

# Topple the Racists I: Decolonising the Space and the Institutional Memory of the University

Gerry Kearns, Maynooth University, Ireland

## Statues and Free Speech

As an undergraduate, I read volume 22 of the *Colston Papers*, the proceedings from a symposium on regional forecasting held at the University of Bristol (Chisholm et al., 1970). I remembered the book the other day when I learned that in Bristol on Sunday 7 June a statue of Edward Colston, a slave-trader, had been dumped in the harbour in the cause of Black Lives Matter (Ross, 2020). On 10 June a Stop Trump Coalition (2020) put up a 'crowdsourced map of UK statues and monuments that celebrate slavery and racism.' After some eight-score others, the final entry on the list is a statue of Cecil Rhodes, up on the front elevation of Oriel College, standing above Oxford's High Street. This, like the statue of Colston, had already been the focus of petitions and protests urging removal.

In March 2015, students at the University of Cape Town launched Rhodes Must Fall as a campaign to have removed from their campus the monument to the imperialist politician and mining magnate who had 'gifted' to the state the lands upon which that university now stands. Students at Oxford had almost immediately launched their own Rhodes Must Fall movement, seeking 'to decolonise the space, the curriculum, and the institutional memory at, and to fight intersectional oppression within, Oxford' (Rhodes Must Fall in Oxford, 2015). In May 2015, it protested a debating society, the Oxford Union, pairing a debate on colonial reparations with a promotional 'Colonial Comeback' cocktail, advertised beneath an image of black hands in manacles (Jamieson, 2015). In November 2015, it presented a petition to Oriel College requesting the removal of the Rhodes statue from the front of the college, and in response the college promised a six-month period of 'listening' before deciding its fate (Campbell, 2015). By January 2016, it had heard enough to abort the exercise. Alumni were threatening to delete the college from their wills and one donor was now so angry that a promise of a bequest that may have eventually netted £100 million was in question (Espinoza and Rayner, 2016). With the fig-leaf that removal posed reckless endangerment to the endowment, the college authorities decided to keep the statue and Rhodes Must Fall in Oxford were left to lambast the college for a decision at once 'outrageous, dishonest and cynical' (Campbell, 2016). The Chancellor of the University of Oxford derided the case for removal as effectively a form of censorship. He argued that trying to make more comfortable students who did not share Rhodes' values infringed 'freedom of speech' (Gayle and Khomami, 2016). At her swearing-in as Vice-Chancellor of the university, Professor Louise Richardson likewise framed the issue as one of free speech, insisting that a university education was 'not meant to be a comfortable experience' (Kodsi, 2016). There is certainly evidence that universities might have concerns about the discomfort of their black students.

Responding to the ethnicity question in the UK census of 2011, 4% of people aged 18 to 24 returned themselves as of Black African or Black Caribbean descent (Race Disparity Unit, 2020). During the three years 2016–8, there were 33,018 UK-born applicants for the twenty-five most popular undergraduate degrees at Oxford (University of Oxford, 2019). Of these, 1,040 said that they were of Black African or Black Caribbean descent (3.2%), a little below their share of the 18–24 year-old cohort (4.0%). However, the 175 who were given an offer of a place were only 2.3% of the university total, and the 121 students who were admitted made up but 1.8% of the final sum. Small numbers mean that we should draw no firm conclusions from the comparison, but for Geography over these three years (2016–8) the nine applicants who were of Black African or Black Caribbean descent, comprised 1.0% of UK applications to Geography, the two who received offers were 0.8% of offers made, and the one who was finally admitted was 0.5% of UK-born undergraduates for the these three years of admission. Of course, such inequality in higher education is a problem far beyond Oxford. Even after admission, inequities persist. English black students at universities in England, according to data published in 2017 (Social Market Foundation, 2017), are more likely (10.9%) to drop out before completing their degree than are English students in general (6.3%). They also do less well academically. Even controlling for A-level grades at entry, the proportion graduating with a first- or upper-second-class honours degree is significantly lower: 'once other factors such as prior attainment, gender and age are accounted for, there remains an unexplained difference between White and Black students of

17%, and of 10% between White and Asian students' (Universities UK and National Union of Students, 2019, p. 18). Inclusivity was not a central theme in Professor Richardson's address which concluded by enjoining those present to 'keep our eyes firmly fixed on the future, without forgetting the traditions that bind us to our forebears and the values and interests that unite us to one another' (Kodsi, 2016). The challenge posed by Rhodes Must Fall is precisely to worry about the 'values and interests' that might, rather, 'bind us to our forebears.'

These are matters that should and do concern many geographers. Writing for *The Round Table*, a journal founded in 1909 to promote closer union between the United Kingdom and the settler colonies of the British Empire, an Oxford geographer Anthony Lemon (2016) bemoaned the cowardice of Oriel College in descending to debate the possibility of removing the statue of Rhodes. No one, Lemon remarked, wishes to defend Rhodes' views, other than to give him the benefit of being 'assessed in terms of the values of his day,' and yet, a 'healthy culture,' he insisted, must 'not cease to remember those with whom it has come to disagree' and he suggested that taking down Rhodes was akin to the practices of regimes that 'burn books' or which, like ISIS or the Taliban, 'destroy archaeological sites in the Middle East' (p. 218). Rhodes' financial bequest, he implied, was a force for good, bringing to Oxford as it does, students of colour from Africa. Castigating opponents of Rhodes who 'whip up emotions,' he urged them instead to cultivate a sense of 'gentle humour' if they wish to 'improve race relations' without 'kind[ing] the fury and the prejudices of conservatives' (p. 218). Free speech, philanthropy and context are certainly worth review, both in Oxford and more widely, and in Geography and more widely.

## Context and Connections

With the rejection of its petition, with the graduation and departure from Oxford of some its leading lights, and after the pain from public accusations of hypocrisy hurled at some its members on grounds of having themselves been beneficiaries of the Rhodes' largesse, Rhodes Must Fall in Oxford was somewhat quiescent after mid-2016 (Rhea, 2020). But its cause of decolonising Oxford continued. In 2018, as 'The Uncomfortable Oxford Tour, two doctoral students in History, Olivia Durand and Paula Larsson, developed a guided walk to introduce to residents and visitors the colonial legacies of the imbrication of power and knowledge within the urban fabric of the city (Goldsborough, 2020). They now share a website documenting a series of events that are part of the Uncomfortable Oxford Project. It has always been a curious paradox of the free speech argument that not only does it want to foreclose discussion of removal (talk but don't touch), but it relies equally upon a broad indifference that rests upon ignorance.

One lesson of the removal of the Colston statue is that it is indeed possible to use statues as a spur to reflection and debate, and that debate may well disqualify the prestige claimed by the placing and maintenance of the statue. In 1998, a letter to a Bristol newspaper asked that Colston's statue be taken away (Dresser, 2001) and the following year Bristol City Museum and Art Gallery curated a six-month exhibition on Bristol's place in the slave trade which at 160,000 drew the largest attendance in the history of the museum (Dresser and Giles, 2002). The museum published a guide to dozens of places in Bristol with significant slavery associations (Dresser et al., 1999). This public education and grass-roots activism bore fruit. After petitions and lobbying, and the threat from local-band Massive Attack that they would boycott the place (Dresser, 2001), in April 2017 the Bristol Music Society decided as part of a refurbishment that it would no longer allow its venue to bear the name Colston Hall (Yong et al., 2017). A primary school and a pub dropped the name in 2018 (Wilson, 2018). In 2019 Bristol University renamed its Colston Research Society as the Bristol Collegiate Research Society (University of Bristol, 2020) and it will be under that banner that future symposia and publications will appear.

Colston's ubiquity was produced by his philanthropy. From 1680-92, Edward Colston (1636-1721) was one of about two hundred shareholders of the Royal African Company. For much of this time (1681-3, 1686-9), he was also one of the 24 Assistants who directed the company's business and during one period (1689-91) he was its Deputy Governor (Ball 2017a). The Royal African Company had, by British law, a monopoly on the trade in slaves from the west coast of Africa and over these dozen years took 84,500 men, women and children, of whom 19,300 did not survive the Middle Passage (Ball 2017b). In his day, there were British people, even some in Bristol, who opposed slavery, but not Colston. He liquidated his shares in the Royal African Company when it lost its monopoly on the African slave trade but continued to support slavery, notably after 1710 while representing Bristol in the House of Commons and when the South Sea Company was given in 1711 a new monopoly in trade in slaves from West Africa, this

time to South America, by taking the opportunity of a substantial investment. Nor was he the only significant philanthropist in Bristol at the time or since. However, from the mid-nineteenth century, his name was used by Bristol merchants as a focus for fund-raising with his birthday celebrated at formal dinners for the city's mercantile elite (Ball, 2018). By the late-nineteenth century this charitable activity was being urged as a reason why local government should remain in the hands of the rich and why poor rates need not be raised. It was in this context, and some two centuries after his engagement with the Royal African Company, that a statue was raised in 1895 to, as its plaque announced, 'virtuous and wise' Colston. So, in a manoeuvre Gapud (2020) describes as 'displacing empire,' philanthropy washes away both slavery and colonialism, allowing trade and charity to stand forth as perennial virtues of the Bristol elite.

Stoler (2011) writes of a 'colonial aphasia,' an inability to speak directly and precisely of histories that resonate too strongly in the present. As Adorno wrote in 1957 of the difficulty of having an honest public conversation about fascism in Germany, 'in the house of the hangman, one should not mention the noose' (Adorno, 1957, p. 208). Instead, we speak of 'difficult histories,' and imply that the character of that past is somehow unclear. All historical scholarship is provisional and subject to review and correction, of course, but something a bit more serious informs the diffidence of colonial aphasia. Statues to individuals are erected as a mark of respect and this is why racism is at the heart of the matter. Colston's wealth was based on a system that systematically disqualified the humanity of the Africans taken captive from Africa to the Caribbean, there to endure rape, torture, and back-breaking labour extorted at the tip of the lash. His philanthropy was fruit of the poisoned tree. He could only make bequests to schools or hospitals because he had first invested in and directed enterprises that wrested from slaves their labour, their children, their lives. A debate about Colston's statue is not really about whether he existed or not, but is instead asking whether he is worthy of elevated respect or not. Removing a statue does not erase someone from history. There are, after all, very many people named and debated in works of history for whom there never has been a statue. Nor are we more likely to forget slavery in consequence. Indeed, vaunting Colston's philanthropy is better suited so to do.

Colonial aphasia is not only a failure to see the past clearly but it at once obscures the relations of past and present. In the early evening of Tuesday 9 June, what brought about a thousand people to Oxford's High Street, under the gaze of the statue of Rhodes, was in part the example set by the citizens of Bristol who had the previous Sunday toppled Colston, but inciting both manifestations was the example of the Black Lives Matter movement in the United States (Wood, 2020). In Minneapolis, the killing of a black civilian George Floyd by a white policeman who over eight minutes and 46 seconds used his knee to press Floyd's neck to the sidewalk until the urgency of Floyd's 'I can't breathe' gave way and the man was dying, was first described by the Minneapolis Police Department as a medical episode to which the officers had responded by calling for an ambulance (Wikipedia, 2020a). These events from the bright evening of Monday 25 May, Memorial Day in the United States, were seen by dozens and recorded on phone-cameras by some. As the videos circulated, the MPD placed the officers on administrative leave before later firing them, but no charges were at first laid and the local medical examiner after an autopsy could find no evidence of asphyxiation or strangulation, concluding that a pre-existing heart condition had caused Floyd to die under the stress of being arrested. The family paid for their own autopsy which found what all could see: that an officer had knelt on Floyd crushing his neck and compressing his back to the point where he could no longer breathe; it was a homicide.

Protests multiplied about yet another killing-with-impunity of a black man by a white police officer. By mid-June there had been protests in more than 2,000 US cities and also some 60 other countries. A particular focus of demonstrations has been monuments. As of 22 June, demonstrators had toppled some nine statues or memorials to figures associated with the Confederate States of America (the states whose defence of slavery caused them to secede from the United States precipitating the Civil War of 1861–5) and a further 43 such monuments had been removed by authorities (Wikipedia, 2020b). Three statues of Christopher Columbus, enslaver of Caribbean peoples, were also smashed, with 14 more taken away by official order. Dozens more monuments associated with people engaged in repressing indigenous peoples or opposing black freedom have also tumbled or are now in protective custody. The coherence of the movement is evident. Taking land from indigenous peoples and dragging into the cleared spaces captive slaves from Africa (racism) was intrinsic to the European settling of the Americas. The creation of a capitalist society in North America rested upon a racialisation that has been reproduced in various ways for slightly different contexts ever since. It has always been a racial capitalism. Gilmore (2007, p. 247), in her work on carceral geographies, insists that: 'Racism is the

state-sanctioned and/or extralegal production and exploitation of group-differentiated vulnerability to premature death.'

Redress for racism is difficult under the current conditions of Western capitalism. To allocate funds equivalent to the cumulative effect of unequal treatment in housing and property markets over multiple generations, to compensate for stalled education and the employment opportunities it closed, and to close prisons and make amends for unfair patterns of racially-discriminatory incarceration will be expensive. It will also strike at the sense of white privilege that contents poor white communities as ameliorating their straightened material circumstances during a time of deepening class inequality. Martin Luther King, Jr (1963, p. 2), spoke of the commitment to equality and justice as a promissory note and, in his 'I have a dream ...' speech, he claimed that the United States had defaulted on this obligation to its black citizens: 'But we refuse to believe that the bank of justice is bankrupt. We refuse to believe that there are insufficient funds in the great vaults of opportunity of this nation. So we've come to cash this check, a check that will give us upon demand the riches of freedom and the security of justice.' This is why Abolitionist politics are central to the Black Lives Matter Movement. This is why the movement to replace the police and prisons with new systems of public safety calls itself abolitionist (Davis, 2005). In other words, the legacies of colonialism, of the genocidal expulsion of indigenous peoples and of the murderous regime of slavery, remain with us; the gesture of equality empty. This continuity is understood also by the white racists who defend the statues respecting the Confederacy. Protecting heritage has an immediate application as when Nazi and Klan regalia featured at a rally in Charlottesville, Virginia, in August 2017: 'While the Unite the Right rally was nominally centered around the removal of the statue, the rally was in fact organized by white supremacists and white nationalists. Former Ku Klux Klan grand wizard David Duke even attended and spoke, having previewed the rally as an event to "take our country back"' (Steadman, 2019). Both sides know that current racial privilege is at stake.

## Philanthropy and Hypocrisy

This is where certain ways of claiming to understand context can prove disabling. The effort to understand historical figures in context can sever past from present; but what happens in the past does not actually stay in the past. When Lemon asks that Rhodes be judged by the standards of his day, there is the implication that he was not particularly exceptional for his time, whereas in fact he was (Newsinger, 2016). But there is a further forgetting involved in treating philanthropy as pure generosity. When the toppling of Colston brought renewed vigour to the campaign that Rhodes Must Fall, the Chancellor of the University of Oxford noted that among those who campaigned for the removal of the statue were some who had themselves been funded as Rhodes scholars to attend the university, insisting that 'there is a bit of hypocrisy [...] in Oxford taking money for a hundred scholars a year [...] about a fifth of them from Africa, to come to Oxford and then saying we want to throw the Rhodes statue [...] in the Thames' (Today, BBC Radio Four, 10 June 2020). This suggests, not that we should review the career of Rhodes, but instead that we should excuse him the manner of acquiring his wealth because some of it has since been spent bringing to Oxford, people either from the British Commonwealth or from the United States or Germany, and of these some have been from Africa, some of them indeed black; as if so little could forgive so much.

As Prime Minister of the Cape Colony, Cecil Rhodes (1853–1902) worked to expel indigenous Africans from their lands so that they might have no alternative but to work as wage labour for European mining and other enterprises (Flint, 1974). He oversaw the setting of limits on the size of the landholding an African person could acquire, and he raised the wealth qualification of the franchise to place it beyond almost all Africans. He considered the Anglo-Saxon race superior to all others and believed that it should maximise its global holdings at the expense of inferior races. He considered Africans too immature to be entrusted with self-government. Rhodes' wealth is best described as plunder and his sense of entitlement is pure racism.

He intended by his will to perpetuate a British Empire of self-governing white dominions and to ensure the immortality of his name. The will mandated 'Colonial Scholarships' (Stead, 1902, p. 31) at Oxford 'for instilling into [young colonists'] minds the advantage to the Colonies as well as to the United Kingdom of the retention of the unity of the Empire' (p. 23). The scheme was to comprehend also, as 'American Scholarships' (p. 34), the United States, for he wished to 'encourage and foster an appreciation of the advantages which I implicitly believe will result from the union of the English-speaking peoples throughout the world' (pp. 26–7). He also added some German scholarships in order to forge an alliance he saw

as a geopolitical priority. As projected, Rhodes allocated sixty Colonial Scholarships and one-hundred American Scholarships. Selection would be based on manliness and character to a greater degree than on 'literary and scholastic attainments' (p. 36) and the choice was entrusted primarily to the trustees of the Rhodes estate after 'such (if any) consultation as they shall think fit with the Minister having the control of education in such Colony, Province, State or Territory' (pp. 39–40). The fifteen German Scholarships were to be nominated by Germany's Kaiser (pp. 35–6). Rhodes explicitly barred women and although the will states that there should be no exclusions 'on account of [...] race or religious opinions,' Rhodes used race in a very broad sense to include both what we now refer to as nationality and as ethnicity. He did not imagine that black Africans would qualify. In fact, for South Africa, the place he knew best, he specified that the the scholarships go exclusively to four private schools that were only for whites (Ziegler, 2008).

Far from being set in stone, the terms of the scholarships have changed over time (Wikipedia, 2020c). In 1916, during the First World War, the scholarships ceased being offered to Germany. In that year, the British government wrested from the trustees the control of the fund, and appointed trustees of its own. In 1977, under pressure of equality legislation in both the UK and the US, the scholarships were offered to female applicants. Gradually, from 1991 and the fall of apartheid, the South African scholarships were extended to black candidates. The list of countries has been broadened to include Commonwealth states not originally named, and later to include the EU (1993), and then China (2015) and then the rest of the world (2018). Obediently to more democratic principles, the management of the fund has openly disregarded some of Rhodes' core values. One might as well suggest that it is hypocritical to retain the title of Rhodes as to propose that recipients of scholarships implicitly endorse Rhodes' in doing so. If the meaning of the scholarships had remained as established by Rhodes, many of these recipients would have been disqualified. This is where the selectiveness of the appeal to history is most evident. In defending Rhodes' statue, the Chancellor of Oxford claims to be articulating 'Western values' which he 'regard[s] as global values' (Turner, 2016). Insofar as those values reckon themselves liberal, they are precisely not those of Rhodes, and yet perhaps the ethnocentrism of seeing the universal in yourself is indeed Western in just the manner of Rhodes himself.

These connections and legacies remain urgent. The University of Cambridge is reviewing its complicity in slavery, both financial and ideological (Coughlan, 2019). When asked in the Radio Four interview if Oxford might follow this lead, the Chancellor of the university instead referred airily to the work of undergraduates in taking people to sites in Oxford with links to slavery. The historical materials from the Legacies of British Slave-ownership project (<https://www.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/>) allow us to do so much more, tracing the wealth extorted from coerced labour back into arteries and capillaries of British capitalist society. Institutions have been incited to 'acknowledg[e] their links to the slave trade, slavery and empire,' and then to 'interrogate the place of portraits and statues, provide money to redress inequalities, and be more inclusive in their practices' (Hall 2020). From Jesus College, Cambridge, a precious work of art looted from Africa in a colonial 'punishment' raid and then 'gifted' to the college, has been returned to Benin. One significant bequest to the college came from someone who, like Colston, was an investor in the Royal African Company and, again like Colston, at various times one of the directing Assistants of the company (Jesus College Legacy of Slavery Working Party, 2019). A statement from the college reports: 'Following interim recommendations from our Legacy of Slavery Working Party (LSWP), Jesus College has decided that a Benin Bronze statue of a cockerel will be returned, and that we will acknowledge and contextualise Tobias Rustat's role in our history' (Swerling, 2019). On 9 April 2015, one month after it was first smeared with excrement, the statue of Rhodes was removed from the campus of the University of Cape Town (Holmes and Loehwing, 2016).

Where there is but a weak and faltering process for addressing racist legacies and current racial inequities, then, upending the veneration of racists in public places can energise it (Schulz, 2019). The governing body of Oriel College has now declared itself in favour of removing its own Rhodes statue and has appointed a commission to 'deal with the issue of the Rhodes legacy and how to improve access and attendance of BAME {black, Asian and minority ethnic} undergraduate, graduate students and faculty, together with a review of how the college's 21st century commitment to diversity can sit more easily with its past' (Mohdin et al., 2020). And thus we take up again the continuing challenge of decolonising our universities (Bhambra et al., 2018; Chantiluke et al., 2018). In the next part of this essay, I will shift the focus from the universities more narrowly to the discipline of Geography.

## References

- Adorno, T.W. (1957) Reply to Peter R. Hofstätter's critique of *Group Experiment*, in Adorno, T.W., *Guilt and defense: on the legacies of National Socialism in postwar Germany*, translated by J.K. Olick and A.J. Perrin. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, pp. 197–209.
- Ball, R. (2017a) The Royal African Company and Edward Colston (1680-92), *Edward Colston Research Paper #2*. Available at: <https://www.brh.org.uk/site/articles/edward-colston-research-paper-2/> (last accessed 22/6/2020).
- Ball, R. (2017b) Calculating the number of enslaved Africans transported by the Royal African Company during Edward Colston's involvement (1680-92), *Edward Colston Research Paper #1*. Available at: <https://www.brh.org.uk/site/articles/edward-colston-research-paper-1/> (last accessed 22/6/2020).
- Ball, R. (2018) Myths within myths ..., *Bristol Radical History Group*. Available at: <https://www.brh.org.uk/site/articles/myths-within-myths/> (last accessed 22/6/2020).
- Bhambra, G.K., Gebrial, D., and Nişancıoğlu, K., eds (2018) *Decolonising the university*. London: Pluto Press.
- Campbell, G. (2015) Oriel College considers removing statue of Imperialist Cecil Rhodes after campaign, *Oxford Mail*, 18 December. Available at: <https://www.oxfordmail.co.uk/news/14154758.oriel-college-considers-removing-statue-imperialist-cecil-rhodes-campaign/> (last accessed 21/6/2020).
- Campbell, G. (2016) Oriel College 'sold out' say student campaigners from the Rhodes Must Fall Oxford movement, *Oxford Mail*, 1 February. Available at: <https://www.oxfordmail.co.uk/news/14244817.oriel-college-sold-say-student-campaigners-rhodes-must-fall-oxford-movement/> (last accessed 21/6/2020).
- Chantiluke, R., Kwoba, B., and Nkope, A., eds (2018) *Rhodes must fall: the struggle to decolonise the racist heart of empire*. London: Zed Books.
- Chisholm, M., Frey, A., and Haggett, P., eds (1971) *Regional forecasting, Colston Papers no. 22*. London: Butterworths.
- Coughlan, S. (2019) Cambridge investigates its slavery links, *BBC News*, 30 April. Available at: <https://www.bbc.com/news/education-48097051> (last accessed 26/6/2020).
- Davis, A. (2005) *Abolition democracy: beyond empire, prisons, and torture*. New York: Seven Stories Press.
- Dresser, M. (2001) *Slavery obscured: the social history of the slave trade in an English provincial port*. London: Continuum.
- Dresser, M., and Giles, S. (2002) Letter to the editor. *Journal of American History*, 89, 3, pp. 1186–7.
- Dresser, M. Jordan, C., and Taylor, D. (1999) *The Bristol slave-trade trail*. Bristol: Bristol City Museum and Art Gallery. Available at: <https://www.victoriacountyhistory.ac.uk/explore/collection/bristol-slavery-trail> (last accessed 22/6/2020).
- Espinoza, J., and Rayner, G. (2016) Cecil Rhodes statue to remain at Oxford University after alumni threaten to withdraw millions, *Telegraph*, 29 January. Available at: <https://www.telegraph.co.uk/education/universityeducation/12128151/Cecil-Rhodes-statue-to-remain-at-Oxford-University-after-alumni-threatens-to-withdraw-millions.html> (last accessed 21/6/2020).
- Flint, J. (1974) *Cecil Rhodes*. New York: Little, Brown and Co.

- Gapud, A.J. (2020) Displacing empire: aphasia, 'trade', and histories of empire in an English city, *History and Anthropology*, DOI: 10.1080/02757206.2020.1726905.
- Gayle, G., and Khomami, N. (2016) Cecil Rhodes statue row: Chris Patten tells students to embrace freedom of thought, *Guardian*, 13 January. Available at: <https://www.theguardian.com/education/2016/jan/13/cecil-rhodes-statue-row-chris-patten-tells-students-to-embrace-freedom-of-thought> (last accessed 21/6/2020).
- Gilmore, R.W. (2007) *Golden gulag: prisons, surplus, crisis, and opposition in globalizing California*. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press.
- Goldsborough, S. (2020) Uncomfortable Oxford: meet the student group asking the city to confront its colonial past, *Telegraph*, 19 June. Available at: <https://www.telegraph.co.uk/art/architecture/uncomfortable-oxford-meet-student-group-asking-city-confront/> (last accessed 21/6/2020).
- Hall, C. (2020) There are British businesses built on slavery: this is how we make amends, *Guardian*, 23 June. Available at: <https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2020/jun/23/british-business-slave-trade-university-college-london-slave-owners> (last accessed 26/6/2020).
- Holmes, C.E., and Loehwing, M. (2016) Icons of the old regime: challenging South African public memory strategies in #RhodesMustFall, *Journal of Southern African Studies*, 42, 6, 1207–23
- Jamieson, S. (2015) Oxford Union accused of racism over 'Colonial Comeback' cocktail, *Telegraph*, 29 May. Available at: <https://www.telegraph.co.uk/education/educationnews/11637698/Oxford-Union-accused-of-racism-over-Colonial-Comeback-cocktail.html> (last accessed 21/6/2020).
- Jesus College Legacy of Slavery Working Party (2019) *Interim Report (July–October 2019)*. Cambridge: Jesus College. Available at: [https://serval.unil.ch/resource/serval:BIB\\_B9DCAE077613.P001/REF.pdf](https://serval.unil.ch/resource/serval:BIB_B9DCAE077613.P001/REF.pdf) (last accessed 27/6/2020).
- King, Jr, M.L. (1963) I have a dream ... Available at: <https://www.archives.gov/files/press/exhibits/dream-speech.pdf> (last accessed 23/6/2020).
- Kodsi, D. (2016) Professor Louise Richardson installed as Vice-Chancellor, *Cherwell*, 12 January. Available at: <https://cherwell.org/2016/01/12/professor-louise-richardson-installed-as-vicechancellor/> (last accessed 21/6/2020).
- Lemon, A. (2016) 'Rhodes Must Fall': the dangers of re-writing history, *Round Table*, 105, 2, pp. 217–9.
- Mohdin, A., Adams, R., and Quinn, B. (2020) Oxford college backs removal of Cecil Rhodes statue, *Guardian*, 17 June. Available at: <https://www.theguardian.com/education/2020/jun/17/end-of-the-rhodes-cecil-oxford-college-ditches-controversial-statue> (last accessed 27/6/2020).
- Newsinger, J. (2016) Why Rhodes must fall, *Race and Class*, 58, 2, pp. 70–8.
- Race Disparity Unit (2020) UK population by ethnicity. Available at: <https://www.ethnicity-facts-figures.service.gov.uk/uk-population-by-ethnicity> (last accessed 21/6/2020).
- Rhea, A. (2020) 'It was intensely painful': the story of Rhodes Must Fall in Oxford, *New Statesman*, 11 June 2020. Available at: <https://www.newstatesman.com/politics/uk/2020/06/rhodes-must-fall-oxford-slavery-statue-oxford-university-oriel-black-lives-matter> (last accessed 21/6/2020).
- Rhodes Must Fall in Oxford (2015) #RhodesMustFall. Available at: <https://rmfoxford.wordpress.com/about/> (last accessed 21/6/2020).

- Ross, A. (2020) Toppled Edward Colston statue dumped in harbour, *Bristol Live*, 7 June. Available at: <https://www.bristolpost.co.uk/news/bristol-news/watch-toppled-edward-colston-statue-4202068> (last accessed 21/6/2020).
- Schulz, J. (2019) Must Rhodes fall? The significance of commemoration in the struggle for relations of respect, *Journal of Radical Philosophy*, 27, 2, pp. 166–86.
- Social Market Foundation (2017) *On course for success? Student retention at university*. Available at: <https://www.smf.co.uk/wp-content/uploads/2017/07/UPP-final-report.pdf> (last accessed 22/6/2020).
- Stead, W.T., ed. (1902) *The last will and testament of Cecil John Rhodes*. London: 'Review of Reviews' Office.
- Steadman, O. (2019) Trump defended the Charlottesville white supremacists – again, *Buzzfeed.News*, 26 April. Available at: <https://www.buzzfeednews.com/article/otilliesteadman/trump-charlottesville-defend-white-supremacists> (last accessed 22/6/2020).
- Stoler, A.L. (2011) Colonial aphasia: race and disabled histories in France, *Public Culture* 23, 1, pp. 121–56.
- Stop Trump Coalition (2020) Topple the racists. Available at: <https://www.stoptrump.org.uk/topple-the-racists/> (last accessed 21/6/2020).
- Swerling, G. (2019) Jesus College to return Benin bronze cockerel after students push to reject the 'spoils of war,' *Telegraph*, 27 November. Available at: <https://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/2019/11/27/cambridge-university-return-benin-bronze-cockerel-following/> (last accessed 27/6/2020).
- Turner, N. (2016) Lord Patten speaks out in Rhodes debate, *Times Higher Education*, 13 January. Available at: <https://www.timeshighereducation.com/news/lord-patten-speaks-out-rhodes-debate> (last accessed 24/6/2020).
- Universities UK and National Union of Students (2019) *Black, Asian and minority ethnic student attainment at UK universities*. Available at: <https://universitiesuk.ac.uk/policy-and-analysis/reports/Documents/2019/bame-student-attainment-uk-universities-closing-the-gap.pdf> (last accessed 22/6/2020).
- University of Bristol (2020) Bristol Collegiate Research Society. Available at: <https://www.bristol.ac.uk/pace/committees/bristol-collegiate-research-society/> (last accessed 21/6/2020).
- University of Oxford (2019) *Annual admissions statistical report*. Available at: <https://www.ox.ac.uk/sites/files/oxford/Admissions%20Report%202019.pdf> (last accessed 21/6/2020).
- Wikipedia (2020a) Killing of George Floyd. Available at: [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Killing\\_of\\_George\\_Floyd](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Killing_of_George_Floyd) (last accessed 22/6/2020).
- Wikipedia (2020b) List of monuments and memorials removed during the George Floyd protests. Available at: [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/List\\_of\\_monuments\\_and\\_memorials\\_removed\\_during\\_the\\_George\\_Floyd\\_protests](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/List_of_monuments_and_memorials_removed_during_the_George_Floyd_protests) (last accessed 22/6/2020).
- Wikipedia (2020c) Rhodes Scholarship. Available at: [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Rhodes\\_Scholarship](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Rhodes_Scholarship) (last accessed 24/6/2020).
- Wilson, K. (2018) 'Save Colston' petition launched to NOT rename anything in Bristol related to the slave trader, *Bristol Live*, 17 July. Available at: <https://www.bristolpost.co.uk/news/bristol-news/save-colston-petition-launched-not-1794333> (last accessed 21/6/2020).



- Wood, V. (2020) Oxford University protest: crowd of demonstrators demand removal of Cecil Rhodes statue, *Independent*, 9 June. Available at: <https://www.independent.co.uk/news/uk/home-news/oxford-university-protest-cecil-rhodes-must-fall-statue-colonialism-racist-a9557456.html> (last accessed 22/6/2020).
- Yong, M., Cork, T., and Davies, N. (2017) Colston Hall to be renamed for 2020 relaunch, *Bristol Live*, 27 April. Available at: <https://www.bristolpost.co.uk/news/bristol-news/colston-hall-renamed-2020-relaunch-36108> (last accessed 21/6/2020).
- Ziegler, P. (2008) *Legacy: Cecil Rhodes, the Rhodes Trust and Rhodes scholarships*. New Haven, CT, Yale University Press.