planted with Mauritius thorn (which took root only patchily); 'this has proved a great comfort to parents and is well-worth the money that has been spent on it', the Rector reported.<sup>293</sup> It was to prove useful even after the war, when it was lengthened, and maintained as a means of deterring burglars and giving staff a sense of greater security. In fact, during the war there were no security alerts at the school, and the nearest incident took place only a month and a half before the end of hostilities. During the afternoon of 9 November the noise of gunfire was clearly audible at the school, and the bursar, Bob Owtram, went along with some other

staff to investigate. He found Kingsley Harris, a popular master at Marandellas High School, had been shot and killed in his car on the council road near the south east corner of the estate.

Of course, there were other deaths which impinged upon the Peterhouse community. Every school in the world involves an 'extended family' of parents and ex-parents, pupils and ex-pupils, and of all the families related to them and to the support staff, Governors and ex-Governors. But few HMC schools can have experienced – certainly since the Second World War – the shadow of death falling over the community in the way it did at Peterhouse in the 1970s. In June 1976 Joe Porter, who had taught at the school since 1968, was killed in a car crash on the road to Marandellas. Earlier that year Dr Nicholas Paterson (E66) was killed in a car crash in Umtali – he was a son of Canon Ned Paterson (of Cyrene Mission fame), and his sister was married to Sir Humphrey Gibbs's son Nigel. News of the deaths of former members of staff came in throughout the decade. C.T. Priestley died in retirement in Salisbury in 1974; in the same year Pat Hogg died during his first year as Dean of Pretoria. In 1978 Charles Fisher (headmaster of Geelong Grammar School) was killed in a road accident in Australia aged 53.<sup>294</sup> In 1980 the ex-accountant Audrey Simpson died, as did Ian Ferguson a year later. But of course the deaths which had most impact were those of Petreans killed in the war.

For many members of the community, the overriding memory of these years is of the growing tedium of the war that took husbands, fathers and sons away for weeks at a time in the operational areas. For many Peterhouse parents, there was the loneliness and the very real chance of guerrilla attacks on homesteads in the farming areas. For many black members of the community life was equally frightening, with families in rural areas threatened by military action, or relatives detained or in exile, or simply out of touch. The increasing number of casualties kept the community on edge from 1977 onwards, and news of the deaths of Peterhouse old boys became all too frequent. In that year Harry Nagar (F74), and in December, Martin Betts (E73) were killed. In 1978 four more Petreans were killed in action – Tim Peech (M65) and David Friedman (G77) in July, Oliver Young (F76), serving as a police patrol officer, in August, and Tom Small (F74), as a sapper, in December. Just before Christmas Dennis Hutchinson

(M62) was murdered, along with his wife and two young sons, at his farm at Lalapanzi. In April 1979 William Perkins (M75), training as an officer cadet, was killed on active service, followed by Michael Chance (P77), who died in May, and by Gray Maguire (E70). Most Petreans were caught up in heavy national service commitments, but a number were regulars: Nick Fawcett (P66) served with distinction before and after Independence, and Chris Cocks (P74) was to write powerfully about his experiences with the Rhodesian Light Infantry.<sup>295</sup> The Peterhouse casualty list was much shorter than those of bigger schools; Prince Edward lost at least 52, Guinea Fowl 35 and Churchill 27. But for a small, relatively new school, each death made an impact, and deepened the gloom of the many boys whose friends and neighbours had suffered death and bereavement.

The murder of Tim Peech seemed to stand out, partly because of the manner and context of his death, and partly because he had been – as the man who had appointed him head boy recorded – ‘always outstanding for his sincerity, determination, courage and high sense of duty’.<sup>296</sup> He had been head boy of the school in 1965. He was born on Waterloo farm, in the Macheke district, not far from Peterhouse. After school he went off to study agriculture, and returned to farm tobacco. ‘His love was Rhodesia, his passion the land’, as Bruce Fieldsend said at his funeral. During the bush war, the area was subject to many attacks on schools, stores, farms and transport, to the distress of both blacks and whites. Early in 1977 Tim formed a Macheke Local Defence Force, to ensure that black and white reservists could take responsibility for security in their own area. The strategy worked, and the attacks ceased. When the Internal Settlement was reached in March 1978 he ‘felt the need to start working positively for peace. In his words, the motto should be “seek and discuss not seek and destroy”’.<sup>297</sup> He went into the tribal trust lands, trying to persuade the locals that the farmers wanted peace, and on one occasion arranging for Bishop Abel Muzorewa (minister in the ‘transitional’ government and Prime Minister in 1979) to speak in the locality to a gathering of 2,000 people. Following his ‘seek and discuss’ motto, he met with guerrilla groups in the area, and in July 1978 discovered that a new one had moved in. He sought it out. He made contact; but his body was later found – he, unarmed, had been clubbed to death. At his funeral, at Waterloo, Bruce Fieldsend spoke of ‘his inspiration, his

courage and his example'. His wife bravely followed that example and was photographed holding hands with a black employee.<sup>298</sup> Their small children would later attend Peterhouse.

It was just before this tragedy happened that EXCO discussed the creation of a war memorial at the school. A redesigning of the font in chapel was suggested, but later in the year the Rector recommended instead a granite stone outside chapel, inscribed with the names of those killed; meanwhile 'photographs of those fallen should be hung in some suitable place'.<sup>299</sup> They were placed on the west wall of the chapel, where they remained for some years. The plan for a more durable memorial never bore fruit. Memorials to the fallen, especially in the context of a civil war or internal conflict, touch deep sensitivities. Experience in Northern Ireland has demonstrated how difficult it is to commemorate those of both 'sides' who died both attacking and defending the *status quo*; no solution is yet in sight there, in a society trying to look forward, but also needing to look back and remember.

Bruce Fieldsend had never stopped looking forward, for the best possible tribute to the fallen would be a Peterhouse where black and white could live together, and where boys could be challenged to live worthwhile lives. In 1978 the school's viability still looked shaky; against his natural inclination, the Rector stayed on longer than he might have done under normal circumstances. On every public occasion, he dwelt not upon the deaths and the dislocations of the bush war, but on the future possibilities. 'We stand on the brink of very great change in this country', he announced at Speech Day in 1978. He did the same at Speech Day on 3 November 1979, quoting (now with more justification) his speech of the previous year. Eight weeks later, the war ended as the ceasefire came into effect – at midnight on 28 December. Now it really did look as if the school, and the country, could look forward to a new era of peace and prosperity, of reconciliation and of growth.



## 9

### *A New Era*

While forming a government of national unity, the government also put forward the policy of national reconciliation. The essence of the policy lay in that all people were urged to forget about the past political enmity, and start afresh, with support for the new government. Central to this policy, therefore, was the building of a nation from the ruins of war, hatred and racism. Unlike in the past when Rhodesia had been torn by war and divided on the basis of colour, Zimbabwe offered prospects for peace, love and unity. Addressing the Nation on the eve of independence, the new Prime Minister, Robert G. Mugabe said, 'Let us deepen our sense of belonging and engender a common interest that knows no race, colour or creed'.

Emmerson Mnangagwa in *Turmoil and Tenacity: Zimbabwe 1890–1990*, edited by Canaan S. Banana (Harare 1989) p 229

During the last week of February 1980, Peterhouse boys were entertained by the sight of a British 'bobby' standing outside the cricket pavilion during the first universal free elections in the country. Their parents were probably not so entertained by the news of the results: ZANU had won 57 of the 80 parliamentary seats, and on 5 March Robert Mugabe agreed to form a coalition government. Julius Nyerere of Tanzania was reported to have said to him: 'You have inherited a jewel in Africa; don't tarnish it.'<sup>300</sup> Contrary to the expectations of the white population – fed on a propaganda diet of Mugabe as a Marxist ideologue during the previous decade – the Prime Minister elect set out to portray the new regime as inclusive, non-racial, and welcoming of the skills and support which the whites could bring to Zimbabwe. David Smith (Peterhouse parent and RF minister) headed the Ministry of Finance, and Denis Norman (also a Peterhouse parent and the current

President of the Commercial Farmers Union) the Ministry of Agriculture. Robert Mugabe had set the tone for the new country, 15 years before South Africa embarked upon a similar journey. When, just four years later, I asked some new black sixth form day boys why they had not taken revenge on the whites who had ill-treated them for so long, their response was immediate and frank – ‘because Mr Mugabe told us not to’. In fact, their hero had made specific promises about education: ‘Schools like Peterhouse would not be touched’, he declared.<sup>301</sup>

Of course there were those who were not convinced. The white population – some 276,000 in the mid-1970s, had fallen to some 140,000 by 1983. The emigration rate of about 1,500 a month in 1980 increased to 1,700 in 1981, then dropped to 1,500 in 1982 and to 1,200 in the early months of 1983. Many of those who stayed failed to ‘emigrate’ from white Rhodesia to the new Zimbabwe; some were racists; some were too old or too entrenched in the habits of the past to adapt. Many people, black and white, had suffered during those war years, some in the most horrific circumstances, and many had been physically or emotionally scarred for life. And yet there was an optimism in the air. The end of the war and of sanctions would open up new opportunities for the country and for individuals. For the Governors of Peterhouse, there was the challenge of building up numbers and making the improvements which they had identified as essential nearly a decade before. But Syd Hayes, chairman of the Development Committee, reported to the Governors in June 1980 that ‘the economic situation had not developed at the speed expected last year and so the Development Committee had been unable to achieve much other than to continue with our survival plans’. The Governors also heard that the numbers in the school were still so low that there would again be a deficit at the end of the year.<sup>302</sup>

In September, it became clear that the number of boys in 1981 would be in the region of 250, an increase of 24%, and with registrations looking good for subsequent years. So Syd Hayes, on a business trip to Johannesburg, contacted the National Fund Raising Counsel (South Africa), with a view to enlisting their expertise. They had been used by Prince Edward and St George’s in the early 1970s, and they had raised over £1 million for Michaelhouse. One of their directors visited the school in October, and produced an appraisal of the needs of Peterhouse, and a plan of campaign for funding them. By the end

of the year an impressive 'Case Statement' had been published by the school, outlining its history, and its aim of raising \$750,000 for four specific objectives:

- The construction of a hall
- The re-structuring of the five boarding houses
- The re-structuring of the senior and junior dining halls
- The construction of a cultural centre

The NFRC produced its final Campaign Plan in February 1981, and the 'Peterhouse Appeal' was formally launched at a dinner at Meikles Hotel in April. The guest of honour was Paul Burrough, Bishop of Mashonaland; the other speakers were Bob Williams, the Rector and finally the campaign chairman, the dynamic Syd Hayes. He introduced the members of the committee – John Carter, Ron Schreuder, Pips Peech, Chris Peech, John Dawson and Stuart Mattinson – these last three were Petreans themselves, while the first three were parents. Their task was to mobilise local people, appealing in particular to parents, Petreans and the business community. At the end of the year a London dinner attracted some 100 Petreans, and the Zimbabwean High Commissioner; Bishop Burrough was again the guest of honour.

By July 1982 the local fund-raising total reached some \$679,000 (minus costs of \$63,000), and the building of the new hall was well under way. It would come in at a total final cost of \$510,000, and the ongoing refurbishment of the boarding houses at \$165,000. Clearly more funds were required, and meanwhile the priorities had shifted. The plans for the dining halls and a cultural centre were put on hold, and the old dream of a sixth house reappeared. It was becoming clear that the rise in numbers to 420, which back in October 1980 had been predicted for 1986, would now happen in 1984. It was agreed that plans for the new house should be drawn up, building works starting when the hall was completed in 1983. The George Fleet design for the new house was revolutionary in Peterhouse terms, in that it would be a one-storey brick building (with some granite facings), while the other five houses were two-storey concrete and granite. The dormitories, toys rooms and bedsits would occupy two lines of building separated by some ten metres, and in the middle, a pagoda-like construction containing (perhaps rather curiously for such a central feature) the showers and toilet facilities. It had the great advantage both of not trying to be at all like the other houses,

and of lying low in the land so that it fitted into the campus comfortably and quickly. The decisions were taken that the hall was to be named after the second Rector, and the new house after the first: 'we have been rather tardy', Humphrey Gibbs wrote, 'about recognising all they [Fred and Margaret] both did to get the school going and the 6th house is about the last chance we will have of naming something suitable after them'.<sup>303</sup> By a happy coincidence, the new house was completed a quarter of a century (almost to the very day) after Fred Snell had first spoken of 'the sixth house which is necessary to complete the boarding accommodation'.<sup>304</sup> Happily too, the housemaster was to be Andrew Hall (P72), who was one of the last group of boys accepted for Peterhouse by the outgoing Rector, Fred Snell.

Speech Day in October 1981 finally marked the end of the years of contraction. Bob Williams reported that 'the school is filling as rapidly as wisdom will permit' and announced that 'the success of the fundraising campaign was certainly beyond my greatest expectations'.<sup>305</sup> The unveiling of the foundation stone for the new hall symbolised the start of a new era, as did the fact that the stone was then blessed by the Rt Revd Peter Hatendi, the country's first black diocesan bishop and the school's Visitor. But behind the scenes, there had been significant changes to the school's constitution which did not please the bishop. The problem had arisen back in 1977 when the Governors were trying to arrange an increased overdraft facility. The Trustees of the Diocese of Mashonaland, as 49% shareholders in Peterhouse, had to approve the arrangement, and did so only 'with considerable misgiving' because, as Bishop Burrough reported, 'they gravely disapprove of school running expenses being financed by loans'.<sup>306</sup> One can imagine the reaction of businessmen like John Carter to being told how to run a company. It was not until 1981 that discussions began on the updating of the school's Articles of Association. The control of the company – Peterhouse School – was vested in the shareholders, the capital being 100 shares with a nominal value of ten cents each. The allocation of the shares had been reshuffled several times (1956 and 1960) since the original Articles, and now stood at: Ruzawi Schools Ltd, 49%; the diocese of Mashonaland, 49% and two named Governors, 2%. The proposal was that Ruzawi Schools' holding should be reduced to 20%, the diocese's to 5%, and that the remaining 75% should be allocated to four named and active Board members,

who would hold them 'in their own names, but would in fact be holding them as nominees of the Board', agreeing to exercise their voting rights 'as the Board of Governors may from time to time in writing direct'. The constitutional changes would go further. The most significant was that to Article 66a, which had stipulated that 'The Rector shall be appointed by the Board in full consultation with the Visitor, and on the recommendation of the Executive Committee. The Visitor shall be a member of any selection committee which may be constituted and his consent shall be necessary before any appointment is made.' This was amended to: 'The Rector shall be appointed by the Board on the recommendation of the Executive Committee.' Also expunged was the requirement that the Chairman of the Board of Governors should be an Anglican, though the requirement remained that 'at least half [of the Board] shall be members of the Anglican Church'. Bishop Burrough had had a 'slightly rough ride with Standing Committee', because 'they were rightly concerned to ensure that the Anglican character of the School should be maintained'.<sup>307</sup>

Just a year after Zimbabwe had achieved its independence from Britain, while retaining its place in the Commonwealth, the Peterhouse Governors attained full freedom of action, but within the diocese (with two bishop's nominees still sitting on EXCO) and within a constitution which still guaranteed the Anglican nature of the school. All this of course took place just a few months before the departure of Paul Burrough and the enthronement of Bishop Peter Hatendi. When the latter was informed of my appointment – in April 1983 – he evinced some surprise, and while averring that 'the Board of Governors have done a very good job', drew attention to the (unamended) Articles which he had consulted.<sup>308</sup> There is no doubt that he should have been in possession of the amended Articles, even if the school could not feel responsible for this lapse. It seemed to have been an oversight; it did not seem to matter too much. The bishop appeared content with the assurance that he still had the right to nominate two members to EXCO, and he was of course still the school's Visitor. But in July 1984 what he had probably been thinking all along surfaced unexpectedly. The context was the negotiations regarding the reopening of Springvale (where the diocese was major shareholder) under the auspices of Peterhouse. The bishop circularised members of the Diocesan Standing Committee and drew attention to the changes of

1981: 'The cumulative effect of these amendments', he wrote with a directness with which I was to become familiar, 'is reduced Anglican control and influence due to change of diocesan leadership from white to black.'<sup>309</sup> It was a belated but damning attack on the changes, which had been inspired in the first instance by a desire on the part of the Governors to attain effective financial control of the school for which they were responsible, but had ended with the removal from the bishop (who in future would be black) of powers which hitherto (as a white) he had exercised. We shall see what happened. Suffice it to say that at this stage I became aware of the problem, and realised why after seven months I still had not been licensed as a priest in the diocese. Happily the whole matter ended satisfactorily, for the school, the diocese and the Rector.

While the building works continued in 1982, and as numbers continued to rise, there were other signs of progress. The age of the computer dawned, in a small way. John Greenacre had arranged in 1980 for the import of a Sharp microprocessor, and in 1982 he computerised transactions at the school bank.<sup>310</sup> The next year saw the arrival of Commodore 64s, but only enough to service a computer club, rather than a class. The breakthrough did not come until 1988 when Sir Mark Weinberg was approached. A South African based in London, Sir Mark, who was noted for his charitable donations, gave the school 25 Amstrads, and a full-scale computer room was named after him. The school led the way in creating its own computer qualification, rather than adopting a policy of teaching computing as an O and A level subject.<sup>311</sup> Meanwhile more conventional academic indicators remained important. The Rector was able to point in 1982 to a fine set of A level results, with a 100% pass rate in six subjects. To place the results in context, he produced a table for EXCO which compared the school's percentage pass rate with the national performance (Table 3).

The O level results were not so impressive, with an 80%+ pass rate only in Latin, mathematics, art and physics, and an overall pass rate of 67% compared with the national figure of 53%. While these results exposed weaknesses in areas within the school, they were significant in another way also. Year by year, as more and more children nationally were entered for O levels, the national pass rates were to fall, while those in the independent schools were to rise. In 1985 the

proportion nationally of all those taking O levels who achieved five passes or more (and were thus potential A level candidates) was 19%; at Peterhouse it was 90%.<sup>312</sup>

Table 3 Pass rates 1982

<i>A Level</i>	<i>Peterhouse % pass rate</i>	<i>National % pass rate</i>
Applied mathematics	100	91
Biology	40	37
French	100	72
History	100	75
Latin	100	100
Pure mathematics	100	75
Physics	93	77
Pure and applied maths	78	48
Chemistry	100	80
English	80	90
Geography	67	42
Total	88	48

Here was another reason why increasingly those parents who could afford it looked to schools like Peterhouse; the projected increase in numbers at the school was not a flash in the pan, but part of a larger trend. For Bruce Fieldsend, it seemed an opportune time to leave. He had been in charge for perhaps longer than he might have anticipated, but his loyalty to the school had meant that he could not conceive of departing while the 'bad years' lasted. Now they were over, and he felt he should go while he still had the possibility of finding another job. He discussed the matter with the Chairman on a number of occasions, and then on 20 May 1982 wrote his formal letter of resignation. 'I am tremendously happy here', he wrote to Bob Williams; but, as he went on to explain, 'it is because I love the school and feel I must put its interest well ahead of my own that I believe that I must leave at the end of 1983'. The announcement was made at Speech Day in 1982, when Bruce told the audience that while he did not yet know what he would be doing, he was certain that 'no job will be as rewarding or as much fun as that of being Rector of Peterhouse'.<sup>313</sup> A few weeks later, the search for a new Rector was in train. The selection committee (Bob Williams, John Carter and Syd Hayes) had already arranged

for advertisements to appear in Zimbabwe and elsewhere. Sensitive to the national mood, they realised that to recruit a man from within Zimbabwe might mean 'poaching' from a government school, which would be unacceptable to the powers-that-be. To recruit from South Africa would be insensitive and wrong-headed in the context of the new Zimbabwe. It was therefore not unlikely that the new Rector would come from Britain. And so it transpired.

It did indeed seem a good time for Bruce Fieldsend to hand over, as the new buildings reached completion, and the books were full of applicants for years ahead. The political scene had darkened it is true. The 'end of the honeymoon' – as one writer has called it<sup>314</sup> – came in 1982, with the breakdown of the coalition (of ZANU and ZAPU) and the savage repression of 'dissidents' in Matabeleland, resulting in some 20,000 deaths, almost as many as in the bush war.<sup>315</sup> Perhaps only in retrospect did it become clear that the world community, and most Zimbabweans, had in effect turned a blind eye, for Robert Mugabe was, after all, the architect of reconciliation in Zimbabwe. Many whites could understand the need for police action in Matabeleland. In the Nyamandhlovu area, where Sir Humphrey Gibbs lived, there were 60 white farmers at Independence; by mid-1983 there were just 25, the rest driven out by threats and killings. The Gibbses themselves sold up after 53 years there, and moved to Harare. The 'souring of Zimbabwe', as *The Times* called it,<sup>316</sup> continued in 1983. Joshua Nkomo fled, claiming his life was in danger; six white air force officers were arrested, released and rearrested on charges of sabotage. (Curiously, two of these officers, after their eventual release, attended the final service which I took in Cranleigh Preparatory School chapel in November 1983; they had relations at the school.) Whites in Zimbabwe were emigrating at an increased rate: in July almost 2,000 departed, more than in any other month since Independence. In September and October the British press carried stories of demonstrations calling on the whites to go, and reports of alarming numbers of white women being raped.<sup>317</sup> In September the Prime Minister endured much criticism – especially over the incarceration of the white officers (two of whom had Irish passports) – during his visit to Britain and Ireland, and returned home to denounce 'British meddling'.<sup>318</sup> It is against this background that we should understand the speech made by Mr Mugabe at Wedza in October.



The Wedza speech had other antecedents, and the crisis which it precipitated for the independent schools was not entirely unexpected. Bob Williams and Dick Turpin, representing the AGB, had met the Minister of Education in May 1982. Dzingai Mutumbuka had been minister since Independence, and was presiding over a massive expansion of secondary education in the country, with a budget that outstripped that of any other department. He was a big man with a deep laugh and an ability to hector fiercely when so minded. He had spent most of the war years teaching at Trinity College, Dublin, and the University of Sussex, so he was used to lecturing white men.

The AGB representatives tried to explain to him and his officials that the high fees charged by independent schools (around \$800 per term) were justified. It was a friendly meeting, with the minister being particularly appreciative of the work of the CBF.<sup>319</sup> Reporting to the AGB annual meeting in July, Bob Williams felt confident enough to predict that 'the future looks benevolent; we will have a great part to play in the growth of the new Zimbabwe'.<sup>320</sup> But he had spoken too soon. Early in 1983 he was summoned to the Ministry to be told by a fairly aggressive minister that 'there was grave concern, even anger, at the level of fees' and that 'the cabinet, and particularly the Prime Minister, wanted a full inquiry into the Independent School system, with particular reference to the fee structure'. However, as the meeting progressed, Williams felt it had become 'both friendly and constructive'. He promised to see that all schools submitted a breakdown of their costs, manning levels, and staff-pupil ratios.<sup>321</sup> The Ministry's own record of the meeting ended with a warning shot at the 'private schools': 'The Minister concluded by saying that he was not against Private Schools *per se*. He was against their tendency to becoming exclusive, either on economic or racial grounds. If they serve the interests of either money or race, there will be a crisis.'<sup>322</sup>

On 8 September, Bob Williams once again met the minister. Bruce Fieldsend and Dorothy Twiss attended as well, and 'the meeting throughout was cordial'. But the minister continued to assert that the independent schools 'were far too expensive' and reported that the Prime Minister 'had become personally involved in insisting that there should be an improvement in the racial mix'.<sup>323</sup> A week later, Bob Williams made his chairman's report at the AGB annual meeting. He noted that 'relations between the Ministry and the AGB continue

to be excellent', and that the schools themselves 'are all full to capacity and able to select pupils'. But he also issued a warning: that the new schools – Lomagundi, Bryden, Hillcrest and Rydings – in fact posed a problem, for 'although all these new schools are specifically non-racial or multi-racial, they are, almost manifestly, mostly catering for whites. In consequence it is difficult to avoid the suspicion that racism or elitism is the underlying reason for their creation.'<sup>324</sup> He went on to propose the 'Williams Plan'. He asked every school to make significant efforts to recruit – even at this late stage – more black pupils for January 1984, and stressed 'that such a gesture of co-operation was urgently required'. To his distress, those present 'were reluctant to commit themselves', and asked for more time, so that the plan could be discussed by CHISZ, and by individual school Boards. This was agreed, and a month was allowed for these discussions to proceed.<sup>325</sup>

Bob Williams had been right in his predictions, and the schools had been wrong to delay action on the Williams Plan. On 30 October, the *Sunday Mail* carried a report on a speech (in Shona) by the Prime Minister at the Dendenyora Centre at Wedza. He attacked the independent schools for their racism, their high fees, and their 'discriminatory practices'. It still took a week for the schools to waken up to the threat that had been looming for at least a year. The Rector of St George's was the first to write to the Prime Minister, denying the charges, and noting that 'our pupils include a member of your own family and the sons of not a few of your colleagues in Government'.<sup>326</sup> The CHISZ Standing Committee followed this up a few days later, reminding the Prime Minister that 'it was our schools who promoted the concept of multi-racial education in the face of considerable opposition from a former Government, and you yourself have been kind enough to acknowledge this on previous occasions'.<sup>327</sup> A meeting was requested, but it was Mutumbuka who took the initiative, and summoned heads and board members to appear before him on 16 November. About 50 CHISZ/AGB members attended, and Mutumbuka was supported by the Acting Secretary of Education, Mr Vickerstaff, by Ms Fay Chung (later herself Minister of Education), by the regional directors of education for Harare (Hove) and Mashonaland (Thompson) and by several other officials. But it was the minister's show, and he began by reading out a statement.

He noted that during the UDI years 'the independent schools saw themselves not only as fighting for the underdog, but also as pioneering attempts at creating a just and equitable society in which harmony and co-operation between the races would ensure a prosperous and peaceful future for the country as a whole'. That was a fair, even generous, summary. But the minister went on to express concern that after Independence the schools 'froze in their tracks and, in many cases, back-pedalled'.<sup>328</sup> His conclusion was uncompromising:

1. All private schools as from January 1984 should have a minimum black enrolment of 60%
2. All Boards of Governors should have a membership reflecting the population of the country.
3. All vacant teaching posts must be filled by non-whites until they constitute more than 60% of the staff.
4. Fees must be lowered to a level comparable with government schools, and should not exceed \$500 per term.

Syd Hayes was the first to speak after the minister concluded his statement: 'We have heard with interest the ultimatums you have issued. You have dropped a bombshell.'<sup>329</sup> The shell-shocked audience asked some questions, and tried to point out the impossibility of meeting the demands within the time scale. The minister told the schools that everyone would 'have to abide by the conditions imposed', and Syd Hayes made the final point from the floor: 'We will now have to go back and see if we can put our house in order, and if that is possible in terms of your requirements.' Next day, the shock headline appeared in the press: 'Private schools get State ultimatum'.<sup>330</sup> The whole issue of racism and elitism in the independent schools was now out in the open. The *Herald*, outspoken critic of the government in the past, kept returning to it: 'For Zimbabwe's private schools the message is spelled out big and bold on the blackboard: get in step or get out', cried a leading article. The schools' objective was 'all too transparent: keep classrooms predominantly white by keeping fees high'.<sup>331</sup> 'Let the racists go', it proclaimed a few days later: 'It is the duty of any socialist administration to remove these disturbing pockets of privilege from our society.'<sup>332</sup>

The trouble was that while the independent schools did not seek to exclude blacks by charging high fees, it tended to look that way. In 1979, just prior to Independence, the white 'government' schools were thrown open to pupils of all races. These were schools with

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excellent facilities and staff. Many black parents lost any desire to send their children to independent schools (whether as full fee payers or on bursaries) when at a much lower cost they could enjoy the teaching, facilities and equipment which until then had been the preserve of the whites. The proportion of black pupils at Peterhouse had fallen from 13% of the school in 1980 to 12% in 1983, not because Peterhouse discouraged them, but because they did not want to come. It had not been a dramatic fall, but nor had it been the rise which might have been expected. Mutumbuka had acknowledged the non-racial stance of the schools during the UDI years. Their battle with government from the mid-1960s to mid-1970s had been conducted on the grounds of principle, both in regard to the admission of African pupils, and to the issue of multi-racial sport. But pragmatism was now more to the fore. The captains of industry argued that Mutumbuka's ultimatum would encourage further emigration by skilled and talented white parents. It would undermine the confidence of the farming sector, upon which the country's well-being depended: farmers, of all people, had to make use of boarding schools for their children. The battle in the mid-1960s had had elements of a crusade about it, with the independent schools claiming the moral high ground. This time round, the self-interest of the white community was a key factor, or in a more benign interpretation, the national interest in economic and social terms was at stake.

And somehow Peterhouse seemed to be particularly in the minister's sights. Why, as Bruce Fieldsend wrote at the time, 'the Minister regards Peterhouse as public enemy number one' was not quite clear. Perhaps the fact that Bob Williams and Dick Turpin, with whom Mutumbuka had first discussed the fees issue, were both Peterhouse Governors (though acting as representatives of the AGB) was part of the reason. Again too, his subsequent meeting with CHISZ/AGB representatives – Williams, Fieldsend and Dorothy Twiss – meant that Peterhouse was once more high profile. Bruce had good reason to worry about the minister's fixation: it was reinforced when he heard from Colin Perchard, the director of the British Council, that his meeting with Mutumbuka had never got down to the intended agenda as the minister spent the time talking about Peterhouse; why couldn't the school take day boys from Marondera, or sixth form scholars from all over the country?<sup>333</sup> This, as we shall see, at least gave Bruce

some thoughts about how the minister might be appeased. Perhaps the person or persons who had been bending the Prime Minister's ear (and thus landing a problem on Mutumbuka's desk) had it in for Peterhouse for their own reasons. We shall probably never know.

It was fortunate that the common room did not know just how vulnerable Peterhouse in particular seemed to be, for like all independent school common rooms, it was in something of a panic over the minister's ultimatum. The Rector tried to reassure them; there was, as he told them, much 'to-ing and fro-ing' in Harare: captains of industry, heavyweights in the agricultural and financial sectors, ministers like Chris Andersen and Denis Norman, were being lobbied, and they in turn lobbied. On 19 November the Prime Minister saw Denis Norman and told him that he wanted the matter resolved, and the schools to reopen in January; the senator was charged with seeing to it, and on 23 met with Minister Mutumbuka. The following day the minister met a 'special *ad hoc* AGB committee' of three led by Bob Williams. It presented the minister with an exit strategy: all schools were willing and ready to 'give Government and the Minister their maximum and urgent cooperation', but simply could not (within two months) engineer a 60:40 black white ratio within their schools; nor could they operate on fees of \$500. They recommended that the Ministry negotiate with and monitor each school as it progressed towards the minister's targets, at least on black:white ratios among pupils, Governors and staff. On Saturday 26 November, after ten days of fallout from the ministerial bombshell, Mutumbuka made a statement. He 'assured parents with children at independent schools with white majorities that they need not fear nor withdraw their children' because it was 'not his wish to close the schools'.<sup>334</sup> Bruce Fieldsend was able to mention that 're-assuring statement' in his last end-of-year circular, and then go on to deal with all the usual school news and notes – on staff, exeats, vaccinations, buses, and the arrangements for the new school year. It seemed that everything was back to normal.

In January 1984, just before the start of the new school year, the independent schools' 'reprieve' was confirmed. It was announced that the minister had 'reached satisfactory arrangements' with them, though he had 'declined to reveal' the details.<sup>335</sup> In fact, there were no details to reveal. Mutumbuka wanted the independent schools to

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show that they were not racist, by making greater and more obvious efforts to recruit black children. How this could be done would be best left to the schools themselves. They had received a jolt. They realised that they could not rest on their laurels as pioneers of multi-racial education in the country. They were made more aware of their responsibilities as high profile schools in a new nation which took education very seriously, and spent on it more than upon any other item in the national budget. So the schools did in fact make greater efforts in recruitment not only of black pupils, but of black teachers. At Peterhouse, the 12% black pupils of 1983 rose to 17% in 1984, and had become 36% in 1988. How this was achieved, and the sometimes fraught ongoing relationship of the independent schools with government, will be discussed later. I was unaware of all but the sketchiest outlines of what was happening as we prepared to leave Britain. Our household goods had already departed by container from England when we heard about the crisis, and my predecessor – probably wisely – spared us the details of the panic which had gripped the white community in November. I arrived in the country when much – though not all – of the dust had settled, but when there was still much to do to repair broken bridges, and to build new ones.

## 10

### *Being Rector*

The film director is an autocrat because, in the words of the great French director François Truffaut, 'he is the only one with the whole thing in his mind'. He, too, presides over a guerrilla band, a motley of experts, with even less sense of structure than a group of teachers. His vision of what the film is to become is the one unifying force. He cannot govern by consensus or committee. The headmaster is also the only one who can see how the pieces fit together. Even the best of his colleagues only have a partial vision.

John Rae, *Letters from School* (London 1987), p 216

We have reached the Orwellian year of 1984. This chapter will be autobiographical: it necessitates a change of focus as I was involved in the events described, but also because it is worth looking at a school through the eyes of the person appointed to lead it. But the focus when examining more recent years must be adjusted anyway; 'contemporary history' requires a change in the rules of engagement. Most of the people who feature in subsequent chapters (and indeed many in the previous chapters) are still alive – some indeed still at Peterhouse. And again, the closer we move to the school's golden jubilee, the less certain are the outcomes of events and decisions, and this is particularly the case in Zimbabwe in the early 21st century.

My involvement began while I was teaching at Cranleigh School, in Surrey, where I had arrived in 1972 as head of history, and from 1974 had been a housemaster. I was, I had been told, the youngest ever to be appointed housemaster – being just 28 when I received the unexpected summons. I had only been at the school a year when it arrived, and so unprepared was I for such promotion that when the headmaster's secretary handed me a letter on the morning of Speech

Day, in June 1973, I thrust it in my pocket and forgot about it until asked after speeches by a senior colleague whether I was going to say 'yes'! Increasingly, as the century wore on, it became common, indeed almost universal, for housemasters to be appointed young, but for me it was an unexpected, exciting and slightly unnerving experience. I had never even meant to end up as a schoolmaster.

After a fairly conventional education – at the Royal School, Dunganon (in Northern Ireland) as a boarder, and Selwyn College, Cambridge (reading history), my goals were fairly evenly split between academic work and being ordained. By 1971 both of these goals had been fulfilled: I had been awarded a PhD after researching Irish church history, and I had been ordained a priest of the Church of England. But the context in which these two 'ambitions' were fulfilled was schoolmastering. I had started teaching at Wrekin College, in Shropshire, in 1967 (just a term after Bruce Fieldsend had left the nearby and more prestigious Shrewsbury School). Wrekin in 1967 was very much the sort of small public school it had been 30 years before. Student rebellion had not yet arrived (though it was to do so in a mild way while I was there, largely fomented by a visiting scholar from America). Girls were nowhere to be seen. Masters wore gowns, and some of us even sported squares or mortarboards, and the bachelors dined together each evening. The traditional features of the classic 'public school' were all firmly in place – beating, fagging, CCF, compulsory games, strict dress codes, ritualistic daily lunches and chapel services. The headmaster, Robert Dahl, had been teaching at Harrow when Charles Fisher was a young master there immediately after the Second World War. The chaplain, Bill Doggett, had been – so rumour had it – the only priest of the Church of England to volunteer to bear arms during the war, rather than serving as a chaplain. In this little microcosm of the traditional public school world, I learnt how to be a schoolmaster. There is a curious Peterhouse connection with Wrekin, which I discovered much later. Robert Dahl, as he told me just before his death in the 1990s, had interviewed Charles Fisher for a job when he was looking for an appointment after Peterhouse; Charles in fact took up a post at Sherborne School in Dorset. And even more curiously, when my daughter's godfather (Peter de Voil, who had taught with me at Wrekin) retired from the headship of Frensham Heights,



Surrey, at the end of 2003, he was replaced by Charles Fisher's son, who was second master at Wrekin.

My move from Wrekin to Cranleigh – to run the history department – proved to be the right thing to do. Teaching there was an exhilarating experience, especially since the school under Marc van Hasselt had become an extraordinarily exciting, progressive and congenial community. Its success during these golden years might be measured by noting the headmasterships filled by staff who had taught at Cranleigh during that period – Blundells; Denstone; Chetham's; the King's School, Grantham; the King's School, Madrid; the Purcell School (twice); Rendcomb; Stockport Grammar School; Uppingham. Indeed one of the boys in my house (Tim Hastie-Smith, house captain) later became headmaster of Dean Close School.

After eight years of housemastering, I started applying for headships, and a few attempts had got me through to final interviews. In 1982 I applied for the Rectorship of Peterhouse – having seen the post advertised in *The Times Educational Supplement*. The school was not entirely unknown to me. In the 1970s two boys had come to Cranleigh from Peterhouse. I taught one of them, Dominic Hobson (E73), for his Cambridge entrance; he went on via Magdalene and the City to become a noted historian of the wealth creators of modern Britain. The other, Peter Wells (P78), was in my house, and I later found in the Peterhouse files the letter I had written to Bruce Fieldsend to report on how the new boy had settled in. He went on to become my head of house. I knew a good deal about Rhodesia having collected newspaper cuttings about the place ever since UDI, but I had never had any intention of going there. The year in which I applied was a busy and productive one. I had spent the summer term of 1982 (while Britain was engaged in the Falklands War) at Magdalene College, Cambridge, as a Schoolmaster Fellow Commoner, which enabled me to write my first book, *A History of Cranleigh School*, published by Collins in 1983. But my time at Magdalene almost proved my undoing as far as the Rectorship was concerned – in a rather peculiar way. When asked to provide a photograph with my application, I sent a snap taken in Cambridge during what had been a warm and sunny May; I thought it looked quite pleasing, with its impressive backdrop of the Magdalene buildings. I discovered many years later that I had almost ruled myself out of the running, as John Carter noticed that I was wearing

sandals! Since this was something I almost never did, it is sobering to contemplate the unexpected consequences of some small and seemingly unimportant fact – but perhaps this is indulging in too much of what A.J.P. Taylor called the ‘Cleopatra’s nose view of history’.

Elizabeth and I travelled to London on a squally, dismal February day in 1983 to be interviewed by Bob Williams, John Carter, Syd Hayes (and Bruce Fieldsend) in the very grand surroundings of the Dorchester Hotel. The crunch question was – how could I contemplate moving to the so recently war-torn Rhodesia. My answer was that I was due to spend the Easter holidays in my homeland – war-torn Ulster. I was offered the job, and accepted – sight unseen. Then an unforeseen complication arose, as I was offered the headship of an English public school as well. Were we to move a hundred miles to a school in Hampshire, or thousands of miles to a school in Zimbabwe? Elizabeth and I both agreed it was to be Zimbabwe, and we told our children. Our daughter, Ann, was distraught: how could we ruin her life (as a twelve-year-old) by plucking her from her happy environment to transport her into the unknown? Our son, Mark, aged nine (a boarder just half a mile away at Cranleigh Preparatory School) was delighted at the prospect; he announced he was looking forward to seeing the gorillas, or guerrillas – we weren’t quite sure which; in the event, we saw neither. The announcement was made; we were committed. In July of that year, Elizabeth and I went out to Peterhouse (without the children) and were affirmed in our decision. In early October our household contents were packed into a container and sent off for Africa. At the end of that month Mr Mugabe made his Wedza speech, and there began the sequence of events which, as we have seen, threatened to undermine the independent schools – though at Cranleigh we were blissfully unaware of any but the most sketchy outlines of what was going on.

Just after Christmas, laden with luggage, we arrived at Harare airport. Fortunately Mark’s enthusiastic attempt to explain to a customs official the workings of his Action Man seemed to save us from having our numerous bags inspected, for he wilted under Mark’s assault and waved us through. There to meet us were Bruce and Liza Fieldsend, and Bob and Anne Owtram – apparently (so they confessed) anxious that we might have had second thoughts and decided not to come. We were as yet unaware of the implications of

the Mutumbuka 'bombshell'. Bob Owtram filled us in on some of the detail as we drove from the airport; sadly he was due to leave at the end of term to run the family estate in England.<sup>336</sup> We got to the Lodge. Settling in there was the easy bit; it soon became even clearer why the Fieldsends and Owtrams had been anxious, for the political scene was still stormy. In fact my first official engagement – before term began – was to attend a meeting at the Ministry of Education at which heads and governors were berated about the level of school fees, and the inadequate proportion of blacks in our schools. The Deputy Minister, Senator Culverwell, demanded to know our fees – I had no idea. He proclaimed loudly that we might think we were the 'Eton of Zimbabwe', but we were not going to be allowed to charge an Etonian level of fees. I was amused, four years later, by an echo of this confrontation. I was showing the school off to the new Minister of Education, Ms Fay Chung; Culverwell accompanied us. As we set out across the Great Court the senator turned to the minister and said, 'Of course you realise that Peterhouse is the Eton of Zimbabwe'. But although, as we have seen, the minister had 'reprieved' the independent schools, the pressure was still on in January, and after that meeting, I returned to Peterhouse to consider how we could 'show willing'. I lit upon Bruce Fieldsend's suggestion regarding day boys, and proposed that we take in a significant number of local black boys from Marondera for the term which was just about to begin. They would pay minimal fees. The budget for 1984 was already in place, but the extra costs would not distort it too much; it would be a matter of classes being slightly larger, and extra lunches being provided. The minister was delighted: he promised to provide us with 'the cream of the intake from Marondera'.<sup>337</sup> How that could be done in a few weeks was not explained, and no day boys came our way through any efforts by the Ministry, but we did manage to recruit eleven, and subsequently eight for sixth form entry. At least we had shown willing. It was an experiment which we continued for some years.

The other great challenge was the existence across the road of the 1,000 acre Springvale estate. I had been introduced to it when we visited Zimbabwe in 1983, and was shown around by Patrick Gosho, who had worked for Jim Blake while it had still been a farm in the early 1950s, and had stayed with it when it was bought and transformed into Springvale Preparatory School. That school, as we have

seen, was a casualty of the war. Now, in 1984, the temporary residents (the pupils of St Philip's, Sipolilo) had moved to their new accommodation at Daramombe, and it was lying vacant. As we shall see, this site was to transform the whole nature of the Peterhouse enterprise.

The developments at Peterhouse will be dealt with later, but the 'Rector's eye-view' of the school may give an insight into the problems we faced, and the challenges facing a new head. It will be a personal selection: the great developments at Peterhouse will be dealt with elsewhere. To arrive in a new country (new to us, and new to itself) was stimulating and bewildering. There were all the familiar public school constants – chapel, assembly, common room; bells and timetables; the rhythm of boarding school life – meals, bedtimes, roll calls. But there were also some unfamiliar aspects. The weather was one; it seemed extraordinary to waken up each morning to bright blue skies, and to walk around the school in a suit and a gown in blazing sunshine. The absence of corridors was another; the classrooms opened off verandas, and the absence of corridors seemed to make the school much quieter, and certainly less claustrophobic, than the schools I had been accustomed to. The first staff meeting in the library before term began was somewhat surreal. Obviously I had never chaired one before, and now I was expected to make pronouncements about a school that most of the listeners knew far better than I, and to report on meetings with the Minister of Education and his staff which I had attended before having met most of them. Then next day there was the daunting experience (which every new head has) of facing the assembled school for the first time, not knowing what the audience reaction would be; not knowing how one's predecessor had played it. I marched out of the Fieldsend Hall afterwards, determined not to stumble on the stepped aisle, under the impassive gaze of hundreds of boys clad in the (then) unfamiliar uniform of khaki shirts and shorts. Phil Ward was the only person who spoke to me as I emerged into the Great Court: 'You did OK', he said, or words to that effect. It was a tremendous boost. But back in my study, then and for weeks to come, I wondered just what I should be doing, and I pondered on the boys now in my care. And I discovered early on that, as one headmaster's wife has written, 'No assistant master or housemaster can ever experience the thousand and one problems which the Head Master has to shoulder.'<sup>338</sup>

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I discovered – in the weeks and months ahead – just what I had expected: boys are boys wherever they are. But paradoxically, they were also different. I was astonished by their almost military discipline, and impressed by their manners. Indeed, it was almost unnerving. I wanted them to laugh occasionally. I hated the ‘new boy photos’ – of the new members of each house standing in a group, all looking like shorn lambs, or (alternatively) scared rabbits. These initial impressions metamorphosed within the first month or so. Here were boys who had seemed much less self-confident and less mature than their English counterparts. But that was not true. They proved – in prefects’ meetings and in debating (for instance) – in many ways to be more mature: less knowing, certainly, and less worldly-wise; but they were more responsible, more independent, more ‘adult’ than the boys in my house at Cranleigh. Here, in fact, was a more normal – certainly a more historically natural – process in action. Little boys were little boys and accepted that they were only 12 or 13; but here too were 17- or 18-year-olds aware of their responsibilities, and anxious to act out their adult role. There may – as we shall see – have been a downside to this structure; but it did not take me long to realise that it was one that helped the school to function, and helped boys to grow in maturity and confidence.

It was not idyllic. There were challenges in this social order which I had to face. This can be illustrated with the question of beating. Corporal punishment in schools died out in Britain in the 1980s; it had actually been abandoned in nearly all public schools before it finally became illegal in 1997. In the new century, it was virtually outlawed as far as parents were concerned as well. The ‘liberal consensus’ on this issue was so overwhelmingly triumphant that rational discussion of corporal punishment in 21st century Britain became almost impossible, and indeed any physical contact with a child became suspect, though it came as a surprise in 2004 when a survey revealed that 47% of 18–30-year-olds thought that corporal punishment should be reintroduced.<sup>339</sup> The practice in Rhodesia and its schools was firmly within the tradition which had operated in British schools from the mid-19th to the mid-20th century. Peter Guy (M65) remembers showing his mother the scars earned by talking during prep: ‘my mother was horrified that her son had been so brutalised but I was so proud being the first of my year to have been beaten’.

Other parents were less squeamish. Giles Atkinson (F62) remembers an 'horrific beating' at the hands of a parent who objected to his making too much noise at the Marandellas dam. Generally Petreans seem to have a pretty gung-ho attitude to the beatings they may have suffered; Gordon Euinton (M69) remembers that he totalled 52 strokes of the cane during his Peterhouse career: 'It was a record then and I often wondered how long it stood for.' Then he adds: 'I look back on my days at Peterhouse with fondness now, but that is what memory does.' Occasionally, though, the memory is rather different. Chris Cocks (P74) remembers being 'regularly gated and beaten – often brutally so – blood was often drawn and rarely did the cane find my buttocks – normally my legs and lower back'.

I myself had never been called upon to chastise boys in this way as a schoolmaster; at Wrekin, only housemasters were charged with this duty, and at Cranleigh it had been abolished before I got there. My only experience therefore went back to my own schooldays when I was the recipient, and then as a prefect when I administered it myself. So now, 22 years later, in my first term at Peterhouse, I was required to administer a rectorial beating. Or was I? I consulted the chaplain (who had been at the school a term longer than I) and we agreed that this was the accepted 'ultimate sanction' which was, at least, preferable to expulsion or suspension – certainly in the eyes of the boys. I did not relish the prospect, but decided to conform to traditional practice. The boys concerned were sixth formers; they had been caught drinking – a 'crime' I was well used to from my housemastering days. It was not long afterwards that I began to think that this had been a test: why had the housemaster not dealt with it? I still wonder. The two boys, one black and one white as it happens, presented themselves, and were duly chastised. It wasn't many years later that I met the black victim in the Sheraton Hotel, where I was entertaining Lady Murphy; her grandson had been a boy in my house at Cranleigh, and her husband had been acting Governor General of the Federation at one stage. The boy (now a successful businessman) greeted me with great affection. That, retrospectively, was some comfort. I never did 'solve' the question of corporal punishment. I tried to cut down on its use. I instituted a fairly tight system of regulation, where only housemasters (or their designated deputies) could use the sanction, and had to keep records and report regularly to

me. I circulated the tally every so often to housemasters, in the hope that those who spotted that they were way above average would fall into line. I myself continued to beat when appropriate, aware that when I did, the boys had a tradition whereby my beating would allow them to remove one of the silver strands from their school tie as a permanent battle trophy. One boy in Malvern, whom I inherited from Bruce, ended up with a tie that was almost entirely blue, but he was an exception. Rectorial beatings were uncommon enough to retain their power as an 'ultimate deterrent'. Towards the end of my Rectorship, one or two colleagues, who had previously supported the practice (on Biblical 'spare the rod and spoil the child' principles, which I was never very happy with) began to feel that this was not something they wanted to do (on different Biblical and sociological grounds). But it continued to be used. Any distress it might cause was widely regarded as less than was caused by expelling a boy. The boys themselves seemed to agree; so did their parents. A survey conducted in 1987 made that quite clear: 80% of the parents supported the way it was used at the school, 10% thought it should be used more often, 6% that it should be used less often, with only 4% proposing its abolition.

Another challenge was that of bullying. I hated the thought of young boys being ill-treated. Any ritualistic physical abuse of young boys by older ones was particularly offensive. One hoped that when boys entered the sixth form, they would begin to behave like adults; their size and presence and experience ought to be enough to command the respect and the obedience to which, as senior boys or prefects, they felt they were entitled. My successor tackled the problem with a will, as did his successor. What struck me when I returned to England after leaving Peterhouse was the growing volume of evidence that bullying in schools there was widespread – not so much in the boarding schools, but in the public sector. I tended to think that the breakdown of discipline in schools had a major part in allowing the lawlessness which seemed to reign in many. But it was partly a reflection of the trends in society. The Children Act, and subsequent human rights legislation, combined with the national phobia about paedophilia, were part of the mood. Another was the lack of respect for authority: all institutions, and all authority figures, were suspect. Rhodesia had, and Zimbabwe in the 1980s still retained, a different attitude. Corporal

punishment was widely accepted, and used within the judicial system. Children were expected to obey their parents. These attitudes held true in both the black and the white communities. All governors and parents – theoretically – backed a hard anti-bullying line, at least until their own progeny were involved. That was a problem long before I got to Peterhouse; I faced it, and my successors faced it. The simplistic approach which I had to some extent shared at Cranleigh became even more pronounced in British schools in the 1980s and 1990s: that if schools could be happy and ‘fun’ places then the problem would be solved. This has not transpired. Perhaps this is because while William Golding’s *Lord of the Flies* was a set book at schools, its lessons were not learnt. Children and young people are not angels. A 2002 university study of children’s behaviour led to the comment that ‘The worst charge that could be flung at the Blyton oeuvre is that the *Famous Five* series is unrealistic: children are not good-natured.’<sup>340</sup> They need firm guidance and strict limits. The *mores* of modern Britain make it very difficult for schools to claw back any sense of authority, hierarchy and discipline, battling as they do against a raucous and violent television culture. Indeed I encountered some of the most horrible instances of bullying (in terms of physical violence) in England after I left Peterhouse. But the culture of raucousness and violence in Zimbabwe at the start of the third millennium would undoubtedly constitute its own menace to school discipline.

Initially I found the ‘harshness’ of the discipline, and the lack of warmth and happiness in many of the areas of the school, to be a shock and a challenge. I believed – rightly or wrongly – that I could encourage a different atmosphere without dramatically changing the system and the structures. I had already seen at first hand how different was the environment in which we worked to that faced by our brother schools in South Africa. In August 1986 Farai Munemo (our first black head boy) and I had travelled to Michaelhouse for Speech Day, and for the *ad portas* ceremony accorded to Sir Laurens van der Post. A month later Elizabeth and I were to be in Cape Town where I was to address the Heads’ Conference (along with Denis Norman, Zimbabwe’s Minister of Agriculture). Our visit coincided with the enthronement of Desmond Tutu as Archbishop, and as no black bishops from Zimbabwe were able to obtain visas, I was officially confirmed as the country’s sole Church representative at that most



impressive and moving event. Even then – when apartheid seemed so entrenched – it was a moment of great hope and joy, and I was able to share with fellow heads there our experiences of multi-racial education in Zimbabwe, and to hope that one day they would know the satisfaction of living in a non-racial country. By 1987, with my son boarding at Ruzawi and my daughter at Chisipite, and the boys at the top of the school becoming progressively ‘mine’, with little or no memory of my predecessor, we felt at home at Peterhouse. After a holiday in Britain during that year, we were delighted to get back to the Rector’s Lodge – and our response to those who (in a rather colonial way) asked us if we had enjoyed our visit ‘home’ was that we were glad to be home again. The political pressures on the independent schools had diminished. There was an air of growing prosperity and ease in the country. We decided to ask the Prime Minister, Robert Mugabe, to be guest of honour at Speech Day. As we shall see elsewhere, it was something of a turning point. The public triumph of the Prime Minister’s visit, and the very positive spin-off which was enjoyed by Peterhouse and indeed by the other independent schools, must be seen within the context of tragic events which cast a dark shadow over 1987 and 1988.

In May 1987, towards the end of a Fixture-Free Weekend, I received a telephone call telling me of a most appalling car crash. A Peterhouse sixth former had been driving some of his friends when – at a particularly sharp bend – he had lost control of the car. It went off the road and turned over. Three Peterhouse boys – David Bowen, Graham MacTavish and Bignell Perrott – were killed, as were two boys from Falcon, Mark Devonport and Ian Homann. It was shattering news. So many parents were involved, including those of the driver (who survived and was exonerated from any legal culpability); so many friends, at home and at school, were affected. One house – Grinham – had lost three of its sixth formers. The memorial service for all those who had died took place in the school chapel on 4 June 1987. The chaplain, Ken Anderson, spoke magnificently; he had already attended every one of the funerals. Because the boys had all been together at Ruzawi, two Ruzawi choristers – my own son Mark, and his friend Simon Lewis – sang Andrew Lloyd Webber’s *Pie Jesu*. The occasion was sombre. We invited all present to tea in the Hodgson Room afterwards, and did what we could to comfort grieving parents

and friends. The deputy head boy, Alan Bedford-Shaw, said to me how much he had appreciated and been moved by the Ruzawi boys' singing. He did not know that one of them was my son; nor could he have predicted that the other would follow him as a Rhodes Scholar at Oxford. But of course for me – and for the school – life went on. Jan Raath, *The Times* correspondent in Zimbabwe, talked (rivetingly) about his work. A few weeks later, the Secretary General of the Commonwealth, Chief Emeko Anyoku, visited the school. I had met him over dinner in England before we left, and he was an entertaining and fulsome guest. The play *A Bit Between the Teeth*, and the Gilbert and Sullivan *Pirates of Penzance*, entertained us subsequently during that year. But for Grinham House there was another shock in store. In October 1989 Tim Laver, an A Blocker whom the school doctor had diagnosed with a heart condition, collapsed and was taken to the sanatorium.<sup>341</sup> I held him as Dr Turner and Sister Sandall tried to revive him. But he had died. He was just about to take his O levels, and his brother Bruce (G89) about to take his As. There was a memorial service in chapel, and another gap in the Grinham ranks. And my mind went back to the events of 1987.

On Christmas morning, before it was light, I had a phone call from my brother in England telling me that my father had died. It was unexpected; he was only 72, and seemingly in good health. We did not tell the children, and I celebrated the Christmas Eucharist in chapel that morning with a heavy heart – but with Elizabeth and I keeping the news to ourselves until after Christmas Day. On Boxing Day I flew to the UK for my father's funeral; although I would like to have stayed longer with my mother, I had insisted that I must fly back in time for the beginning of term. Perhaps, as events will show, I might have been better advised to listen to advice and let term begin without me. What happened next is perhaps best told in the account I wrote immediately after the event. I wanted to tell our friends in England and elsewhere what had happened; so it bears all the marks of being written in the aftermath of a tragedy.

#### Mark's death

Mark died on Elizabeth's birthday – Sunday 10 January, 1988. His trunk was packed, ready for his entry as a new boy into Snell House on the Monday. It was a busy afternoon, but we had a candle in a little bowl of flowers as a substitute 'birthday cake' for Elizabeth – that was at teatime, the last time we were

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all together. I dashed out at 4.30 for the staff meeting; Elizabeth and Ann went to the school kitchens to get things which we had stored in the cold room in preparation for the staff drinks party.

While we were all out, a few drops of rain started. Mark went to the outer part of the veranda to rescue a table lamp that was there in preparation for the drinks party; it broke in his hand – he must have died instantly. Friends and nurses and the school doctor battled; but he had gone, I had just come out of the staff meeting and was about to preach at the staff service. That service, I'm told, simply became one of prayer.

The whole community came to our aid; flowers came from staff and boys; from local people; from people in England. Guy Cary, Mark's friend on the staff who was soon going to have to become 'sir', and Sandy French whose husband was already busy settling in the younger new boys who were already at Peterhouse – they took the body and they helped us, as did others, survive the long hours of Sunday evening when the Lodge should have been alive with the noise of common room colleagues meeting again after the holidays. Elizabeth's parents arrived on Tuesday morning, along with her brother Brian who came from Paris. The funeral was that afternoon at 3pm. After rain, a sunny day; a chapel packed with some 700 people – boys who came only if they wished to do so; Sir Humphrey Gibbs and Dame Molly; our founding Rector Fred Snell and Margaret; the Speaker of the House of Assembly; the Chairman of the Governors and of the Executive Committee; the heads of Chisipite (Ann's old school) and Arundel and St George's, of Digglefold and Bishopslea, of Springvale House and Springvale and, of course, of Ruzawi. Ann's friends came, for they were all fond of Mark; Mark's Musicamp friends came. Parents and local people came. Tekla and Tembo and Shepherd sat with us.

As Corrado Trinci stood in the Lady Chapel and played the violin, the haunting 'Londonderry Air' filled the chapel while the choir took their places. The cortege moved up the aisle, led by Ken Anderson, our Chaplain, and by the Bishop of Harare, Peter Hatendi; and the coffin was carried in by our senior master, John Greenacre, and by Guy Cary; by the headmaster of Ruzawi and by Mark's last form master there, Nigel Mackay; and by Derrick Sanyahumbi our head boy, performing almost his first official duty; and by Robert McCarthy, head boy of Snell House. The coffin was draped in the blue Peterhouse flag, surmounted by an array of golden and peach coloured roses. The coffin was placed on a blue catafalque at the foot of the chancel steps, and two tall candelabra shed light at its head.

We sat as Ann began the service, reading Rupert Brooke's 'The Soldier' with those amazingly appropriate lines – 'and laughter learnt of friends, and gentleness; in hearts at peace...'. What courage for Ann to decide, even after the orders of service had been printed, to take such a part, and to read such a poem, which long ago I had told her had been the first poem I ever remember learning and loving. Then we sang one of Mark's favourites, 'Onward Christian Soldiers'. I then read that great passage from Romans (8) – 'what can separate us from the love of Christ'. Then Nigel Mackay read those powerful words of Henry Scott

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Holland – ‘I have only slipped away into the next room... smile, think of me. Let my name be the household word it always was.’

We sang that fine version of the Magnificat, which the boys always sing so well – ‘Tell out my soul the greatness of the Lord’. Then Ken spoke, and spoke with difficulty, for he and Mark were great friends: ‘... Mark of all people had the generosity and the wisdom and the understanding to go to where other people were; he never insisted on forcing himself on anybody... He hated conflict and disunion ... and through his example, and through the very obvious help when confronted by that kind of problem, he had the most amazing healing effect on the people around him. And I believe that I’m right in saying that Mark had a tolerance and a patience and understanding, and with it a tremendous sparky gaiety that it takes most of us, with our moodiness, most of our lives to learn how to attain...’

And we sang a hymn which we have always had at important moments: ‘Now thank we all our God’. And the Bishop gave the Blessing. And the cortege moved out – surrounded by the blue blazers of all the school prefects, and by the voices of all the boys present singing the school hymn – ‘... who, saved by sacrifice, again present, our three-fold gift of body, mind and soul’. And into the warm calm afternoon air; and across the lawn behind chapel, and up to the Peterhouse graveyard, passing the carpentry shop where Mark loved to work, and the staff pool where (as his diary records for Saturday 9<sup>th</sup>) he ‘swam, and swam, and swam, and swam’. And past the Rector’s Lodge – and into the little graveyard, mown and neat, and soon full of a host of people, including Mark’s friend Simon, still in his choir cassock and surplice which he was wearing for the first time at Peterhouse... And then, squeezing through the crowd to be at the graveside, Ladysmith, our golden Labrador – very much Mark’s dog.

I said the words of committal – ‘our dear *son* here departed...’ Ken said a prayer; someone led in the singing of a lovely Shona hymn, and we made our way back towards chapel, to the Hodgson Room, to meet all our friends and supporters, and to have a cup of tea. Back at the cemetery, the red earth topped the coffin, and on top of the earth – golden roses. And the threatened rain didn’t come; and the sun shone. And not long afterwards George Martin, a colleague whose own dear friends had died in that Esigodini massacre in November last, gave me some words, a kind of hymn, he had written during the playing of the Londonderry Air; Mark has become a star, a heavenly body, and the poem ends –

‘And all those lives You give to us to steer and mould  
Will now be guided by that star to You.

Mark had died just as the D Block new boys arrived at the school, and were due to be addressed by me in chapel. Being one of that last group of Ruzawi boys to come straight into the C Block, he had not been due at school until the next morning. So on that Sunday evening I pulled on my gown, left Elizabeth and Ann (and people who had turned up to support) and trudged to chapel. Phil Ward tried to stop

me, but realised this was something I felt I had to do. Jon Calderwood, as I later discovered, had come over to support, and he watched me go to chapel and decided, rightly, that I was probably best left alone. So I delivered my welcome speech, and went back to the dreadful task of phoning people to tell them what had happened. The Peterhouse phones were out of order so we went over to Jon and Jenny Calderwood at Springvale House, and phoned from there. As a result, on the day of the funeral there was a memorial service at Cranleigh, and a celebration of Holy Communion in Westminster Abbey by Mark's godfather, Willy Booth, who was at that time chaplain of Westminster (where my future son-in-law was then at school). Meanwhile Mark's body had been taken to the San. Ten years later, when I heard from Willy that he had spent the night in the chapel of Kensington Palace (he was now chaplain to the Queen) keeping vigil over the body of Diana, Princess of Wales, I wrote to Lesley Ward to thank her (as I had not done before) for keeping vigil in the San that night. Next morning, I addressed the whole school in the Fieldsend Hall for the first assembly of the new year: I included an invitation to anyone who wished to come to chapel the next day for Mark's funeral. The Governors, with great sensitivity, suggested that Elizabeth and I should go away for a few weeks. Ann was already ensconced in her new role as a 'junior mistress' at Springvale House – having completed her O levels, and now filling in time before starting in the sixth form at Cranleigh. Indeed she was almost immediately faced with writing the scholarship examination. We departed, leaving her to her junior mistress chores and her preparations for the exam. We stayed at Chimanmani, and were welcomed en route by the Lewises in Mutare and the Hildebrands in Burma Valley. And then we returned, as we knew we must, to get on with the job. There were those who thought us (or me) too 'unaffected' by what had happened; we even had a visitation from one couple who came to tell us that. There were some who began to talk about the 'next Rector', on the grounds that we would soon be moving on. In fact it never entered our heads to leave. But Ann would be going in September: she had won a scholarship, an occasion for rejoicing and feelings of relief that we would, after all, manage her school fees.

I galvanised myself for addressing the school at the assembly after we got back – we only had one a week, on Tuesdays. I conducted the

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assembly as normally as possible. Afterwards, as I reached the foyer in the admin block, with other staff going to deposit their gowns and set off for first lesson, I was accosted by a young member of staff: why hadn't I mentioned the victory of the U14s (or whatever)? I was taken aback by the insensitivity of the 'attack', which would have been deemed somewhat aggressive even in normal circumstances. But I knew, at that moment, that life goes on, and that we must look to the future of the school. Perhaps the 'jam factory' – that unkind but accurate description of the school in its early years, when it looked somewhat bleak and stark – could continue its transformation into a place that echoed the words I liked to quote from Psalm 16: 'The boundary lines have fallen for me in pleasant places: yea, I have a goodly heritage'. Perhaps Tinokura, about to be dedicated, would encourage positive social change. Perhaps there could be more music and drama, and higher academic achievement. Perhaps the skills of hand and eye could be further encouraged at our design centre. Perhaps our sports results could improve even more. What had befallen in 1987 and on 10 January 1988 could never have been foreseen, and could not be undone. What we knew was that life would continue to be full of great changes and challenges. And so it transpired, as we shall see.

## *The Great Expansion*

I think that the role of headmaster is immensely enjoyable though immensely difficult! ... there were always those in the school who thought that life was still too disciplined and old-fashioned and those who thought that there was too much change and relaxation of rules. I tried to keep the best of the past whilst preparing boys for the very different world beyond the school. Certainly when I left it was a different place from the school I inherited, but many of the best features of that time had been maintained.

R. Griffiths, *A Life at the Chalk Face* (Spennymoor 2002), p 112

Although the independent schools were subjected to political pressures, and to what sometimes felt like harassment, there was a huge expansion in the 1980s. It is arguable, as we have seen, that the 1983 explosion of new schools helped to precipitate the crisis which the independent sector faced. But it is also likely that the crisis, in one form or another, would have come at some stage. The new governing class, and indeed the emergent black businessmen, looked at a formerly all-white state sector of education and saw fine buildings, well-managed schools and fee levels which – while higher than was common at the schools formerly run by ‘African Education’ – were affordable. But when they looked at the independent sector, they saw fee levels of a quite different order of magnitude. It was all too easy to assume that these schools were elitist and profit making. It was tempting to suppose that if Oriel and Churchill, Chaplin and Northlea, could field good games sides, and get good O and A level results on their much lower fees, then there was something amiss in the independent sector. As the years went by, and the disparity in achievement, maintenance, teacher competence and results between

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the independent and government sectors widened, this argument lost much of its shine – though, as we shall see, it was still employed. But for many people – black as well as white – the independent schools were increasingly places they wanted their children to attend. To meet the demand new schools were founded, and rapidly filled. The list is even more impressive than the one for the 1950s:

- 1983 Girls College, Bulawayo (senior girls)  
Lomagundi College, Karoi (senior boys)  
Bryden, Chegutu (junior boys and girls)  
Hillcrest Prep, Mutare (junior boys and girls)  
Midlands Christian School, Gweru (senior boys and girls)  
Rydings, Karoi (junior boys and girls)
- 1984 Goldridge, Kwekwe (junior boys and girls)
- 1986 Hillcrest College, Mutare (senior boys and girls)  
St John's College, Harare (senior boys)  
Hippo Valley Primary, Chiredzi (junior boys and girls)
- 1987 Midlands Christian College, Gweru (senior boys and girls)  
Mvurachena, Chipinge (junior boys and girls)  
Peterhouse Girls (senior girls)  
Watershed College, Marondera (senior boys and girls)  
Lomagundi Primary, Karoi (junior boys and girls)
- 1988 Barwick, Concession (junior boys and girls)  
Gateway Primary, Harare (junior boys and girls)

At the CHISZ conference in 1984, the chairman was Dougal Turner, who had been headmaster of Falcon since 1958, so he was by far the most senior head. While welcoming the new schools, he drew attention to gaps in the ranks: for the first time in the history of the conference, no representatives of Roman Catholic schools were present. The chairman reported that they 'were put under pressure to dissociate themselves [from us]', and hoped that 'identity of interests will draw us together again', which it did a decade later.<sup>342</sup> One of those who felt uneasy about the rapid expansion in independent education was Dorothy Twiss, headmistress of Arundel since 1968, and Dougal Turner's successor as chairman (she insisted she was *chairman*). She was outspoken, and with a formidable command of detail. She had been intimately involved in CHISZ negotiations with the various political parties, ministers and Secretaries of Education during the previous seven years. Her fears echoed those of Bob Williams, who had warned in his 1983 address to the AGB that the creation of new schools could look like a white rearguard action. But



they also reflected her unease that the new schools (or some of them) were perhaps only loosely in accord with the principles and traditions of CHISZ. There was something of a 'class' element in this; rather like the whites of the old 'establishment' mentality looking down on the upstart RF types. The CHISZ conference in 1984 exposed fault lines. There was a division – never quite clear cut – between the old-established schools (notably Peterhouse, Falcon, Chisipite, Arundel and Ruzawi whose heads had dominated the organisation from early on) and the newer schools. The new heads tended to regard the heads of the old schools as snobbish, traditional and (not to put too fine a point on it) arrogant. The older schools' heads looked with some trepidation at the brash – and somewhat 'Rhodie' – approach of some of the new heads. It was not simply a class issue; it reflected a real fear among the older schools that the newer ones would upset the apple cart, especially in relations with government, which they had a quarter of a century's experience of handling. The newer schools' heads, brimming with the confidence of new heads at the helms of brand new schools, had – many of them – served in the government school system in Rhodesia, and felt themselves more adept and knowledgeable in dealing with the Ministry of Education, and more closely related to their former colleagues still running such schools. While this is to over-dramatise the divide, it was nevertheless vividly illustrated in a verbal tussle at the 1984 conference when Humphrey Tate, the headmaster of Rydings, referred to Mrs Twiss as head of Arundel (pronounced to rhyme with trundle). She icily corrected him; he and his colleagues delighted (for the rest of the conference) in sticking to his pronunciation. It was a trivial and somewhat childish bit of fun, and I – being a new boy – found myself caught between the two camps. It seemed to me that we could not afford such divisions within CHISZ. But Mrs Twiss was, unfortunately, proved right in one aspect certainly: the Governors of some of the new schools could not differentiate their role as Governors of an independent school from their (in many cases) previous roles as a member of a government school's PTA. This was undoubtedly a factor in the 'sacking' of some heads in the 1980s and 1990s, though sadly this took place not only in the 'new' schools but also in some of the more well-established ones. In 1990 CHISZ published a booklet – 'Guidelines for Governors and Heads' – in an attempt to spell out a code of practice and various

methods of avoiding conflict between heads and their boards. In the nature of things, it is impossible to say whether it contributed to any more harmonious outcomes; the only incidents we knew about were those where it hadn't.

The other area in which she was proved right was in her determination to establish a permanent secretariat for CHISZ and for the AGB (renamed the ATS, or Association of Trust Schools, as the Governors decided that the 'Association of Governing Bodies of Independent Schools' was offensive to government which didn't like the idea of 'independent' schools; the heads decided to stick to the name CHISZ). Dougal Turner, with whom Dorothy Twiss had worked for many years until he left the headship of Falcon at the end of 1984, was heading south to occupy just such a position in South Africa. Her efforts, and those of the CHISZ and ATS Standing Committees, came to fruition when she herself, on leaving Arundel, became the secretary of both, providing a closer link between the two bodies, and for the first time a central organisation which could react quickly, disseminate information efficiently, and in a sense act as a mouthpiece for all the independent schools. When she retired, the first 'full time' appointment came when Tessa Mattinson (wife of Stuart (P63), member and later chairman of EXCO) took the job in 1992, and premises were found in central Harare to provide a 'headquarters' for CHISZ and ATS. She was succeeded by Neil Todd on his retirement from Falcon; the job was expanded and he became chief executive officer (CEO).

An element in this CHISZ expansion was undoubtedly a flight of whites from the government schools. But there was more to it than that. As the 1980s went on, the government school system, as we have seen, creaked and groaned as problems piled up. It was overwhelmed by sheer numbers. It was increasingly starved of funds. Its central bureaucracy became increasingly inept, as were many (though by no means all) of the heads appointed to government schools. But at the same time, the increasing prosperity evident in the (mainly white) farming and (increasingly black) commercial sectors meant that there was, as never before, a huge constituency of parents who were prepared to pay for what was, in most cases, the superior education offered by the independent schools. And, like ministers in Labour governments in Britain, ZANU PF ministers and top brass increasingly looked to

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the independent schools to educate their own children. This, as most CHISZ heads would have said, was infinitely preferable to the situation in other countries on the continent where the elite (political or commercial) sent their children out of the country for their schooling. So it is not surprising that Peterhouse also experienced a great numerical expansion in these years. But it need not have done. Falcon – its main (usually friendly) rival – went through no such change. It remained what it had always been – a predominantly white secondary boarding school for boys. That was undoubtedly a selling point, and probably some parents who might have considered Peterhouse in its all-boy secondary incarnation opted instead for Falcon, just as in the 1960s and 1970s some parents rejected Peterhouse for Falcon on the issue of admission of Africans. But the opportunities and possibilities presented to Peterhouse in the mid-1980s – as well as its long-established tradition of a ‘liberal’ and multi-racial approach – sent it in a different direction.

The outstanding opportunity for Peterhouse arose from its proximity to Springvale – the estate and school just across the main Harare–Mutare road. The prep school had closed at the end of 1979, but the Governors were still adamant that ‘the *Prime Objective* is the ultimate restoration of Springvale as an Independent Preparatory School’.<sup>343</sup> Meanwhile it was leased for two years to St Philip’s, Sipolilo, a black diocesan school, bombed out of its own premises during the bush war. Realising that the demand for prep school places was increasing, the Springvale Governors determined to reopen in January 1983, and by September 1982 had some 180 applicants, and a verbal promise from Senator Culverwell that the school could start up as soon as St Philip’s vacated the premises. Then came a blow that was unexpected. The Governors of St Philip’s had made no plans for the 1983 school year, and had accepted new pupils in January 1982 without informing parents that the schools would no longer be at Springvale after mid-year, and that the replacement St Philip’s would take only day pupils. The bishop replaced the Board of Governors, and arranged for pupils to have boarding places at Daramombe Mission, where the diocese was extending buildings for its secondary school. But they would not be ready until late 1983. The Springvale Governors realised that their school was now ‘a very delicate political issue’; they could not be seen to be evicting hundreds of poor black

students in order to accommodate lots of high-fee paying children.<sup>344</sup> But it seemed to be only a matter of time before the prep school could reopen. By July 1983 it was evident that there was concern about the independent schools in political circles, and that Springvale could not reopen before September 1983, though there were growing doubts that it would do so even then. If it did not, the premises would have to be handed over to the diocese.<sup>345</sup> Informal approaches to Peterhouse resulted in the Rector and the Rector-elect being invited to submit thoughts, plans and ideas about how Peterhouse might take over the buildings, on the grounds that the minister seemed to be more interested in the provision of secondary school places than junior school ones. I submitted my report in October. It seemed odd to be sitting in my study in leafy Surrey writing about an estate of kopies (hills) and msasas (central African trees) in Zimbabwe that I had seen only briefly for a few hours in July. I suggested that there were two possibilities: either we absorbed the Springvale campus and then opened our own prep school there, or we transferred our C and D Blocks to the other side of the road, allowing for more growth at Peterhouse. The latter was the model I recommended. The Peterhouse Governors considered this proposal at their subsequent meeting – held, unfortunately, in the immediate after-shock of Mutumbuka's 'bombshell'. Perhaps unsurprisingly, they concluded 'that it was not the right time to take on such a scheme'.<sup>346</sup>

The situation when I arrived in December 1983 was therefore this: that just across the main Harare–Mutare road from Peterhouse, on a 1,000 acre site, were buildings and equipment all ready for use, but looking like the *Marie Celeste*. On 19 January the Minister of Education met John MacIlwaine (the son of Herbert MacIlwaine of Troutbeck fame) who now chaired the Springvale Board. Mutumbuka 'made it clear that the Prime Minister had decided that on no account was Springvale to be allowed to open as a junior school'. It was probably, on balance, a pragmatic and political decision, rather than a racialist or anti-private school one; the government was very aware of the crying need for many more secondary school places, and had invested considerable political capital in promising them. On 31 January, I inspected the site with John Carter and Syd Hayes, and a week later attended a Board meeting at Springvale, along with Ken Anderson, our chaplain, who was a godson of Canon Grinham,

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the founder of the school. The Board heard my suggestion that Peterhouse take over the entire site, and I agreed with Ken that there might be a possibility of offering part of the buildings for use as a diocesan theological seminary, for which there was a pressing need.<sup>347</sup> In March I reported to EXCO my belief that utilising Springvale as accommodation for our C and D Blocks was, for 'all economic, social and practical reasons', the most likely way ahead.<sup>348</sup> They agreed, and so did the Springvale Board at their AGM in April. Months of negotiations followed, involving the Ministry, the Springvale and Peterhouse Boards, and the bishop. He had reservations about our plans; we have seen how the changes in the Peterhouse constitution had upset him. But by September he was assuring Bob Williams that he 'would like to turn a new leaf, forget and forgive our past mistakes'.<sup>349</sup> One of the factors in his change of mind relates to how our plans were developing.

The March plan for Springvale to accommodate merely C and D Block had blossomed into something bigger; in June, John Carter, Dick Turpin, John MacIlwaine and I met with the minister. It was a friendly and constructive meeting, and afterwards he wrote to me giving us the go-ahead, and concluding: 'I therefore wish you the best in your endeavours, and assure you that you can always count on my support as you proceed to implement the incorporation of Springvale into Peterhouse.' The plan for Springvale which I was now proposing – which it seemed to me would have the minister's backing – envisaged a number of separate strategies for the site:<sup>350</sup>

1. A lower school: the original plan for moving C and D Blocks there.
2. A preparatory school: the name 'Springvale House' was adopted, as a way of avoiding the whole site being identified with primary school education.
3. A Nature Reserve: this idea, which Peter Ginn had enthusiastically embraced, was to fence a large area of the estate and create a nature reserve. The minister had been very enthusiastic about this.
4. A theological seminary: the Bishops of Mashonaland and of Matabeleland had given their blessing to creating a national seminary in part of the Springvale buildings, and Peter Hatendi was seeking support from the other two bishops (Lundi and Manicaland). Unless other premises were found, Springvale might provide the required accommodation, and even personnel.

The first three strategies went forward. Only the last did not. The bishop was understandably anxious to open a seminary as near as

possible to the University of Zimbabwe. The link Diocese of Massachusetts (USA) sent the Revd Ivan Kaufman to investigate the possibilities, as it would be providing some of the funding. His report, while enthusiastic about Peterhouse, recommended that on balance Harare was the preferred site for the new seminary, given the opportunities there for university and ecumenical links. I subsequently served on the working party which set up the new institution (Bishop Gaul House). But for Peterhouse, from September 1984 onwards, the priority was to press forward with the other three strategies. In September the document was signed which transferred ownership of Springvale in perpetuity to a trust controlled by Peterhouse. There were three conditions. The most significant was that Peterhouse must be run as a Christian school; if it were not, Springvale would revert to the diocese. The other two were straightforward: that Peterhouse would reimburse the diocese for renovation works carried out at Springvale in 1983, to the tune of \$15,000 over three years; and that two diocesan scholarships would be created offering (in effect) free education at any one time for two boys nominated by the bishop, and this funding would stay in place for ten years.

The Springvale site provided us with substantial buildings, with room for future expansion. The original school buildings had been planned and developed by the founding headmaster, Canon Grinham. In 1957 John Paterson became headmaster. He had been a housemaster at St Andrew's, Grahamstown, where the headmaster, Ronald Currey, was due to leave to take over Ruzawi. He had suggested Paterson as a suitable candidate for Springvale (without even telling him!) The new headmaster soon found the accommodation inadequate for a growing prep school, and in 1959 planned a new junior house, based on his experience of a similar development at St Andrew's. The foundation stone was laid by Sir Humphrey Gibbs in 1960: it was this building that would become the focus for our preparatory school. But the original main buildings of Springvale School would take in our younger Peterhouse boys. In January 1985 the lower school opened, much to the delight of Patrick Goshu, who had been guardian of the buildings and their contents since 1979. He had lived on the site while it was a farm, and had stayed on as the estate and maintenance manager of Springvale School. When the closure took place, he removed the bust of Canon Grinham from the entrance to the

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main buildings; now he restored it again to greet the 74 new D Block boys as they arrived. In command was Michael Hammond, who had vacated the housemastership of Malvern in order to return to his old haunts. He had arrived as a young prep school master to teach at Springvale in 1956. When John Paterson arrived, he attracted some staff to his new school from his old; one who moved was Barrie Gascoigne Smith, whose father was a housemaster at St Andrews. She took the post of school secretary, and soon afterwards, married Mike Hammond. So for both of them, the move to the lower school was a 'homecoming'. I had wanted to give him the title of 'Warden' (in the tradition of Radley or New College, Oxford) but this was objected to by those for whom it conjured up not English quads but penal institutions.<sup>351</sup> So I settled, with Mike's agreement, on the term 'Lower Master', the title by which the master responsible for the younger boys was known at Eton and some other schools. The opening of the lower school not only created much-needed extra space in the boarding houses at Peterhouse; it had also been a vital lever which made possible the creation of Springvale House. This was brought home to me vividly when I showed Neville Thompson, the outgoing regional director of education, around the Springvale site in May 1985. He admitted that there had been suspicions in the ministry that we were trying covertly to open Springvale again, but when he saw the proportion of the buildings actually dedicated to the prep school, he seemed pleased and relieved.

So January 1985 also saw the opening of Springvale House under the headship of Jon Calderwood, who had come to us from running Hartmann House. He was an Old Georgian, who had lived virtually all of his life in Zimbabwe (but in fact, like me, was born in Northern Ireland). Jon had been appointed in October 1984, courageously agreeing to come out into the bush and kick-start a school which was looking seedy and overgrown, and which was only the junior house part of the old Springvale School. When he accepted the job, he could not have guessed the position he would occupy (or the position he would be in) 20 years on. With his wife Jenny – and aided by the ebullient Polly Anderson, the school secretary and wife of the chaplain – he welcomed 93 little boys and girls at the start of term. It was to be a weekly boarding school and the demand from farming families and others who lived at a distance was for boarding for Grade 1

pupils – five-year-olds. The heavens opened on the first day, and it continued to rain for most of the first term – in Zimbabwe, a good omen. On 8 March the 93 pupils, augmented by some Peterhouse boys, gathered to gaze in awe on the aged (93) Canon Grinham who attended the dedication of the school that had grown from the ones he had founded – at Ruzawi in 1928 and on the Springvale site in 1952. Curiously, though no one noticed it at the time, it was the Feast Day of Edward King, the great Bishop of Lincoln. King had been godfather to Edward Paget, who had confirmed Patrick Goshö in 1926, and who had been ‘godfather’ of Ruzawi. One personal observation did cross my mind as I watched the event: two Old Boys of mine were there as ‘junior masters’ at our prep school – David Quick who had been in my house at Cranleigh, and Rory McClelland (E84) who had been my first Deputy Head of School at Peterhouse.

Meanwhile, in mid-1984, the ‘Peterhouse Conservation Park’ (as it was temporarily called) had got under way, masterminded by Peter Ginn. For many years he had run the school’s natural history society, and had – as we shall see – organised regular expeditions in Zimbabwe and beyond. A noted – and published – bird expert, he brought enormous energy, enthusiasm and know-how to the project, and had a talent for extracting money from businesses. His good relations with Darryl Mitchell, who farmed alongside Springvale, resulted in the offer that a part of his land be incorporated within the project. So with the help of donations from Mobil Oil, Delta Corporation and the Mashonaland Farmers’ Co-op, 390 hectares were game fenced by November 1984. It was an area described as ‘well-developed brachystegia woodland, some of it very dense, together with some developing woodland, two small streams which rise on the property, some grassland and a small valley’.<sup>352</sup> During 1985 the funding which Peter had organised enabled the publication of a coloured leaflet and map to promote the project, and the creation of storage facilities. Around 80 Peterhouse boys each term worked on creating picnic sites, clearing trails and labelling trees. By the end of 1986, wildebeest, zebra, sable, impala and eland could be viewed in the park; only Peter Ginn could have managed to bring the project to fruition in such a short time. It was formally opened by the Minister of Natural Resources and Tourism, Mrs Victoria Chitepo, in November 1986 as ‘Goshö Park: the Peterhouse Conservation Education Project’ – a well-deserved



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honour for Patrick Goshö.<sup>353</sup> That year also saw David Shepherd (M86) receive from President Banana, on behalf of Goshö Park, the Mike Drury Award for the best school conservancy project in the country. The Park continued to develop, even after Peter Ginn left Peterhouse to run birding safaris nearby; he continued to take an interest and give help. Progress was maintained especially under Erith Harris and Barry Percival. Goshö Park attracted pupils from other schools, as well as parents and specialised groups like the Aloe Society of Zimbabwe. I could boast that a telephone call at break one day had summoned me to come and see the birth of a baby zebra; and that there were few if any other schools in the world where, after watching a swimming gala, one could go and view (if we could find them) our giraffe, magnificently unconcerned about the cheering and splashing that had been taking place a mile away.

While these developments were taking place at Peterhouse, some local farmers and businessmen in Marondera began to consider the setting up of 'a new private secondary school in the district', which would be for boys and girls, day and boarding. They held an inaugural meeting at the Marondera Country Club in mid-January 1986. We received reports of their discussions, and I invited John Greenacre, Mike Hammond, Phil Ward and Jon Calderwood to mull over with me the possibility of our nipping the scheme in the bud by creating space for girls. There was much enthusiasm for this kind of scheme from the staff, ably voiced by Phil Ward; but we all agreed that we could say nothing outside our *ad hoc* committee until we knew what the locals' proposals might be. They agreed to meet us in early February, and their spokesman, Darryl Mitchell, reported that the Minister of Education had given the go-ahead in principle for another private school as long as 'the fees are such as would be within the capability of someone earning \$12,000pa'.<sup>354</sup> It was immediately obvious that this was unrealistic; it was difficult to see how a new secondary school could be sustained with fees much below the Peterhouse level of \$3,000 pa. Two of the group, Alan Burl (G64) and Gordon Robertson (a Peterhouse parent whose wife was on our staff) were particularly keen that Peterhouse provide extra facilities which would obviate the necessity of starting a new school. They supported the idea of a 'girls' wing' on the Springvale site, and suggested the creation of a local bursary fund to enable boys and girls from the

Marondera area to attend Peterhouse. I was asked to pass this 'tentative proposal' on to EXCO, which was due to meet in a month's time. The period before it did was one of fevered and sometimes hysterical local activity, rumour and gossip. The locals who had met at the Club now split into two groups – those who favoured the Peterhouse route forward, and those who wanted to pursue the original plan for a new local school. The latter group wanted one that was more like the Maradellas High School in Rhodesian times. It had been a fine co-educational, boarding and day government school (for whites) which had only recently begun to change significantly, and particularly after the appointment of its first black headmaster, Aeneas Chigwedere, who was to become the controversial Minister of Education in the new century. The outcome was that while Peterhouse contemplated great changes, the local group went public in April by inviting applications for places at what they now called 'Watershed College'.<sup>355</sup> It was intended that it would focus expertise in two areas where provision was currently lacking – in agricultural education and in specialised teaching for those with learning difficulties. We welcomed that.

At the EXCO meeting in March, a crucial decision was taken: we could go ahead with the opening of a girls' wing provided the locals (those who wanted to go the Peterhouse route) could come up with \$2 million to finance the venture. This money would be required for two purposes: to finance the 'feminisation' of the lower school where the girls would be accommodated, and also to meet the costs of building a new lower school on the Peterhouse side of the road. By June – knowing now that we would be in competition with Watershed – the plans were advanced sufficiently to announce a girls' entrance examination in July, which would enable us select the first small D Block intake; those wishing to come for A levels could not be accepted until the O level results were published. Initially in January 1987 there would be 34 girls at Springvale, for whom Jon Calderwood would be responsible during that first year. The crucial question was whether we could afford to build a new lower school at Peterhouse. We were determined to keep the concept going (though for D Block only), but the cost of building a new house for 90 boys was far in excess of the expected income from donations and fees in advance. The Gordian knot was cut by an astonishing and anonymous gift, which would cover the whole cost of the new D Block house, thus releasing capital

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to spend on the conversions necessary at Springvale. This donor made the whole project possible. His donation was not only the biggest single gift the school has ever received; it also determined the whole course of the school's future history.

Work began on what we came to call 'Tinokura' – Shona for 'we are growing up', as suggested by Robert Tandi, the assistant chaplain. The original idea was to create a series of brick 'rondavels', not actually round but octagonal in shape.<sup>356</sup> For the first time, we were attempting to mirror the indigenous building style, but the costs and practicalities reduced us to two rondavels and the rest simply a single story set of dormitories and classrooms built around a quadrangle. And, following the Snell House break with tradition, we decided to use red brick rather than granite. The new house was built to the south of the Great Court, and beyond the Fieldsend Hall – a symbolic way of showing that while the boys there were fully part of Peterhouse, they were not yet full members of their houses. The house allocation was, however, still done before the boys arrived, and they slept in dormitories named after their houses. Most, but not all of their lessons were taught in the four classrooms at Tinokura, which doubled as their prep rooms. One of the rondavels was their 'house room' where they could assemble or watch TV; the other housed the housemaster's office and a flat for a house tutor. Tinokura was opened in February 1988, on the Feast Day of George Herbert, and his words were inscribed at the entrance:

Seven whole days, not one in seven,  
I will praise thee.

Allen French agreed to become the first housemaster; he had been a housemaster in a government school, and had arrived at Peterhouse with me.

Mike Hammond accepted the post of headmaster of the girls' wing, or 'Peterhouse Girls' as it came to be known. It was a brave decision on his part; he had taught boys virtually exclusively throughout his career, but we were convinced that his knowledge of the Springvale site and the support of his wife Barrie would ensure the success of the new venture. The junior girls would be taught at the girls' school; the A level candidates would be 'bussed' daily for lessons alongside the boys. In addition there would be co-educational opportunities in the areas of music and drama. The Peterhouse chapel was (just) large enough to

have occasional joint services; they had their own chapel at Springvale which was shared with the prep school and was really too small. They had to wait until 2002 before two transepts were added to cope with the number of girls. We had achieved what I called 'an acceptable level of co-education'. It was not all plain sailing for the girls in the early days. One post-O level entrant remembers her first encounter with a school prefect on her first day of lessons; he told her quite plainly that 'girls aren't wanted here'. He had never sat in lessons with girls, and (being a traditionalist as teenage boys tend to be) he didn't want to start now. I had seen the same phenomenon at English schools: boys who had been together for years faced the intrusion of newcomers who would upset their long-established relationships. But increasingly, boys were coming to Peterhouse from mixed prep schools (including our own Springvale House) so the idea became slowly more acceptable. Even the older boys who were reeling at the incursion of girls 'soon got used to them', as Derrick Sanyahumbi (P88) records. For Peterhouse, the gain was enormous: parents could send their sons and daughters to schools which worked in tandem. Boys and girls could benefit from the fact that in the years of puberty they were taught, and in general socialised, separately; there is an argument that at this stage, when their rates of physical development and their interests are widely different, boys and girls benefit both socially and academically from being in a single-sex environment. But even at that stage, there were opportunities to meet in plays and music. The vast majority of parents in the 1987 survey of their opinions were overwhelmingly in favour of the route we had taken.

The years since the 1983 crisis had seen great expansion not only at Peterhouse, but also with the whole independent school sector. But they had not been easy ones for the CHISZ schools in their relations with government. At least the division within CHISZ became less obvious as the 1980s progressed, despite growing numbers of new schools; it became obvious that we needed to work together in the face of pressures and at times harassment from the Ministry of Education. In September 1984 the minister called a meeting with heads and governors, in what might have been a re-run of the previous year's confrontation. We felt reasonably confident that our racial mix, which had risen from 5.5% black to a projected 23.4% black in 1985, was at least improving. In fact, there was no 'bombshell' this time, but

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the fee issue loomed large, with the minister saying that 'the rumour that Peterhouse has raised fees to \$1,250 per term almost gave him a heart attack'. Oddly, the information that they were 'only' \$1,100 did not seem to perturb him. He intimated that work was proceeding on a new education act, but assured us that our schools would not be adversely effected. The meeting ended with the audience rising and applauding as the minister departed – a sign of relief more than anything else, one suspects.<sup>357</sup> In 1985 there was consternation when the Ministry announced – out of the blue – that it was abolishing half-terms. No one, not even government school heads, had any idea what the rationale was. We had never before had to conform to government school terms and holidays, and assumed we could continue to operate our own timetable, as long as we kept to the legally prescribed minimum of teaching days. The Christmas school holiday at the end of that year was a rather short one, with pupils returning well before the O and A level results were available. We, and some other schools, decided to return later. The new Secretary for Education, Elijah Chanakira, reacted with fury and fined us – by reducing the (already small) government grant to which we were entitled.<sup>358</sup> He called the heads of the nine offending schools to a meeting early in 1986, and opened it with the statement that he wanted to find what he chillingly called a 'final solution' to the problem of 'so-called' independent schools. He made it clear that no 'deviations' from the Ministry's school calendar would be tolerated. We pointed out the difficulty of running remote boarding schools with no half-term breaks, but he was adamant. We revised our timings for the year ahead. I subsequently suggested that we invent something called a 'Fixture-Free Weekend' which would allow us to send pupils home on three long weekends per term, on dates that all CHISZ schools agreed in advance. The suggestion was taken up, the name (FFW) was adopted by everyone, and is still in use.

Towards the end of 1986, the Secretary demonstrated that he had not forgotten my irregular behaviour. When I applied for an extension of my work permit – which we assumed was a formality – the Chief Immigration Officer, the Governors, the Regional Director of Education for Mashonaland East, the Manpower Planning Committee on Foreign Recruitment and I were informed that 'the Ministry of Education is not under any circumstance prepared to support Dr Megahey's

application for a renewal of a Work Permit'.<sup>359</sup> This caused some panic at the Rector's Lodge. No one on the staff, apart from John Greenacre, was informed; the Governors began trying to get the decision reversed and it was – just in time for Christmas. The confrontation next time – in August 1987 – was on 'racial statistics' – and I fully expected to bear the brunt of the attacks from Mr Chanakira. In the end he didn't turn up, leaving us to the rhetoric of the Deputy Secretary, Mr S.C. Mumbengegwe, who read out the demands which the minister had made in November 1983. He accused us of failing to cooperate with the minister's reasonable requests, and concluded that 'you have betrayed them by your blatant racism'.<sup>360</sup> Only Dorothy Twiss and I spoke; we were all somewhat taken aback, having been called in during the holidays for an unsubstantiated attack. The meeting only lasted 32 minutes. As I reported to EXCO afterwards, it was disappointing that the Deputy Secretary's comments were soaked in racism, and 'ironical that this should come in the same week as the eradication of the racial provisions from our (country's) constitution'.

The Prime Minister's visit to Peterhouse, just three months later, seemed to herald a change of mood. Mr Mugabe had attended Chisipite's Speech Day in 1986, and his remarks about that school's history as a multi-racial institution were good for us all, though they received limited media coverage.<sup>361</sup> The decision to invite him to Peterhouse was not universally welcomed by the parent body, but without doubt he won over all those present. He was given a traditional welcome (Kuombera) in the chapel with the boys handclapping, and Sean Hutchings (P92), then a tiny D Blocker, sat cross-legged in the chapel aisle, bearing an enormous silver salver which he presented to the Prime Minister, who was both taken aback and delighted to be addressed in fluent Shona. Mr Mugabe's speech was impressive. He cracked some jokes; he applauded the school 'for abandoning its male chauvinistic bias of the past in favour of a more enlightened attitude resulting in the enrolment of female pupils'. But one part of his speech was genuinely moving:<sup>362</sup>

Over 20 years ago the Founding Rector of Peterhouse, Mr Fred Snell – who (I understand) is here today – spoke from this platform on 'the hope of the emergence in the next twenty years of a state which is based not on domination but on co-operation. To build any bridges between the races is to increase that hope'. You have been engaged, over those twenty years, in building such bridges. Now we have that state 'based not on domination but on co-operation'.

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But the bridges still need building. This is a co-operative venture: government and the private sector both have their part to play in creating mutual trust and harmony within a non-racial society.

He was given a spontaneous, heartfelt ovation. When he finished, Marcus Hildebrand (M87) had the unenviable task of delivering his head boy's speech. His pride in what he called 'the finest school ever to have been established in this country' did not seem out of place. His conclusion that 'this makes us all very fortunate and we should always remember just how privileged we are' was perfectly in tune with the occasion. But what followed was even more noteworthy. As the Prime Minister was escorted down the aisle by Bob Williams, I (following a few steps behind) was alarmed to see Fred Snell leave his place near the front and scuttle down to the great west door of chapel. There he embraced the Prime Minister with tears in his eyes, saying 'This is a moment I have lived for.' I stood beside Humphrey Gibbs, watching the encounter, and it seemed to be an historic moment. The Prime Minister seemed to be equally moved. We were soon brought down to earth, however, for we arrived back at the Rector's Lodge for lunch to find the lawn occupied by many very large ZANU PF ladies, each bearing pots and dishes. Elizabeth had arrived at the Lodge first to find them all in her kitchen, and had managed to persuade the (many) police and security officers who were hovering around to move them out to the lawn. Then the invited guests started filling the veranda – many more than we had anticipated. Mark had been allowed home from Ruzawi, and sat with the Prime Minister and Bob Williams. We all saw the remarkable offerings of food which the lawn ladies brought and presented, from a kneeling position. When Mr Mugabe saw the proffered chicken stew – if that is what it was – he rather wittily asked me to pass it to the Minister of Health at the next table. Elizabeth, meanwhile, was touring around making sure that the hordes had been fed, and was much taken with the sight of Sir Humphrey Gibbs tackling his main course with a pudding spoon – the knives and forks having run out. The true hero (or rather heroine) of the day turned out to be our caterer, Dorrit Bekker, who as always had over-catered to the extent that no one went hungry. Before he left, the Prime Minister wrote in our visitor's book: 'Wonderful day at a wonderful school with wonderful people! Have been very highly impressed.'

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The television coverage was good; the press coverage even better. The *Herald*, which in 1983 had screamed 'Let the racists go' as its editorial headline, now exactly four years and one day later hailed 'Multi-racial education'.<sup>363</sup> Noting that Mr Mugabe 'spoke very highly of Peterhouse... because of what the institution represented to the Government and to all Zimbabweans', it went on to remind readers of the 1983 crisis, and to advise that 'any schools still operating along unacceptable lines, and there are many, should take a leaf out of Peterhouse's book and start "building bridges" for the sake of our future generations'. I liked to think that this represented something of a turning point. Perhaps the worst was over, for Peterhouse and for the other CHISZ schools. There would be more crises in the future, but for the moment we could all get on with the job of keeping our schools not as white ghettos, but as beacons of hope on the educational scene in Zimbabwe.



## 'Play the Game'

In Germany youth went about saying 'Heil, Hitler' and drilling to enslave Europe. In Russia they are taught to worship the trinity of Marx, Lenin and Stalin, and to hate their non-Communist neighbour. I prefer my healthy boys who do try to be true to God and their best instincts; who behave like angels one moment and like monkeys the next, but are so good-hearted, so generous, so affectionate that I wouldn't change them and their public-school system for anything in the world.

Walter Carey, *Good-bye to My Generation* (London 1951), p 64

Walter Carey was an Old Bedfordian, who played football for his school and his Oxford College and became a naval chaplain during the First World War (and was present at the battle of Jutland). In 1921 he was invited to become Bishop of Bloemfontein, so he went from being Principal of Lincoln Theological College to running a diocese the size of England and Wales. During his time there, he met Richard Holderness, who was testing his vocation on the 'Railway Mission' and who found 'his skill on the accordion a great asset when conducting informal services'; so Richard and the bishop (on the violin) sometimes played duets as they travelled by train together.<sup>364</sup> Illness forced Carey's return to England in 1934, and his namesake offered him the chaplaincy of Eastbourne College, where Fred Snell was already a housemaster. I should love to have overheard their conversations, and to know whether Carey's tales of South Africa played any part in Snell's decision to go there. Did the bishop ever mention the young man with whom he had played duets, who was to be linked to Peterhouse in so many ways in the future? It is clear that Carey's vision of public schools was even more romantic than Fred's. The bishop

wrote of public school masters giving 'themselves, their brains, their time, their lives, to make boys into true Englishmen and Christians', and he believed that 'real education is character, knowledge, independent thinking; *in that order*'. Sport was a key to the development of character: 'At games you learn leadership, pluck, decision; you learn how to win happily and lose gracefully'. Are games overdone? 'Yes,' he replied, 'if you are a long-haired pseudo-intellectualist who thinks that boys are better occupied with James Joyce or Picasso or Stravinsky than with football or cricket or rowing. I don't agree with that crowd.' Such sentiments would have been laughed out of court in any English public school common room at the end of the 20th century, though maybe not in a Zimbabwean one. But they were part of the public school mind-set for the first half of the century, and that is the climate in which Fred Snell grew up. His attitude was more sophisticated, however, and less philistine. We have already noted his more balanced approach to games.

His first 'prospectus' was printed in mid-1953. It was merely a leaflet (printed in blue on cream, though the blue was more navy than the eventual 'Peterhouse blue'). It described the newly acquired site as '5,400 feet above sea level in one of the healthiest parts of Rhodesia' – how our forebears loved the idea of a 'healthy' site for a school, which is why places like Eastbourne could boast a public school and many prep schools.<sup>365</sup> There was no mention, however, of games, beyond the comment that the site allowed 'ample room for playing fields and scope for farming and forestry'. Nor did his early reports to EXCO make any mention of games, until in mid-1956 he described the new staff he had enlisted for 1957. He gave the men's academic credentials and also their sporting prowess: Mallett (cricket – Oxford, Kent and MCC<sup>366</sup>), Graham (college athletics and rucker<sup>367</sup>), Rees (college rucker and hockey), Byron (judo, yachting and chess); at the end of the year he was able to add Ian Campbell (triple blue). It was a list that would have been a credit to any school, anywhere. It underlined the fact that at a boarding school like Peterhouse, the job of a member of staff was extremely demanding. Every Rector has sought to attract men (and women) who will contribute much outside the classroom. The commitment demanded, and the variety of jobs staff were required to undertake, was a concept

which, certainly after Independence, the Ministry of Education found difficult to grasp.

Even in a school of just 53 rather young pupils in 1955, sporting fixtures were under way. The very first inter-school match was Under 14 cricket against Ruzawi. It resulted in a Peterhouse win, though ‘not nearly so convincingly as one might suppose from the score book’.<sup>368</sup> The cricket results for the rest of the season – losing to Prince Edward, drawing with Churchill and the Marandellas Club and winning against the staff – were respectable. During the second term, the U14 rugby side lost to St George’s (twice), Prince Edward and Churchill (twice); only the loss against Prince Edward was by a large margin (0–23), but this was avenged in the return game when the school won 9–6. It was not until 1958 that Peterhouse was able to field a full range of teams, though the Rector’s comment at Speech Day was merely that ‘major school games have progressed towards senior school status’.<sup>369</sup> In 1958, of the 27 cricket matches played against schools, Peterhouse won 12 and drew 6; in 7 hockey matches won 3 and drew 1, but in rugby played 12, lost 7 and drew 1. The 1st XI beat Falcon, though the 1st XV went down 6–3. It was a perfectly respectable tally in the end, and one pleasing victory over the main rival.

Rugby over the years was the game that drew the biggest crowds and inspired the greatest enthusiasm – or despondency. Fred Snell recognised this when he told the parents that ‘most of us instinctively regard rugger, with its obvious demand for courage, as the most significant of a school’s games’.<sup>370</sup> Jon Calderwood, at his first Speech Day as Rector, noted that ‘the general feeling around the school during the winter term is not determined by any political or economic factors; it is determined by how well our 1st XV cope on the rugby field’.<sup>371</sup> To chart the school’s performance year by year would be tedious, but it is possible to pick out some highlights. The first came in 1966. John Davidson had in 1961 taken over the coaching of the 1st XV (and the housemastership of Grinham – ‘very much a sporty house’) from the international Bryan Curtis. Fred Snell at Speech Day lamented the loss of Curtis, especially on the rugby front, and welcomed John Davidson’s ‘keenness and enthusiasm... despite his relative inexperience’. At first, the 1st XV results were much the same as they had been in Curtis’s days, losing more than they won, largely (as John Davidson

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has said) because 'there was precious little self-belief whenever we ran on against Umtali, Churchill, Allan Wilson and St George's'. The tide turned dramatically in 1966. The first match, against Umtali Boys' High, was a draw, but thereafter the team went on to win every match, and become the only 1st XV in the school's history to have an unbeaten season. The victory over Falcon away (18–14) was especially sweet. What was the secret? John Davidson wrote, nearly 40 years on, that 'there were no stars, everyone worked their guts out, and the leadership of Jim Holden was a revelation: thank goodness he wasn't a school prefect – but he was, of course, in Grinham!' The 1967 season, under the captaincy of Martin Pereira (G67) – he and Adrian Hosack (E67) were the only survivors from 1966 – was notable for another win against Falcon, though this time out of 10 games played, 2 were drawn and 1 lost. It was a quarter of a century later that the school could boast anything like it. The 1st XV results then are shown in Table 4.

*Table 4*

	<i>Played</i>	<i>Won</i>	<i>Lost</i>	<i>Drawn</i>	<i>Result v. Falcon</i>	<i>Captain</i>
1992	10	9	1	0	Lost 12–34 (A)	Enos Mbofana (S92)
1993	13	12	1	0	Won 62–8 (H)	Philip Lowe (P93)
1994	11	10	1	0	Won 42–12 (A)	Daniel Drake (E94)

The 1993 season was notable for the subsequent UK tour, when the 1st XV beat Oakham (19–7), King's, Taunton (12–8), Eastbourne (18–13), and then at the Haileybury Festival emerged as the 'world cup' winners, beating the South African school Uppington (20–8), the hosts (15–8) and Galston School, Australia (34–0). The 1994 season saw the first away win against Falcon since 1966, a performance repeated in 2002. Ten Petreans that year were selected to play for the Zimbabwe Under 19 side, and six for the Under 15 side. Sadly, the year 2000 was a notable one for school and national rugby, for it saw the death in a car accident of Richard Tsimba (P82). He had played 1st XV rugby in his last year, the report on his performance noting that he 'tackled well when he put his mind to it but was erratic in this. A little success goes quickly to his head.'<sup>372</sup> His progress after school was spectacular; he was the first black on the national side. He rep-

resented the country at the inaugural World Cup in New Zealand in 1987, and became the Zimbabwean Sports Person of the Year, having scored 14 tries during the season – a national record.

What is it about rugby? The phenomenon noted by Snell and Calderwood was equally evident in schools throughout the rugby-playing world. Being courageous, as Fred Snell noted, was part of it. So too was the ‘male bonding’ and ‘team spirit’ which made it almost a tribal activity – which was not confined to the players. The ritual of the pre-match warm-up was a semi-private activity; but the aggressive run onto the field and the victory war cry can be shared by the spectators, whose vocal support builds up the excitement of the occasion. The deification of the members of the 1st XV was something that younger boys did almost naturally. Robert Stork (G63) remembers arriving in Grinham as a twelve-year-old: seeing the head of house ‘had quite an effect on me. He was... over six feet tall and was a fine athletic person. He was like a god in those days, representing the school in rugby and other sports.’ Many would echo his words. The god-like status was reinforced by the somewhat puerile demand that small boys should be able to recite the names of the team. It could also take the form of the team being fed special meals in the build-up to a big match; I found it proved virtually impossible to outlaw this, my efforts being continually sabotaged by the caterer herself. On the more positive side, it was evident that almost every 1st team member took his role seriously – almost too seriously. They were prepared to submit to an extremely tough training schedule. They also took seriously the fact that they were ambassadors for the school, to the extent that during my Rectorship their visits overseas were invariably followed by letters from their hosts praising their maturity, politeness and helpfulness. This was not confined to the rugby players. In 2004 Jon Calderwood was able to report successful participation in the South African Rowing Championships, and wrote of the team: ‘I was pleased not only with their performance’ but also with the fact that ‘many remarked on their manners, their dress, their outlook and on their determination. I felt very proud to be part of Peterhouse.’<sup>373</sup>

Rugby may have been the major determinant of school morale in the Trinity term, but if rugby was ‘the most significant of a school’s games’, cricket has a longer history, and has elicited a more lyrical response. The headmaster of Kimbolton wrote (in 1951) of ‘the

green well-mown carpet of the cricket field, the lithe active figures in flannels moving in the sun, the thud of ball on blade of bat, the tense moments for young minds awake to the testing of their prowess, and the headmaster watching each member of his School XI, as the fibre of his character is revealed as only cricket can reveal it'.<sup>374</sup> In that world the man who dominates the history of Peterhouse cricket finds a natural home. Sandy Singleton was born at Repton. His father taught there and later purchased The Elms, a prep school in Malvern (where Daniel Calderwood (E03) was to be a junior master in 2004). Singleton went to Shrewsbury and Brasenose, Oxford. He served with the RAF during the war. On a posting to Rhodesia he met his future wife, Polly, and after the war emigrated to the colony. He had enjoyed a distinguished career in cricket: he captained Shrewsbury, Oxford and Worcester, and had just failed to catch Don Bradman out in a match in 1938. Arriving in Southern Rhodesia, he taught at St George's and captained the national side (1947–48), leading it to its first ever victory over the Transvaal. The Rector secured his services in 1964 and he stayed at Peterhouse until 1983.<sup>375</sup> He is one of the few Peterhouse staff to have had an obituary in the *Daily Telegraph*, when he died in 1999.<sup>376</sup> Others, however, had founded the tradition. As the *Vortex* history of cricket at the school puts it (with disarming frankness or more likely innocent gaucheness) 'Apart from 1955, when Bruce Fieldsend ran the cricket, and 1966, when Bryan Curtis ran it, most distinguished cricketers have been in charge.'<sup>377</sup> The first of these was Anthony Mallett, who as we have seen had played for Oxford, Kent and MCC. He was intensely competitive, and had blues in squash and table tennis as well as cricket. He coached the 1st XI from its inception in 1958, when play was on matting wickets; the first full season on turf wickets came in 1960 when the 1st XI began use of the present oval. When Mallett went off to Bishops at the end of 1963, Singleton took over. The fete at Government House in 1965 helped to fund not only the chapel organ but also the cricket pavilion which was completed in 1966; 30 years later it was further developed as a bar and lunch venue for both cricket and other events.

In cricket, more than in rugby, it is difficult to identify the 'best' seasons. The weather often had much to do with it; the Easter term of 1966 was so wet that only four matches were played, and from

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early February to early March, even practices were impossible. Table 5 shows what were arguably the best years for 1st XI results.

*Table 5*

<i>Year</i>	<i>Played</i>	<i>Won</i>	<i>Lost</i>	<i>Drew</i>	<i>Captain</i>
1969	12	8	2	2	John Dare (M69) Chris Seager (E69)
1987	10	7	3	–	Tim Bartlett (E87)
1989	16	12	3	1	Kelly Bennett (E89)
1994	14	10	–	4	Bruce Moore-Gordon (E94)
2000	14	11	2	1	Hayden Barber (E00)

The only unbeaten seasons were 1986 (won 3; drew 8) and 1994. In 1995, for the first time, a Petrean – Stuart Carlisle (P91) – won a Test cap, playing for the country against Pakistan; he had already captained the hockey and cricket national schoolboy sides.

The other major team game from the earliest times was hockey, and two Rectors (Bruce Fieldsend and Mike Bawden) have been noted players. But it suffered in the early years when all boys played both hockey and rugby, with the latter dominating. This meant that few hockey matches could be organised during the time when Bruce ran the game. After he became Rector (and he continued to coach) it was decided (in 1969) to allow boys in the open age group to choose between hockey and rugby. Immediately the number of fixtures doubled (to between 12 and 15 per season). Falcon, who presumably had the same hockey/rugby clash, nevertheless managed to beat Peterhouse from 1958 (when the first match was played at 1st XI level) until 1963, when the Rector was able to boast that ‘relative to other Rhodesian schools, Peterhouse is probably strongest at hockey and our team has had an unbeaten record’.<sup>378</sup> They beat Falcon, one of only 4 games played (with 1 drawn). The next unbeaten season was 1983 (played 14, drew 4), the culmination of a period of eight years which ‘were golden years for Peterhouse Hockey’, as George Martin has said.<sup>379</sup> Tony Brooker and John Vahey coached sides which lost only 9 of their 76 games during that period. The 1985 side, captained by Gary Carlisle (P85) who played for the national Under 21 side while still at school, enjoyed an unbeaten season (played 7,

drew 2). Thereafter, it was claimed, the Peterhouse game suffered because the Harare schools in the nineties had access to all-weather pitches, and our own grass pitches were somewhat despised. Mike Bawden's arrival raised hopes that a Peterhouse all-weather pitch would become a priority, but it never reached the top of the list of 'things to do'. Despite that, the 1998 side, captained by Raymond Buchanan (P98), won 12 of its 19 matches (with two defeats), and two of its members joined the Zimbabwe Under 18 team. In 1999 three were on the national U18 side, and in 2000 five boys played for the national U19 team.

A history of sports fixtures is tedious for all but the most devoted, and the list of games played at Peterhouse is huge. Some vignettes must suffice. There have been activities that have fallen by the wayside, notably boxing. Some have been played outside the school: polo and polocrosse have had a small but devoted following, with Peterhouse providing a significant proportion of the national teams. The collapse of commercial agriculture would suggest that these sports have no future in the country, despite the fact that it is (or was) supremely well placed to sustain them. Some sporting activities have waxed under the tutelage of a particularly keen member of staff – sailing, judo, fencing and shooting for instance. Athletics, dominating the second half of each Easter term, was and is a significant school activity. Unlike most British schools, where 'sports day' is a half hearted affair and where athletics competes unsuccessfully with the weather and the cricket and exams seasons, at Peterhouse the conditions are ideal, and the numbers involved very significant. George Martin, Peter Ginn and Reg Querl enthusiastically promoted athletics, and inter-school competitions – often held from the mid-1980s onwards at the National Stadium – were occasions of large turn-outs and great enthusiasm. Athletics was also a notable trendsetter in terms of multi-racial sport. In 1962, before Peterhouse had any blacks, the school hosted an inter-school steeplechase, with runners from Bernard Mizeki College (BMC), Waddilove and St Ignatius, and it subsequently expanded to a meeting with five black and seven white schools – as many as the event could sustain. Andrew Hunt, the headmaster of BMC, relished this opportunity for his boys to shine on the four mile circuit, as 'the black boys nearly always won, because, owing to our poverty and



lack of expertise in other sports, we turned the whole school over to running for half a term’.<sup>380</sup>

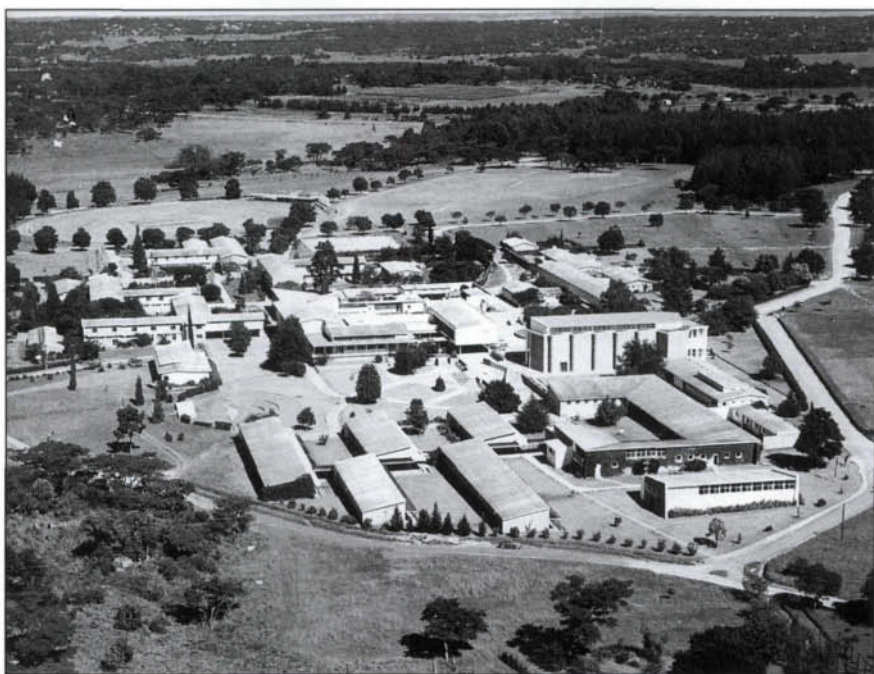
It was fortuitous that Louis Warren, who had been in my house at Cranleigh as a visiting student from Nevada, came to Peterhouse in 1985. He taught history, supervised the production of the school magazine, and injected new pace and enthusiasm in our basketball. It was not a game new to the school, and in fact in 1976 the school had hosted an all-day competition with (white) boys from Umtali Boys’ High and Mount Pleasant. But in the 1980s it tended to be regarded as a game for blacks, so it was good to have a white coach (with an American accent) raising its profile. Louis went on to become a Professor of History in California; Peterhouse basketball grew to become a significant sport, with improved and extended facilities. We were fortunate too that Richard Marriott (who succeeded Mike Hammond as housemaster of Malvern in 1985) met up in a Marondera supermarket with a local farmer – Ian Hunter – with whom he had rowed at Trinity College, Dublin. Together they created a fine rowing side for the first time at Peterhouse. The dam on Ian’s farm proved the perfect venue for a sport which, as Richard Marriott pointed out, could make use of the many large dams which were (then) available. He also noted that ‘the first world sculling championships were held here on the Zambesi in 1912, the only occasion that this country has hosted a world championship in any sport’.<sup>381</sup> Concurrently, George Niven, who had been to a soccer school (Westminster) and who replaced Archie Kennedy as housemaster of Founders in 1985, gave great encouragement (with vocal support from Phil Ward) to the football teams who had always lived, and always would, in the shadow of the other kind of football; again it was a sport more favoured by blacks than whites.

Swimming was ‘founded’ at the school by John Coates. A great polymath, John (Berkhamsted and Oxford) had served in the Royal Navy during the war, and joined the colonial service as an Assistant District Commissioner in Nyasaland. His wife-to-be, Bridget, met the Snells in Salisbury, and when a job later came up for a classicist, John decided that Nyasaland was ‘no place to bring up a family’, and that ‘the Empire could look after itself’, and was offered the post. Naturally enough, when the Rector heard that John had swum and played water polo at Oxford, he was given charge of the swimming.

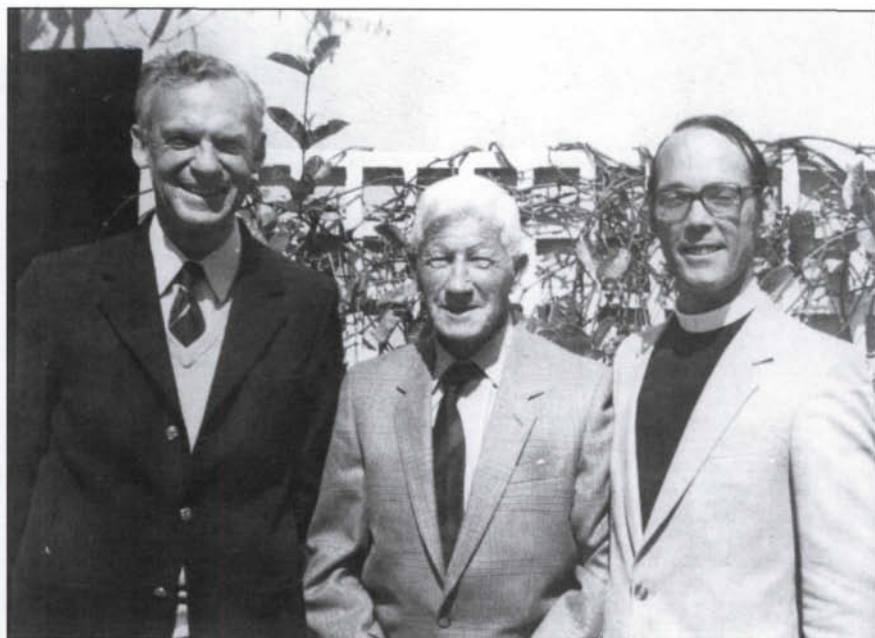
The pool was not ideal. Although it had been one of the priorities in the building programme, it was finished unsatisfactorily in concrete, which tended to attract green slime; there were no lane markings, and the deep end was not deep enough for the high diving board. It was tiled in 1969 with help from the State Lotteries. John continued to run the swimming until the late 1980s, and lamented never winning the inter-school gala at the Les Brown pool, which schools in Harare were able to use for training all the year round. Peterhouse was undoubtedly handicapped by a pool that was more suited to recreational than to competitive swimming. We lost a few promising swimmers whose parents felt they needed to be nearer the superior facilities in the capital, and it was irritating that the pool could not be used for part of the year – the Marondera winter was not conducive to swimming, and we never managed to install a heating plant, which I dearly wanted to do. Like most staff, John (who succeeded Norman Davis as Founders housemaster in 1964) also found himself dragged into other activities. He ran the shooting, and helped with rugby, athletics, hockey and cricket. This last he found ‘appallingly dull’ and told Sandy Singleton (his second in command in classics) that its only virtue was that it enabled ‘one member of staff to keep twenty-two boys out of mischief for hours on end’.<sup>382</sup> Squash was quite different, with a much less attractive staff:pupil ratio. But it was a growth game internationally; it was gaining popularity in many independent schools in Britain in the 1970s and 1980s as the sort of activity that could still be pursued after school, and was much favoured by twenty-somethings as a fine means of keeping fit without having to spend hours at it, and needing only one other like-minded person to set up a game. The squash courts at the school (there were two) were declared (loudly) by Phil Ward to be inadequate; it wasn’t until 1997 that two glass-back ones were added. His squash teams were very significant on the school scene, and in the local Marondera League. Perhaps one of their finest moments was during their highly successful 1988 UK tour when Brendan Paul (E88) took on and beat the Eton squash pro. And perhaps the new courts contributed to 1998 being the ‘most successful squash year ever’, when the school won four of the five leagues in the Eric Davis trophy competition, and received the magnificent cup from Mr Mick Davis, a long-serving chairman of the Falcon Board whose son had chosen to teach at Peterhouse.



20. The animated comments of Mrs Pat Hayes to the Rector (Bruce Fieldsend) appear to attract the concern of (right to left) her husband Syd, Bishop Burrough, and Mrs Marise Williams (wife of Bob) at Meikles Hotel during the launch of the Appeal in April 1981.



21. Aerial view just before the building of the Fieldsend Hall and Snell House. The Harare–Mutare road runs left to right behind the line of pine trees; beyond that is the Springvale estate. The road on the right runs through a dense cluster of pine to the entrance pyramids. The Rector’s Lodge is just off the picture, bottom right.



22. Outside the Lodge in 1984: the second Rector (Bruce Fieldsend), looks cheerful and relaxed, having handed over to the third Rector (Alan Megahey) who is trying to smile, while the Founding Rector peers into the future.



23. Patrick Goshu at the opening of Goshu Park in November 1986, and (*inset*) in his younger days (1954), holding a rare pangolin, now royal game and a sign of wealth; 24. *right* Mrs Victoria Chitepo, Minister of Tourism, who cheerfully declared the park open.



25. The Prime Minister enters the Great Court in November 1987, to smiles all round. 26. (*right*) Robert Mugabe plants a tree, a Natal Mahogany, which grew to a great height before it was sadly destroyed by lightning in February 2000.



27. Outside chapel in 1988: Bruce Fieldsend, John Greenacre (with pipe), Stuart Mattinson and the chaplain (Ken Anderson).



28. Michael Hammond speaks while clasping the Springvale cross. 29. (right) Ann Megahey (junior mistress) with some of her charges – the very first, and youngest, pupils at Springvale House, in early 1988.



30. Chaplain George Punshon (fresh from his negotiations with the 'war vets' at the Kays' farm), Graham Peebles (Headmaster) and Patrick Gosho (85) at the new covered games area for Springvale House in 2001.



31. Lady Soames (Guest of Honour), John Carter (Chairman of the Governors) and Mike Bawden (Rector) at Speech Day 1998; John Carter's successor as Chairman of the Governors (Dick Turpin) is just visible on the Rector's left.



32. Dr Bob Williams (in the robes of his recently awarded honorary doctorate from Rhodes University) and Bishop Peter Hatendi awarded honorary doctorate from Rhodes University) and Bishop Peter Hatendi at the opening in 1989 of Williams House - a series of 'cottages' providing accommodation for senior girls.



33. Kilted and sporranned members of staff (Richard Marriott and Trevor Abraham) gamely jig down the Fieldsend Hall aisle at the pantomime production *Snow White* in 1992.



34. Entertainment during the choir dinner at the Rector's Lodge on St Cecilia's Day, 1992: (left to right) Guy Cary, Justin Reynolds (F), Marcus Klockner (M), Brent Griffiths (M), Adrian Smith (E), while the head of school (Simon Lewis) provides accompaniment on the banjolele (banjo-shaped but with the strings and tuning of a ukelele), with which his grandfather had provided entertainment for friends (including Bob Williams) on their long train trips to Grahamstown in the 1930s.

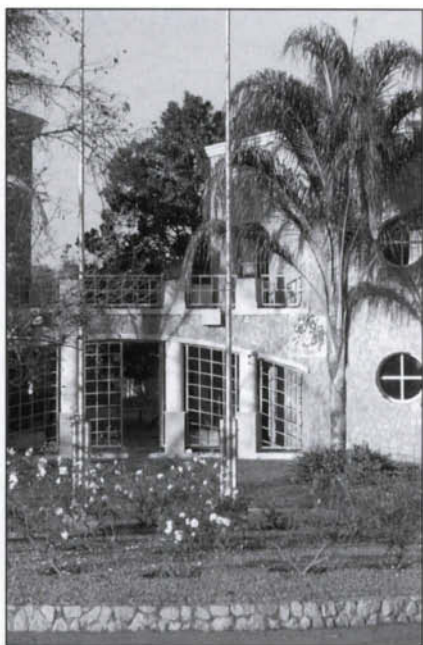




35. Peterhouse 1st XV (in white) takes on St John's at a curtain-raiser for the Zimbabwe versus Tonga match in July 1997, Harare.



36. Peterhouse 1st XV coaches Paul Davis, Housemaster of Tinokura (old Falcon boy) and Reg Querl, Housemaster of Paget (soon to be headmaster of Falcon) cheer on Peterhouse during the match. Adrian Hosack (E67) is seated in the row behind.



37. The new (1996) entrance to the main school buildings, formed by the chapel on the left, and on the right (ground floor) the reception area, above which is the Rector's study, with doors onto a terrace above the archway. In the archway, on the left, is the stained glass window of the Lady Chapel, and a freestanding bust of Sir Humphrey Gibbs. 38. (*right*) The fifth Rector, Jon Calderwood, in his study.



39. From above the entrance archway, into the new Humphrey Gibbs Court: the pergola in the foreground runs along the side of the chapel. The old 'admin block' (top left) still houses the masters' common room on the first floor; the new building on the right contains classrooms, computer rooms and offices. The old and new buildings are linked at first floor level; underneath is the walkway through to the Dame Molly Court.

Before Peterhouse even had a location, Hugh Hodgkinson was interviewed by the press and announced that the proposed school would ‘start as many outdoor activities as possible and games will be a means but not an end’.<sup>383</sup> It had been for about 100 years a central principle in public schools – that games were not an end in themselves, but rather inculcated manliness and morality. They taught ‘the lessons of brotherhood’ (1898);<sup>384</sup> they ‘are a magnificent preparation for life’(1929).<sup>385</sup> They were the subject of song, notably Harrow’s famous ‘Forty Years On’. Much recent work has been done on the role of games as a means of teaching lessons in morality, and on their role in Empire and Commonwealth history. ‘Sport’, we are told, ‘was a major medium for the attempted development of “character” particularly among those who by virtue of their position in elite society were destined to be the Empire’s leaders.’<sup>386</sup> Harold Perkin maintains that organised games had a (supposed) moral purpose: ‘In their combination of individual prowess and group co-operation for a common purpose they fostered the elite virtues of self-confidence, self-reliance, leadership, team spirit and loyalty to comrades.’ But he also notes darkly that these were ‘inculcated with brutal, arbitrary and corporal punishment, mostly administered by senior boys, which fostered toughness of character, indifference to hardship, and insensitivity to pain and emotional distress, especially in others’.<sup>387</sup> This is surely to overstate the case. Indeed was it ever true? The men who fought in the trenches in the First World War needed a certain indifference to hardship, but they were not lacking in sensitivity and emotion.<sup>388</sup>

Rugby has been seen as a prime example of Perkin’s thesis, even at the end of the 20th century: ‘Operated by English public-school and settler-society privately educated men, the sport has provided an opportunity for the conservation of ideals of amateurism, Victorian self-sacrifice and manliness, which, although challenged on many fronts in recent decades, have remained remarkably resilient.’<sup>389</sup> Rhodesia was one of those societies where, as one commentator noted in 1962, ‘men of all ages seem pre-occupied with sport’.<sup>390</sup> Robert Blake, as we have seen, called it a ‘fetish’ which was worshipped in southern Africa more than anywhere else.<sup>391</sup> Hodgkinson saw the opportunity to turn this ‘fetish’ to good effect: games inculcating virtue. Fred Snell was no worshipper of games, but he prized the idea of challenge and fortitude (in climbing or in rugby). Bruce Fieldsend said that ‘on

the field nothing matters more than the game, off the field nothing matters less' though he was himself an accomplished sportsman for whom hockey and cricket in particular were exemplars of fitness, skill and discipline. My own two successors were notable sportsmen (Mike Bawden in hockey, and Jon Calderwood in athletics). I was the odd one in the middle with no sporting abilities whatsoever, and no particular desire to have them; it was only at Speech Day 2003 that I was prepared to announce this publicly, ten years after I had left. But that did not mean that I could not share the belief that games had real value: they harnessed the physical energy of most boys; they did teach lessons in team playing, discipline and training; they did give boys and parents much to talk about, enjoy and support. This was not to deny that there were other means of pursuing such virtues; it was simply to acknowledge that in the world in which we operated, games were a fine way of inculcating them. I found the last deciding over in a cricket match, or the relays at the end of an inter-school athletics competition, or the last five minutes of a 1st XV match when the score was evenly balanced, as nerve-racking and tense as any of my more sporting colleagues.

It is not surprising that Bill Holderness (P66) observed that 'sporting achievements were of course very highly rated', and James Broadley (E70) remembered 'the thrill and honour of representing Peterhouse at cricket, rugby and athletics'. Many would echo the comment by Patrick Boswell Brown (P85) that 'the African climate was very conducive to an outdoor and sporting lifestyle, both aspects close to my heart'. It is undoubtedly true that in any boys' boarding school games will loom large. Most boys enjoy them. So do many staff. Boys are gainfully employed, and they keep fit. Many represent the school in one or more sports. Many, perhaps the vast majority (staff and boys) enjoy the camaraderie and excitement of a 1st XV rugby match or an inter-school athletics competition. With a larger school in the 1980s, the range of sports increased, as did the opportunities for choice which increased as a boy grew older. A non-sporty boy, or one who was very much an individualist, could undertake cycling, table tennis, fencing, social swimming, squash. Even then the 'major sports' (though the official division of sports into 'major' and 'minor' was dropped) tended to dominate. Reg Querl arrived at the school in 1986 as its first Director of Sport, and some staff felt this led to an undue emphasis

## ‘PLAY THE GAME’

on that side of school life. The counter-argument, however, was that a much larger school needed the kind of organisation he represented; and a school in competition with others needed sporting success, which mattered enormously to many parents. The same applied at the girls’ school, if to a lesser degree. Martha Querl undertook the sports organisation there, and in the 1990s the numbers had risen sufficiently for them to take on much larger schools like Arundel and Chisipite with an even chance of winning. The arrival of girls at Peterhouse did not do much to change the sporting arrangements; there was little possibility of mixed-gender sport. In one respect, certainly, the boys gained more than the girls, whose enthusiastic support at 1st XV rugby matches was not reciprocated by any male enthusiasm for girls’ sports. Despite the greater levels of choice in games (and in other ‘afternoon activities’), the changes in the racial balance in the community, and the arrival of girls, the Peterhouse sporting tradition was as strong, as buoyant, in the new millennium as it had been in the 1950s. There was one change at the end of the century of which Fred Snell would not have approved – ‘rest’ was curtailed, so that games could start after 2pm rather than 2.30pm.

## Enrichment

'Here's a skyer for little Lovey-Boy!' Up would go the shout from my half-brother Antony (my first hero) and up, up, up would go the hard, red ball, high above the tall thick hedges... The ball always seemed to be suspended in mid-air as if in freeze-frame, and certainly long enough for everyone present – grandparents, parents, assorted aunts, cousins, half-siblings and so forth – to focus their attention on the blushing, nervous, curly-headed youth underneath it. 'Butterfingers!' came the hearty chorus in unison, as the ball, having suddenly plummeted with unexpected ferocity, popped out of my fumbling grasp. Following such habitual humiliations, I would retire, in a furious and tearful sulk...

Hugh Massingberd, *Daydream Believer: Confessions of a Hero-Worshipper* (London 2001) p 7

Boys at a boarding school like Peterhouse go to lessons and play team games; but they need, and usually want, to engage in other activities. These other activities – of their own choosing – may well prove to be an enrichment which will change their lives forever; or they may simply make school more bearable. For a few boys at Peterhouse, the compulsory appearances on the rugby or cricket field were almost unendurable, and they would have understood Hugh Massingberd's feelings of humiliation and frustration. For some boys, games were tiresome interludes. But such boys – and many others who enjoyed their team sports – often found pleasure in the range of activities which was on offer. There were some boys who would have preferred to indulge only in team sports, but this option (like that of not doing academic work) was not open to them. The possibility of being enriched by learning new skills or pursuing hobbies was always part

## ENRICHMENT

of the 'compulsory package' of afternoon activities. At least boys had a choice as to which of these activities they would pursue.

In 1980, even though the school was at its smallest, the number of clubs and societies was impressive.<sup>392</sup>

Angling	Fine arts	Photographic
Art	First Aid	Play reading
Astronomy	Folk song	Printing
Badminton	French films	Recorded music
Bee keeping	Golf	Rifle
Bridge	Gymnastics	Sailing
Carpentry	Indoor games	Science
Chess	Karate	Social services
Christian Fellowship	Model making	Stamps
Climbing	Model railways	Theatre workshop
Debating	Music	Vortex
Defensive driving	Natural history	Weight training
Engineering	Orchestra	Yoga
Fencing		

Drama can be a particularly important activity in a boarding school, with the pupils available for rehearsals at all kinds of times which would be impossible in a day school. It involves not only actors but technical crew, and set-builders, people to make props and organise costumes, or to do publicity and front of house; musicians were often involved. It can be an opportunity for staff and pupils to mix on more equal terms than normal. The very first offering at Peterhouse was what Norman Davis (later housemaster of Founders, and brother of the conductor Colin) described as that 'hackneyed parody of a spy thriller', *The Crimson Coconut*, which was performed in 1955 without benefit of front or side curtains, or proper lighting. The cast of the more demanding 1960 production, *Ruddigore*, had the embarrassment of singing their dress rehearsal in the presence of the Archbishop of Canterbury, who found it (as he confided to his diary) all 'very wooden, and often very flat', though Peter (Piggy) Ballance (G63) would have been embarrassed to know that he was the only Petrean singled out by name, because as Rosamund he 'sang his part with a good deal of ease and voice control'.<sup>393</sup>

Under the direction of John Greenacre, 'with advice from practically everybody', the open air theatre was completed in 1960.<sup>394</sup> It was a tremendous asset to the school; I used it for the weekly assemblies during most of my time as Rector (partly to avoid unnecessary weekly wear

and tear in the Fieldsend Hall). It created an area which was visually pleasing and which added interest to the huge sweep of the Great Court. The first production there, by John Davidson, was *Twelfth Night*, with Ivan Jacklin (E62) as the Fool; they were both to play a major part in the story of Peterhouse drama, which was transformed in 1962 when Martin Graham put on the first of his outdoor extravaganzas. *Macbeth* was noted for 'the magnificence of its set, the dramatic use of special effects, lighting and music'. Dunsinane Castle reared up at the back of the open air stage – a massive construction in gum poles and painted hessian. Horses added to the drama. Robert Stork (G63) – who played Fleance – remembered vividly his attempt to jump from the stage onto his horse in order to ride off into the darkness; he landed instead in an oleander bush, momentarily transforming tragedy to comedy. This did not deter Martin Graham, who continued to produce great open air plays – *Hamlet* (1963), *Julius Caesar* (1966), *Becket* (1967), *Richard III* (1968), *The Royal Hunt of the Sun* (1970), *Zigger-Zagger* (1974), and his final one before departing, *Richard III* again; on the first time round, girls had been introduced for the first time to play the female parts, and this tradition continued, and became so much easier with the opening of Peterhouse Girls'.

The senior dining hall was the other usual venue for plays. Hugh Ramsbotham's production of *Oliver* in 1970 was particularly noted for John Davidson's brilliant performance as Fagin, a *tour de force* he repeated in 1983 when the Fieldsend Hall was officially opened, though in fact the first play performed there was Ivan Jacklin's *Sleuth*. He and John Davidson had both been mainstays of drama. Jacklin (E63) was the first Petrean to join the staff (1973–82) and therefore the first Petrean who acted as a boy and as a member of staff, when he produced as well. His tally of productions, he claimed, was 20. He continued his interest in drama at Shiplake College in England, where he taught until his retirement in 1999.<sup>395</sup> John Davidson's own memory of Jacklin's production of *The Grass is Greener* is best told in his own words: 'At one point I shared a sofa, centre stage, with a nubile wench with whom I was attempting to canoodle when the worst happened: my umbilical hernia played up (I promise you) and through my abdominal muscle popped a lump of gut. As I attempted with my right hand to shovel the offending gut back to where it belonged, I had to remember words of love and make do with the



left hand to pursue the amorous caresses; some of the positions I was forced to take up would have made position number 27 of 'The Kama Sutra' look like child's play.'

But others also contributed to the tradition. Peter Taylor's production of *Twelve Angry Men* in 1973 won first prize in the national schools drama contest, and he managed the same feat again the next year with *The Caine Mutiny Court Martial*. Richard's Marriott's *Hadrian VII* (1984) and George Niven's *Twelfth Night* (1985) proved that there was still production talent around in the absence of a Jacklin or a Graham. After the arrival of Guy Cary (G66) drama became part of the curriculum for D Block, in an effort both to train up new talent and to allow boys (who had not yet reached the gawky adolescent age) to learn how to be natural and uninhibited on stage. He took on the new role of Director of Drama (as well as much else) and 1988 saw a huge variety of dramatic performances. There were six house plays, *Julius Caesar* (reviving the use of the open air theatre once again), *Deadly Nightshade*, produced by Jason Wallace (F87), who was a junior master at Springvale House, while the D Block presented *Silhouettes*. The Rector wrote and produced *Jack and the Beanstalk*, the first of a series of pantomimes which made up in mass enthusiasm (some 160 actors) and audience participation what they lacked in faithfulness to storyline. The girls put on their first play, *Acting Peculiar*, and the Springvale House children acted in four plays. The home-grown diet was salted by visitors – a group from Cranleigh (from my old house) came in 1985 with *Connect 5*, while a Welsh touring company sponsored by the British Council gave a superb *A Midsummer Night's Dream* in 1987. In the following year a small group from Uppingham presented *Macbeth* as part of the Peterhouse Festival, and having been rained off from the outdoor theatre, the actors then had to cope with power cuts in the Fieldsend Hall.

One of the great advantages of having been involved in school drama is the possibility that the skills and interest acquired can continue to be used in later life. There are examples of this among Petreans. Richard Hudson (M71) hated the school when he first arrived, feeling an outsider with 'no enthusiasm or talent for competitive sport'. He found an outlet in art, music and drama. He played Domingo in *The Royal Hunt of the Sun* (1970) and was awarded a distinction for set painting, as he had been the previous year 'for willingly and frequently

placing his artistic talents at the service of the school'. In 1971 he played both Cinna and Cicero in *Julius Caesar*, and Fabricius in *The Public Prosecutor*, for which he was also part of the stage crew. In his subsequent career he became a world renowned set and costume designer: he won a Tony for his set design for the Broadway production of *The Lion King*, and in 2004 designed the set for Wagner's Ring Cycle for the English National Opera. Sir John Southby (E66) relished his time as a backstage boffin, producing explosions on demand and organising the lighting for outdoor and indoor performances; at the end of the century he was a director of the new theatre in Milton Keynes. Peter Lawson (M73) – 'a very natural actor with a fine sense of timing'<sup>396</sup> – ended the century as a director of the Tron Theatre in Glasgow. Stuart Wilson (G64) played a soldier in the 1962 production of *Macbeth*.<sup>397</sup> In the 1964 production of *A Man for All Seasons* he 'scored a great success', for as the reviewer noted, 'whenever he appeared one's spirits lifted in anticipation'.<sup>398</sup> He went on to RADA, became a professional actor, and appeared often on TV in Britain (in *The Pallisers*, *The Jewel in the Crown*, *I Claudius* etc), and then went to California where he appeared in movies; he played (*inter alia*) the villain in *Lethal Weapon 3*, but was back in London in the new millennium playing Antony in the RSC's *Antony and Cleopatra*.

Many of the dramatic productions required music – John Hodgson at the organ or piano, Roger Hudson with his jazz band, or the various mini orchestras which seemed to appear out of nowhere for a particular event. Music, of course, was an important 'activity'. A snapshot of 1964 gives the flavour. There were the serious musical activities. The chapel choir – under senior chorister Chris Paterson (P65) – sang at the cathedral, and the parish churches in Marandellas and Mablereign. In chapel it sang the Vaughan Williams mass and John Hodgson's composition, *Ecce Sacerdos Magnus*. Sharing the organ playing was Murray Somerville (M65) who was to become Hodgson's most distinguished ex-pupil: he was Organ Scholar at New College Oxford, and went on to become the long-serving university organist at Harvard. The choral society sang *HMS Pinafore* in 1964, and took part in the *Messiah* at Marandellas High School. A male voice choir began its career. The music society celebrated its 100th meeting with a concert that attracted 190 people. Eleven boys sat the Associated Board music examinations; their examiner was Lionel

## ENRICHMENT

Dakers, organist of Exeter Cathedral. Boys could also join the bell ringing society, founded by James Milford and Peter Raynor, which preformed on handbells for concerts, and at the cathedral, where it celebrated the opening of the new bell tower in November by ringing a number of peals. There was a lighter musical side as well that year. The jazz club – with ‘an excessively long membership list’<sup>399</sup> – met to listen to records or watch films; they were also entertained by the most prominent of the four ‘bands’ in the school – ‘The Escorts’, whose members would later wince at the name they gave themselves, but who enjoyed not only making music, but smoking Lucky Strikes as they practised in the room the Rector had made available to them.

A quarter of a century later, Dr Dakers made another visit to the school. He was now the Director of the Royal School of Church Music, and he conducted the 44-strong chapel choir, as he had done 25 years before, at a special service. Boys – and girls – had a wide musical choice in 1988. They could still attend meetings of the music society, or join the orchestra or the newly revived jazz band. They could sing with the choral society and perform Haydn’s *Creation*; one of the soloists was a former long-serving secretary of the music society, Nicholas Hammond (E81). As audience or performers, many sang the nonsensical songs featured in that year’s pantomime. Some were forming a Christian band, which was to perform from the top of a bus to most of the school, and which became ‘Penguins in Africa’, and produced a CD. Even in the holidays boys and girls could keep playing. That year saw the 25th anniversary of Musicamp, which had been founded in 1964 ‘to stimulate interest in music among the youth of this country’.<sup>400</sup> While at Michaelhouse John Hodgson had ‘pioneered a Summer School to which boys and girls from various parts of Natal were invited’.<sup>401</sup> Rhodesia’s ‘Musicamp’ – of which he soon became the leading spirit – gave young musicians the opportunity to come together for a week’s intensive playing and performing. It became a great national institution (under the patronage of Lady Gibbs), holding its first camp on a farm near Fort Rixon, and its second at Peterhouse in 1965. After twelve years at the Marist Brothers’ College (Kwekwe) from 1966 to 1976, and with a year with no camp because of the security situation (1977), it was housed at various venues until returning to Peterhouse in 1986. The

## A SCHOOL IN AFRICA

Springvale site proved popular, and as Guy Cary (Musicamp manager from 1972) was resident there, it became the favoured venue.

But most boys most of the time favoured outdoor activities. All were expected to do a mixture of the main school sports and a choice of other afternoon activities – ranging from games like golf or squash, through sports-type activities like angling, judo or sailing, to chess or bridge. They could also choose non-sporting options. The natural history society run by Raymond Dunt from 1958 was a mixture of learning about flora and fauna via lectures and slide shows, and the more attractive opportunities to escape from the school on expeditions. There was encouragement from Margaret Snell, a keen and published ornithologist. One of the founding members, Robert Stork (G63), remembered becoming quite fixated with collecting butterflies, which the estate had in profusion. The arrival of Peter Ginn injected new energy. In 1962 he began publishing *The Wagtail*, which appeared annually giving reports on expeditions, and detailed data on bird weights, sightings of mammals, and collection of specimens. Copies may be consulted in institutions and museums in Southern Africa, Europe and America. A museum was established at the school. Major expeditions took place annually, led by Peter Ginn, assisted by John Greenacre and others; the Zambezi Valley, the Kalahari, Botswana, Hwange, were explored with the intention of collecting specimens, recording data, and allowing boys the fun and excitement of camping, trekking and seeing new sights. There were those who perhaps did not take the expeditions seriously enough. One boy remembered the 1973 expedition when 'J.T. took a wild shot at a fleeing sand grouse one evening and managed to hit a cow on the far side of the pan', and two locals were similarly affected, and vociferously demanded compensation; and the 'great mongoose hunt' which yielded a few squirrels as the only trophies. As Peter Ginn tartly responded: 'One would not, perhaps, gather from Standish-White's account that the expedition was anything but a glorious lark', and proceeded to list the achievements – identification of 163 different species of birds; 106 mammals were collected, including the first black-footed cat (*Negris nigripes*) recorded in Botswana as being found pregnant; 29 different species of snakes and lizards caught; 125 species of plants gathered. All this was recorded and published.

## ENRICHMENT

One of the first expeditions, in 1963, visited Devuli ranch in the Sabi Valley, said then to have been the largest ranch in the world. Anthony de la Rue (M65), a member of the expedition to his own home, was also a leading light in the snake club, as his sons were to be in the 1980s. The moving force in the establishment of the Herpetology Branch of the Natural History Society was Richard Clothier (M63) whose skills were such that when a snake was found in the Rector's garden, he was called out of class to cope with it; with his chosen assistant he managed to capture the large black Egyptian cobra and secure it in the Rector's dustbin. Rather less successful was his encounter with a local young 'witch doctor' who had recently acquired the mantle of his late father, and wanted Richard to provide him with 'muti' – medicine to allow him to hold a snake safely. Richard and his assistants met the witch doctor and his supporters near the science block, and proceeded to give them a lesson on the use of snake bite kit and showed them different species and how to handle them. The witch doctor was not impressed, and 'in a fuming rage cast a spell over me and stormed off with his bewildered supporters'.

In the mid-1980s, Gosho Park became the main focus for natural history, or 'conservation education' as it was now called. A related activity was falconry. This had flourished in the days of Anthony Kemp (G62) and Richard Harland (E62), whose rare Martial eagle was featured in photographs and a story in the *Rhodesia Herald*. But it was Reg Querl's arrival in 1986 which saw the great expansion of falconry. He began a raptor breeding programme and built a headquarters (near the Rector's Lodge) where unsuspecting visitors who happened to pass by were taken aback by huge birds of prey squawking at them and looking fierce (but – mercifully – tethered). The number of boys involved remained small, but their impact was large: falconry demonstrations entertained visiting parents, and one of the birds featured in an advert on local television. Reg Querl made the point in 1989 that Peterhouse and Falcon were, as far as was known, the only schools in the world to operate fully functional falconry clubs.

The climbing club was founded in 1958, with the full backing of the Rector, who nipped off to Inyanga or the Chimanimanis as often as he could, and one memorable year (1959) took his son Michael (F61) with him to revisit his old haunts in India, climbing in Kashmir

as he had done 27 years previously. For one of the first boys at Peterhouse, climbing – as he later wrote – ‘turned out to be a skill which I could use in other countries and other terrains’, adding (in an unexpected twist) that it ‘indirectly led to my career as a surgeon’.<sup>402</sup> Kilimanjaro was ‘severely assaulted from two sides’ by a select group in 1959. Mountains also featured in the new departure announced by the Rector in 1960. The boys in the top half of B Block could volunteer for a 1961 expedition to the Chimanimanis, to gain ‘some experience of untamed nature’. This developed into an annual event for all B Block boys, who went away during term time for just under a week in the mountains. It has continued ever since, except for a short time during the war when the terrain was considered too dangerous. For some it was, and is, something of a trial, but many boys testify to having found it an exhilarating or liberating experience. Edmund Katso (E71), one of the early black boys at Peterhouse who later returned (twice) as a master, recalled those expeditions as ‘a turning point in my life’, because he could look on white boys for the first time as ‘fellow victims... up the second highest mountain in the country, plucking chickens, rescuing each other from near death situations, and LOVING it’.<sup>403</sup>

Of course there were those who preferred more sedate activities – bridge and chess were notable as intellectually challenging pursuits which allowed boys to play for the school. There was always significant boy input in the library, and Eliot Muchena in the late 1980s began to instruct them in book binding, a skill which he himself had recently acquired. There were boys who liked to help in the tuck shop. Elizabeth ran this while we were there, as Liza Fieldsend had before her. As the school had grown so much, it was a time-consuming activity. The profits went not to her, but to things around the school that would improve the quality of life for the boys (who had an input into the decisions); televisions, and revamped tennis courts were among the improvements thus funded. As the pressure on the tuck shop grew, some staff also volunteered, and it was important to bear in mind that this was a significant contribution to the life of the school, in the same way that had always been recognised in taking games. The original Peterhouse staff had all themselves experienced, as teachers or pupils, the rich diversity of boarding school life, and the extraordinary commitment which members of staff were required

to give. Some staff without that background, especially in the 1980s and 1990s, were surprised by the intensity of the contribution they were expected to make. But there was no doubt that the success of Peterhouse depended upon such commitment; it elicited a similar commitment from the boys.

Staff who had particular specialisms – in the more creative activities like art, music, woodwork, photography, engineering, were able to offer their skills outside the timetable, and this allowed some boys the opportunity to develop the talents they already had, or to learn new skills. Some ‘activities’ tended to come and go, to wax or wane, depending on the enthusiasm of a member of staff, or the commitment of a small group of boys. Some boys managed to confine their afternoon activities to pursuits which were merely an extension of their major sporting concerns like rugby or cricket, and filled their afternoon slots by playing squash or doing weight training. Housemasters could try to encourage such boys to broaden their interests, but it was sometimes a losing battle.

At a school in the bush, the opportunities for ‘social service’ were limited, and in the early days service to the community was represented by ‘labour’ – helping with work on the estate. Although boys were always taught to think of others, and to give generously (in chapel collections for instance) to the less fortunate, nothing can effectively substitute for being confronted with people in need. A social services club was founded in 1972, at the Rector’s suggestion, to do practical work rather than fund-raising; they went weekly to Borradaile Trust (the old people’s complex in Marandellas) to weed the gardens and to help in the hospital. The defunct night school was also revived. It had been started by Arthur Pattison, retired headmaster of Plumtree who taught at Peterhouse from 1960 to 1965.<sup>404</sup> Its purpose was to teach African workers who had missed out on formal education, though by 1977 it had closed again – a casualty of the war: ‘attendance was poor and our members were nervous of going to the African village at night time’.<sup>405</sup> It was revived when the war ended. A different opportunity arose in 1984 when I heard that some people in Marondera – led by Dr Kevin Martin who was later to become the school doctor, and John MacIlwaine – had begun to raise money for a day centre which would cater for children with mental or physical handicaps, whose parents had very limited means and who in addition suffered a social

stigma. The centre would be in Dombotombo, Marondera's 'African township'. I became involved and offered, in the first instance, financial support. In 1985 Kukura Neshungu (which means 'to grow up with courage') opened in temporary accommodation. When members of my house at Cranleigh came out in 1985, they gave a significant donation in support.<sup>406</sup> Subsequently, each week, boys went in school transport to collect a dozen children and bring them back to Peterhouse for activities like swimming, painting, playing games – and even training for the paralympics: in the purpose-built school which eventually opened in 1990, their 'gold medals' were (and are) on display. When the girls' school opened, they too ran a 'Kukura Neshungu' option. Similar initiatives were possible after Interact (the junior branch of Rotary) was started. Its impact on the school was particularly evident during the terrible drought of 1992. After ten years of below average rainfall, the 1991–92 rainy season had resulted in falls of at most half the required levels. Water rationing was imposed at the school. Interact raised money to buy food and clothing, borrowed a lorry from a parent, and set off for a badly affected region – Chivi, south of Masvingo. They came back shaken at what they had seen, and Guy Cary (who had started the Interact club) gave a moving description in chapel on his arrival back. The school responded by launching the 'Peterhouse drought relief campaign', which resulted in further relief expeditions, and brought home to pupils who were merely inconvenienced by the water shortage that for many in the land it was life-threatening. Interact was joined in the 1990s by a Leo club (junior branch of the Lions) run by David Makwindi (housemaster of Founders) and then by Andy Griggs (housemaster of Snell). It offered opportunities for yet more pupils to be involved in social service – visiting and financially supporting the children's ward in the local hospital, and Nyameni children's home.

The 'enrichment' which boys enjoyed as a result of the afternoon activities was the motive for the establishment of the 'Peterhouse Festival', which was instituted in 1985. It was partly a PR exercise – Petreans, parents, prospective parents and their sons (and later, daughters) were invited during the course of a weekend to watch sports, enjoy concerts and plays and braais (barbecues), and view boys abseiling or demonstrating their skills in falconry. But it was also an attempt to ensure that boys who did not play in major team sports



## ENRICHMENT

could demonstrate their skills and enthusiasm to a wider audience. I also regarded it as a bit of 'fun'. One festival had a French theme – with a French café, the tricolour flying from the flagpole, and French newspapers (without warning) substituted for the local newspapers which were delivered each morning. Intended initially as a 'one-off', it became a tradition and has happened every other year since 1985, masterminded first by Guy Cary, and then by John Barrie.

The headmaster of Ardingly, writing in 1959 in defence of the public schools, noted that 'the boy who does not play games is no longer thought peculiar, still less despised. This is wholly good, and characteristic of the tendency today in schools, where all are tolerated and respected for whatever they may contribute.'<sup>407</sup> Perhaps he was being a little optimistic for the 1950s. Heads, then and now, do have a tendency to view their schools in roseate hues, and to attribute to them characteristics which they believe they ought to have. Nevertheless, his words represent the aspiration which all Rectors of Peterhouse have cherished: that in their school, a boy will be admired for whatever he contributes to the common weal and the sum total of happiness and purpose in the community. In so doing, they would say, a boy is himself enriched.

## *A Zimbabwean School*

Unless the Lord builds the house,  
 those who build it labour in vain.  
 Unless the Lord guards the city,  
 the guard keeps watch in vain.  
 It is in vain that you rise up early and go late to rest,  
 eating the bread of anxious toil;  
 for he gives sleep to his beloved.

Psalm 127, vv 1 and 2 (*New Revised Standard Version*)

In 1980 there were 180 boys at Peterhouse. In 1990 there were 940 boys and girls: 536 at the boys' school, 214 at the girls', and 190 at Springvale House. To cope with the expansion of numbers, building operations had been unceasing throughout the 1980s, after the initial burst as a result of the 1980 appeal. A short list of these gives a flavour:

- 1986 Two new chemistry laboratories  
 New quadrangle of buildings at Springvale House
- 1987 Extension of cricket pavilion  
 New book room  
 Three new staff houses
- 1988 Sir Mark Weinberg Computer Room  
 Tinokura, the D Block house  
 Major extension of the chapel organ  
 Two all-weather tennis courts
- 1989 New teaching rooms at the girl's school  
 Williams House: 'cottages' for girls' boarding accommodation  
 Design centre (opened by the Archbishop of Canterbury)  
 Sports pavilion (named after Peter Ginn)  
 New swimming pool on the Springvale site  
 Four new tennis courts at Peterhouse Girls'

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- New area for the school's maintenance and transport departments
- Extension of the girls' dining room
- Five new staff houses
- 1990 Three more cottages for the girls
- Extra dormitory accommodation at Springvale House
- New squash court at Springvale

In addition, the boarding houses were upgraded. For example, 16 new bedsits were carved out of some of the toys rooms in Malvern in 1986, and super-toyes (where boys could sleep as well as work) were created in Ellis and Paget in 1987. A Beit Trust grant enabled the purchase of £10,000 worth of science equipment in 1988, and upgraded water systems were installed on the Springvale site in 1989. In 1990 the dining halls at the boys' school were revamped, creating the facilities for the full introduction of cafeteria feeding, which Bruce Fieldsend had proposed in 1980, but which was put off as other as other more pressing projects were completed. When I arrived (from a school with cafeteria feeding) I felt that this was not a priority, and that the old system was more civilised. As numbers rose, this was increasingly less persuasive; and indeed the hierarchical drama at mealtimes (bell sounding, boys standing at tables, prefects entering in silence, grace, and then the serving of food – usually inequitably – by a senior at each table) seemed out of tune with the spirit of the times.

Building activity was not confined to the Peterhouse Group of Schools. In 1984 when I joined the CHISZ executive committee, there had been 18 schools; by 1989 there were 34, and I warned, in my chairman's address to CHISZ, that 'we are probably on the brink of a situation where there are too many (independent) schools, too many places, and not enough demand to fill them'. I was wrong; by the end of the century, there were 60 schools. This reflects the changed economic circumstances in the country. Trade liberalisation, and the government's Economic Structural Adjustment Programme (ESAP) linked Zimbabwe into world trade as never before. The rich were becoming richer (and therefore more willing and able to pay our fees), and there were more of them. But the poor were becoming poorer – the losers in ESAP. In the wake of the fall of Communism, I noted at the 1991 CHISZ conference that 'we were never devotees of dialectical materialism, and that is dying anyway;' but suggested that 'we are, however, I fear, likely to become slaves to a grosser

materialism, which measures our jobs and our status purely in terms of the financial rewards'. It certainly seemed that 'materialism' was a feature of Zimbabwe in the 1990s. The difficulty of attracting staff was a consequence of this: good black staff were particularly difficult to come by. In the 1960s teaching was one of the few jobs open to blacks, which gained them security and social standing. In the 1990s teaching offered rewards that seemed paltry compared with those in commerce and industry. Other underlying strains were evident nationally. AIDS was a growing problem, which government was reluctant to deal with. At Peterhouse, we had our first AIDS seminar for sixth formers in 1987. When Colin Gibson, the head of history, was diagnosed HIV positive in 1991, he continued to teach, then stayed in his house and was visited by staff and boys when he became too weak to go out; and when he died, a requiem mass was celebrated in the school chapel. Thereby we tried to break the wall of silence, in our own small way.

In the early 1990s, the school was full, there were plans for significant capital developments, and there was little political interference in the independent school sector. But late 1992 brought us all down to earth; as we have seen before, when things seem to be going well, some trouble or tragedy comes along to shake everyone. The terrible drought in the region meant severe water restrictions and fears for the harvest. The Michaelmas term was the longest on record, the previous term having been foreshortened because of the national census. In a series of incidents during the long hot days of October and November some staff were dismissed, some boys were expelled, and there were cases of bullying. I was reluctant, in the circumstances, to put into operation my plan to leave at the end of my tenth year, in 1993. But the pull of family commitments in the UK, and the need to find another job after Peterhouse, were strong enough reasons for me to propose to Bob Williams that I should announce my departure early in 1993. In many (perhaps most) ways I did not want to leave; there were still so many things to do. But, like Fred Snell and Bruce Fieldsend, I felt that a decade as Rector was about right; circumstances had conspired to keep Bruce in post longer than he would have wished, and long enough for him to see a significant upturn in the school's fortunes after the war. I knew that the stresses and strains of the Michaelmas term 1992 would pass, and that the Peter-

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house Group of Schools was now in a position to benefit from some years of consolidation. The three schools were full, and the applicant lists were strong. And 'consolidation' would not mean stagnation or lack of development, for a huge new project was already under way. A memorial to Sir Humphrey Gibbs had attracted good financial support from Zimbabwe, and also from the United Kingdom, where Sir Roger Gibbs had thrown himself into the campaign. An Old Etonian, he was a nephew of Humphrey, and an experienced fund-raiser, as well as being the head of the Wellcome Foundation (the greatest charitable institution in the UK, though its monies were targeted solely at medical research and development.) His efforts, and those of Petreans like Rupert Pennant-Rea and Chris Paterson, were attracting much support. Before I left, the plans were drawn up for a 'Gibbs Centre' – initially it was to transform the rather tawdry area of the kitchen yard and the old laundry. But, inspired by the ideas of Dick Turpin (later to become Chairman of the Governors) and Mark Claypole, our architect, a new and more exciting plan was evolved. The school would be given a new court, to the north of the original admin block, which would form one side, and the chapel another; the other two sides would be new buildings to house offices and classrooms. The Gibbs Court would be the first area of the school that visitors would enter, and would be a suitable memorial to Sir Humphrey. Dame Molly would be commemorated in a smaller court alongside, which would provide facilities for the girls.

The business of finding a new Rector was launched once more, in late February 1993. Again, the Governors chose a candidate from Britain, Mike Bawden, a mathematician at Wellington. His name had already appeared in a Peterhouse publication – he was thanked in the 'Europe Hockey Tour 1989' booklet for having organised the team's itinerary in the UK. He was educated at Dean Close School and at Queens' College, Cambridge. He had taught at Charterhouse and had run a house at Wellington for twelve years. He had military experience too, involved with school CCFs for twenty years, and as a captain in the Territorial Army Volunteer Reserve. Unfortunately, he could not take up office in January 1994, but after a term when the Sub-Rector, John Greenacre, ran the school, the Bawdens arrived in March. The new Rector had proposed to his fiancé at the Victoria Falls the year before, so though appointed as a bachelor, took office

as a married man. The omens were good. He was a games player: a Cambridge hockey blue, captaining the side in 1968, he had also played for the England Under 23 team, and was a cricketer as well. Although only two years younger than I, he brought fresh experience and a new verve. The period before his arrival was filled with much activity at the Lodge, which had been neglected during the years of school development and expansion. Even before we departed, the old 1950s kitchen was ripped out and a new one created. During the term when the Lodge was vacant, much structural work was done, and a complete facelift transformed it before the new Rector arrived; the contrast with our own arrival (when we had been allowed the re-painting of three downstairs rooms) spoke volumes about the school's greater financial security, and also about the Governors' enhanced appreciation of the size of the job they were asking the new Rector to undertake.

He could not have expected the crisis which blew up in his second term. One Sunday morning Phil Ward's new wife went out early. Gerry was the widow of Joe Porter who, as we have seen, was killed in a road accident in 1976. It was assumed that she had walked out through the south gate and struck overland to visit her parents' farm. The phones were not working that day, and it was only on Monday morning that it became clear she had gone missing. The school was mobilised, and boys began doing a sweep from the school in the direction of the parents' house; others did the reverse. By Monday afternoon she had not been found, and a different strategy was adopted. Groups of boys, each with a member of staff, searched specific areas. Local farmers offered assistance, but the wet and misty weather precluded the use of proffered hang gliders. On Tuesday morning the search was resumed; by mistake a group under George Niven went again along the river out of the new dam, and at about 11.30am Shaun Smit (F97) reported that he had 'stumbled across her'. He had gone down to the river to refill his water bottle, and saw Mrs Ward's hand – she was almost completely concealed under a rock by the river; the prayers of many had been answered. She was collected on a stretcher and taken to the local hospital. Tinashe Makoni (P99) remembers Phil Ward addressing the school before the film on the subsequent Saturday evening, and after thanking them 'he told us to look under our seats where we found a cold drink and some popcorn for every

single boy in the school'. At the Advent Service the next day, Mrs Ward read from Psalm 121: 'I will lift up mine eyes unto the hills, from whence cometh my help.' The Rector wrote in his end of term letter: 'The incident brought home to me many things, but the overwhelming impression was the fantastic spirit that was generated in the community by groups of people working together towards a common aim. There was not a single complaint or moan from anyone involved, although to many it must have seemed a hopeless task. The response from the local community with offers of help with planes, micro-lights or just men to help with the searching was just fantastic, and one only needed to see the looks on the faces of the boys when they learnt that she had been found, to know how much it meant to everyone... I am beginning to find that there is more to being a headmaster in Africa than I had realised.'<sup>408</sup>

Mike Bawden faced two rather more traditional challenges in his first couple of terms. In the winter of 1994, he had to expel two boys for bullying.<sup>409</sup> The usual mechanisms operated: the boys (inevitably) thought the new Rector was out of tune with the ethos of the school; he believed (rightly) that bullying could not be tolerated. He also tackled the problem of 'fagging'. It was a tradition which, Bruce Fieldsend had told me, he wished he had stopped; in fact that was top of his 'wish list'. John Davidson, experimenting with a more 'liberal' regime, had banned it temporarily in Grinham in 1977.<sup>410</sup> Curiously, this was the same year in which the Rector was told by a prospective parent that 'if his son had to fag for an African he would not send him here'.<sup>411</sup> As from 1981 the Rector had got the housemasters to agree that 'personal fagging should be restricted to prefects in order to relieve them of chores because they are doing a specific job'.<sup>412</sup> I did not have a problem with such a formula, but it was abused, and all sixth formers, and even fifth formers, regarded it as their right to command squacks to do chores for them. So in 1984 I decided to 'abolish' fagging for the sixth form, a decision which was soon reinforced by the removal of C and D Blocks to the new lower school.<sup>413</sup> The opening of the sixth form bar, in January 1985, was meant to be something of a *quid pro quo* (as well as providing an opportunity for staff and sixth formers to drink, and sometimes, eat, together, in the unlikely surroundings of the nursery school garden.) Mike Bawden decided that it was appropriate to reinstate formal 'fagging' for sixth

formers, partly to ensure that the lines of communication between small boys and the seniors were opened up, particularly in an attempt to nip any bullying in the bud – bullying being perhaps more often undertaken by boys a year or two older than the newest boys, rather than by the seniors. One perceptive Old Girl of Peterhouse (Edith Gosho PHG98) has remarked that she was surprised that a senior boy told a squack to carry her bag: ‘seniors felt it was pay-back time for what they had encountered during the years gone by, and felt it developed the boys into manhood’. There was, too, the argument that rich children (black or white) could learn something from having to be a servant rather than a master. I had some sympathy for that; there was something to be said for an institution which was publicly accepted, as opposed to clandestine oppression of younger boys by older ones. Eton in 1980 ‘could say that personal fagging had been abolished’.<sup>414</sup> Presumably at Eton, as at Peterhouse, younger boys continued to be the ones who put the chairs away after a concert, or ran errands for their seniors. But the whole context had changed from the monastic institution of the early years when exeats were rare and parental visits limited. The greatest development was the involvement in the life of the school of the parents.

‘They tuck you up, your mum and dad’! A writer in *The Times* claimed that this, rather than the first line of Philip Larkin’s famous poem, is the experience of many, if not most children. His parents, he claimed, did not foul up his life, but loved him, cared for him, tucked him up in bed at night, and helped him to become the man he is. Fred Snell certainly, as we have seen, wanted to keep parents at arm’s length. This, he once explained to me, was one reason for planting pines all along the school side of the main Salisbury–Umtali road; that was the only stretch of land on the estate flat enough for the creation of an air-strip. And that he did not want. John Coates remembers how Snell was once confronted with a mother pouring out an endless stream of complaints. ‘Madam,’ he told her, ‘you are the sort of parent who makes me wish I was the headmaster of an orphanage.’ Until the 1960s, this was probably the attitude of most headmasters of public schools. And it seemed to chime in with the expectations of parents. Half-terms were non-existent in many boarding schools, and ‘leave outs’ meant that children could be taken out on a Sunday for lunch – but had to be back in time for chapel. Generally parents did not



complain. That was the system they had been brought up in, and had bought into. In Britain in the 1970s things changed: parents expected, even demanded, more access to their sons at school. Why was this? The Headmasters' Conference in 1966 had expressed 'gloom about the future' and the conventional wisdom of the age seemed to suggest that public schools – or more particularly, boarding schools – were outmoded.<sup>415</sup> The relative cost of a public school education had risen beyond the reach of many who in the past would have chosen it with scarcely a second thought. Schools had to make greater efforts to charm parents (especially mothers), so there was more emphasis on visiting schools, attending Open Days, turning up for matches and concerts. But there was another aspect: more mothers worked. There was – perhaps – a sense of guilt about sending children away to school – a guilt that could be assuaged by more frequent contact with their son and his school.

The home life of boys had changed enormously, the pace quickening in the 1960s and 1970s. In Britain, fitted carpets, central heating, telephones and televisions, were now regarded as the norm. Boys who had slept in cold and Spartan dormitories in an earlier age had simply been replicating their experience of home – but with the added attraction of having their mates to talk to and fool around with. Fred Snell had written in 1952 that the most famous public schools in England were known to have the least luxury, and concluded that there were many parents 'who are prepared to pay for the things of the spirit and mind and put bodily comforts and some of the hygienic fads second'.<sup>416</sup> That was no longer true. Now, dormitories and studies needed to be warm, colourful, carpeted, to match the expectations inculcated at home. All this helped to change the nature of parental contact with boarding schools in the United Kingdom in the 1970s. The impact was later in Zimbabwe. Already in 1968, during Bruce Fieldsend's first year as Rector, the decision was taken to launch what became known as Parent–Master meetings, for the A Block and sixth form.<sup>417</sup> They became an annual fixture for parents of boys in all blocks – largely to provide verbal feedback mainly on a boy's academic (and social) progress. A short-lived Parents Council was established at Peterhouse in 1979, but this was against the backdrop of falling numbers, and was an attempt to mobilise the parents to drum up support for the school.<sup>418</sup> Throughout the 1980s, there were

occasional calls for the establishment of a Parent-Teacher Association, such PTAs having been a significant feature of government schools. In the period 1982-86 there was some migration of (white) boys from such schools, and their parents were used to 'having a say'. It was evident in the founding of Watershed, the new private school just ten miles from Peterhouse, that it was seen by both founders and prospective parents as an attempt to replicate the features of a government school, like Marondera High - for which it was in a sense a substitute. But such parental controls - whether through the governing body or via a PTA - were foreign to the ethos and tradition of the 'public school'. John Rae explained why, in a letter responding to such a parental demand: he admitted that it 'makes the school more responsive to their wishes'. But, he added, 'whether that is invariably a good thing for the school is more open to question. The time scale of parents' interest in the school is short; that will make them impatient with inertia or delay, but it may also encourage them to support wrong priorities, particularly in capital expenditure.'<sup>419</sup> It is worth noting that Snell's suspicion of parental involvement was extended also to unease at any undue 'Old Boy' influence; this was hardly a problem at Peterhouse in the early years, but he had seen the destructive nature of an over-mighty Old Boy caucus at Eastbourne, and then at Michaelhouse, and even more significantly at nearby Hilton.

My response to the demand for a PTA was to welcome parents, to encourage house events, and to educate parents into seeing that the housemaster was their main point of contact within a boarding school like Peterhouse. But I would say that the early 1990s saw a more significant shift in the way parents regarded the school, and vice versa. Many of the factors were the same as those evident in Britain 20 years earlier. In addition, from the mid-1980s onwards Zimbabwean parents had an increasingly wide choice for their sons, with many new boarding and day places available at new schools. So all schools, even the old-established ones, had to sell themselves. In the mid-1980s, and again in the mid-1990s, specific campaigns were inaugurated to take Peterhouse to the people - staff travelling to different parts of the country to 'sell' Peterhouse and its particular ethos to prospective customers. Mike Bawden took the message even further afield, to Malawi and Kenya. Most of the parents being targeted were - as they always had been - caring and loving. The

myth that boarding schools exist for parents who want to 'get rid' of their children is not borne out in the experience of housemasters and headmasters. Most parents believed that they were doing the best for their sons by sending them to boarding school. Some – and in my experience it was always a small minority – used boarding school as a convenient salve for their own consciences. What went wrong with their sons could be attributed to the boarding school experience; such success as their sons achieved was due to their family background and the support from home! Parental involvement in the life of Peterhouse certainly increased throughout the 1980s and 1990s. Events like the Peterhouse Festival, or the Saturday afternoon 1st XV home matches in the winter term, became huge crowd-pullers. House braais at Sunday lunchtime became a focus of parental involvement. And at certain times – especially during the years of crisis in the farming community and within the nation at large at the beginning of the 21st century – Peterhouse was a haven both for the parents and for their sons and daughters. One elderly visitor in 2002 commented, having attended a variety concert at the school, that 'it was so wonderful to come to Peterhouse where things were normal and where people were getting on with life in such a positive way'.<sup>420</sup>

When Mike Bawden arrived, a very different, but positive, innovation was at the planning stage: a memorial to Humphrey Gibbs was on the drawing board, though no building had begun. The new Rector's first years were dominated by that huge development, and by another less glamorous one. After a decade of below average rainfall, and especially after the terrible drought of 1992, EXCO was looking for ways to expand the school's water supply. The sinking of boreholes (as had been done in 1992) was only partially successful. A million dollar project was conceived in 1995 to build a pipeline from the huge and underused dam at the nearby agricultural college (Kushinga Phikelela). The dam had some ten years' supply of water, even if there were droughts; as it happened, when the supply came on-stream for the school, the country experienced some of its wettest summers ever, but at least the security of the water supply was assured. Then in 1996 the Humphrey Gibbs Centre was completed. John Carter had been determined that the new buildings be prestigious and of the finest finish, and his dream was realised. The official opening, on All Saints' Day 1996, was performed by Sir Roger Gibbs; the Bishop of

Harare dedicated the buildings, and the British High Commissioner read out a message from Her Majesty, Queen Elizabeth the Queen Mother, with whom Humphrey had danced, somewhat nervously, at Government House in 1953; he and Molly had also hosted her in 1960 when she visited the country to open the Kariba Dam. Nine years later, when they went to Balmoral to take leave of the Queen when Humphrey's ten-year-long Governorship finally ended, they were driven ('too fast', as Molly said) by Prince Charles to have tea with the Queen Mother. So it was fitting that her message was part of the proceedings; she wrote: 'On the occasion of the opening of the Humphrey Gibbs Centre at Peterhouse I send you all my best wishes. Sir Humphrey set a shining example of service to both Great Britain and Zimbabwe, and I am delighted to know that his name is being honoured so fittingly...' For the boys and girls who watched the ceremony, Sir Roger's closing remarks may have been even more enthusiastically received. 'You will have gathered', he said, 'that I went to Eton and Millfield. I know some of you believe that I am entering my second childhood, but if I was 12 again and I had a say, I would not go to Eton, I would not go to Millfield, I would come to Peterhouse.'

The Rector's third Speech Day was thus a memorable one, and he was able to point to other achievements as well, not least the birth of a daughter, Charlotte: the first child born to a Rector while in office (to be followed by a son three years later). The shadows cast by some incidents of bullying and drug abuse were by the end of the year set in perspective; the school rejoiced in its second best A level results ever, and there were some excellent music performances – Haydn's *Creation* and Fauré's *Requiem*. One boy was selected for the national cricket side, and two for the Zimbabwe Schools' golf side. Even more impressive was the fact that two of the top four squash players in the country at Under 19 level were Peterhouse boys – both of them under 16. But the Rector learnt, as all Rectors do, that just as things seem to be going well, a disaster occurs. Three weeks after the opening of the Gibbs Centre, the *Sunday Mail* carried a banner headline: 'Elitist school rocked by allegations of racism'. In the course of a somewhat rambling and largely inaccurate article, one particular charge was levied: that 'by the end of next month nine black teachers will have left the institution, some on their own accord and others dismissed,

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within a space of two years'.<sup>421</sup> Other allegations were piled up: that no white teacher had ever been fired; that most of the white teachers were expatriates, and that black teachers were treated badly by their white colleagues. On a different front, a hymn in 'the school's hymn book' was attacked as racist. It was Sidney Carter's ironic 'No use knocking at the window'; the offending verse was:

Jesus Christ has gone to heaven;  
One day he'll be coming back, sir.  
In this house he will be welcome,  
But we hope he won't be black, sir.

It is based on Christ's story (Luke 11) of the householder reluctant to get up when his friend knocks on his door at night, and appeared in *A Hundred Hymns for Today*, a popular collection of hymns in the modern idiom, some very good and some rather banal. It complemented the more traditional *English Hymnal* in the school chapel. The newspaper reported that the school 'had since stopped singing the hymn'. In fact, it had never been sung.

A week later the same newspaper reported that 'the Government has launched investigations into allegations of racism at Peterhouse'.<sup>422</sup> In the course of the subsequent week it became evident where the pressure was coming from; a delegation of students from the University of Zimbabwe issued a press release, stating that they had paid a 'curtsey [sic] call' on the Rector, and that he had 'confessed' to a string of 'offences'.<sup>423</sup> He had in fact met with the students, in the presence of some police officers, though their interpretation of his statements was, obviously, somewhat skewed.<sup>424</sup> Then a delegation of 50 students turned up at the school gates a few days later, and was refused admittance.<sup>425</sup> The story kept rolling in the press: the *Sunday Mail* announced: 'Ministry stops expat teacher scheme',<sup>426</sup> and a week later: 'Why did we let Peterhouse happen?'<sup>427</sup> The *Herald* carried a leader entitled 'Whites must accept change', asserting that 'the hand of friendship and reconciliation is still there; unfortunately it is not being grasped'.<sup>428</sup> The school's considered response was to issue a low-key statement, over the signature of the Director of Administration, Erith Harris, rather than that of the Rector. It was sent to all parents and Petreans, listing the growing number of charges of racism – and rebutting them. Allegations that most teachers were expatriates, that the President's portrait was not on display, that the National Anthem

was never sung, and that Africa Day was never celebrated, were all quite simply untrue. One newspaper, the *Zimbabwe Independent*, asked, on hearing the rebuttals, 'Does this all sound a little different from what we have been told?', and attacked the Ministry of Education for making a 'major policy decision affecting the recruitment of teachers' (i.e. the ban on expatriate teachers) 'upon the basis of what now turns out to be mostly false and distorted reports. What a way to proceed.'<sup>429</sup> The situation took a particularly ugly turn towards the end of term, when the Rector received an anonymous phone call advising him that students were about to invade the school again, with the intention of targeting him, his wife Tiggy and their daughter Charlotte. Mother and child left quickly by the back gate to stay in Harare with John and Angela Carter. The Rector was left to contemplate a plan of action, undisturbed (as it happened) by any student activists, but reminded once more, as he watched the evening news on television, that the media were not going to let the matter drop. He knew that there were 'two entirely separate issues' which had to be addressed. One was the charges of racism; they had been rebutted by the document circulated by the Director of Administration, though still continued to be bandied about. The other was the dismissal of two black teachers; that would go to the Labour Court, but the Rector was in no doubt that they were not good schoolmasters, and their dismissal had been 'in the best interests of the school'.<sup>430</sup> Stuart Matinson, in his capacity as chairman of the ATS, had called a meeting of heads and Board chairmen for early January, as the issues raised (and other related issues) were a threat to all schools; but he hoped that 'the Christmas season will give people something else to talk about'.<sup>431</sup>

It was not to be. During the first three months of 1997, the *Sunday Mail* in particular kept coming back to the subject, with headlines such as 'Five new white teachers arrive at Peterhouse' in January, and 'Ministries to discuss Peterhouse' in March.<sup>432</sup> Other newspapers tagged along with headlines declaring 'Wipe out racism', and 'Ministry not keen to keep Peterhouse Rector'.<sup>433</sup> At an extraordinary meeting of the Board of Governors in February, the position was clearly set out. The school's legal position regarding the dismissed teachers was watertight, and the court soon agreed. The absurd allegations of racism – in the *Sunday Mail* – could have been the basis for a legal action against the newspaper; it was decided not

to proceed with that. It was clear too that the government was not behind the anti-Peterhouse campaign, as Didymus Mutasa (a long-standing Governor of the school) made clear. It was evident that the two dismissed teachers had contacted their friends at the university; one of them had a brother on the Student Council. In retrospect it became even clearer that the university students saw the issue as a convenient one with which to attack the establishment; they were led by Learnmore Jongwe, in his second year at the University, and at the beginning of a political career which saw him become a prominent MDC MP, and ended in the murder of his wife, and his own death in mysterious circumstances while on remand in October 2002.

There is a sense in which the whole Peterhouse 'racism' saga was merely another symptom of the way things were going in Zimbabwe in the 1990s. They opened with the general election of 1990, characterised by university lecturer Jonathan Moyo as 'not, objectively speaking, free and fair'.<sup>434</sup> By the end of the decade this same Moyo was the outspoken protagonist of an increasingly restrictive regime. The 1990s had also opened with the abandonment of plans for a one-party state, and the launch of ESAP. Yet the first half of the decade was shot through with growing popular discontent. It was the discontent of the economically disenfranchised, and it often took the form of attacking whites. In June 1991 Vice-President Nkomo told the Indigenous Black Business Centre that it must do more to gain the levers of economic power, and was soon attacking what he called the 'economic racism' of the whites.<sup>435</sup> In October 1992 there were student riots at the University of Zimbabwe against alleged white racists, and in 1993 a campaign was launched to wrest economic control from whites in the business and finance sectors, which in the following year, with tacit government approval, became a black lobby demanding affirmative action. Banks and white controlled businesses were the targets of a protest march in Harare at the beginning of 1995. Although ZANU PF won the general election later in the year it was with a small turnout. Andrew Meldrum has identified that year as a crucial one when the President, 'trying to regain his waning popularity', lashed out in speeches which vilified the Jews, the British, white farmers, church leaders, gays and human-rights groups.<sup>436</sup> For the students, Peterhouse was a soft target. Margaret Dongo, the most outspoken critic within ZANU PF of her own party's performance,

was claiming that the government had 'dishonoured the principles that we fought for in the liberation struggle' and had 'forgotten about the people and all they are thinking about is lining their own pockets'.<sup>437</sup> It was difficult for students to attack the government; they had done so in 1989 and 1992, resulting in cracked heads and the closure of their campus; they were to do so again later. But in December 1996 Peterhouse must have represented for them the wealth and privilege which seemed to be spread so thinly in Zimbabwe. In other words, it was not merely racism; and it was not just about Peterhouse.

But Peterhouse was a Zimbabwean school; it was Zimbabwean in terms of its pupil population – virtually all of the pupils (the black majority and the white minority) were Zimbabweans; it was Zimbabwean too in that its fortunes were locked into the events in the nation at large. And it continued to try to make an impact on the life of Zimbabwe in an important way – ensuring that if there were boys (and girls) who might benefit from the all-round education on offer, they should be helped to attend the school. The school's own bursary provision had long been enhanced by the CBF bursaries which were started, as we have seen, by Fred Snell, and we have noted the Turkington Bursary Fund. In 1993 Rupert Pennant-Rea (E65), then editor of *The Economist*, and about to become Deputy Governor of the Bank of England, decided to raise further funds, in memory of Lord Soames, who had overseen the transition to independence in 1980. Rupert felt that nothing had been done to commemorate his role in bringing a peaceful transition to the country.<sup>438</sup> These bursaries were to benefit both Ruzawi and Peterhouse. Lady Soames (daughter of Winston Churchill) was enthusiastic in her support. In 1998 she was guest of honour at Speech Day, and she declared: 'I and all my children are so proud and gratified by this wonderful living memorial to my husband's efforts for Zimbabwe.' She was photographed with five current bursary holders outside the Gibbs Centre, where she had unveiled a new bust of Sir Humphrey.

Peterhouse was a school for the country which Christopher Soames had done so much to bring to birth. 'It speaks volumes for the reputation of this school', Lady Soames had declared, 'that it inspires such continuing interest, admiration and practical support, both at home and from the wider world.'<sup>439</sup> But it was also, as it had always been, an institution with its own internal rhythms. There are times, as we



have seen, when these rhythms are disturbed by deaths. This was the case in 1998. In July one of the A Block boys died – at school – as a result of sniffing solvent. At the end of term came the news of a plane crash. Bruce Wells (the local vet) and his wife Sandy, whose daughter was at the girls' school, were killed, as was Gaylin Carter, whose husband taught at Springvale House. They had been returning from a prep school camping trip. The beginning of the new school year brought further tragedies. Jannie Cloete (S) drowned in the dam at his parents' farm, just before the beginning of term. Later in the term, the school learnt that Marise Williams, wife of the Patron, had died while on holiday in the USA. Soon afterwards came news of Kevin Hinde (E94), Richard Holderness's grandson. He had been an accomplished violinist, and a keen member of the conservation squad, and that led him into a career as a bush ranger. He was killed by a crocodile on the Zambezi. However, it was the death of the boy at school that hit the pupils particularly hard; it was, as the head boy said at Speech Day, 'a reality which shattered our protected school environment'.<sup>440</sup> The unavoidable immediacy of such a tragedy is bound to affect pupils, particularly in this case when the boy was the victim of a practice, or experiment, which no doubt other pupils had tried. Drugs and substance abuse had not been a major problem at the school in the past. Bruce Fieldsend had warned parents in 1969 that a boy risked expulsion if it came to light that he 'had experimented with drugs, including dagga, whether in term or holiday time'.<sup>441</sup>

Dagga, or marijuana, grew easily in the local climate. A few cases of its use came to light in the 1980s resulting in boys being asked to leave, but more exotic drugs were then hard to come by, and the idea of substance abuse (like glue sniffing) was little known. The more materialistic society of the 1990s was also more permissive, and cases multiplied. In 1996 five girls and four boys were suspended after drug offences. At the end of 1997 six junior boys were discovered to have smoked marijuana; they were allowed to return to school as their previous records were unblemished, and the police were content to leave the school to punish them. But the death of a boy six months later (albeit for substance abuse) set alarm bells ringing. Jon Calderwood invited the Revd Rory Spence and his team of counsellors to talk to the girls.<sup>442</sup> Mrs Sue Vandoros, whose son and nephews had been at the school, and who had taught at Springvale House, sub-

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sequently trained as a counsellor. Her skills were much needed, and much appreciated, when the terrible traumas of the farm occupations touched so many.<sup>443</sup> At the start of the school year in 2000, the Rector sent a letter to all parents entitled 'Young People and Drugs'. It spelt out clearly the warning signs that parents should look out for, and the policy of the school.

The strains and stresses in the country at large also intensified. The question of land redistribution was still unresolved, and post-Independence attempts to redress the colonial imbalance in land ownership had foundered. The Land Acquisition Act was passed in 1992, after a year of rhetoric on the part of the politicians, and much concern among the commercial farmers. However, their leader, the President of the CFU, Alan Burl (G64), sounded a conciliatory note. He welcomed the Minister of Agriculture's assurances that the target land was that belonging to foreign interests, or underutilised or derelict, and declared that 'The CFU will not be found wanting in co-operating with the government.'<sup>444</sup> But little progress was made, and the situation was transformed by the appearance on the scene of the War Veterans, who felt they had gained little in the years since Independence and turned their wrath on the President himself. In August 1997 he agreed to their demands, and a huge compensation package (a one-off cash payment plus a monthly pension) was gazetted, worth \$4.2 billion, or some £260 million. The economy nose-dived, and rising prices and new taxes led to strikes and rioting at the end of the year. In the midst of it all, the government announced the compulsory seizure of over 1,400 white-owned farms – about a third of the total.

Despite the school's 'racism' crisis of 1996–97, and amid the growing national crisis which followed hard on its heels, the Governors were pleased with the school's improved financial results, as a result of good management, of the larger than ever pupil base, and of the Ministry's 'realistic acceptance of the inflationary factors leading to necessary fee increases'.<sup>445</sup> It was time, they agreed, to expand the programme of 'infrastructural upgrading'. Already the water supply had been improved; now work was needed on sewerage reticulation and electrical rewiring. Such projects have little appeal to potential donors, and are more usually launched when there is some accumulated surplus. It was a good time to undertake them. More appealing

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projects were likely to command greater enthusiasm from parents and donors. In 1995 at the girls' school the new Hammond House (named after Mike and Barrie Hammond) had been opened for B Blockers, and in 1997 two new fifth form houses and a sixth form one were added to the growing cluster of 'cottages' which formed the residential accommodation for post-O level girls. Meanwhile the Gibbs Court (and Dame Molly Court) had visibly transformed the boys' side. John Carter, moving towards his forthcoming resignation from the chairmanship of EXCO (as was Bob Williams from his chairmanship of the Board), was convinced that the school must send out very positive signals: 'I feel strongly that we must react positively to the environment which is Zimbabwe, leading up to year 2000, much as we might not like some of the things that are going on around us.'<sup>446</sup>

## *The New Millennium*

Our greatest happiness is derived from the number of really conscientious people that one comes across here, particularly among the younger generation. They are upset with the way things are going in this country and the rest of the world. Occasionally they protest and in their own private lives they put into practice what they believe. But one thing is quite clear: the happy world they, and all of us, are seeking will come a long time after we are dead. However, the start has to be made here and now and this is what they are doing.

Didymus Mutasa, *Black Behind Bars* (Gweru 1983), p 150<sup>447</sup>

In March 1999 the members of EXCO were informed of an anonymous donation of Z\$10 million, equivalent to the current annual fee income of 120 pupils. This, with contributions in kind from the Peterhouse Appeal (UK), would fund the new science department – which, as we have seen, was finished and equipped to a high standard. It was opened on Speech Day 2001 by John Carter, after whom the building was named and for whom this was his last official function as Chairman of the Board. He had taken over from Bob Williams in 1997, and had enthusiastically driven the project forward. Speech Day in 2000 at Peterhouse Girls' saw the opening of a new library and computer complex. In the following year the Springvale chapel was imaginatively extended, and the prep school acquired a huge covered sports area. All over the world, 'millennium projects' sought to mark the beginning of a new era, which had been heralded by the events of the 1990s – the end of the 'cold war', the emergence of peace processes in the Middle East and Northern Ireland, and the birth of the 'rainbow nation' of South Africa. If the world's computers survived the 'millennium bug', then a great new age would be ushered

in. After the attacks on the United States on 11 September 2001, and the ensuing 'war on terrorism' and conflict in Iraq, it seemed more likely that the world had entered a new dark age; the dark age had arrived in Zimbabwe rather earlier.

In 1999 in Zimbabwe it was not easy to look forward with optimism to the third millennium. The economy was in deep trouble, and for the first time, the country began to default on its debt repayments. Life expectancy had fallen since 1990 from an average of 52 to 41, mainly as a result of AIDS. Nevertheless, there was a 'resurgence of hope', as Andrew Meldrum has called it, with the emergence of a new party which attracted blacks and whites – the Movement for Democratic Change (MDC) led by the trade unionist, Morgan Tsvangirai. They, and the nation at large, were soon presented with a plan for the new millennium – a new constitution, which would have enormously increased the President's powers. It was defeated in a referendum in February 2000. The pay-back was catastrophic for the country. Within weeks, the first invasions of white farms were launched. The focus of attention soon turned to the Marondera area. In early April Iain Kay (F66) was brutally attacked. He farmed successfully in the Hwedza area, and he and his wife Kerry were very supportive Peterhouse parents; Kerry was one of the most active exponents in the country of AIDS education. Iain took over the farm from his late father, Jock, who after independence had joined ZANU and became Deputy Minister of Agriculture. That connection did not save Iain from a terrible beating, which he would scarcely have survived had it not been for the diversion caused by the arrival of his son David (E97) in a Land Rover. On televisions throughout the world people saw him in Borradaile Hospital (which Peterhouse had helped to set up<sup>448</sup>) surrounded by his family, and were shocked at the injuries he had sustained. A poem by David's brother Clive (E00) was e-mailed round the world three years later, when the family's sufferings were still continuing; it was a heartfelt and patriotic *cri de coeur* from a young man who, like so many of his contemporaries, wanted only to live and work in the country of his birth. Also repeatedly shown on television world-wide were the attacks on the farm and animals of Alan Windram (F68), who had recently joined EXCO. A few weeks later the scene darkened dramatically: David Stevens, a Macheke farmer, and his farm foreman Julius Andoche, were murdered, despite

their attempt to take refuge in the police station in Murewa. The violence was repeated throughout the country, providing a disturbing backdrop to the elections in June, when ZANU PF took 62 seats to the MDC's 57, amid claims of electoral fraud. Yet more commercial farms were listed – about three-quarters were now due to be taken over. The country experienced economic and social chaos. Tens of thousands of people were made homeless, especially the workers and their families who had lived on the commercial farms. Graham Peebles, headmaster of Springvale House, admitted to parents that with 'the country's economy and political climate being so unstable, morale is low and anxiety/stress levels high, among the staff and parent body alike'.<sup>449</sup>

There were changes in the offing at Peterhouse. Mike Bawden was to depart at the end of 2001 – not because of the political situation, but rather because he realised he must move while still of an age to be employable in England, particularly since he and Tiggy had two small children. The children were Zimbabweans and would dearly love to have stayed and have gone to Springvale House. Tiggy – with Penny Niven and Joan Sandall – had transformed the Peterhouse gardens, and the campus (aided by some years of good rains) looked lovelier than ever before. With regret, the Rector announced his departure. Once again, the Governors faced the decision which is the most important one made by Governing Bodies. In the circumstances, it was unlikely they would be permitted to appoint someone from overseas. The local pool of 'papabile' was shrinking rapidly. There was, however, as they had realised for some time, an ideal candidate on the spot. Jon Calderwood, headmaster of Peterhouse Girls', had previously been the founding headmaster of Springvale House. To have someone at the helm with such a deep and wide knowledge and experience of the Peterhouse group of schools would obviously be an advantage in troubled times. His replacement at the girls' school was to be Mrs Sue Davidson, who had run the maths department at Peterhouse, and then served as Director of Studies for the girls. Her links with Peterhouse went back a long way. Her first husband was Patrick Normand (M59), one of the founder pupils, who died in 1967. Her three sons were Petreans – Anthony Normand (G79), and Stuart (S88) and David (S90) Tippett. She was now married to 'Shortie', who had first arrived to teach at Peterhouse in 1958. Again, her wide

and deep knowledge of the country and of Peterhouse brought added stability to the scene. One long-standing member of staff was leaving – Reg Querl, housemaster of Paget and sports administrator, was to be headmaster of Falcon, though leaving his children behind at the rival institution. Guy Cary (G66), housemaster of Tinokura, left to run *Outward Bound* at Chimanimani, and would continue to keep in contact as boys and girls made use of that marvellous facility, which Margaret Snell had so admired when she saw it 40 years before and had noted even then, ‘black, white and brown schoolboys all happily mixed’.<sup>450</sup> An even longer-serving master, Phil Ward, was staying; in April 2001 the school gave him a dinner to celebrate his 100th term.<sup>451</sup>

Every sector of the economy, every area, perhaps even every family, could write the story of how the unravelling of the social and economic fabric of Zimbabwe was affecting it. Education was no exception. The Ministry, which under Mutumbuka had commanded a huge budget, was now a poor relation; government schools became run down, and more and more people found it impossible to pay what had until recently been fairly low fees. In March 2001, the independent schools found themselves once again in the firing line. The Minister of Education, Mr Mumbengegwe, summoned heads and chairmen of boards and – in a re-run of the meeting of November 1983, which he had attended as an official in the Ministry – he berated them on three issues: the racial composition of CHISZ schools, the ‘outrageously high’ level of their fees, and their proposal to enter their pupils for examinations set outside the country.<sup>452</sup> It was the issue of examinations which started to worry parents in April 2001, when the Ministry announced that A levels would be localised, and therefore their validation by the Cambridge Board would cease. This had been suggested, as we have seen, as far back as 1959; unfortunately the same objection applied even more now than it had done then, that there were not sufficient numbers of local people qualified to set and mark papers. The Zimbabwe Junior Certificate (ZJC) had met its demise because of this, and there were continuing problems with (local) O level marking. Most CHISZ schools, at the end of 2001, entered their pupils for both local O levels and also the International General Certificate of Secondary Education (IGCSE). At the same time pupils wrote the AS papers for the first time at the end of their fifth

form year (they were a half-way house to A level, as in England). The results (a 91% pass rate for the Peterhouse entrants) were encouraging. In February 2002, however, the Ministry issued a circular which ordained that schools could use only the local board (ZIMSEC); using foreign examination boards was forbidden. While the CHISZ schools regarded this as *ultra vires*, they faced the problem that Cambridge 'reluctantly decided not to offer examinations in Zimbabwe with effect from the November 2002 session... [as a] result of the latest instruction from the Ministry of Education, Sports and Culture'.<sup>453</sup> The Chairman of the ATS wrote to the vice-chancellor of Cambridge University, and the chairman of CHISZ visited Cambridge. The spiralling parental concern was assuaged when it was finally agreed that examination candidates could sit the Cambridge A level examinations, and the IGCSE, but the fees would have to be paid in foreign currency by the parents. Most were glad to do this in order to obtain a qualification which would be acceptable world-wide. David Shaw, ex-housemaster of Snell and Director of Studies, had his work cut out as he grappled with adjustments to syllabuses, multiple exam entries, forex payments, and the ongoing task of keeping parents informed and contented.

In the midst of the panic over examinations, a new Minister of Education had been appointed. Mike Bawden met him in September 2001 at a televised ceremony when Peterhouse handed over 'Books for the Bush'. I had started this scheme in 1984, 'importing' thousands of books from schools in England (Uppingham, Eton, Cranleigh and Oundle were the main original donors) which could be used at Peterhouse, or handed over to schools 'in the bush', or – in the case of a textbook on ancient Egyptian, or a post office savings book belonging to some hapless English schoolboy – disposed of in other ways. The scheme was a great success, and in 2001 I became the sender, and organised the English end of the transaction. The new minister, Aeneas Chigwedere, former headmaster of Marondera High, gratefully accepted the books. He had already made his mark at the Ministry by announcing that government schools would have to drop 'colonial' names like Prince Edward, Queen Elizabeth and Milton. Most schools (and parents) objected, but in May 2002 he proceeded to impose names such as Chenjerai 'Hitler' Hunzvi and Border Gezi – leaders of the War Vets. In another move he announced that all schoolchildren



would wear the same uniform on the grounds of 'economy'. Not unnaturally there was 'a public uproar as people from different income brackets poured scorn on the plan, accusing Chigwedere of concentrating on trivial issues as opposed to more pressing matters such as the shortage of textbooks and classrooms and the teachers' deplorable working conditions'.<sup>454</sup> The minister backed down. However, the other issue he tackled head-on produced rather more serious results, and the new Rector found himself in the firing line.

In January 2003, fees at independent and government schools rose steeply. In 1990 the termly fee at Peterhouse was \$1,900. By 2000 it was \$41,000 in the first term, and \$49,000 in the third. This was scarcely keeping up with inflation, which was now running at some 400%, and would reach over 600% in 2004. The fee for the first term in 2003 was \$360,500, just \$5,000 more than the leading government school, Prince Edward. Schools were required (by statutory instruments 1379 of 1998 and 128A of 2003) to seek permission from the Ministry for fee increases, but were left with the problem that often no answer was received, or was given half way through the subsequent school year. The *Sunday Mail* demanded in March 2003 that 'Chigwedere should act decisively on school fees'. In fact, the first instance of the minister acting 'decisively' was over an entirely different issue. Jon Calderwood had sought permission (on behalf of his own schools, and also Ruzawi and Watershed) to carry on working normally through Africa Day, Monday 26 May, and to transfer the holiday to the subsequent Friday, thus adding it on to the Fixture-Free Weekend. Permission was granted and the Rector went up to Nyanga for a long weekend. Unfortunately the Friday had been declared a day of mass action – and staying away from work – by the opposition. On Friday morning a police truck arrived at Ruzawi, saw that the school was not operating, and took the headmaster (Nigel Mackay) in handcuffs to Marondera police station. In the Rector's absence, Allen French, the senior master, was picked up as well. Fortunately he took with him the correspondence with the Ministry, and as a result Nigel Mackay was released. But it was a disturbing incident.

The school year started in 2004 with the announcement that schools would be prosecuted for raising their fees. Government schools were not immune; 70 heads were suspended. The *Sunday Mail* headline

in April ran: 'Private Schools continue to defy the State: Peterhouse ups to \$10m'. There was a widespread belief, which such headlines reinforced, that as one educationalist declared in 1999: 'Private secondary institutions have fee structures which are intentionally designed to keep out the majority of black children'.<sup>455</sup> The ATS had spent much time and energy trying to rebut this claim, but so often people will believe what they want to believe, and for their own reasons. The Minister of Education, whether he was responding to this belief (which had been proven untrue in the documents with which he was furnished by the ATS), or for other reasons, decided that the time had come for action. The action he took was unprecedented in the world of education. At the start of the second term, after Easter, police were deployed to prevent the independent schools from opening. The Rector had in fact obtained permission for a fee increase (though it was smaller than required) so it had seemed that all was well. But the police arrived at the school and arrested him, an event widely reported in the press overseas.<sup>456</sup> On hearing of this, the HMC (in England) e-mailed all its members, and messages of support began to clog the lines into Peterhouse. Also taken into local custody were Erith Harris (Ruzawi), Dr Kevin Martin, and his wife Gill (Lendy Park Preparatory School). They spent an uncomfortable night in a filthy police cell, Dr Martin being released to perform some vital medical tasks, and then taken into custody again. They were cheered when in the course of the next morning three Governors arrived; but they too were arrested. The ordeal finally ended that evening when all were released on bail. Work began on plans to involve the parents in the great task of ensuring the school's future. During the crisis years of the late 1970s, a Parents' Council had mobilised. So now a Parents' Liaison Committee was established, to educate parents on the need for viable fee levels, and to encourage them to support the school financially and otherwise. Other schools were doing the same, and the ATS was more active than ever in its efforts to support the independent schools, and educate the politicians and the public as to their unique contribution to education in Zimbabwe.

Jon Calderwood's first two years as Rector were more eventful – and more distracting from the actual business of headmastering – than any comparable period in the school's history. His short term in office thus far had already seen the deaths of two of the school's foremost sup-

porters, Bob Williams in July 2002, and John Carter in May 2003.<sup>457</sup> More would follow. In December Mike Hammond died. He had run the Petrean Society since his retirement from Peterhouse Girls', and for some years had also found time to run the school shop; so he and Barrie were still familiar figures to all, and were indeed among the few whose memories went back to the very earliest years, having arrived at Springvale in 1956. His funeral took place after Christmas at Springvale; just before Christmas there was a memorial service at Ruzawi for Phil Laing (M70), who had been brutally murdered at the Eastern Highlands Tea Estates, where he was financial manager.

The Rector had a well-earned holiday in the UK at Easter 2003 and met many Petreans; he wrote afterwards: 'I thought returning home would be difficult but it was good to get back, and I am now more resolved and optimistic than I have ever been.'<sup>458</sup> He had returned to a school where, despite the dislocation of social and economic life in the nation at large, pupils were still preparing for examinations, and joining in the full range of afternoon activities. Staff were still teaching, and undertaking their pastoral duties. Bells still rang for chapel, and for lessons. The whole inner life and internal rhythm of the school (or schools) continued to provide the framework and the momentum for life during term time – as it had always done. The Rector's optimism was well illustrated by the message he subsequently sent to Petreans world-wide:

In these difficult times, I feel guilty because I live at Peterhouse. Guilty, because little has changed for those of us fortunate enough to live and teach here. We are to source fuel from South Africa; Servcor, our caterers, ensure that there is food on the table; we have generators in our schools that provide lighting and we now use cell phones and hand-held radio sets to keep in touch with the outside world and a beer costs Z\$380.00 in our school pub (and \$360.00 at Zama-Zama – for those of you who used to shop there!). On entering the school grounds you would find well manicured gardens and watered playing fields; smart buildings, a new science block and Administration Centre; refurbished classrooms but most importantly boys, whose shirts are tucked in and who stand up and greet you. On your way down to the old Administration Centre you would probably hear our choir singing in Chapel and as you enter the Sir Humphrey Gibbs Court, you might just meet the following: John Greenacre on his way to the Bank after Chess, 'Pug' Ward, coming back from tasks on his way to Squash (before he does the bus orders for the week); Rodney Brooker, preparing to take the U14 Hockey side to Falcon, he knows the route like the back of his

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hand; John Davidson, ensuring that all is well in his library – although he retired last year he still runs the Library and is steering the English Department this term! Allen French, now Senior Master, is on his way to help with the First XV, it is a formidable side this year. You may bump into Patience Mansfield, still as busy and involved as she has ever been: and Mr George Martin, in his running shorts and trainers (he too has returned to the fold) preparing for his U15 Hockey session. David Shaw, looking as young as ever (and proud to be a grandfather) might be working on the International examination entries with Andy Griggs. Paul Davis, up from Tinokura, is arranging extra cricket fixtures with Grant Sinclair and Adam Burgess (Petreans). Others you might recognise are Silas Kamarizeni, Mr Chiswa, Jim Redfern, John Barrie, Tongai Songore, Paul Davies and Patrick Fantiso, currently Head of Science. No doubt you would see Mr Michael Hammond, in the Petrean Office while Mr Wilde would be directing the workers and ‘characters’ like Jimmy who would still greet you with a smile in the dining hall. Peterhouse hasn’t changed much and I am sure that on your visit you would soon feel at home and very proud to be part of its family. I certainly feel very privileged to be here and part of such a wonderful community. Though we may have grown – three schools, two villages, three nursery schools, a village school and all that is required to cater for our 1000 pupils, our strength lies not in our impressive buildings, fields or gardens, or in our excellent sporting and academic tradition, or even in our service to our community, but in the very people who continue to serve Peterhouse.

It was in this spirit that Peterhouse approached its 50th anniversary. In July 2003 the first of the jubilee events took place – a dinner at St Edmund Hall, Oxford, celebrating 50 years of education on the Springvale site, followed by a ball at Springvale in October. What had begun as a boys’ preparatory school was now a flourishing campus comprising Springvale House, Peterhouse Girls’, Gosho Park and St Francis (the primary school for workers’ children). The first jubilee event at Peterhouse itself took place towards the end of the term which had begun with police turning pupils away from school: on 28 July there was a service in chapel and a rededication at the stone which had been laid in July 1954. There were plans for extended celebrations in 2005. A service and dinner would be held at Christ Church College, Oxford, where Edward Paget was born. And a project was conceived which would have gladdened the heart of the founding Rector, who had insisted that the new Michaelhouse chapel should be adorned by the Bossanyi stained glass windows. He had relished ‘presiding over the building of yet another school Chapel’,

and in 2005 that chapel would be enriched by stained glass. The great west window would have its red and blue frosted glass replaced by a stained glass memorial window created by Jacques Loire, master glassmaker at Chartres. It would be entirely funded by donations. The window would celebrate the country (its flora and fauna and landscape), and the patron saint of the school, with all his symbols – cocks, keys, chains – under a fierce glare of light, the Holy Spirit and the sunshine of Zimbabwe. In the darkness of the African night, it would shine out as a beacon across the Great Court, at the heart of the school.

A 50-year celebration may not impress those with a much longer perspective. The founding Rector's own *alma mater* had already celebrated its 600th anniversary; my own old school was approaching its 400th. But value and significance are not to be measured merely in length of days, for institutions any more than for individuals. The importance of Peterhouse derives from its foundation as a Christian school, and its commitment to nurturing the bodies, minds and souls of its pupils. It continues to preach that honesty and fairness should govern relations between people, and that putting those values into practice within a multi-racial community is a contribution to the future of the country. As the jubilee approached, many people – in the country and elsewhere – hoped and prayed that there would be a place for such a school in Zimbabwe. Many Petreans, black and white, far from home, longed to be back in a beautiful land where their children could be educated at a school that still cherished the 'faith and vision' of its founders. And many would echo what Sir Roger Gibbs had said, that if there were a choice of what school to attend, 'I would come to Peterhouse.'

## Endnotes

PH Mag = Peterhouse Magazine

### CHAPTER 1 A COLONY IN AFRICA

1. Ferguson, *Empire*, p 224
2. Plant, *Oversea Settlement*, p 165
3. Fairbridge, *The Story of Kingsley Fairbridge by Himself*, p 142
4. Knight, *Rhodesia of To-day*, p 21
5. See her *Martie and others in Rhodesia* etc
6. *Empire Review*, November 1930
7. *United Empire*, October 1935
8. *Ibid*, December 1939
9. Chappell, *Rhodesian Adventure*, pp 152-3
10. Parker, *Rhodesia: Little White Island*, p 25
11. Meldrum, *Where We Have Hope*, p 21
12. In *Empire Review*, July 1935
13. Gussman, *Out in the Mid-day Sun*, p 118
14. Gunther, *Inside Africa*, p 611
15. Blake, *A History of Rhodesia*, p 279
16. Hutchinson, *Empire Games*, p 122
17. Perkin, 'Teaching the Nations how to Play', in Mangan (ed), *The Cultural Bond*, p 213
18. Leys, *European Politics in Southern Rhodesia*, p 90
19. *Ibid*, p 91
20. Gann, *History of Southern Rhodesia*, p 315
21. Phimister, *Economic and Social History of Zimbabwe*, p 181; Ian Phimister is a Petrean (G67)
22. Waugh, *A Tourist in Africa*, p 144
23. According to Douglas Woodruff in the *Dictionary of National Biography*
24. Lessing, *African Laughter*, p 25; her brother attended Ruzawi; her grandson attended Peterhouse

## ENDNOTES

### CHAPTER 2 FOUNDING FATHERS

25. There is one, rather short, biography by Geoffrey Gibbon, *Paget of Rhodesia*
26. Father Denis, *Father Algy*, p 102
27. Norman, *Church and Society in England*, p 225
28. Scott, *Dick Sheppard*, p 53
29. Tanser, *A Sequence of Time*, p 130
30. Ellison and Walpole, *Church and Empire*, p 229
31. Gairdner, 'Edinburgh 1910', p 135
32. See Furse, *Stand Therefore!*, pp 70-1
33. Coleman (ed), *Resolutions of the Twelve Lambeth Conferences*, p 112: Resolution 79 of 1948, which refers back also to Resolutions 52ff of 1930 (p 85)
34. Snell to his father, 24 July 1930
35. Margaret Snell to her father-in-law, 15 January 1929
36. *Toc H Journal*, vol xi, no 9 (October 1933)
37. Snell to his father, 9 April 1929
38. Snell to his father, 10 June 1929
39. Paget to Snell, 26 Sept 1951
40. Hodgkinson to Snell, 21 May 1951
41. Hodgkinson to Snell, 4 January 1952
42. Snell to Hodgkinson, 25 January 1952
43. Memorandum on the Proposed Senior Church School in Rhodesia, 1 March 1952
44. Memorandum 2, 18 April 1952
45. The Revd W.B. Baynham to Snell, 1 May 1952
46. Memorandum 3, 19 April 1952
47. Hodgkinson to Snell ('Letter No 7'), 18 June 1952
48. Ibid.
49. Maurice Carver's article, 'How It All Began', in the first issue of the *Springvale Magazine*, 1957
50. Hodgkinson to Snell, 4 August 1952
51. Gibbs to Snell, 17 September 1952
52. Liddle to Snell, 13 October 1952
53. F.R. Snell, Memorandum on the Proposed Senior Church School in Rhodesia, 1 March 1952
54. H.V. Gibbs, Memorandum on Projected Independent Senior School, 12 August 1952
55. Donald McLachlan in Röhrs, *Kurt Hahn*, p 3; McLachlan's son was one of those who brought the Uppingham drama tour to Peterhouse in 1988

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56. Information about Hahn, Gordonstoun, Outward Bound and the DofE Award scheme are in Röhrs, *Kurt Hahn*; Hahn was a relative of the long-serving Peterhouse caterer, Doritt Bekker
57. Gibbs to Snell, 17 September 1952
58. Hodgkinson, undated memorandum, School Farm (October 1952)
59. Hodgkinson, (undated printed pamphlet/prospectus) Peterhouse, Rhodesia (October 1952)
60. *Toc H Journal*, vol xv, no 5 (March 1937); Snell spoke on 'Exercising thought in the company of men of different outlook' and Hahn spoke on 'Adventure and Endurance'
61. Memorandum 2, 18 April 1952
62. Gibbs to Snell, 29 October 1952
63. Smith to Snell, 1 November 1952
64. Peterhouse School Committee, Minutes, 27 January 1953; and Memorandum, March 1953
65. Randall, *Little England on the Veld*, p 84
66. PH Mag, 1965, p 8
67. EXCO Minutes, 10 June & 28 October 2000

## CHAPTER 3 GETTING STARTED

68. Rector's Report, 13 December 1957
69. *Sunday Mail*, 25 July 1954
70. Christmas letter, September/November 1955
71. Sadly he also missed out on serving under Kurt Hahn, who retired just before Hodgkinson got there
72. Baggaley, *The First Forty Years*, p 50
73. *Daily Telegraph*, 20 February 1996; see also *The Times*, 23 February
74. Hunt, *Oxford to Zimbabwe*, p 128; Miss Anne Fisher was headmistress of Arundel (1957–61), after which she became headmistress of Wycombe Abbey, a leading independent girls' school in the UK
75. He was Chaplain of Trinity Hall, Cambridge (1963–69) and of Shrewsbury School (1973–77), and a Canon Residentiary at Salisbury Cathedral (1988–99)
76. Bate, *Light Blue Down Under*, p 356
77. Hunt, *Oxford to Zimbabwe*, p 190
78. There is a chapter on it in her book *A World Apart*
79. Falcon's unsettled start was compounded. Cary's replacement, Ashley Brooker (father of Tony, who taught at Peterhouse (1864–70), and of Rodney who later became head of Ruzawi and later still joined the staff at Peterhouse) was ousted in May 1958 – by a palace coup and not because of any wrongdoing. His replacement was H.H. Cole, formerly of Cedric School, who had been headmaster of Prince



## ENDNOTES

Edward, and had just retired as Secretary for Education, and was presumably regarded as a safe pair of hands. Equilibrium was established during the headships of Dougal Turner, 1958–84 and Neil Todd, 1985–2000

80. Barrett, *Michaelhouse*, p 130; Snell had introduced the practice at Michaelhouse and it continued long after his time
81. Rector's Report to EXCO, November 1956
82. Gibbon, *Paget of Rhodesia*, p 123
83. Clutton-Brock and Clutton-Brock, *Cold Comfort Confronted*, pp 69, 106
84. Green-Wilkinson, *Bishop Oliver*, p 191
85. Mrs P. Liddle to Snell, 29 October 1952
86. Snell to Mrs Wedgwood, 5 November 1952
87. EXCO Minutes, 8 December 1955

## CHAPTER 4 METAMORPHOSIS

88. Blake, *Rhodesia and Nyasaland Journey*, pp 32–3
89. Snell to his father, 14 November 1929
90. Though oddly enough, his predecessor as Rector during the First World War, A.W.S. Brown, insisted on volunteering and was killed after just under a year on the western front; see Barrett, *Michaelhouse*, ch 5
91. Blake, *Rhodesia*, p 346
92. French-Beytagh, *Encountering Darkness*, pp 49, 196
93. As the school's golden jubilee dawned, he could boast of being the longest-serving Governor, and the only living person who could claim continuous involvement with the school since before it opened
94. EXCO Minutes, 13 April 1962; see also 10 November 1953, 14 March 1956, 23 March 1961, 20 July 1961, 13 April 1962, 19 July 1962, 22 November 1962
95. *Vortex*, February 1979, p 4
96. This story was recounted to Christopher Paterson (P65) by Evelyn Waugh's son, Andrew, who had been ADC to William-Powlett
97. PH Mag, 1957, p 12
98. PH Mag, 1958, pp 7–8
99. Rector's Memorandum to EXCO, 2 August 1955
100. PH Mag, 1958, p 28
101. Cauter, *Under the Skin*, p 355
102. Housemasters Minutes, 19 March 1973
103. Rector's end-of-term circular to Parents, April 2003
104. Rector's circular to Parents, April 1968
105. *Rhodesia Herald*, 11 June 1960

## A SCHOOL IN AFRICA

106. Barrett, *Michaelhouse*, p 177
107. Information from Robert Stork (G63)
108. PH Mag, 1968, p18
109. See, for example, Michael Gove, 'The minimum our children deserve is their youth', *The Times*, 9 August 2002
110. Lessing, *African Laughter*, p 161
111. Housemasters Minutes, 20 January 1969; the Rector must have reverted in dictating these minutes to Michaelhouse usage ('cack') but his secretary heard it, and recorded it, as 'kak' – Afrikaans for 'excrement'
112. Ibid, 20 January 1974; 24 January 1981
113. Ibid, 17 February 1988
114. Godwin, *Mukiwa*, pp 176–7
115. Valentine Shambira (M89)
116. O'Driscoll, *The Leap of the Deer*, p 37

## CHAPTER 5 THE WIDER SCENE

117. Rector's Report to EXCO, 10 March 1960
118. Atkinson, *Teaching Rhodesians*, p 129
119. In 1958 the schools represented, and their enrolments, were: Arundel (250), Bishopslea (200), Chisipite Junior (170), Chisipite Senior (230), Eagle (120), Falcon (240), Peterhouse (310), Ruzawi (110), St Peter's (270), Springvale (120), Whitestone (120)
120. Report of the Deputation which was received by the Minister of Education on Thursday 9 February 1956
121. *Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland: Parliamentary Debates, Federal Assembly*, vol 6, col 31 (27 June 1956)
122. Minutes of the First Ordinary General Meeting, 19 August 1956
123. Clements, *Rhodesia*, p 138
124. Hancock, *White Liberals, Moderates and Radicals*, pp 23–26
125. Christmas letter, November 1956
126. Hancock, 'The Capricorn Africa Society in Southern Rhodesia' in *Rhodesian History*, vol ix (1978) p 55
127. See PH Mag, 1956, p 24
128. EXCO Minutes, 7 August 1956
129. Minutes of the Second Ordinary General Meeting, 19/20 April 1958
130. EXCO Minutes, 20 June 1958
131. Barrett, *Michaelhouse*, p 147
132. *The Times*, 15 October 1959; there was no report on the rather more dramatic admission of African boys in 1964
133. Rector's Report to EXCO, 8 November 1959
134. PH Mag, 1959, p 10

## ENDNOTES

135. EXCO Minutes, June 1960
136. PH Mag, 1960, p 4
137. PH Mag, 1962, p 16
138. Randall, *Little England on the Veld*, ch 7
139. Tredgold Papers, Rhodes House, Oxford: MSS Afr s 1632, II, 14
140. Holderness, *Lost Chance*, p 40
141. *Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland: Federal Debates*, vol 16 (June–August 1962); cols 243–50
142. Atkinson, *Teaching Rhodesians*, pp 130, 191
143. Memorandum written by Snell, 11 May 1977
144. *The Times* (Letter), 1 December 1965
145. The poster was withdrawn after the UFP discovered that they were Girl Guides' legs, which demonstrates an odd sensitivity; see Barber, *Rhodesia: The Road to Rebellion*, p 160
146. Blake, *Rhodesia*, p 244
147. Welensky to Thyne, 6 August 1953: Thyne Papers, Borthwick Institute, York
148. CHISR Standing Committee Minutes, 18 May 1963
149. Memorandum of 11 May 1977
150. 10 September 1963
151. *Newsfront*, 20 September 1963
152. EXCO Minutes, 28 November 1963
153. Ian Khama is now vice-president of Botswana; his sister, Jackie, attended Arundel
154. Confidential Memorandum by the Revd J. Brogan (Rector), 8 June 1969
155. McCarthy, 'Men for Others', p 229
156. Alport, *The Sudden Assignment*, p 151
157. Circular E90 of 1964 (28 October 1964)
158. Circular E11 of 1965 (8 February 1965)
159. Secretary to Rector, 5 April 1965
160. *The Rock*, vol 1, no 2 (Easter 1965) – a short-lived magazine published by the pupils
161. Secretary to Rector, 7 September 1965
162. *Rhodesia Herald*, 20 September 1965
163. *Ibid*, 21 September 1965
164. Acting Secretary for Mines and Lands to Rector, 23 September 1965
165. *Rhodesia Herald*, 1 October 1965
166. Rector of Peterhouse to Independent School Heads, 8 October 1965
167. *Marandellas Golden Jubilee 1913–1963*; the title of this section (pp 49–54) has the apostrophe misplaced; it should surely be 'Rhodesia's "Grahamstown"', or just possibly '[The] Rhodesias' "Grahamstown"!

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168. See Farrant, *Mashonaland Martyr*
169. Hunt, *Oxford to Zimbabwe*, p 177; Hunt was headmaster of BMC; he notes that the idea of some white boys going to the school never materialised, because of the very severe pressure on places from Africans, whose choice was more limited
170. *Gatooma Mail*, 6 February 1975
171. Bothashof was founded in Bulawayo in 1911, moved to Daisyfield near Gwelo in 1914, and then to Southerton, south west of the capital, in 1948. While not moving to Marandellas in 1963, in 2004 it announced a planned move to a site near Westgate (Harare); all this makes the ox wagon on the school's badge rather appropriate

## CHAPTER 6 CHANGES ALL ROUND

172. Wilson, *The Labour Government*, p 25
173. Snell to Williams, 16 June 1964
174. EXCO Minutes, 17 November 1964
175. See Rees (ed.), *History and Idealism*, p 86
176. Or, as his biographer says, perhaps more kindly: 'had he been an actor he would have been overworked as every director's choice to play opposite Margaret Rutherford'; Hearnden, *Red Robert*, p 258
177. Quoted in Atkinson, *Teaching Rhodesians*, p 158
178. *The Rock*, vol 1, no 2 (Easter 1965)
179. B. Pritchett to Sir Edgar Whitehead, 17 September 1965: Whitehead Papers, MSS Afr s 1483: Rhodes House, Oxford, MSS Afr s 1483
180. Smith, *The Great Betrayal*, pp 104–6
181. See my *Humphrey Gibbs: Beleaguered Governor*, p 110; a Peterhouse parent – Peter Pennant-Rea, Director of Civil Aviation – was the one senior civil servant to clear his desk immediately
182. In a speech to the Royal Commonwealth Society in London; *African Affairs*, vol 63, no 250 (January 1964), p 21
183. By the time Rhodesia became Zimbabwe, Ghana, Nigeria and Uganda were each on their sixth coup since Independence; see Low, *Eclipse of Empire*, p 279
184. Rector's Report, 21 March 1966
185. Rector at Speech Day, PH Mag, 1966, p 13
186. *Sunday Mail*, 7 November 1965
187. *Rhodesia Herald*, 11 November 1965
188. H.J.K. Penrose (for Secretary for Local Government and Housing) to Rector, 21 December 1965
189. Circular E59 of 1965 (23 December 1965) – received at Peterhouse on 3 January 1966
190. Snell to C.P.J. Lewis, 23 September 1966

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191. G.H. York (for Secretary for Mines and Lands) to Snell, 19 September 1966
192. Secretary for Education (J.A.C. Houlton) to Snell, 2 October 1967
193. Snell to Secretary for Education, 10 October 1967
194. Josiah Chinamano to Fred Snell, 6 December 1967
195. Christmas letter, November 1968
196. See my *Humphrey Gibbs: Beleaguered Governor*, pp 147–50; he was to return for a brief spell as Chief Justice after Independence
197. Kalton, *The Public Schools: A Factual Survey*, pp 125–6
198. ‘Instructions to School Prefects’, 10 September 1968
199. EXCO Minutes, 18 July 1969
200. Housemasters Minutes, 17 February 1969
201. Rector’s Report, 6 November 1969
202. See Marwick, *The Sixties*, p 641
203. *Rhodesia, Parliamentary Debates*, vol 78 (1970–71), 25 March 1971, cols 1874–1922
204. Rae, *The Public School Revolution*, p 94
205. Rector’s Report, 8 July 1974
206. EXCO Minutes, 26 July 1975
207. Rector’s end-of-term circular to Parents, April 1984; also November 1987
208. Rector’s end-of-term circular to Parents, December 1995; also April 1998
209. PH Mag, 1969, pp 8–9
210. David Russell (E70) to author, 6 March 2002

## CHAPTER 7 MIND AND SOUL

211. ‘Report on the Inspection of Peterhouse, 14th to 18th November 1960’, Federal Ministry of Education, 7 February 1961
212. *Central African Examiner*, October 1965
213. PH Mag, 1974, p 10
214. John Coates (who by specialism was a classicist) describing teaching English in the 1960s; Peterhouse website <<http://home.vicnet.net.au>>
215. Rector’s Report, March 1973
216. *Rhodesia Herald*, 3 March 1978
217. David Morgan in Kenny (ed), *The History of the Rhodes Trust*, p 418
218. On this see Atkinson, *Teaching Rhodesians*, p 132
219. Housemasters Minutes, 17 July 1972
220. See, for example, Letter to the Editor from Richard Hussey (F80) in *Vortex*, January 1980
221. Housemasters Minutes, 9 June 1980

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222. PH Mag, 1960, p 27
223. PH Mag, 1966, p 50
224. PH Mag, 1975, p 42
225. PH Mag, 1974, p 12
226. Goodliffe, *School Chaplain*, p 70
227. It has a dent on one of the arms, where a Michaelhouse boy blasted it with a .22
228. Gibbs to Snell, 6 December 1962
229. It too was far too small for the altar, and became the processional cross
230. *St Michael's Chronicle*, vol xi (June 1956), p 11; it was printed as part of the farewell to Carey, who was leaving after ten years' service to teach at Harrow
231. As Canon Adrian Carey (Hugh's brother) pointed out to me in 2004, the only infelicity is the awkwardness of 'Imperfect loyalty to thy perfect son'. When I showed this hymn to Canon Carey – who at 80+ was now a retired but active priest in the Lincoln Diocese – it was the first time he had seen his late brother's composition
232. The technical Blazon, or description, registered with the Department of Internal Affairs, was: 'Azure a Cross Moline voided argent, in chief a Crown Celestial of the second between two cocks chantant confronté or. For the crest a Crown Celestial or'. See PH Mag, 1955, p 8, where 'moline' is wrongly printed 'maline'
233. At his final Speech Day; PH Mag, 1967, p 13
234. He was actually Stanley Mark Wood, popularly known as 'Sam' but called Bishop Mark after his elevation
235. Raynor, *Spilt Milk*, p 186; a particularly significant tribute from a man who hadn't much time for religion, and even less for 'liberals', and Hogg was – in Rhodesian terms – very liberal
236. PH Mag, 1963, p 7
237. Tour Diary, entry for 7 August 1960: Fisher Papers, vol 291, Lambeth Palace Library
238. Ibid, for 10 August 1960
239. Snell, 'Peterhouse – Chapel Policy and the Position of the Chaplain'; paper dated October 1958
240. PH Mag, 1965, p 35 – writing of the situation in 1963/64; By 'moaning' he did not mean an audible noise in chapel, which was unfortunately the way boys at some UK schools expressed their 'student rebellion' in the late 1960s (see note 244); another trick was not to sing the hymns. None of this ever tainted the Peterhouse chapel services
241. PH Mag, 1971, p 27
242. People do say that kind of thing, as they did when York Minster was struck by lighting a few days after the consecration of David Jenkins,

## ENDNOTES

- whom many regarded as a heretic; see his autobiography, *The Calling of a Cuckoo* (London 2002), ch 8
243. *Ibid*, 1964 and 1970; the new roof trusses were somewhat unsightly; the previous ones had been disguised by wooden panelling
244. Rae, *The Public School Revolution*, p 101
245. PH Mag, 1976, p 9
246. EXCO Minutes, 17 March 1978
247. *Vortex*, February 1978
248. Alan Watkins (E63)
249. Raynor, *Spilt Milk*, p 172
250. Barrett, *Michaelhouse*, p 128

## CHAPTER 8 WAR AND PEACE

251. PH Mag, 1970, p 7
252. EXCO, 20 July 1972; FINCO, 14 November 1972
253. Document entitled 'Development'
254. See Davies, *Race Relations in Rhodesia*, pp 378–81
255. Speaking in 1976; see Martin and Johnson, *The Struggle for Zimbabwe*, p 56
256. Minutes of a Meeting of Heads and Chairmen of Independent Schools, convened by the Bishop of Mashonaland, 27 August 1970
257. *Rhodesia: Parliamentary Debates*, no 2, vol 78 (26 August 1970), col 98
258. Secretary of Education to Rector, 9 December 1970
259. Secretary of Education's circular E58/May 1967
260. *Sunday Times*, 24 September 1967
261. *Rhodesia Herald*, 30 September 1967
262. Circular E86 of 23 November 1967
263. Secretary to John Paterson, Secretary of CHISR, 23 November 1967
264. Snell to Secretary of Education, 9 December 1967
265. Secretary to Snell, 13 December 1967
266. G.R.B. Hudson (AGB) to the Minister of Education, 26 July 1968, summarising the discussions that had taken place
267. Minister to Secretary of CHISR, 10 January 1969
268. *Parliamentary Debates*, vol 85 (29 November 1972), col 418
269. Atkinson, 'Racial Integration', p 80
270. D. Turner to N.A.F. Williams, 8 October 1973; and attached memorandum
271. Confidential Memorandum on the Report of the Commission of Inquiry into Racial Discrimination to the Hon. A.P. Smith, 8 July 1976
272. *Quenet Report*, p 18

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273. Secretary's Circular Minute no 8, 31 August 1976
274. Caute, *Under the Skin*, p 221
275. AGB Chairman's Report, February 1975
276. EXCO Minutes, 15 March 1974
277. Godwin and Hancock, '*Rhodesians Never Die*', p 197
278. EXCO Paper 76/11/E, 4 November 1976
279. Rector's Report to the Governors, 18 March 1977; Rhodesia had decimalised its currency in 1970
280. Rae, *Letters from School*, p 203; John Rae was the (controversial) headmaster of Westminster in the 1980s
281. EXCO, 26 March 1977
282. 'Statement to Common Room', 28 March 1977
283. PH Mag, 1977, pp 38-9; EXCO, 29 July 1977
284. Patrick Blumeris (M80) in *Vortex*, May 1979
285. EXCO Minutes, 18 November 1977
286. At Speech Day; PH Mag, 1978, p 10; Neil Rogers (P78) captained a very good Falcon U15 cricket side against Peterhouse (who won), and subsequently moved to Peterhouse
287. Rector's Report to the Governors, 19 June 1978
288. PH Mag, 1979, p 19
289. Caute, *Under the Skin*, p 383
290. EXCO Minutes, 19 March & 19 November 1976
291. EXCO Minutes, 15 March 1977
292. Rector's circular to parents, 25 September 1978; the inspection had taken place the previous year
293. Rector's Report to EXCO, 20 July 1979
294. For information on his headship see Bate, *Light Blue Down Under*, ch 11
295. He founded Covos Day Books, and wrote *Fireforce* and *Survival Course*
296. Snell, Tribute dated 19 August 1978
297. Christopher Paterson (P65), 'White farmer who sowed seeds of hope', *The Times*, 11 August 1978
298. See PH Mag, 1978, pp 78-9; Caute, *Under the Skin*, pp 261-2
299. EXCO Minutes, 25 July and 17 November 1978

## CHAPTER 9 A NEW ERA

300. Quoted by, among others, Flower, *Serving Secretly*, p 280
301. *Rhodesia Herald*, 23 May 1980
302. Governors Minutes, 23 June 1980
303. Sir Humphrey Gibbs to C.W. Owtram (bursar), 18 August 1983
304. PH Mag, 1958, p 8



## ENDNOTES

305. PH Mag, 1981, pp 8–9
306. Bishop of Mashonaland to N.A.F. Williams, 18 July 1977
307. Ibid, 13 March 1981
308. Ibid, undated (presumably late April 1983)
309. Bishop of Mashonaland, circular entitled 'Springvale-Peterhouse Negotiations', 27 July 1984
310. John Greenacre ran the school bank, where boys deposit their pocket money; as the school grew, this computerisation was timely; in most boarding schools boys banked within their houses
311. Hawkrigde et al, *Computers in Third World Schools*, pp 225–6
312. *Herald*, 17 March 1986; Rector's Report to EXCO, 14 March 1986
313. PH Mag, 1982, p 8
314. Meldrum, *Where We Have Hope*, ch 4
315. The Roman Catholic Commission for Justice and Peace made this estimate in 1998, but 'the Catholic bishops were so frightened of Mugabe's response that they forbade the Commission to release the report' – see Meldrum, *Where We Have Hope*, p 65
316. *The Times*, editorial, 11 January 1983
317. See *The Times*, 28 September 1983 ('Mugabe supporters chant anti-British songs and call for whites to go') and *Sunday Telegraph*, 9 October 1983 ('White women "raped in Zimbabwe"')
318. *The Times*, 26 September 1983
319. Williams, 'Notes of a Meeting... 12 May 1982'
320. Williams, Chairman's Report to the AGB, July 1982
321. Williams, 'Meeting with Minister Mutumbuka on 15 February 1983', circulated to all CHISZ schools on 17 February
322. S.C. Mumbengegwe, 'Summary of proceedings of the Meeting between the Minister and Mr N Williams on 15 February 1983', 17 February 1983; Mumbengegwe was Minister of Education in the new century
323. Williams, 'Notes on a Meeting on 6 September 1983'
324. Williams, Chairman's report to the AGB, 14 September 1983
325. Minutes of the AGM of the AGB, 14 September 1983
326. Fr M.K. O'Halloran to the Prime Minister, 6 November 1983
327. D.E. Turner, chairman of CHISZ, to the Prime Minister, 9 November 1983
328. The Hon D. Mutumbuka, statement (16 November 1983) entitled 'The Role of Independent Schools in Zimbabwe: Past, Present and Future'
329. 'Notes of a Meeting... 16 November 1983', circulated by Bob Williams to all CHISZ schools
330. *Herald*, 17 November 1983
331. Ibid, 18 November 1983 (editorial: 'Heads in the sand')
332. Ibid, 22 November 1983

## A SCHOOL IN AFRICA

333. Sir Colin Perchard, as he later became, was married to the daughter of Sir Glyn Jones, whose son left Springvale for Malvern in 1960, and died in July 1961; his parents gave the copper cross and candlesticks in the Springvale chapel in his memory; PH Mag, 1961, p 19; see also Baker, *Sir Glyn Jones*
334. *Herald*, 26 November 1983
335. *Ibid*, 23 January 1984

## CHAPTER 10 BEING RECTOR

336. After a spell in England they moved to Johannesburg; tragically, Bob was shot dead by an intruder in May 2001
337. See my 'Recollections of a Meeting with the Minister of Education on 2 February 1984'
338. Rae, *A World Apart*, p 156
339. *The Times*, 13 September 2004; the 54% of men and 39% of women who so voted had never themselves been on the receiving end of corporal punishment; an editorial on the same day discussed their attitudes, as did articles on 16 and 18 September; such attitudes were distressingly illiberal, and had to be explained!
340. *The Times*, 21 October 2002
341. This book neglects the role of the San; its vital and largely unseen work was very important – so much so that Fred Snell ordained that its staff were directly answerable to the Rector. Sometimes it was a haven for a lonely boy; often it was the scene of furious activity, during a 'flu epidemic or the viral encephalitis scare of mid-1986 when the school had to close early, as so many boys were falling over as a result of real or imagined symptoms

## CHAPTER 11 THE GREAT EXPANSION

342. Chairman's Address to CHISZ, 1984
343. Springvale Governors Minutes, 3 November 1979
344. *Ibid*, 6 November 1982
345. *Ibid*, 2 July 1983
346. Peterhouse Governors Minutes, 11 November 1983
347. Springvale Governors Minutes, 4 February 1984
348. Rector's Report to EXCO, 14 March 1984
349. Bishop of Mashonaland to Williams, 28 September 1984
350. Springvale Working Party Document 5, 'Proceed to implement...', 10 June 1984

## ENDNOTES

351. I still think I should have done; after all, the term 'Warden' is used to describe the head of the governing body at Winchester, and the heads of nine Oxford Colleges, and one at Cambridge
352. *Zimbabwe Wildlife*, June 1985
353. The ZBC News, and the *Herald* (21 November 1986) gave good coverage
354. See my 'Memorandum of a Meeting... 5 February 1986'
355. The advertisement appeared in the *Sunday Mail*, 6 April 1986
356. Oddly enough, quite independently the octagonal shape was adopted by Mark Claypole for the great new science department at the end of the century
357. M.M. Graham, 'Notes on the meeting', 26 September 1984
358. The 1956 Education Act established grant aid in the form of per capita grants; the value of the grant was increased significantly in 1973; by the mid-1980s it was miniscule and died out completely in the nineties
359. N.D. Mdawarima (for Secretary for Education) to the Chief Immigration Officer, 1 October 1986
360. See my 'Notes on the meeting... 21 August 1987'
361. *Herald*, 28 November 1985
362. PH Mag, 1987, p 9
363. *Herald*, 22 November 1983; 23 November 1987

## CHAPTER 12 'PLAY THE GAME'

364. Grain, *Mission Unaccomplished*, p 55; Fr Grain took the very last service at Springvale School (where of course his nickname was 'Popcorn') before it closed, and attended the Springvale jubilee dinner in Oxford in 2003, not long before he died
365. I deal with this theme in *A History of Cranleigh School*, chapter 8; for example, F.S. Brereton, Victorian author of yarns for boys, described Cranleigh: 'There is not a musty spot about it, nor a corner nor a crevice in which injurious germs may hide' (p 71)
366. Fred mistakenly reported that he had played for Essex
367. Snell used the word 'rigger' – not rugby – following the 1920s Oxford fashion, which also produced such gems as 'wagger pager bagger' for waste paper basket, and 'congregagers praggers' for congregational practice. When I used the word 'rigger' at Peterhouse I was gently corrected by a school prefect; I wasn't quite sure what his objection was, but I think he was trying to protect me from sounding 'affected'!
368. Bruce Fieldsend, in PH Mag, 1955, p 25
369. At Speech Day, PH Mag 1958, p 9
370. At Speech Day, PH Mag, 1961, p 11

## A SCHOOL IN AFRICA

371. PH Mag, 2002, p 4
372. PH Mag, 1982, p 95
373. Rector's Newsletter, March 2004; it must be said that all touring teams attracted such encomiums
374. Ingram, *The Power in a School*, p 218; Ingram was headmaster of Kimbolton School
375. He left Peterhouse just as I arrived, but on my preliminary visit in 1983 I dined with him – in the house Fred Snell would soon move to when the Singletons emigrated to Australia. Bruce Fieldsend was there as well, and Sandy invited us both – at the end of the meal – to 'view the African night'. That seemed a pleasant thing to do, until we got into the garden and the other two proceeded to unzip. I of course had never come across this euphemism!
376. *Daily Telegraph*, 24 May 1999
377. *Vortex Supplement, Cricket and Hockey at Peterhouse 1955–1980*, 1980, p 6
378. PH Mag, 1963, p 9
379. In 'Europe Hockey Tour 1989' booklet; see his 'Hockey at Peterhouse over the Years', p 1
380. Hunt, *Oxford to Zimbabwe*, p 185
381. PH Mag, 1985, p 53
382. As he wrote (1998) for the Peterhouse website <<http://home.vicnet.net.au>>; he goes on to claim that his wife wrote a letter along these lines which was published in the *Herald*; those who know Bridget will not be surprised!
383. Cox, *History of Peterhouse*, p 7; the interview is recorded as in the *Herald*, April 1952 (no day given)
384. The headmaster of Cheltenham, quoted in Honey, *Tom Brown's Universe*, p 116
385. Cyril Norwood, headmaster of Harrow, quoted in Mangan, *Athleticism in the Victorian and Edwardian Public School*, p 7
386. Mangan, 'Britain's Chief Spiritual Export: Sport as a Moral Metaphor, Political Symbol and Cultural Bond', in Mangan, *The Cultural Bond*, pp 2–3
387. Perkin, 'Teaching Nations How to Play', in Mangan, *The Cultural Bond*, p 213
388. This is vividly illustrated in Fussell, *The Great War and Modern Memory*
389. Chandler and Nauright, *Making Men: Rugby and Masculine Identity*, p 11
390. Gussman, *Out in the Mid-day Sun*, p 117
391. Blake, *A History of Rhodesia*, p 289

## ENDNOTES

### CHAPTER 13 ENRICHMENT

392. Record for the Year, 1980, p 18
393. Tour Diaries; entry for 10 August 1960: Fisher Papers, vol 291, Lambeth Palace Library
394. PH Mag, 1960, p 17
395. I was sad to discover that Ivan Jacklin was leaving just as I arrived; his father (who commanded the Royal Rhodesian Air Force) and his uncle had been boys in the house I ran at Cranleigh. Every year at house prayers I told the boys the story of Ivan's doctor uncle, lost in the South China Seas as he swam around when his ship was torpedoed during the Second World War, giving help to the wounded until he himself succumbed: his heroic act was commemorated in the 'Jacklin Study' in my house (which my daughter subsequently occupied when she went there after Chisipite)
396. As the 'Face' in *The Alchemist*; PH Mag, 1973, p 37
397. Another soldier was Rupert Pennant-Rea (E65), a future Deputy Governor of the Bank of England, while Macbeth was played by Richard Wilde (G63), a future Deputy Governor of the Reserve Bank of Zimbabwe!
398. PH Mag, 1964, p 28
399. PH Mag, 1964, p 40
400. John Hodgson, 'The Story of Musicamp'
401. Barrett, *Michaelhouse*, p 128
402. Richard Arnot (M59), *Arabian Nightmare*, p 61
403. Edmund Katso to author, March 2004
404. It was started in what was known as the 'African Village' or, even less flatteringly, 'the Compound'. We named it 'Mwamuka' in 1984 to mark the considerable impact there of Jeremiah Mwamuka, who had been a stalwart of the village chapel, and its first catechist; EXCO Minutes, 14 July 1961; PH Mag, 1960, p 28
405. PH Mag, 1977, p 43; Margaret Snell had founded and run a 'women's club' (sewing, child care etc) which was continued by Liza Fieldsend and Elizabeth Megahey; obviously this was not an activity the boys would have felt able to contribute to; it ceased to operate in the late 1980s when the ladies of Mwamuka decided they could run it themselves
406. *Sunday Mail*, 4 August 1985
407. Snow, *The Public School in the New Age*, p 37; he became Bishop of Whitby two years after writing this; his son Jon became the well-known TV presenter in Britain

## A SCHOOL IN AFRICA

### CHAPTER 14 A ZIMBABWEAN SCHOOL

408. Rector's end-of-term circular to Parents, December 1994
409. This looks like a fairly modest tally when compared with Dr Norwood's 40 boys expelled during his first week at Harrow in 1926; Rae, *A World Apart*, p 111
410. *Vortex*, February 1977; see also March 1977
411. Rector's Report to EXCO, June 1977; the Rector did not of course give any such guarantee
412. Housemasters Minutes, 4 November 1980
413. Rector's Report to EXCO, August 1984
414. Card, *Eton Renewed*, p 278
415. *Sunday Times*, 2 October 1966
416. Snell, Memorandum on the Proposed Senior Church School, 1 March 1953
417. Housemasters Minutes, 4 November 1968
418. EXCO Minutes, 25 July 1979
419. Rae, *Letters from School*, p 202
420. Rector's Speech Day Address, 2002
421. *Sunday Mail*, 24 November 1996
422. *Ibid*, 1 December 1996
423. 'Joint Press Release: Peterhouse Racism Allegations Conformed [sic]; School Rector given Ultimatum [sic]', dated 4 December 1996, and copied to the Ministry of Education, Zimbabwe Republic Police, Zimbabwe National Students Union, The Parliament of Zimbabwe, War Veterans Association, Affirmative Action Group, 'All Human Rights Organisations', Commander of the Air Force, Commander of the Army
424. *Herald*, 4 December 1996
425. *Ibid*, 6 December 1996
426. *Sunday Mail*, 8 December 1996
427. *Ibid*, 15 December 1996
428. *Herald*, 9 December 1996
429. 20 December 1996
430. Rector to J.D. Carter, 7 December 1996
431. Chairman of ATS to all Chairmen of Boards, and heads, 16 December 1996
432. *Sunday Mail*, 12 January and 2 March 1997
433. *Manica Post*, 3 January 1997; *Herald*, 27 February 1997
434. Moyo, *Voting for Democracy*, p 156
435. *Herald*, 17 June 1991; 8 November 1993
436. Meldrum, *Where We Have Hope*, pp 92-3; he notes that Iden Wetherell called gay rights 'the Achilles heel of the civic groups'
437. *Ibid*, p 83

## ENDNOTES

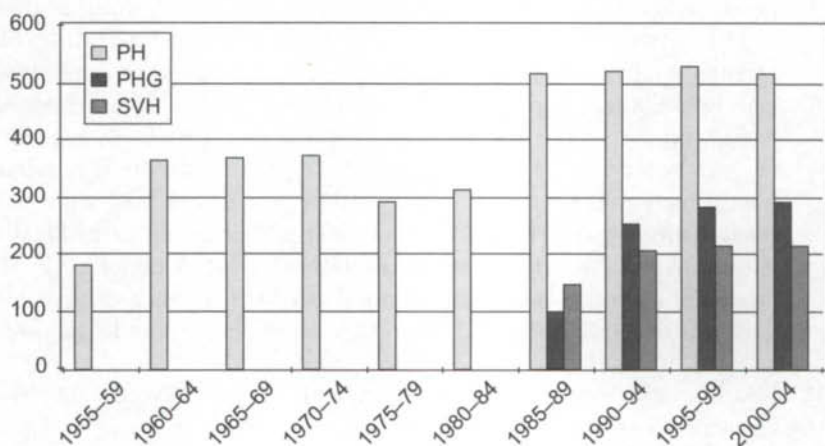
438. *The Times*, 2 March 1993
439. PH Mag, 1998, p 19
440. Greg Carruthers-Smith (P), PH Mag, 1998, p 13
441. Rector's circular to Parents, December 1969
442. Headmaster's Report at Speech Day, November 1998
443. EXCO Minutes, 2 November 2001
444. Quoted in Meredith, *Mugabe: Power and Plunder in Zimbabwe*, p 124
445. Governors Minutes, 9 July 1996
446. Carter to Williams, 8 April 1997

## CHAPTER 15 THE NEW MILLENNIUM

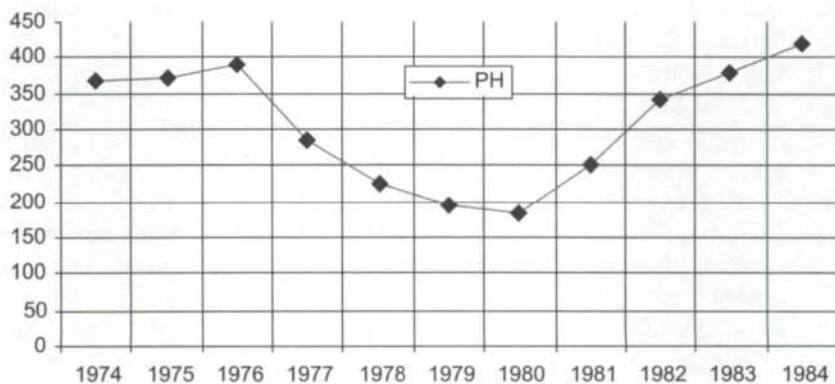
447. He wrote these words in England, and the book was first published there in 1973. Twelve years later he became a Governor of Peterhouse. His words seem particularly apposite in the new millennium in Zimbabwe
448. The Borradaile old people's home had in 1988 built on a hospital wing, and the school was anxious to make use of its facilities, being nearer than those in Harare; a small charge on parents was repaid handsomely in the services the hospital provided. The hospital was in the constituency of Dr Sydney Sekeramayi, then Minister of Health, who in April 2005 (as Minister of Defence) faced Iain Kay in the General Election, when the total number of votes cast in Marondera East was declared to be 25,193, yet the votes for the candidates were Kay, 10,066 and Sekeramayi 19,192
449. Headmaster's letter to Parents (Springvale House), March 2000
450. Christmas newsletter, November 1962
451. To date, the only other person so honoured has been John Greenacre, who was treated to a surprise 'This is your Life', and a dinner in March 1992
452. D.E.B. Long, Chairman of ATS, 'Government Policy in regard to Private Schools', 27 March 2001
453. *Daily News*, 11 May 2002
454. *Ibid*, 30 May 2002
455. Zvobgo, *The Post-Colonial State and Educational Reform*, p 152; he was Principal of Gweru Teachers' College
456. *Daily Telegraph*, 7 May 2004; it published his picture, and one of Mr Mugabe, flanking a photograph of the entrance to Peterhouse Girls' labelled 'Peterhouse... Zimbabwe's best known private boarding school'
457. Obituaries for Bob Williams appeared both in the *Daily Telegraph* (9 August) and *The Times* (15 August)
458. Rector's circular to Parents, 28 May 2003

## Appendices

A. NUMBERS OF PUPILS (FIVE-YEAR AVERAGES)



B. THE 'CRISIS YEARS' ILLUSTRATED





## APPENDICES

### C. PATRONS

Viscount Malvern 1953–71  
Dr Bob Williams 1997–2002

### D. CHAIRMEN OF THE BOARD OF GOVERNORS

1953–56 Ellis Robins, Baron Robins of Chelsea  
1957–61 Sir Keith Acutt  
1962–77 Sir Humphrey Gibbs  
1977–97 Dr Bob Williams  
1997–2003 Mr John Carter  
2003– Mr Dick Turpin

### E. CHAIRMEN OF EXCO

1953 The Hon Humphrey Gibbs  
1959 The Hon Geoffrey Ellman-Brown  
1964 Mr Bob Williams  
1977 Dr Iain MacDonald  
1982 Mr John Carter  
1997 Mr Stuart Mattinson

### F. RECTORS

1955 Fred Snell  
1968 Bruce Fieldsend  
1984 Alan Megahey  
1994 Mike Bawden  
2002 Jon Calderwood

### G. HEADMASTERS OF SPRINGVALE (TO 1979) AND SPRINGVALE HOUSE (FROM 1985)

1952 Robert Grinham  
1957 John Paterson  
1969 Brian Johnson  
1977 John Stansbury  
1985 Jon Calderwood  
1994 Graham Peebles

## A SCHOOL IN AFRICA

### H. HEADS OF PETERHOUSE GIRLS'

1988	Michael Hammond
1994	Jon Calderwood
2002	Mrs Sue Davidson

### I. HOUSEMASTERS

<b>Ellis</b>	(Opened in 1955 as H1; named 1956/3*)
1955	Hugh Hodgkinson
1955	Charles Fisher (in charge also of H2)
1956	Tony Cheetham (from 1956/3)
1957	Anthony Mallett
1964	Martin Graham
1977	Phil Ward
1990	Jon Trafford
1992	Patience Mansfield
2000	Jim Redfern

<b>Paget</b>	(Opened in 1956 as H2; named 1956/3)
1956	Charles Fisher
1961	Raymond Dunt
1966	John Greenacre
1978	Colin Johnson
1984	Peter George
1985	Richard Hale
1988	Reg Querl
2001	Brian Foakes
2003	Adam Burgess

<b>Grinham</b>	(Named 1956; opened in 1957/1)
1956	Bryan Curtis
1962	John Davidson
1977	Ian Walker
1979	Ivan Jacklin
1984	David Coughlan
1990	John Greenacre
1995	Roy Currie
2002	John Barrie

\* In appendices I and L, numbers appearing after a forward slash indicate term numbers.

## APPENDICES

<b>Malvern</b>	(Named in 1957; opened in 1958/1)
1957	Bruce Fieldsend
1967	George Martin
1979	Mike Hammond
1984	Richard Marriott
1993	Bob Merchant
2000	Grant Sinclair
2005	Ryan Barbour

<b>Founders</b>	(Named in 1958; opened in 1959/1)
1959	Norman Davis
1964	John Coates
1971	Peter Ginn
1980	Archie Kennedy
1986	George Niven
1996	David Makwindi
2002	Chris Nyazika
2004	Trevor Musiko

<b>Snell</b>	(Named in 1983; opened 1984/1)
1984	Andrew Hall
1992	David Shaw
1996	Andy Griggs
2004	Phil Dongo

<b>Tinokura</b>	(Named 1987; opened 1988/1)
1988	Allen French
1997	Guy Cary
2001	Paul Davis

## J. CHAPLAINS

1955-56	Lionel Bell
1956	Sam Wood (Honorary)
1957-58	Trevor Bush
1958-60	Michael McCay
1958-63	Ivan Turkington (Assistant)
1960-72	Pat Hogg
1965-70	David Bruno (Assistant)
1972-76	John Read
1976-83	George Martin (Honorary)
1983-88	Ken Anderson
1984-95	Robert Tandi (Assistant)

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1990-91	Jeffery Sheather
1991-93	Derek Williams (Honorary)
1994-98	Martin Housman
1997-02	Robert Tandl (Assistant)
2000-03	George Punshon
2003	George Martin

### K. BURSARS

1954	H.P. Hudson
1957	W.L. Smith
1959	D.W. Reynolds
1964	J.R. Beaumont
1970	C.R.C. Owtram
1984	J.W. Roebuck
1988	A.J. MacFarlane**
1990	E.R. Harris**
1998	R. Shaw**
1999	J. Lousada
2003	J. Rheam

### L. HEADS OF SCHOOL

1958/1,2	Michael Honey	P
1958/3-59/2	David Gemmill	E
1959/3	Alan Hill	P
1960/1,2	Clive Morris	E
1960/3	David Jearey	P
1961/1,2	John Cross	M
1961/3	Andrew Ledingham	G
1962/1,2	John Evans	E
1962/3	Jeff Dick	P
1963	Roger Maggs	F
1964/1,2	Roger Wiggins	G
1964/3-65/2	Tim Peech	M
1965/3	Christopher Bantoft	G
1966/1,2	Timothy Quirk	G
1966/3	Ian Buchan	E

\*\* These were 'Directors of Administration'; during this time much of the bursarial/financial responsibility was carried by C.R. de Courpalay, the school accountant, 1987-98.

## APPENDICES

1967/1,2	David Collings	E
1967/3	Mark Lobb	E
1968/1,2	Nigel Gallaher	P
1968/3-69/3	Colin Maxwell	G
1970/1,2	Russell Rennie	P
1970/3-71/3	William van Heerden	G
1972	Simon Hall	P
1973	Timothy Shepherd	M
1974	Tim Kemp	G
1975	Timothy Cumming	G
1976	Roger Mloszewski	F
1977	Ricky van Heerden	G
1978	Neil Rogers	P
1979	Jonathan Forrest	G
1980	Christopher Wilken	M
1981	Christopher Wright	M
1982	Stephen Crawford	M
1983	Charles Pilson	G
1984	Warren van Rooyen	F
1985	Peter Beaven	E
1986	Farai Munemo	M
1987	Marcus Hildebrand	M
1988	Derrick Sanyahumbi	P
1989	Peter-John Smyth	E
1990	Oliver Hildebrand	M
1991	Jim Hodges	E
1992	Simon Lewis	P
1993	Tapiwa Shamu	G
1994	Dale Beswick	E
1995	Campbell Millar	P
1996	Tafadzwa Mhlanga	G
1997	Angus Meikle	E
1998	Gregory Carruthers-Smith	P
1999	Matthew Hosack	E
2000	Daniel Mellon	E
2001	David Lengerman	F
2002	Alistair Sole	P
2003	Aaron Denenga	F
2004	Donald Potts	P
2005	Tawanda Mudimbu	F

## A SCHOOL IN AFRICA

### M. HEAD GIRLS

1989	Derryn Fuller
1990	Sarah Buckler
1991	Victory Mhlanga
1992	Janet Matema
1993	Tanya Spain
1994	Lara Vadoros
1995	Bernice Wakefield
1996	Theresa Buckland
1997	Fadzai Dodzo
1998	Carol Munyame
1999	Charlotte Butler
2000	Jessica Pswarayi
2001	Lindsay Wells
2002	Angela Raynor
2003	Kirsty Querl
2004	Annalene Meyer
2005	Linda Midzi

### N. SPEECH DAY GUESTS OF HONOUR

1957	Nov	Vice-Admiral Sir Peveril William-Powlett, Governor of Southern Rhodesia
1958	Nov	Bishop Edward Paget
1959	Nov	Mr Harry Oppenheimer
1960	Aug	The Patron, Viscount Malvern
1961	Aug	Sir Robert Tredgold
1962	Aug	The Visitor, The Rt Revd Cecil Alderson, Bishop of Mashonaland
1963	Aug	Sir Humphrey Gibbs, Governor of Southern Rhodesia
1964	Nov	Bishop Donal Lamont
1965	Aug	Professor Robert Birley
1966	Oct	Sir Keith Acutt
1967	Oct	Mr Harry Oppenheimer
1968	Aug	Air Vice-Marshal Hawkins
1969	July	The Visitor, The Rt Revd Paul Burrough, Bishop of Mashonaland
1970	Jul	Sir Humphrey Gibbs
1971	Dec	Mr H.J. (Jack) Quintin
1972	Dec	The Rt Revd Mark Wood, Bishop of Matabeleland
1973	Nov	Mr David Smith MP
1974	Oct	Professor R. Craig, University of Zimbabwe
1975	Oct	Mr F.R. Snell

## APPENDICES

1976	Oct	Professor Dick Christie
1977	Oct	Senator Jack Brendon
1978	Nov	Mr Justice Beck
1979	Nov	Mr David Lewis
1980	Oct	Prof Lewis, vice-chancellor of the University of Zimbabwe
1981	Oct	Prof Walter Kamba, vice-chancellor of the University of Zimbabwe
1982	Oct	Mr Douglas Sagonda
1983	Oct	Senator Denis Norman
1984	Oct	The Hon David Miller, US Ambassador to Zimbabwe
1985	Oct	Professor Dick Christie
1986	Oct	Sir Humphrey Gibbs
1987	Nov	The Hon Robert Mugabe, Prime Minister of Zimbabwe
1988	Nov	Chief Justice Enoch Dumbutshena
1989	Nov	Mr Kieran Prendergast, British High Commissioner in Zimbabwe
1990	Nov	Col. Tim Toyne-Sewell, o/c BMATT, Commandant-elect of Sandhurst
1991	Nov	Mrs Dorothy Twiss ( <i>vice</i> Lord Carrington)
1992	Nov	Mr Rupert Pennant-Rea, Editor of <i>The Economist</i>
1993	Nov	Dr Robert Fynn PHG: The Rector, The Revd Dr Alan Megahey
1994	Oct	Mr Nicky Oppenheimer PHG: Mr and Mrs Hird
1995	Nov	Mr Clive Barnes, headmaster of Prince Edward School PHG: Mr Edmund Garwe, Governor of Mashonaland East
1996	Nov	Sir Roger Gibbs PHG: Mr Jeremy Gibbs
1997	Nov	The Patron, Dr N.A.F. Williams PHG: Mr Michael Hammond
1998	Oct	Lady Soames PHG: Mrs Kerry Kay
1999	Oct	Mr Bruce Fieldsend PHG: The Rector, Mr Mike Bawden
2000	Oct	Mr Jonty Driver, ex-Master of Wellington PHG: Mr Rupert Pennant-Rea
2001	Oct	Mr Neil Todd, Chief Executive Officer of CHISZ PHG: Mrs Martha Querl
2002	Nov	Mr Ross Fuller, ex-Headmaster of Girls College, Bulawayo PHG: Mrs Tessa Mattinson
2003	Nov	The Revd Dr Alan Megahey PHG: the same
2004	Nov	Tony Eysele, Headmaster of St John's College, Harare PHG: Mr Jonah Mungoshi

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The Archives at the school contain a very comprehensive collection of documents, photographs and film. Endnote references to minute books, correspondence and other papers, if not otherwise described, may be found there. There is, as yet, no comprehensive index of the archives, and no catalogue numbers for individual items.

The Special Collections include the Gibbs Papers (Sir Humphrey Gibbs) and the Williams Papers (Dr N.A.F. Williams) which contain much information about the history of the country as well as of the school.

Other locations (with full citation given in the endnotes):

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