

Zimbabwe Review

Issue 15/1 February 2015

ISSN 1362-3168



The journal of the Britain Zimbabwe Society

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Tributes to Terry Ranger, BZS President

Professor Terence Osborne Ranger, 29 November 1929 – 3 January 2015

BZS founder, President and most recently its Patron, Professor Terence Ranger, died at his home in Oxford on 3 January. There will be a Memorial Service at Christ Church Cathedral on Saturday 28 February. This issue of the BZS Zimbabwe Review is dedicated to him.



Professor Terence Ranger with Yvonne Vera in Oxford

A pioneering historian of Africa

by Alois Mlambo

I knew of Professor Terence Ranger's work and was inspired and challenged by it long before I met the person many years later. Indeed, the first introduction of early Zimbabwean history for many history students of my generation was through reading *Revolt in Southern Rhodesia* (1967) and *The African Voice in Southern Rhodesia* (1970); the two books that profoundly shaped subsequent Zimbabwean historiography and, arguably, contributed to African nationalism in Zimbabwe.

While his early work was later challenged for its overtly nationalist interpretation of early African resistance to European colonialism, there can be no question of its pioneering character and its contribution to Zimbabwean historiography. Thereafter, he went on to publish countless articles and books on a wide range of topics on Zimbabwe's past and present. It is difficult to think of any historian of Zimbabwe who is as widely published as Ranger.

I first met Ranger in person at the 1996 conference on 'the historical dimensions of democracy and human rights' co-organised by him and Professor Ngwabi Bhebe at the University of Zimbabwe and, afterwards, I regularly interacted with him.

When he retired from his Oxford Chair in 1997, he took up a lectureship in the History Department of the University of Zimbabwe and made enormous contributions to the department's teaching and postgraduate supervision. He also participated fully in the staff/student seminars of the Department of Economic History which I was then heading. I then joined him and other colleagues on the Zimbabwe International Book Fair (ZIBF) trustee board and, for several years, we helped plan each year's fair and the two-day Indaba conference that always preceded it.

Keen to draw more academics to the Indaba and Book Fair, Ranger and the British-based Southern African Book Development and Education Trust (SABDET) asked Professor Ngwabi Bhebe and me in 1998 to organise the first ZIBF academic seminar on *The Condition of the Child in Africa*. A highly successful event, the seminar brought together scholars from across the African continent and Europe to deliberate on this subject.

I continued to work with Ranger after I joined the SABDET board of trustees and worked with fellow trustees in supporting book-related initiatives in Zimbabwe under the very able leadership of Alastair Niven. Ranger was also involved in the highly ambitious but successful Africa's 100 Best Books project inspired by Professor Ali Mazrui and organised by the ZIBF in 2002.

He also contributed immensely to the education of individual Zimbabwean students by facilitating their entry into Oxford University's post-graduate study programmes. Many of them have since become established scholars in their own right. By the time of his passing away, Ranger had, thus, made immense contributions to Zimbabwean historiography, education, and the country's reading culture and book publishing industry in his capacity as a scholar, lecturer, and SABDET and ZIBF trustee, respectively. He also contributed immensely through the Britain Zimbabwe Society that he helped establish and his support of Zimbabwean refugees in the UK in recent times. He was, truly, a friend of the Zimbabwean people who will be sorely missed. May he rest in peace!

Professor Alois Mlambo is head of the Department of Historical and Heritage Studies at the University of Pretoria, South Africa

Radicalism, dissent, and new lines of enquiry

by John McCracken

Terence Ranger, who has died in Oxford at the age of 85, was one of the most stimulating and influential African historians of the last half century. A scholar of remarkable energy, Terry, as he was universally known, had the reputation of reading faster and writing more quickly than any of his peers. Over an engagement with Africa, and particularly with Zimbabwe, lasting 57 years he wrote ten major books and was editor or joint editor of some 15 others, as well as publishing innumerable articles and chapters.

Yet Ranger's special importance lies less in the volume of what he published than in his ability to open up new lines of enquiry in an engaging manner. His influence as an academic historian, moreover, was reinforced by his involvement as a political activist in Zimbabwe (a source of suspicion to some of his contemporaries) and by his role as a public intellectual, vigorously interacting with British and European historians and participating in a range of theoretical debates.

On a more personal level, he was a deeply loveable man, with a good conceit of himself, as we say in Scotland, but generous, warm-hearted, and possessed of a very English, self-deprecating sense of humour.

There is a certain irony in the fact that a man perceived in the early 1960s by white Rhodesians as the very epitome of left-wing radicalism should have had an entirely conventional English middle-class upbringing. Born into a Home Counties Conservative-voting home, Ranger was educated at Highgate School in north London, at Queen's College, Oxford as an undergraduate and at St Antony's, Oxford, where he carried out postgraduate research into 17th-century Irish history under

the remote supervision of Professor Hugh Trevor-Roper. From Oxford he took up a post at the heart of Empire: the Royal Naval College, Dartmouth, traditional training ground for British naval officers, including several monarchs-to-be. On his own account, any signs of dissidence he displayed as a young man were confined to slight eccentricities in dress: suede shoes worn at Dartmouth and a jerkin singled out as 'revolting' by Evelyn Waugh on a visit by the novelist to St Antony's College.

He was a great mentor, educator, and friend of Zimbabwe, Africa, and the diaspora, whose achievements and generosity remain unsurpassed. He is an icon and will remain an inspiration to all. A legend, and one about whom we can repeat the famous saying 'Now he belongs to the ages. – Knox Chitiyo, Chair, Britain Zimbabwe Society

The Suez Crisis of 1956 proved something of a wake-up call in demonstrating the duplicity of the Eden Government and the limits of British imperial power. But when Terry and his wife, Shelagh (they had met at St Antony's where she was secretary to the Bursar) arrived in Southern Rhodesia in 1957 they came as political innocents, although innocents imbued with strong moral principles based on the desire to 'do good' in a multi-racial society.

It may well have been precisely because of his impeccably orthodox academic credentials that Terry was chosen over the better qualified Richard Gray (known to be a nationalist sympathiser) as the first lecturer in history at the University College of Rhodesia and Nyasaland.

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If this were so, the error of their decision rapidly became apparent to the university authorities. Within a remarkably short time, Terry and Shelagh moved from principled protest against racial discrimination into active involvement in the nationalist movement as members of the National Democratic Party and, when it was banned, of ZAPU. He also played a leading role with John Reed, a fellow lecturer at the university, in editing the cyclostyled broadsheet, *Dissent*, and, from 1961, in leading a well-publicised campaign against the colour bar.

Meanwhile, he found time not only to finish his Oxford D.Phil. on the Earl of Cork, but also to carry out extensive research in the Salisbury archives which were to result in a cluster of seminar papers that quickly established his reputation as a leading student of African resistance. When he was deported in February 1963 he found himself swamped with offers of

academic posts. The one he did take was as first Professor of History in Tanzania's brand new university in Dar es Salaam.

If the six years he spent in Rhodesia provided the foundations for Ranger's career, it was the further six years in Dar es Salaam that established him as a dominant influence in the development of African history.

In many respects, he was fortunate in moving to Dar es Salaam when he did. This was a period when money was in relative abundance in African universities for book-buying, conferences and research and when Tanzania, under Julius Nyerere, was becoming a place of particular attraction to left-leaning scholars of a variety of political persuasions. There was no longer the possibility of political engagement of the intensity he had experienced in Rhodesia. But in compensation, there was the challenge of setting up a department from scratch involving both the creation of a lively undergraduate syllabus and the appointment of academic colleagues.

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I am really sad to learn of Terence's death.

1. Terence was and will always remain an African, ProAfrican 'munhu' amongst vanhu.

2. A man amongst men who stood the test of time and his ground.

3. He respected all peoples, was colour blind and indeed a true son of the Zimbabwean of the soil. Mwana wevhu! who championed African Nationalism through literature, dialogue and moral support.

5. Terence was a very very very close friend of my young brother, Sketchley Samkange. It is through Sketchley that Terence was to be part of our family and a close friend.

May his soul rest in peace after a life well lived.

Please pass on our family messages to Shelagh.

Edgar Samkange

Terence Ranger - historicising Literature

by Chenjerai Hove

The year is 1999, Terence Ranger and I are sitting in the Bulawayo Club, one of those colonial relics which still had strict regulations as a men's club only. Women were allowed in only on Wednesdays. I go to the reception and ask for the phone to call Yvonne Vera to come along and meet with us. Terry is rather worried about the potentially embarrassing situation which might arise on a Tuesday evening. The manager hears that we are writers sharing the interweaving of history with literature with the professor. We are given an exception. She could come, but we would have to sit in a place where we were not too visible because we had a woman guest.

The occasion was also that Terry had asked me to launch his latest history book, *Voices from the Rocks: Nature, Culture and History in the Matopos Hills of Zimbabwe*. As an avid reader of literature, Terry had mingled with so many literary giants from Zimbabwe and Africa. We sat most of the night, discussing literature as history and history as literature. I continued to realize that Terry was the type of historian who gave real human voices to historical experience. For him, history was woven from the real voices of real people, not just men and women of power. It was the echoes of the prayers in the caves that he gave voice to, and the herdsmen and hunters who made the voices of his historian's voices: a historian as a recorder of all human experience whose portrayal becomes the story of a movement rather than a record of heroes in their heroic acts.

As a college student in 1976, I had come across his classic history of colonial Southern Rhodesia, *Revolt in Southern Rhodesia 1896-7* at Mambo Press where I was a part-time assistant to the editor. As a young aspiring writer, that historical narrative gave me new

and fresh perspectives into the meaning of history. I could feel history breathing into my heart, with all the throbbing of human hearts which were caught in the turbulence of that period. History became, as Bob Marley would say it, 'movement of the people.' In Terry's *Revolt in Southern Rhodesia*, history came home into my creative imagination.

A year later, when I started teaching in the Rhodesian countryside, in the midst of the war zones of Bikita in the then Fort Victoria province, I would remember the echoes of Terry's history book as the war raged around me. I took my pen and started recording the blood and breath of the ordinary people in the struggle in the search for their own dignity and humanity denied them by the colonial administration. I saw peasant women, men, young boys and girls fighting for the freedom to be free, and I remembered how Terry's book had taught me that the task of a writer is to see, record and warn by observing the smallest details of people in their struggle to find and re-define their own dignity. That is how I wrote the poems included in the poetry anthology, *And Now the Poets Speak*, (1980), and my first poetry anthology, *Up In Arms*, (1982).

Since that entry into the interwoven nature of literature and history, I have had tremendous respect for the task of historicising everything from medicine, food, music and dance, architecture, art, literature and, indeed, people and politics. Terry wrote history as a search for new human destinies, I write literature as a search for a new human conscience in historical contexts. The final result is the same: literature as history and history as literature, both of them in search of restoring the deepest reservoirs of human memory while at the same time exploring the multifaceted nature and complexity of human experience.

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There must have been those who wondered whether his initial four choices, all of them young white males with degrees from Oxbridge (John Lonsdale, John Iliffe, John Sutton and John McCracken), indicated a somewhat insular conservatism. But if this were the case, that fear was quickly dispelled by his later appointments, notably of the Tanzanians Isaria Kimambo and Arnold Temu, of Ned Alpers, from Harvard via SOAS, of the brilliant Guyanese radical, Walter Rodney and, as oral historian, of Andrew Roberts, one of Jan Vansina's first postgraduate students at Wisconsin.

Even by Ranger's high standards, the Dar es Salaam years were remarkably productive. Much of his research time was initially spent in completing *Revolt in Southern Rhodesia* (1967), his iconic, although deeply problematic study of the 1896-97 risings and of *The African Voice in Southern Rhodesia* (1970), a follow-up volume dealing with African politics to 1930. But he also threw himself into Eastern African history, most notably in two research topics, neither of them fitting into a narrow 'nationalist' agenda. These were the study of dance societies that was ultimately to result in the publication of *Dance and Society in Eastern Africa* (1975), one of his most original and innovative works, and his investigation into the interaction of Christian and 'traditional' beliefs, drawn in part from the voluminous logbooks of the UMCA mission at Masasi, entrusted to him by Bishop Trevor Huddleston.

In his valedictory lecture before leaving Dar in 1969 Terry set out his fundamental, often criticised, belief that crucial to the understanding of Africa was recognition of the

importance of African agency. Africans under colonialism should not be seen simply as victims in a morality tale. Rather they should be studied as resourceful protagonists operating in an environment not of their own making.

Ranger's departure from Dar after almost twelve years spent continuously in Africa marked the beginning of what is best described as a transitional period in his life. UCLA, where he was Professor of African History from 1969 to 1974, was in many respects a wonderfully attractive base with congenial colleagues, enthusiastic students, generous research grants and a splendid climate. But it was not Zimbabwe, now plunged into a destructive war, nor was it Oxford, always Terry's ideal of what a university should be.

Aided by a major grant from the Ford Foundation he embarked on an ambitious project on African religion in its historical setting which resulted in the holding of three major regional conferences and the emergence of *African Religious Research* as the most innovative journal in its field. There were also new publications, in particular *The Historical Study of African Religion* (1972), which he edited with Isaria Kimambo.

With this phase of research coming to an end there was need for a new challenge. Each summer, while in California, he and his family had rented a house in a village near Oxford. Now, in 1974 he returned to his homeland as Professor of Modern History at the University of Manchester. The salary was far less than what he had been paid at UCLA. But to his friends he explained that this was not a specialist African History Chair but one that had been held in his day by the great Lewis Namier, one of the most influential historians of 18th Century England.

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His ambition was thus to use Manchester as a base for his attempts to persuade the British historical establishment of the need to incorporate African history into mainstream historical writing. His collaboration with Eric Hobsbawm as joint editor of *The Invention of Tradition* (1983), a hugely influential collection of essays of which his was the only one on Africa, went some way towards achieving this purpose, although the limited nature of the impact is demonstrated by the fact that, even today, the majority of British historians know nothing of Ranger's work other than this single volume.

In later years, Terry sometimes spoke of his time in Manchester as a particularly unrewarding period in his life. This was unjust for a number of reasons: Manchester had an excellent History Department and a first-class library; bright students flocked to his Special Subject on the History of Zimbabwe. Government cutbacks, however, made the early 1980s a grim time for British universities, even Manchester and African Studies suffered disproportionately. There was a lack of fellow Africanists other than his good friend and frequent sparring partner, the anthropologist Richard Werbner.

Yet if Manchester was not all that he had hoped, political developments in Zimbabwe were working in his favour. In 1980, white rule ended with the triumph of ZANU PF. After 17 years as a prohibited immigrant, Terry was now free to return. The initial response in the still unreformed Department of History was less than friendly but the archives remained as rewarding as ever and at St Francis Mission, an independent community of nuns near Mutare, which he had first visited back in the late 1950s, he found a perfect base to carry out oral

research for his new project, a study of peasant resistance in the Makoni District. Published in 1985 under the title *Peasant Consciousness and Guerrilla War*, the book can be seen as completing a trilogy of nationalist writings going back to *Revolt in Southern Rhodesia* in the 1960s.

In 1987 Ranger made the long-desired transition to Oxford as Rhodes Professor of Race Relations. This in some respects offered him problems. He was no lover of Cecil Rhodes, although he had written perceptively about him; nor was he drawn as a scholar to the study of race relations, although he recognised the importance of the subject. His answer was to turn the post to all intents and purposes into a Chair in African History. Seminar series were arranged; conferences were held; postgraduate students flocked in increasing numbers to carry out research. Oxford, which had once spurned African history, now became a leading Africanist institution.

Freed of undergraduate teaching, Terry now took to research with greater enthusiasm than ever and with a subtlety of approach which was sometimes absent in his earlier work. In their different ways, the three monographs that followed were among his greatest achievements.

In one, *Are We Not Also Men?*, a sensitive study of the remarkable Samkange family, based in large part on Thompson Samkange's personal papers, he explored the intellectual growth from the 1920s of the emerging African elite. In a second, *Voices from the Rocks*, he turned his attention away from eastern Zimbabwe and demonstrated considerable personal courage by undertaking archival and oral research in Matabeleland at a time when the area was still traumatised by the effects of years of civil war and oppression.

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Kenya – sharing a treasury of knowledge

by Lotte Hughes

My abiding image and memory of dear Terry will be from the time I took him, in May 2011, to visit some of my Gikuyu fieldwork contacts in Nyeri, high in the hills of former Central Province, Kenya. I'd arranged a weekend away from Nairobi, after a workshop to which I'd invited Terry to give the keynote on Zimbabwean heritage issues. I wanted to show him something of the 'real' Kenya and visit one of the extraordinary peace museums I'd been studying since 2007; he had heard all about them as chair of my research project advisory board.

My best informant, Paul Thuku Njembui, an octogenarian Mau Mau veteran turned member of the pacifist Akorino faith group, wouldn't speak to Terry for the first two hours or so. (Nothing unusual; Paul – who sadly died in 2014 – was a very gruff and guarded man, not least as a result of his seven years in British detention camps. By coincidence Paul had also been an informant and fieldwork host of Derek Peterson's, something I did not know initially.) We went for lunch at a local cafe, to eat *irio* and *githeri*, with other friends from Karima Forest, Othaya, including another war veteran. I feared it wasn't going well, as the elders were not engaging with the strange *mzungu*. The fact that Terry was a world-famous scholar meant nothing to them, why should it? Then Terry said something about God and religion, and Paul lit up, recognising a fellow traveller. When the elders realised Terry was an age-mate, that sealed it; they got on famously from then on.

We spent much of the rest of the day in a peace tree garden next to the Agikuyu Community Peace Museum founded by Thuku's late son Kariuki, another key informant, where Mzee explained the significance and uses (in

'traditional' peace-making processes) of the different trees to Terry. It is all captured in photos in the book *Managing Heritage, Making Peace: History, Identity and Memory in Contemporary Kenya* (Coombes, Hughes, Munene 2014), one of them taken (much to his amusement on seeing it in print) by my long-time taxi driver Harun Muraya, who had driven us to Nyeri. He bonded with Terry, too.

This may sound as if it's straying from 'Terry the great scholar'. But in fact this occasion showed him at his best – humbly listening, exchanging knowledge (with a self-educated 'bush intellectual', which is what Paul Thuku was), always open to new experiences and ideas. His health wasn't good then, and he struggled with the high altitude, so unfortunately a planned visit next day to Karima Forest had to be cancelled. Mzee had invited him home. Now they are both gone, and with them a huge treasury of knowledge and wisdom. But for that one day, they came together and shared it. So far as I know, this was Terry's last overseas trip before worsening health prevented him from travelling. Thank goodness we did it.

I will remember Terry as a very generous scholar, and good friend. He went above and beyond in supporting my research project, reading draft papers, acting as a sounding board for ideas, always enthusiastic, and constructive in his criticism. I'll leave it to others to describe his contribution to African studies and scholarship. Goodbye Terry, I'll miss you so badly.

Lotte Hughes, formerly at St Antony's College, Oxford, teaches at The Open University

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In the third, he embarked on a major collaborative project with two bright young researchers Jocelyn Alexander and JoAnn McGregor, now professors in their own right at Oxford and Sussex. In *Violence and Memory* (2000), their account of social and political changes in the remote forests of the Shangani Reserve, they provide a bleak analysis of the horrors of colonial, nationalist and post-colonial armed struggle stripped of any vestige of romance.

Ranger's research on his last two books was interrupted by the life-threatening heart attack he suffered while working in Matabeleland in 1996. His friends were therefore alarmed but not surprised when, on statutory retirement from Oxford in 1997, he returned for three years to the University of Zimbabwe, now suffering the full rigours of the economic downturn. There he took on a full-time job, teaching courses and stimulating research among a new generation of able, independent-minded young Zimbabweans.

As one of the earliest white supporters of nationalism, he was initially reluctant to add his voice to the growing clamour of criticism of Robert Mugabe but, when he did, it was in typically original and incisive form. His article, published in the *Journal of Southern African Studies* in 2004, on the way in which Mugabe and his supporters had utilised Terry's early writings for their own narrow political purposes, succinctly set out the concept of 'patriotic history', a term now utilised, perhaps too frequently, by many other writers. By this time, Terry's mobility was seriously impaired. But this did not prevent him from making his first foray into urban history, *Bulawayo Burning* (2010) and in providing a valedictory

account of his early years in Rhodesia, *Writing Revolt* (2013).

What are we to make of Terry Ranger? Should we see him, as in the engaging photograph on the front of *Writing Revolt*, at Salisbury airport on the eve of his departure from Rhodesia in 1963, wearing an African cap and surrounded by nationalist comrades, among them Joshua Nkomo, Robert Mugabe and James Chikerema? Terry himself was delighted to be portrayed in such a way but I personally share the opinion of George Nyandoro who, in a letter to Terry written in 1963, wrote that the Government should be thanked for restricting him to a three-mile radius from his home, thus forcing him to devote his time to working in the archives.

No one could doubt Terry's commitment to Zimbabwe. But it was probably expressed most effectively at the least dramatic level – the constant support over decades that he and Shelagh gave to Zimbabwean friends and their relations. Indeed it could be argued that, in terms of tangible results, it was Shelagh who achieved the most in her relentless campaigns against small-minded officialdom in Rhodesia and, later, in Britain aimed at ensuring that detainees, asylum seekers and their families received the rights that were due to them.

What then of Terry as a professional historian? Even before his death the discussion was well under way and there is no point repeating what has been said elsewhere. What is evident is that Terry did not construct an impregnable academic fortress. He was too keen on advancing risky propositions and in too much of a hurry to always check his footnotes with the care that they required. There is the odd factual error, the odd moment where he carries an argument further than his sources allow. Much of the central argument contained in

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Revolt in Southern Rhodesia can no longer be sustained.

Yet to accept flaws is not to deny the central value of his work. Terry was not the first historian to examine African history in detail from below. George Shepperson's and Thomas Price's remarkable *Independent African*, with its compelling portrait of John Chilembwe, was published a decade before *Revolt*. But, from the very first, Ranger was able to sweep up his readers in the excitement of the African experience. There was the Ranger tone, relaxed, conversational and allowing Africans a voice through the regular employment of direct quotations. But also there was the Ranger approach, intelligent, questioning and drawing inspiration from a range of intellectual sources. As his critics were quick to complain, Terry was an empiricist, who rejected all-embracing theoretical models. Yet he was not averse to borrowing from those models when he felt his work could gain from them. Right to the end he was taking on board new ideas and revising his position, while remaining constant to his fundamental beliefs.

What of Terry as the public intellectual? The starting point, as so often in his career, lies with his involvement with Zimbabwe: the creation of the Britain Zimbabwe Society, the mounting of regular conferences on Zimbabwe, there and in Britain, and the encouragement given to young historians embarking on studies of Zimbabwean history. Those familiar with the *Journal of Southern African Studies* will be aware of his pivotal role in its development. He was Chairman of the Board from 1974 to 1992 and read submissions voraciously almost to the end. He was also an active member of the board of *Past and Present*, the 'liveliest and most

stimulating historical journal in the English-speaking world', according to its website, where he saw his role as 'bringing African historiography into the collective consciousness of history in general.'

For many it will be as a conference participant that he will be best remembered: an eloquent speaker at the lectern but often even more impressive in turning a discussion around through a lucid intervention. In all this, a curious paradox remained. Terry had a highly successful career conventionally defined – the first African historian to become a member of the British Academy, the holder of three chairs at prestigious universities; a past President of the African Studies Association of the UK; one of St Antony's most illustrious Fellows. Yet by nature and conduct he remained, as he had begun in Rhodesia, one of A.J.P. Taylor's troublemakers, a natural dissenter, never happier than when he was challenging authority or defending the marginalised and the obscure.

In 2009, to the concern of his doctors, Terry made an arduous visit to Malawi to attend a conference commemorating the 50th anniversary of the 1959 Nyasaland State of Emergency. He was there, not as an academic, but rather, alongside nationalist heroes, Rose Chibambo and Vera Chirwa, as a participant in the events that were being discussed. In 1959 during the emergency he had visited Nyasaland as editor of *Dissent*, interviewed recently released detainees and then published a highly critical account of conditions in Kanjedza camp which was given considerable publicity in Britain. The conference, however, took up only part of his stay. With assistance from Megan Vaughan, I was able to take him back to Likhubula at the foot of Mulanje Mountain, where his great friend Sketchley Samkange had drowned before his eyes in in 1961. On the last day, he accompanied me to Zomba's run-down

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Living and writing history – for ordinary people

by Richard Knottenbelt

So Terry has gone from the physical world. You said when you were here in October that he had become very frail, so it's not a surprise. He was my Warden at Carr Saunders Hall at UCRN and although I then had little directly to do with him, we were proud that he was our Warden! I am afraid that at formal occasions when he was due to give a speech we sang *Deep in the Heart of Texas* in the way that undergrads do. I think we would not have done that for someone we did not have considerable affection for.

I was very aware of his role in Christian Action Group and also knew that this was something of an anomaly as he did not call himself a Christian. However as one of his students who was a close friend of mine said, 'Terry Ranger has more Christian Ethics in his little finger than his 'Christian' critics have in their whole bodies'.

With our Methodist congregation's minister, Whitfield Foy, he edited and produced the cyclostyled paper *Dissent* which encouraged the few who were trying to bring about a society in which skin colour and race were not the determinants of life. I read that avidly. A few years later when I saw how important it was to know our country's history from an African point of view, I read and was thrilled by *The African Voice in Rhodesia*. And just a

couple of weeks ago I finished reading *Bulawayo Burning*.

When our Zimbabwean Government announced that Schools with 'colonial names' were to have their names changed using a large part of *The Herald* of the day to say so, I wrote to tell him that Terence Ranger School had now replaced Courtney Selous. He replied immediately asking for details and a school address, saying he would like to send them books. So clear that his work and heart were for ordinary people, that they should live productively and creatively under justice and freedom.

And finally, just last year I came across Diana Jeater's interview with Terry about what it meant to write and live history and was thrilled to have known, in a small and rather immature way, such a man. And for you and those who lived and worked so closely with him over the years, there will be the gap but one which in your own ways you will fill for those who read and those who are comforted and inspired by his and your work and lives. We give thanks for his life.

Richard Knottenbelt is a member of the BZS who lives in Zimbabwe

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but resilient Archives. With unerring luck, he instantly obtained a fat file dealing with the witchcraft eradication movement, *mchape*, about which he had written back in the early 1970s. Within an hour, he was beginning to sketch out a new article. This is the Terry that I

will remember: intellectually dynamic even when physically limited, always anxious to discover more; the African historian supreme.

Terry's wife Shelagh survives him as do his two daughters, Franny and Margaret. His youngest daughter, Jane died in 2011.

John McCracken has taught in Zimbabwe, Tanzania and Malawi, and at the University of Stirling

Key witness for the protection of Zimbabweans

by Sarah Harland

In 1996 Asylum Welcome and Detainee Support was set up as a charity by ‘dedicated and talented local people and supportive organisations, inspired to provide a collective humanitarian response to asylum seekers, refugees and detainees’. Their patron was Professor Terence Ranger who organised regular day-schools to educate volunteers, journalists and members of the public about the conditions facing asylum seekers, refugees and detainees.

In 2001 hundreds of Zimbabweans were detained in detention centres around the UK such as Campsfield House in Oxford. Terry visited them providing support and friendship. He also contributed to meetings with Refugee Agencies such as the Refugee Council and Refugee Legal Centre who were trying to understand why so many Zimbabweans were being detained despite the widespread and publically acknowledged violence taking place in Zimbabwe.

Decision-makers in 2001 were using a Zimbabwe Country of Origin Information report to assist them in their decision making

and this report was responsible for why so many Zimbabweans were being denied protection. Terry, as an expert on Zimbabwe, was given the task of analysing and assessing this report. He produced a scathing indictment of the inadequacies of the report – which, coupled with fierce campaigning by Zimbabwean activists, the Zimbabwe Association and media coverage – resulted in the suspension of removals to Zimbabwe in January 2002.

A period of relative calm lasted until November 2004, when removals to Zimbabwe started again shortly before the 2005 Zimbabwe parliamentary election. Massive campaigning resumed, resulting in the temporary suspension of removals and the start of the AA Country Guidance cases. (Shortly before AA began Terry acted as an expert witness in a legal case, SM & Others, which although over-shadowed by the blaze of publicity surrounding AA came out in mid 2005 and made a significant impact in achieving protection for Zimbabweans.

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The legal team with whom Terence Ranger worked had the highest respect for him, as did the Tribunal panel members who heard him give evidence. When poor health prevented Terence Ranger from participating in the long-running litigation, he continued to assist the legal team by putting them in touch with other experts who would be able to work with the team.

Having worked with Terence Ranger over a number of years, the lawyers dealing with the litigation knew that any recommendation by Terence Ranger would lead to someone who could speak authoritatively on a particular issue. The lawyers who worked with Terence Ranger considered him to be not only authoritative and with unparalleled knowledge of the history and current political situation in Zimbabwe but also as a person of integrity and honesty who could be relied upon to provide a balanced view. He will be missed.

Sonal Ghelani, Islington Law Centre, and a member of the legal team working on the Country Guidance cases

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Years of legal wrangling followed. Terry experienced many gruelling sessions in the witness box being cross-examined by

aggressive barristers, but finally the ruling on the RN case (which succeeded AA as Country Guidance) came out in December 2008.

Sarah Harland is the Co-ordinator of the Zimbabwe Association, the membership body for Zimbabwean refugees in the UK

Overthrowing the colonial library

by Sabelo J. Ndlovu-Gatsheni

One strand of Africanity defines an ‘Africanness’ as determined by ideological commitment to the cause of African liberation. Terence Osborne Ranger fits into this category. He actively participated in the early phases of the nationalist struggle in Zimbabwe provoking the anger of the Rhodesian white colonial state, which eventually deported him. At the same time, Ranger used his skills as a historian not only to formulate anti-colonial nationalist historiography but to provide the struggling African nationalists with the desperately needed ideological resources. His uncovering of ‘Murenga’ (as a spiritual anchor in the 1896–7 Uprising) from the archives, gave birth to Chimurenga, which became a usable ideological resource in the armed anti-colonial struggle in the 1970s.

Ranger’s expansive academic work was at once nationalist and decolonial, while remaining relentlessly fixated on capturing African initiative. Consequently, Ranger actively played a leading role in overthrowing what Valentine Mudimbe termed the ‘colonial library.’

While Ranger’s early work could be designated as part of mainstream ‘nationalist historiography’ of the 1960s and 1970s; with Zimbabwe’s attainment of political independence, he shifted his focus to ‘history of nationalism,’ delving deeper into its complex rural and urban dimensions. By the 1990s, Ranger became pre-occupied with trying to understand how Zimbabwean nationalism had mutated into an authoritarian, violent, intolerant, and repressive format, while at the same time highlighting how nationalist historiography contained in his early works had been appropriated and rechanneled by ZANU-PF into what he termed ‘patriotic history.’

Throughout his academic career Ranger demonstrated exceptional reflexive abilities of revisiting, revising and critiquing his own work in accordance with new evidence and changing perspectives.

Sabelo J. Ndlovu-Gatsheni is at the Archie Mafeje Research Institute, University of South Africa

Subject: Baba Ranger

Could you please pass on our deepest sympathy and sorrow to Mai (Shelagh). We have lost a father and true family friend who had such high and reverend position in our hearts, and indeed our lives. We will all miss very much. May the Lord bless his soul.

All at St FRANCIS, via Tapiwa Francis Nyabadza

Selected bibliography

We list below a selection of the books Terry wrote or edited on Zimbabwe. For reasons of space we have not included Terry's periodical articles, chapters in books or published talks, or Terry's many books on other African countries and regions. For a more complete bibliography, please refer to university library catalogues.

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2000. (author, with Jocelyn Alexander and JoAnn McGregor). *Violence and Memory: One Hundred Years in the 'Dark Forests' of Matabeleland*. Oxford: James Currey; Portsmouth NH: Heinemann; Cape Town: David Philip; Harare: Weaver Press.

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2010. *Bulawayo Burning: The Social History of a Southern African City, 1893-1960*. Woodbridge: James Currey; Harare: Weaver Press.

2013. *Writing Revolt: An Engagement with African Nationalism, 1957-1967*. Woodbridge: James Currey; Harare: Weaver Press

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***Religion, Education and Economy in Zimbabwe
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St. Antony's College, Nissan Theatre, 62 Woodstock Road, Oxford, OX2 6JF

Dedicated to Professor Terence Ranger, who founded the Research Day

ONLINE BOOKINGS BY CREDIT/DEBIT CARD TO

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- *How does religion influence education and livelihoods?*
- *How does religion both unite and divide Zimbabweans?*
- *How is the diaspora changing things?*

The BZS 2015 Research Day will explore the inter-relationship between religion, education and the social economy in Zimbabwe and the diasporas.

Religion - traditional cultural beliefs; Christianity, Islam; Judaism; and a variety of other faiths - has been a continuous thread in Zimbabwe's socio-economic, political and developmental narrative. As the country and its diasporas endure the travails of acute economic dislocation, the debates over the place and role of religion in national development are of practical as well as theoretical significance to the country's future trajectory. Religion has been a site of contestation, but also of socio-economic regeneration, identity and diversity. It can be at once divisive and a great unifier.

Education has always been an important part of the national development agenda. The knowledge economy is a vehicle for social mobility, development and self- and communal affirmation, in an era of global economic competition and uncertainty.

The 2015 Research Day will examine education and religion both separately and jointly, probing the linkages, the tensions and the complementarities between the two fields, and their roles in socio-economic evolution.

There will be a mix of well known, and up and coming researchers and practitioners. As ever, the aim of the Research Day is to debate and share perspectives and new research with an informed audience of both academics and non-academics. All are welcome, join us and be part of the discussion.

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