REPORT OF A COMMISSION OF INQUIRY

ESTABLISHED BY ORIEL COLLEGE, OXFORD

INTO ISSUES ASSOCIATED WITH

MEMORIALS TO CECIL RHODES

April 2021

THE SUMMARY REPORT OF THE COMMISSION

1. Background

1.1 In June 2020 the Governing Body of Oriel College, Oxford, voted to establish an independent Commission to consider the issues raised for the College by the memorials and legacy of Cecil Rhodes. This followed public protests and wider debate about the College's statue of Rhodes. Earlier protests had occurred in 2015/2016.

1.2 The Governing Body's statement announcing the establishment of the Commission said that in addition to 'the key issues surrounding the Rhodes statue,' it would consider 'the issue of the Rhodes legacy and how to improve access and attendance of BAME[1] 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.'

1.3 At the same meeting, the Governing Body 'expressed their wish to remove the statue of Cecil Rhodes and the King Edward Street Plaque' from their present locations.

1.4 The College conveyed these decisions to the Commission. The Commission took note of the statement, and acknowledged the Governing Body's wish to remove the statue and plaque and achieve 'a serious, appropriate and productive resolution of a complex series of issues.' The Commission made clear that it would consider all relevant issues and options relating to its Terms of Reference, which are set out in the full report.

1.5 The memorials, and the College's wider Rhodes legacy, present Oriel with significant challenges which, if not properly addressed, could hinder it from fulfilling its desire to be at the forefrontof progress towards greater educational equality, diversity and inclusion. The decision by the GoverningBody is seen in this light.

1.6 Addressing these challenges, however, would present an opportunity for Oriel to demonstrate its commitment to diversity, attract students and play a more prominent role in building further research and teaching capacity in areas such as African history, the study of colonialism, and global development studies. Such initiatives could enhance the academic excellence and breadth of coverage at the College and attract widespread support.

1.7 The Commission's work addressed the following issues:

1. The College's understanding and presentation of its historic legacy for current and future members of the College and the wider community.

2. Issues concerning the future development of the College as an association of students, faculty and alumni arising from this, including:

3. The future of the Rhodes statue, the King Edward Street plaque and related memorials and artefacts in the context of historical understanding of Rhodes's role in Africa, his bequests, and historic environment legislation;

[1] The term 'BME' has been used in this report to signify Black and Minority Ethnic communities and individuals, except where direct quotation has required the use of the alternative term 'BAME'. This is not a homogeneous category. The experience of different minorities may differ widely. In particular, there are substantial differences between the educational experience of black (Black African and Caribbean) communities and some other BME groups.

4. Access, attendance and experiences of BAME undergraduates, graduate students, faculty and other staff within the College;

5. Developments in processes which would foster a culture of equality, inclusion and diversity;

6. Development of the relationship between the College and the city of which it forms a part.

1.8 It should be noted that the Terms of Reference for the Commission relate only to the Rhodes memorials and legacy at Oriel College. Our findings and recommendations do not extend to other public memorials of historic individuals, or to the Rhodes Trust and Rhodes Scholarships.

1.9 The Commission's report is advisory. Decisions on recommendations are the responsibility of the College's Governing Body.

1.10 The Commission's full report makes recommendations arising from its terms of reference in three chapters:

Chapter 3, concerned with equality, diversity and inclusion in education.

Chapter 4, concerned with Rhodes himself, the College's association with Rhodes and the opportunities arising from it for the College to expand further its academic coverage, including understanding of Britain's relationship with Africa, race, colonialism and development.

Chapter 5, concerned with the Rhodes memorials.

These Recommendations are included in full later in this summary report.

1.11 The Commission was unanimous in its support for all of the Recommendations detailed in its report. In respect of the future of the Rhodes' statue, a majority of Commission members supported the expressed wish of the Governing Body to move it. There was a minority view that it was not the role of the Commission to comment on the Governing Body's vote but rather to provide all relevant information to enable a final decision to be taken.

2. Educational equality, diversity and inclusion

2.1 Oriel is an educational institution with a long record in teaching and research and a commitment to continuous improvement in the range, quality and diversity of its contribution to research and education. Its approach to its Rhodes legacy and the Rhodes memorials should be rooted in and build upon its educational responsibilities and priorities.

2.2 The need to broaden access to education to improve equality, diversity and inclusion has been acknowledged as a central feature in education policy in recent decades. This has been emphasised by government departments, educational agencies and individual institutions, and is a priority for the University of Oxford.

2.3 Oriel's Equality and Diversity Policy, revised in 2018, commits the College to equal opportunities in employment and study relating to all protected characteristics identified in the 2010 Equality Act and to 'aim to create a working and learning environment that is free from discrimination and harassment in any form, in which employees, students, customers and suppliers are treated with dignity and respect.'

2.4 Oriel's record in admitting UK-domiciled BME undergraduates is close to the University average (18.7% compared with 19.4% in the three years between 2017 and 2019) and that for students of black African and Caribbean origin is slightly higher during the same period (2.9% compared with 2.6%).[1]

2.5 In 2015 Oriel's Governing Body committed the College 'to being at the forefront of the drive to make Oxford more diverse and inclusive of people from all backgrounds,' and to 'work with a wide variety of groups throughout the University and beyond' to take these issues forward. Some specific steps have been taken since then, but a more strategic approach would help to fulfil this ambition. The University's Race Equality Action Plan and other work to improve equality, diversity and inclusion should provide a framework within which Oriel can work.

2.6 The Commission's Recommendations concerning educational equality, diversity and inclusion, which build on the work which the College has already undertaken to support its ambitions in this area, can be found at the end of this summary report.

3. Oriel College's association with Cecil Rhodes

3.1 Cecil Rhodes (1853-1902) was a prominent figure in the history of British colonialism, and a pre-eminent figure in the consolidation of British colonial power in southern Africa. He was a student at Oriel, in intermittent residence from 1873 to 1881. He became a major benefactor of the College through his will, published after his death in 1902, in which he gave £100,000 to the College, including £40,000 to construct a new High Street Building and other sums to support Fellows' emoluments, high table and building repairs. Today those sums would be of the order of £12 million and £4.8 million respectively. Most of the money was spent in the years after the legacy was received and the sum currently remaining, following investment over the century, is of the order of £200,000.

3.2 Rhodes' career was controversial during his own lifetime and has remained a powerful symbol of colonialism and attitudes towards Britain's colonial past. Much has been written about it from different perspectives, both supportive and critical, in a number of substantial works. Commission members felt that it would be helpful to understand better some under-researched aspects of Rhodes' career, which were reviewed on their behalf by Commission member Professor William Beinart. These concerned Rhodes' role in respect of the development of racial segregation in the Cape and violence used in the imposition of British South Africa Company rule in what is now Zimbabwe. Professor Beinart's paper is included as an appendix to the full report.

3.3 In July 2015, the College drew 'a clear line between acknowledging the historical fact of Rhodes' donation and in any way condoning his political views'. Some initiatives relating to this were proposed in 2016, including a new scholarship and proposed series of lectures, but implementation has been limited. In 2020, the College said that it would 'continue to debate and discuss the issues raised by the presence on [its] site of examples of contested heritage related to Cecil Rhodes.'

3.4 The Commission recommends that the College should now invest in understanding and contextualisation of its relationship with Rhodes, and advance its goals of increased understanding and engagement with the history and consequences of colonialism, along the lines proposed five years ago, working with the University's Race Equality Task Force[2] and taking account of the City's anti-racist initiatives.

3.5 The Commission's Recommendations in this area can be found in the final section of this summary report. Initiatives such as those proposed can build on strengths that already exist within the College and help to make it a more attractive hub for current students and future applicants. These

initiatives would also recognise the contribution made by Africa and Africans to the wealth creation that enabled Rhodes to make his benefaction.

4. Public debate and views on Rhodes and the memorials

4.1 The protests and debates in 2015/2016 and 2020 have led to much more widespread discussion of Rhodes' memorials, his career and the colonial legacy in general, than had been previouslygenerated by the memorials. Strong positions have been taken for and against the memorials by a variety of actors, including prominent figures in the University, politicians, historians, the general publicand newspaper columnists.

4.2 The Commission has considered views from many sources during its deliberations, including public commentary and local organisations. It received and considered well over a thousand written contributions from students, alumni, other associates of the college, and the general public following a request for submissions in 2020. A wide range of issues has been raised in public discussion and submissions, including Rhodes' own views and career, issues concerning race and colonialism, the nature of historical understanding, the meaning and interpretation of public memorials and the conservation of heritage.

4.3 A summary of views expressed in public discussion and submissions is included in Chapter 5 of the full report.

4.4 Many submissions commented on Rhodes' personality, views and conduct. Some of these emphasised Rhodes' prominent role at a critical time in British history. Some expressed admiration for his political career and commercial enterprise, compared his views and actions favourably with those of other leading figures in colonialism, or praised his philanthropy, including the legacies to Oxford in his will. Many of those who favoured retaining the memorials *in situ* argued that Rhodes should be judged by 'the standards of his time' (by which was generally meant views assumed to be then widely held in Britain and by white South Africans), or sought to balance what they saw as positive and negative aspects of his record, reflecting that 'there is good and bad in everyone.' Some felt that removal could inhibit future benefactions. Others argued that removal of the memorials would adversely affect the representation of national heritage and culture.

4.5 Opponents of Rhodes' memorialisation focused on his role as a central figure and symbol of colonialism, and on factors which they felt made it inappropriate for the College to honour his memory today – particularly his views on race, impact in entrenching racial segregation and inequality in southern Africa, the manner in which he secured land and mineral resources and his behaviour towards African communities and workers, the violence with which his power was extended in Zimbabwe, and the long-term impact of his policies and business activities on southern Africa's development. Some felt that retention of the memorials would limit Oriel's ability to reach out to prospective BME studentsand enterprise partnerships, as well as compromising progress on diversity and inclusion, whereas removal would be consistent with the College's commitment 'to fight prejudice and champion equal opportunities for everyone regardless of race, gender, sexuality or faith.'

4.6 Whether they supported removal or retention *in situ* of the memorials, many of these contributions also called for contextualisation or explanation so that the memorials could be properly understood. Interpretation could evolve in the light of new research and understanding.

5. The Rhodes memorials

5.1 There are two memorials to Cecil Rhodes on Oriel College buildings:

a) a statue of Rhodes on the High Street Building, which has an associated inscription expressing gratitude for Rhodes' benefaction and a coat of arms (there is no suggestion in the Governing Body's decision that either the inscription or the coat of arms should be removed); and

b) a plaque with a head and shoulders portrait of Rhodes and an inscription praising his 'great services rendered … to his country,' which is located on the wall of a building owned by the College in King Edward Street.

5.2 The first of two substantial periods of campaigning against the Rhodes memorials at Oriel, in 2015/2016, followed demonstrations against a statue of Cecil Rhodes at the University of Cape Town, after which that statue was removed by its university administration. The Rhodes Must Fall movement in Oxford called for the removal of the memorials along with other changes to promote educational equality and inclusion, and to address racism and racial discrimination.

5.3 In July 2015, the College issued a public statement drawing 'a clear line between acknowledging the historical fact of Rhodes' donation and in any way condoning his political views.' In December that year, the Governing Body said that 'the College does not share Cecil Rhodes' values or condone his racist views or actions' and committed to ensuring that 'acknowledgement of the historical fact of Rhodes' bequest to the College does not suggest celebration of his unacceptable views and actions.' It announced that it would undertake a listening exercise about the statue and said that it intended to submit a planning application to the city council for the removal of the plaque in King Edward Street.

5.4 In January 2016, in the light of correspondence and feedback on the subject, 'the overwhelming message' of which, it said, was 'in support of the statue remaining in place,' the Governing Body decided that the statue and plaque should remain, and that the listening exercise would instead focus on 'how best to place the statue and plaque in a clear historical context.' While changes have been made to material on the College website, no permanent physical contextualisation has yet been put in place.

5.5 Renewed protests against the Rhodes memorials occurred in 2020. In June that year, the College stated that 'we are, and we want to be, a part of the public conversation about the relationship between the study of history, public commemoration, social justice, and educational equality.' Later that month, it decided to establish an independent Commission, and to express its wish to remove the memorials.

6. Planning and heritage issues

6.1 The College made clear its wish to remove the Rhodes memorials in its statement of 17 June 2020. This was conveyed to the Commission. The Governing Body is aware that its ability to implement this wish is subject to legal and planning processes involving the City Council, Historic England and the Secretary of State for Housing, Communities and Local Government. The Commission has provided information to support the Governing Body through those processes, as well as recommendations that are relevant irrespective of the outcome of those processes.

6.2 The National Planning Policy Framework (2019) describes 'heritage assets' as 'an irreplaceable resource [which] should be conserved in a manner appropriate to their significance, so that they can be enjoyed for their contribution to the quality of life of existing and future generations.'

6.3 The High Street Building is listed Grade II* under the Planning (Listed Buildings and Conservation Areas) Act 1990 as 'a building of special architectural and historic interest.' The Building's listing refers, in particular, to the significance of its architect, its contribution to the High Street frontage, its largely unchanged character, its collection of statues, and its status as 'a major monumentto Rhodes, a controversial figure, but of immense historical importance and whose legacies had a majorimpact on the University.'

6.4 Listed building consent would be required from the Local Planning Authority (LPA), in this case Oxford City Council, for the removal or alteration of a statue, plaque, memorial or monument which is designated as a listed building, or which forms part of a listed building, where it affects the special historic or architectural character of the building. Planning law requires a local authority to notify Historic England (and other statutory consultees) on proposed changes to Grade II* listed buildings. Historic England decides whether to object to an application on the basis of a checklist that, *inter alia*, includes the balance between public benefit and damage to architectural or historic associations. If the LPA is minded to grant consent despite an objection by Historic England, it must notify the Secretary of State for Housing, Communities and Local Government who will consider whether to call in the application and may overrule the LPA.

6.5 Where the works have an impact on the external appearance of the building, planning permission may also be required and if so should be applied for at the same time. In presenting an application for planning permission, the Governing Body would be required to set out a case that the public benefit and reduction of social harm arising from removal would outweigh harm to the appearance of the building.

6.6 The plaque in King Edward Street is not listed but is in a conservation area, designated by the City Council, and its removal would therefore also currently require a form of consent.

6.7 The Government's emerging policy in relation to historic statues and sites which have become contested is to 'retain and explain' them. Historic England has also adopted this policy and states its desire to see the provision of 'thoughtful, long-lasting and powerful reinterpretation that responds to their contested history and tells the full story,' adding that 'New responses can involve re-interpretation, added layers and installations, new artworks, displays and counter-memorials, as well as intangible interventions, such as education programmes.'

6.8 The need to contextualise and explain the memorials is therefore fully recognised in government policy. Substantive contextualisation of the memorials was proposed by the Governing Body in 2016. While changes were made to the College website, it is regrettable that more lasting visible contextualisation has not yet been put in place.

6.9 An application for planning permission to remove the memorials would face considerable challenges in the planning process. At the same time, it would test the significance of considerations of social harm in planning applications concerning 'contested history'. It would also provide opportunities for further public debate, education and understanding in relation to the Rhodes legacy and the wider issues raised by that legacy, including opportunities for further historical research.

6.10. The Governing Body needs to consider how to proceed in the light of these considerations. The Commission's advice and Recommendations concerning the memorials can be found below. They are concerned with:

a) contextualisation of the memorials; and

b) planning and listed building considerations for the Governing Body to achieve its objectives in respect of the memorials.

7. RECOMMENDATIONS

A. Recommendations concerning educational equality, diversity and inclusion (EDI)

1. The Governing Body should develop and agree a strategic plan for improving educational equality, diversity and inclusion within the College.

A.1.1 This should include a strong statement of its values and objectives relating to EDI, identify clear and measurable targets for performance, and ensure that its governance framework for achieving these enables rapid and effective progress.

A.1.2. Its plan should be consistent with the goals established by the University and its Race Equality Task Force. It should be developed in consultation with all groups within the College, including students, Fellows and staff, should seek advice from experts in EDI and learn from experience in other colleges. This plan should be published within a year, and will require financial and staff resourcing.

A.1.3. The College should comprehensively and regularly assess the experience of BME students and staff through annual surveys and feedback for improvements. The College should ensure the welfare, needs and concerns of BME students and staff are properly represented, addressed and supported through relevant initiatives in the JCR, MCR and SCR and through staff consultation arrangements.

A.1.4 The College should consider introducing/extending implicit bias and race awareness training, as recommended in the University's Race Equality Charter Action Plan.

A.1.5 A named Fellow should have specific responsibility for EDI and relationships between the College and students on issues concerning race and EDI.

2. The Governing Body should take further proactive measures to encourage applications from black and other BME applicants, and to improve the offer and acceptance rates for BME students.

A.2.1 This should include:

- a review of current application, selection and award process and practices in respect of EDI, within the framework of the strategic plan recommended above, including:
    - surveys of current and recent BME students, and of accepted and rejected applicants, concerning their experience of the recruitment process; and
    - training of academic and professional staff, including implicit bias and race awareness training (as recommended by the University).
- a programme of further outreach initiatives targeted at BME student recruitment, including:
    - outreach to schools and local authorities with guidance on applications and materials demonstrating diversity within the College and pre-application experience visits for students including the opportunity to meet peers currently in College.

3. The Governing Body should take steps to improve the diversity of the academic community and academic experience within the College.

A.3.1 Recommendations concerning this can be found in Section B below.

4. The College should reach out to the city of Oxford in relation to the Rhodes legacy, race and colonialism.

A.4.1 The College should engage more proactively with the city of Oxford. It should reach out to the City Council and to BME communities within the city to identify ways in which it can workwith them to contextualise and increase understanding of its Rhodes legacy, for example outreach to local schools including the development of educational materials concerning issues to do with Rhodes and colonialism.

A.4.2 Any exhibition space established by the College should be open without charge to city residents and visitors during clearly publicised visiting hours.

A.5 The Commission hopes that the recommendations set out above will help the Governing Bodyreach its stated aim of achieving 'a serious, appropriate and productive resolution of a complex series of issues.'

B. Recommendations concerning Rhodes' legacy in general and potential educational and other public responses

1. The Governing Body should agree and publish a definitive statement of its view concerning its association with Cecil Rhodes.

B.1.1 A clear and definitive statement of its view will provide Oriel with an opportunity to advance academic and public understanding and research. It will need to build on statements that the Governing Body issued in 2015-2016 and 2020, which acknowledge Rhodes' historic benefaction while distancing the College from his views and actions and from colonialism in general. It should look forward rather than back, and identify the substantial actions which the College will now take.

B.1.2 This statement will provide an appropriate framework for informing decisions concerning the Rhodes memorials and their context, including the preparation of planning applications and contextualisation.

2. The College should review and take appropriate actions concerning its Rhodes legacy in College and revise College materials to ensure they are consistent with the statement made.

B.2.1 This should include associations with Rhodes other than the two memorials, including portraits, any relevant namings in College and references to Rhodes in College events.

B.2.2 Text relating to Rhodes in College publications should be revised to reflect the College statement of views. There should be a page on the College website addressing the issues surrounding the Rhodes legacy. This should also be addressed in material such as the website's online virtual tour.

3. The College should seek to fund two new Fellowships in fields related to its Rhodes legacy.

B.3.1 A number of suggestions have been made concerning possible Fellowships which should be considered by the College. These might build on the College's strong commitment to history relevant to Africa or colonialism, or address subjects such as heritage, public symbols and museums, African economic development or environmental studies. The College should aim high and work with University departments and divisions to expand its academic coverage in these or related areas.

B.3.2 The College has recently filled a post in Francophone Post-Colonial Literatures and Structures.

B.3.3 The Commission was pleased to see that the College recently advertised its existing Turpin Junior Research Fellowship in History in the field of Black History post-1800.

B.3.4 The College should consider the possibility of hosting further short-term visiting fellows in relevant fields, in order to foster academic partnerships between Oxford and relevant research institutions, particularly those in southern Africa. Such short-term visiting fellowships – for perhaps three months – would enrich the College community and could be associated with a seminar or lecture, addressing new research and adding to the educational outreach enabled by the College.

4. The College should provide/seek funding for scholarships for students from southern Africa and graduate students undertaking relevant research.

B.4.1 The Commission suggests that the College should aim to fund two new recurring scholarships:

a) one for students from the southern African countries associated with Rhodes' colonial career (South Africa, Botswana, Zambia and Zimbabwe); and

b) one for graduate students undertaking research into African history, colonialism and/or race relations.

B.4.2 It should seek further funding for additional scholarships that respond to issues raised in this report, perhaps in collaboration with the Rhodes Trust, which is seeking to expand its African scholarship provision, or the Canon Collins Trust.

5. The College should introduce an annual lecture and other outreach initiatives concerned with issues related to Rhodes' legacy, race and colonialism.

B.5.1 The introduction of an annual lecture series was proposed by the College in 2015/2016 but regrettably has not been followed through. A prestigious series of annual lectures would help the College to build its reputation in leading academic study in relevant fields.

B.5.2 An alternative or complement to this might be an annual term-long series of lectures in a relevant field open to members of the public as well as of the University.

B.5.3 Other ways of building academic and public understanding of Rhodes' legacy, race and colonialism that might be considered by the College include:

- financial support for students undertaking research in relevant fields of study, as part of their degrees;
- an essay prize and/or travel grants for student work in relevant fields; and
- an art or photographic competition for work related to these subjects.

C. Recommendations concerning the memorials

C.1 These Recommendations are concerned with:

a) contextualisation of the memorials; and
b) planning and listed building considerations.

C.2 The memorials provide an opportunity to increase knowledge and understanding of issues raised by the life and times of Cecil Rhodes. It is important that they are preserved, whatever their future location.

a) Contextualisation

C.3 The Governing Body should be prepared to invest significant resources in contextualisation. While some aspects of contextualisation or explanation would be contingent on the outcome of

planning processes other aspects would not, and decisions can be made concerning these while planning processes are under consideration.

C.4 The Commission recommends that the College should establish a working group to develop and implement contextualisation. The composition of this working group is a matter for the Governing Body. It is important, however, that it reflects the College's values of equality, inclusion and diversity and that it consults or includes representation from relevant constituencies including students, staff, fellows and the College's alumni committee, the City Council, historians and heritage professionals. It is essential that it includes BME membership.

C.5 On-street contextualisation will be required irrespective of whether the statue is removed, replaced or retained *in situ*. The location of the statue at height on the façade of the High Street building, on a major road and in a conservation area, makes it more difficult to achieve the goal of substantive contextualisation. The College should work with the City Council to consider the best ways to present contextualising materials in the geographic contexts of the High Street and King Edward Street.

C.6 Recommendations for contextualisation include:

a. a clear public statement of the College's views concerning its Rhodes legacy and historic association with Cecil Rhodes, and the other actions it is taking;

b. the introduction of explanatory material, in proximity to the memorials and visible to passers-by, such as a permanent street-level display board (this will require listed building consent if attached to the building);

c. a notice to be displayed below the plaque in King Edward Street (permanent contextualisation of the plaque at this location would not be necessary if it were removed, though the plaque itself would then need to be located and contextualised elsewhere);

d. an exhibition space within the College (ideally at ground level), open to all including the public during visiting hours, displaying information about Rhodes' association with the College, his career, wider issues concerned with colonialism, and the College's efforts to improve equality, diversity and inclusion;

e. temporary or permanent artwork reflecting on the impact of colonialism, which could be located in the College, on the High Street (in consultation with the City Council) or in a nearby building such as the University Church (if agreeable to the management of the Church);

f. revision of materials on the College website to reflect the same objectives.

C.7 On-site contextualisation of the kind in b) and c) above could be accessed digitally by use of QR codes displayed in such a way that they do not require planning permission. This may enable material to be made available more quickly than physical displays, and would be a useful long-term complement to more substantial contextualisation.

C.8 If the statue and plaque are moved, they could be:

- relocated inside the college, to a less prominent position or to an exhibition space as described above; or

- moved to a museum or other location where they could be similarly contextualised alongside other material concerned with Rhodes' career and colonial legacy. (Ideally, this

should be a museum or location in Oxford which is open to the public and willing to accept the statue.)

C.9 If the statue is removed from its current location, the niche could either:

- remain empty, with the reasons for this explained in contextualising material at street level; or
- be filled by an alternative memorial, either symbolic or representational, following an artistic commission by the college, chosen by a panel from the broad College community, including BME representation, artists and representatives of the City of Oxford. Temporary artworks may be appropriate.

C.10 If the plaque is removed, the space that it previously occupied could be either left empty, replaced with an explanatory notice or replaced with an alternative memorial along the lines suggested for the statue niche. If alternative memorials are commissioned, the City Council will need to be involved regarding any materials that are installed on public land.

b) Planning and listed building considerations

C.11 Decisions on how to proceed in respect of the College's wish to remove the memorials need to be made by the Governing Body. The following paragraphs outline the planning and listed building considerations which it would need to follow.

The King Edward Street plaque

C.12 An application would need to be made to the City Council to remove the plaque because it is in a conservation area. The Commission understands that the Council did not oppose the removal of the plaque during preliminary discussions in 2016.

C.13 Forthcoming legislation may add a requirement for reference to the Secretary of State for Housing, Communities and Local Government.

The Rhodes statue

C.14 An application would need to be made to the City Council to remove the statue. As the High Street Building is Grade II* listed, the College's application would need to address the issues raised in Historic England's checklist for local authorities concerning applications with contested heritage. It would need, in particular, to articulate the public benefits and reduction in social harms to be achieved by moving the statue. These would need to include reference to the College's educational responsibilities (including its responsibilities to equality, diversity and inclusion under the 2010 Equality Act) and the impact of the statue and its associations on College members (students, fellows and staff), other students of the city's universities, residents of the city, visitors and tourists.

C.15 The case presented would need to be detailed and comprehensive in view of the preference to 'retain and explain' articulated by both Historic England and the Secretary of State, including 'information which is proportionate to the asset's importance and sufficient to understand the potential impact of the proposal on its significance.' A substantial plan of action for contextualising the removed memorials would be essential in addressing the issues to be considered by the Council, Historic England and the Secretary of State. It would be appropriate for there to be consultation with the Council before an application was submitted.

C.16 If an application to move or remove the statue were approved by the City Council, it would be further considered by Historic England and, in light of recent statements, would be likely

to be called in for decision by the Secretary of State. These processes would take significant time, increasing the importance of substantive temporary contextualisation and early steps towards permanent contextualisation (see above).

THE FULL REPORT OF THE COMMISSION

1. INTRODUCTION

The Oriel Rhodes Commission

1.1 In June 2020 the Governing Body of Oriel College, Oxford, voted to establish an independent Commission to consider the issues raised for the College by the memorials and legacy of Cecil Rhodes. This followed public protests and wider debate about the College's statue of Rhodes. Earlier protests had occurred in 2015/2016.

1.2 The Governing Body's statement said that the Commission would inquire into 'the key issues surrounding the Rhodes statue,' and 'deal with the issue of the Rhodes legacy and how to improve access and attendance of BAME[2] 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' (see Annex 1).

1.3 At the same meeting, the Governing Body 'expressed their wish to remove the statue of Cecil Rhodes and the King Edward Street plaque' from their present locations.

1.4 The College conveyed these decisions to the Commission. The Commission took note of the statement, and acknowledged the Governing Body's wish to remove the statue and plaque and achieve 'a serious, appropriate and productive resolution of a complex series of issues.' The Commission made clear that it would consider all relevant issues and options relating to its Terms of Reference.

1.5 In response to the Governing Body's mandate the Commission's work has been guided by:

- *The College's forward-looking commitments to equality, diversity and inclusion alongside academic excellence*
- *The importance of reflection on the College's historic legacy and its implications for the College and its community today and in the future*
- *The values held and contributions made to the College by its diverse community of students, faculty, staff and alumni and*
- *The College's relationships with others in the city in which it has its home.*

1.6 Its Terms of Reference, which were published in July 2020 and are set out in Annex 2, identified six key issues:

- *The College's understanding and presentation of its historic legacy for current and future members of the College and the wider community.*
- *Issues concerning the future development of the College as an association of students, faculty and alumni arising from this, including:*

[2] The term 'BME' has been used in this report to signify Black and Minority Ethnic communities and individuals, except where direct quotation has required the use of the alternative term 'BAME'. This is not a homogeneous category. The experience of different minorities may differ widely. In particular, there are substantial differences between the educational experience of black (Black African and Caribbean) communities and someother BME groups.

- *The future of the Rhodes statue, the King Edward Street plaque and related memorials and artefacts in the context of historical understanding of Rhodes's role in Africa, his bequests, and historic environment legislation;*
- *Access, attendance and experiences of BAME[3] undergraduates, graduate students, faculty and other staff within the College;*
- *Developments in processes which would foster a culture of equality, diversity and inclusion; and*
- *Development of the relationship between the College and the city of which it forms a part.*

1.7 The evidence and recommendations presented in this report are intended to help the College and its Governing Body address these issues. The Commission was unanimous in its support for all of the Recommendations detailed in its report. In respect of the future of the Rhodes' statue, a majority of Commission members supported the expressed wish of the Governing Body to move it. There was a minority view that it was not the role of the Commission to comment on the Governing Body's vote but rather to provide all relevant information to enable a final decision to be taken.

1.8 A summary report, outlining the key issues considered by the Commission and its main recommendations, is also available.

Background

1.9 The College's decision followed prolonged controversy over the statue, memorial and legacy of Cecil Rhodes, including demonstrations first in 2015/16 and then in 2020, which also raised wider issues concerning race and education. Discussions of Rhodes' career and colonial rule in Africa arouse strong feelings. Opposing views are deeply held and often associated with concerns about identity and views on equality, diversity and inclusion within education and society more generally

1.10 The memorials, and the College's wider Rhodes legacy, present Oriel with significant challenges which, if not properly addressed, could hinder it from fulfilling its desire to be at the forefront of progress towards greater educational equality, diversity and inclusion. The decision by the Governing Body is seen in this light.

1.11 Addressing these challenges, however, would present an opportunity for Oriel to demonstrate its commitment to diversity, attract students and play a more prominent role in building further research and teaching capacity in areas such as African history, the study of colonialism, and global development studies. Such initiatives could enhance the academic excellence and breadth of coverage at the College and attract widespread support.

1.12 The Commission's report is advisory. Decisions on its recommendations are the responsibility of the College's Governing Body. The Commission has sought, through this report, to help it take them in ways that meet the College's values and objectives. It has also considered the views of the wider community in which the College works and the implications for future generations whose lives and study opportunities may be impacted by the College.

[3] The term 'BME' has been used throughout this report to signify Black and Minority Ethnic communities and individuals, except where direct quotation has required the use of the alternative term 'BAME'. This is not a homogeneous category. The experience of different minorities may differ widely. In particular, there are substantial differences between the educational experience of black (Black African and Caribbean) communities and some other BME groups.

The membership and work of the Commission

1.13 The Governing Body invited Mrs Carole Souter CBE, Master of St Cross College, to chair the Commission in a personal capacity. Its membership reflected a range of experience and relevant expertise. Other members of the Commission were:

- Mr Peter Ainsworth
- Mr Geoffrey Austin
- Councillor Shaista Aziz
- Ms Zeinab Badawi
- Professor William Beinart
- Dr Laura Van Broekhoven
- Ms Margaret Casely-Hayford CBE
- Ms Michelle Codrington-Rogers

Brief biographies of members of the Commission, all of whom participated in a personal capacity, appear in Annex 3. No Commissioner was remunerated for work on the Commission.

1.14 To the great sadness of the Commissioners, Peter Ainsworth died in early April just as the finishing touches were being put to this report. The report's Recommendations had been agreed before his death. Peter leaves a substantial legacy in the heritage sector and beyond. The Commission hopes that this report will come to be recognised as part of that legacy.

1.15 The Commission undertook its work between August 2020 and April 2021. This fell entirely during the period of restrictions arising from the COVID-19 pandemic, which meant that all meetings took place virtually and necessitated an extension to its original timetable. The Commission received a significant number of contributions and had access to material submitted previously to Oriel.

1.16 Public discussion of the issues addressed by the Commission has focused almost exclusively on the fate of the Rhodes memorials themselves. The Commission took a broader view, in line with its Terms of Reference.

1.17 There is a substantial literature on Rhodes and his life which has been widely reviewed and debated in academic and popular journals as well as in many media outlets. The Commission benefited from further work on aspects of Rhodes' career that had been raised during the recent controversies. This was undertaken by Professor Beinart and is set out in Appendix A. Appendix B reviews the treatment of contested statues and memorials across the world.

1.18 During the course of the Commission's work, the Government announced its intention to introduce legislation relevant to the treatment of historic statues and memorials. This will be based upon the pre-existing Historic England policy that owners should normally 'retain and explain' such memorials. That policy was presented to Commissioners during their work by Historic England representatives and has therefore been taken fully into account.

Acknowledgements

1.19 The Commissioners would like to thank all those who participated in their inquiry by giving evidence in writing or in public or private session, and those Oriel staff who answered the Commission's questions with unfailing courtesy. They are particularly grateful for the assistance of Louisa Chandler, who acted as Secretary to the Commission, and for research undertaken on their behalf by Abigail Branford, Stephen Massie and Ruth Nyabuto. Commission member William Beinart also carried out substantial research for the Commission.

1.20 The Commission is pleased to submit this full report, and its summary report, to the Provost and Governing Body for their consideration. The report has been written in the expectation that it will be publicly available, and therefore includes background material on the College which would not be necessary for a purely internal report.

2. ORIEL COLLEGE

The College

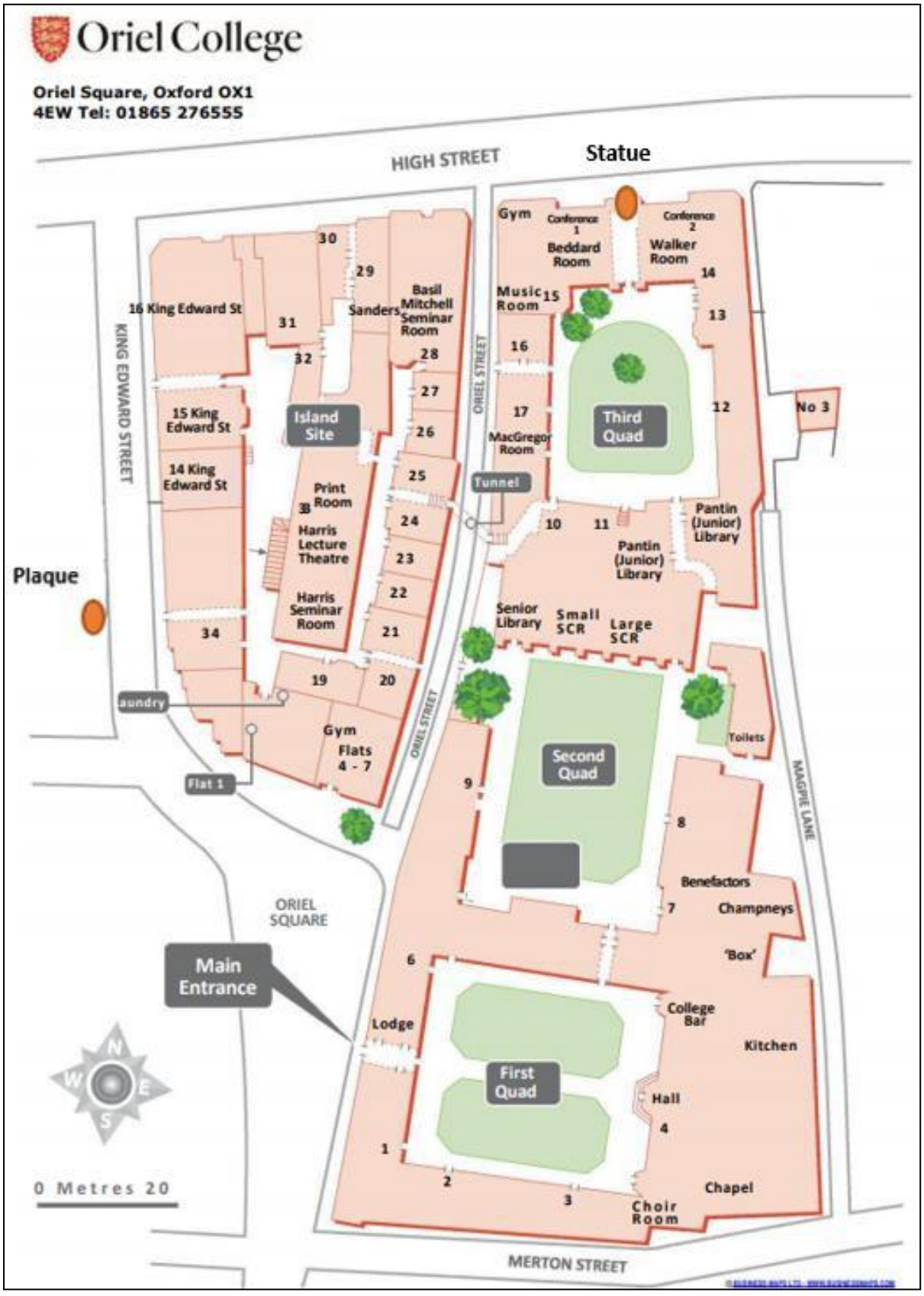
2.1 Oriel College is the fifth oldest of the University of Oxford's constituent colleges, founded in 1326. It currently (2020-21) has a total of 571 students, including 97 undergraduates and 95 postgraduates admitted in Michaelmas (autumn) term 2020. The College has accommodation for 307 students on its main site, including 51 in the High Street Building, which is also referred to as the Rhodes Building, on which the statue of Rhodes sits. It has around 100 academic members – some, but not all, of whom teach the College's undergraduates – and 160 non-academic staff. The College website describes 'a welcoming academic community,' 'home to world-class teaching, learning and research [which] welcome[s] students from all over the world.' Information on the history of the College can be found on its website[3] and in its official history (*Oriel College: A History*).

2.2 Oriel is situated in the heart of Oxford, with buildings on the city's High Street, opposite the University Church, on a site that is also bounded by King Edward Street, Merton Street and Magpie Lane, and has a main entrance in Oriel Square (see Figure 1). The majority of the college's buildings, which include the Chapel, Pantin Library, Senior Library, and Hall as well as student accommodation, date from the 17th century onwards, and much of the site is listed by Historic England as of special architectural and historic interest. The college's High Street Building was built with money from the estate of Cecil Rhodes, opened in 1911 and is the site of Rhodes' statue. There is a plaque commemorating Rhodes at no. 6 King Edward Street. That building, which is also college property, is occupied by a tenant. The sites of the statue and plaque are marked in Figure 1. More detailed comments on their location and history follow in the next section of this chapter and in Chapter 5.

2.3 Oriel educates men and (since the mid-1980s) women graduate and undergraduate students within an academic community that includes scholars from many disciplines. It has had periods of prosperity and more challenging times. Its current solid financial position is due to astute management in the past half century and to substantial support from donors, many of them alumni.

2.4 The College is headed by a Provost, who chairs the Governing Body which is made up of Fellows of the College. The Governing Body is responsible for the management of the College including its built environment and heritage. It meets three times per term. Much of its business is conducted through standing committees, which may include independent members. The College is a registered charity.[4]

Figure 1: Map of Oriel College



Objectives of the College

2.5 Oriel is an educational institution with a long record of teaching and research and a commitment to continuous improvement in the range, quality and diversity of its contribution to research and education. Its approach to its Rhodes legacy and the Rhodes memorials should be rooted in and build upon its educational responsibilities and priorities.

2.6 Oriel's objects, as approved by the Charity Commission, derive from its Founding Charter of 1326, which established it as 'a college of scholars studying sacred theology, civil and canon law and useful knowledge.' In 2009 the Governing Body agreed the following as a modern understanding of these objects:

- *Providing a University education in a college conducted in accordance with the traditions of its foundation.*
- *The advancement of education and learning and the promotion of research.*
- *The advancement of public education, heritage and culture, in particular by the maintenance of articles of historic or aesthetic interest, and the conservation of the College and its grounds.*
- *Other charitable purposes for the benefit of the public.*[5]

2.7 Within this context, the College has defined its core aims as being to:[6]

- *admit, educate and inspire the most able students regardless of background;*
- *provide high-calibre teaching and a supportive environment that enables all students to perform at their best; and*
- *support the research and scholarship of College members and foster the intellectual community of the College.*

2.8 As a public body the College has statutory responsibilities under the 2010 Equality Act to eliminate discrimination, advance equality of opportunity and foster good relations between different people when carrying out its activities. Initiatives related to these responsibilities are described below.

2.9 The application guidance page on Oriel's website makes clear that it 'values diversity in its student body - whether of nationality, ethnicity, sexuality or belief,' and strives 'to provide a welcoming and supportive environment for students from all walks of life.' It sees Oxford as 'a safe and dynamic place for students to expand their horizons, explore new identities and challenge themselves both inside and outside the classroom.'[7]

The College and the city

2.10 Oriel is part of the collegiate University of Oxford and of the city of Oxford. Its location on the High Street, opposite the University Church, makes it a landmark on the main route into the city centre taken by thousands of residents, visitors and students every day. Members of Oriel, who enter the College through its main Lodge on Oriel Square, may be less conscious of its High Street profile than those who walk past it.

2.11 The relationship between the College and the city is important. The University of Oxford's Strategic Plan 2018-23 contains a clear commitment to working with the city: 'To build a stronger and more constructive relationship with our local and regional community. We believe that it is vitally important that the University benefits local citizens.'[8]

2.12 There has been extensive discussion within the city about the statue and related issues. This has been reflected in coverage in local newspapers, including articles and letters before, during and since the 2020 protests. The work of the Commission has also been noted in local media. Much discussion has focused on different attitudes towards the memorials amongst residents of the city, visitors, students and academics, and has also concerned the wider relationship between the University and city.

2.13 Oxford has a permanent population of just over 150,000, 22% of whom were identified as from black and minority ethnic (BME) communities at the time of the 2011 census.[9] In 2019, it was estimated that 26% of Oxford residents were born outside the UK, and that the city has the third highestethnic minority population in south-east England.

2.14 In normal (non-pandemic) times, it is estimated that at least 46,000 people commute into Oxford for work,[10] while (also before the pandemic), Oxford was the eighth most popular overnight destination for overseas visitors to Britain, attracting up to seven million day and overnight visitors each year (up to 19,000 per day).

2.15 The total number of full-time university students in the city was estimated in 2019 to be just under 33,000.[11]

- The University of Oxford has some 12,000 undergraduate and 12,000 postgraduate students, some 45% of whom are international students. Over three quarters of its undergraduate students are from Britain (UK-domiciled) and as of December 2020 21% of these identify as from minority ethnic communities. Nearly two thirds of its graduate students are from countries outside Britain. Altogether, students from more than 160 countries and territories study at the University.[12]
- Just under 20,000 students study at Oxford Brookes University, and there are also many other educational institutions in the city.

Statements by the College

2.16 The College has made a number of statements relating its values and objectives with respect to issues of racial equality and BME representation in the particular context of its Rhodes legacy (see Annex 7).

2.17 In December 2015, in response to a petition from Oxford's Rhodes Must Fall (RMF) movement, the Governing Body:

- 'agree[d] that the representation and experience of BME … students and staff in the University of Oxford, including Oriel College, need to improve;'
- committed itself 'to being at the forefront of the drive to make Oxford more diverse and inclusive of people from all backgrounds;' and
- said that it would work 'with a wide variety of groups across the University and beyond to take these issues forward as part of [its] continued commitment to equality, fairness and respect for all.'

2.18 The College issued a more specific statement setting out its values on issues of racism and education during protests against the Rhodes memorials in 2020. This stated that:

> *Oriel College abhors racism and discrimination in all its forms. The Governing Body are deeply committed to equality within our community at Oriel, the University of Oxford and the wider world.*

As an academic institution we aim to fight prejudice and champion equal opportunities for everyone regardless of race, gender, sexuality or faith. We believe Black Lives Matter and support the right to peaceful protest.

The power of education is a catalyst for equality and inclusiveness. We understand that we are, and we want to be, a part of the public conversation about the relationship between the study of history, public commemoration, social justice, and educational equality. As a college, we continue to debate and discuss the issues raised by the presence on our site of examples of contested heritage relating to Cecil Rhodes.

Speaking out against injustice and discrimination is vital and we are committed to doing so. We will continue to examine our practices and strive to improve them to ensure that Oriel is open to students and staff of all backgrounds, and we are determined to build a more equal and inclusive community and society.[13]

3. EDUCATIONAL EQUALITY, DIVERSITY AND INCLUSION (EDI)

3.1 The need to broaden access to education to improve equality, diversity and inclusion has become a central feature in education policy in recent decades. This has been emphasised by government departments, educational agencies and individual institutions, and is a priority for the University of Oxford.

3.2 The 2010 Equality Act also places public bodies, including educational institutions, under a General Equality Duty that requires them, as summarised by the Equality and Human Rights Commission, to:

- eliminate unlawful discrimination, harassment and victimisation;
- advance equality of opportunity between different groups; and
- foster good relations between different groups.[14]

This chapter considers these issues, including the work already undertaken by the University of Oxford and Oriel College and suggests further steps that could be taken by the College.

Equality, diversity and inclusion in Oxford and Oriel

3.3 The University of Oxford's Strategic Plan includes objectives which seek to address its responsibilities under the General Equality Duty. These include recruitment and retention of BME staff, and achieving the equality-related objectives of the University's Access and Participation Plan.

3.4 The Access and Participation Plan has five equality-related objectives:[15]

1. *To reduce the gap in participation rates for disadvantaged students … to 3:1 by 2024-25;*
2. *To reduce the gap in participation rates for underrepresented students … to 8:1 by 2024-25;*
3. *To eliminate the gap in offer rates for Asian applicants by 2021-22;*
4. *To halve the gap in attainment rates for Black students to 6% by 2024-25;*
5. *To eliminate the gap in attainment rates for disabled students by 2024-25.*

The following paragraphs are concerned specifically with its commitments regarding the protected category of race.

3.5 In 2018 the University adopted a Race Equality Action Plan,[16] whose goals include:

- increasing the ethnic diversity of academic and research staff (through measures including improved data and evidence gathering, regular implicit bias and race awareness training, career development initiatives and improved communications);
- achieving stronger representation of BME staff in decision-making;
- increasing the proportion of BME professional and support staff at senior levels;
- increasing the proportion of BME undergraduates by efforts to:
    - *increase the numbers of applicants from students in under-represented groups who can make competitive applications*;
    - *reduce the possibility of implicit bias in admissions processes*;
    - *increase transparency by providing data and information on undergraduate applications*;

- increasing the proportion of PGT[4] BME students, and considering the progression of UK BME PGR[5] students (noting in particular barriers due to lack of funding);
- eliminating the undergraduate student ethnicity attainment gap (which was estimated at 6% between BME and white students in 2016);
- promoting and celebrating a full range of diversity in scholarship, learning and teaching;
- improving the overall experience of BME students (including participation in college life); and
- engaging all departments and faculties with race equality in order to create an inclusive culture.

The Plan also aims to 'ensure that employees' experience of working at Oxford is not adversely affected by their ethnicity,' through measures including implicit bias and race awareness training.

3.6 In November 2020, the University established a Race Equality Task Force 'to engage, to listen, to share ideas and together to make recommendations for ways that … can address the under-representation of racial minorities at all levels – especially the most senior levels – within the university.'[17]

1. *To understand and address racial inequalities among staff to ensure that all staff have a work environment that is fair, supportive and promotes a sense of belonging.*
2. *To understand and address identified barriers for students of colour to ensure that all students have an educational experience that draws on the contributions of diverse societies and cultures, and a supportive environment that promotes a sense of belonging.*
3. *To ensure the governance and structures, formal and informal that exist to support equality in the University are fit for purpose and effective in their mission.*
4. *To ensure that the University as a centre for research is informed by and informs latest research.*[18]

The Task Force is scheduled to present a report of its findings with recommendations and an accompanying business plan to the University Council in September 2021.

3.7 Oriel has stated its support for the University's approach and committed itself to do more to address inclusion and diversity in its own capacity.

3.8 In its statement responding to a petition by the Rhodes Must Fall campaign in December 2015, cited in Chapter 2, the Governing Body announced that it would 'put in place a series of substantive actions to improve the experience and representation of ethnic minorities in Oriel.' It would 'work closely with BME students and staff to understand all the issues that need to be addressed [and] … actions will include further outreach initiatives focused on potential BME applicants, more support and training on equality and diversity issues affecting students and staff within the College, and fundraising for graduate scholarships at Oriel targeted at specific countries in Africa.'[19]

3.9 Oriel's Equality and Diversity Policy,[20] revised in 2018, commits the College to equal opportunities in employment and study relating to all protected characteristics identified in the 2010 Equality Act and to 'aim to create a working and learning environment that is free from discrimination and harassment in any form, in which employees, students, customers and suppliers are treated with dignity and respect.' The Policy does not refer specifically to race, other than in listing protected

[4] Post-graduate taught
[5] Post-graduate research

characteristics under the Act. Its definition of indirect discrimination refers to circumstances which have 'a disproportionately adverse effect on people who share a protected characteristic.'

3.10 The College's Public Sector Equality Duty objectives to be met for all College students and staff were identified in 2016 as being to:

1. Establish baseline data on equality (representation and experiences) in respect of all the protected characteristics
2. Establish periodic monitoring of equality data
3. In light of the above, to identify any extra training needs for staff.

3.11 The above objectives were to be met four years from the date of publication, i.e. by June 2020. The college reports that it 'continues to collect and examine data in relation to the protected characteristics of its applicants, students and staff. This data is subject to regular review via the College's Equality and Diversity Committee. A number of recommendations have been made concerning Equality and Diversity training for both students and staff.' The College requires all tutors involved in undergraduate admissions to have completed relevant interview training which includes a section on unconscious bias.[21]

3.12 The Governing Body reiterated in 2020 that the College would 'continue to examine [its] practices and strive to improve them to ensure that Oriel is open to students and staff of all backgrounds, and … to build a more equal and inclusive community and society.'[22] In May 2020, the College agreed new Public Sector Equality Duty objectives for the period to 2024, which are to:

1. Conduct a thorough review of disability provision and accessibility
2. Include equality training as part of existing staff/student induction
3. Aspire to be in line with University targets on access/diversity.[23]

In future it will publish statistics annually relating to protected characteristics among both staff and students.

Aspects of equality, diversity and inclusion

3.13 Three themes within equality, diversity and inclusion as they relate to race have been particularly prominent in discussions in higher education over the past decade:

- outreach and access;
- academic issues; and
- racism, racial discrimination and student/staff welfare.

3.14 These concerns have also been prominent in debates around the Rhodes memorials. The Rhodes Must Fall movements in both Cape Town and Oxford articulated demands concerned with access to university education, student funding and curriculum reform alongside those concerned with colonial iconography. They argued that the memorials were symptomatic of broader problems in education and society that need to be redressed. The need for educational diversity has also been stressed by many who support retention of the memorials.

Outreach and access

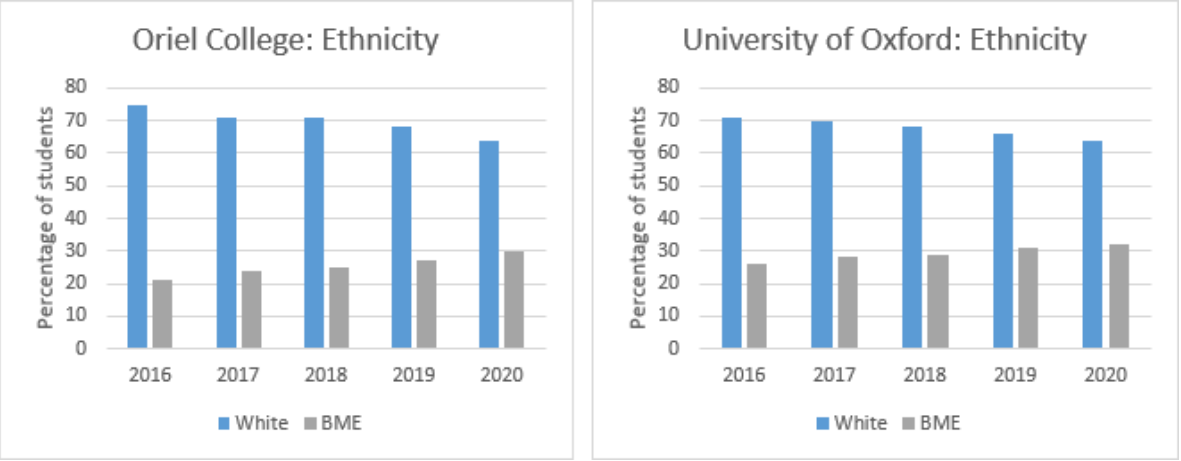
3.15 Data on progression to higher education show significant differences between ethnic groups, with significant variations within higher education as a whole. While the progression rate to higher education as a whole for black school-leavers was just under 60% in 2018-2019, for instance, higher than that for white school-leavers, the progression rate for black school-leavers into high-tariff institutions (such as the Russell Group universities) was lower than that for other ethnic groups (just under 10%) and much lower for black Caribbean pupils (just over 5%).[24]

3.16 The trend in the proportion of undergraduates from BME backgrounds in both University and College has been upward. The proportion of UK-domiciled undergraduates admitted to Oxford that identify as BME has risen steadily from 14.5% in 2015 to 22.1% in 2019 and 23.6% in 2020. Data for BME students overall, however, obscure important differences – particularly that between different groups within the overall BME category. The proportion of UK-domiciled undergraduates from black African or Caribbean heritages admitted to Oxford, for instance, is much lower though it has also risen from 1.5% in 2015 to 3.2% in 2019.[25]

3.17 Oriel's record in admitting UK-domiciled BME undergraduates is close to the University average (18.7% compared with 19.4% in the three years between 2017 and 2019) and that for students of black African and Caribbean origin is slightly higher during the same period (2.9% compared with 2.6%).[26]

3.18 In 2020, 64% of Oriel's student body, including both undergraduates and postgraduates, were white and 30% declared themselves to be from a black or minority ethnic group (BME). Ethnicity was unknown or undeclared for the remaining 6%. This was broadly in line with figures for Oxford University as a whole, which reported that 64% of its students were white, 32% BME and 4% unknown or undeclared.[27]

Figure 2 – Proportions of white and BME students, Oxford University and Oriel College, 2016-2020[28]



3.19 Oriel attracts a significant population of overseas students. If international students are excluded from the analysis, the ethnic background of UK students in 2019 in Oriel and Oxford generally was as follows:

- Oriel: 77% white, 19% BME, 4% unknown/undeclared
- University of Oxford: 76% white, 21% BME, 3% unknown/undeclared. [29]

3.20 The University has introduced a number of targeted outreach programmes aimed at students from under-represented backgrounds. One of these, the Target Oxbridge programme, aims specifically 'to help black African and Caribbean students and students of mixed race with black African and Caribbean heritage increase their chances of getting into Oxford.'[30] The College has contributed £12,500 a year to the programme since 2018. The Commission encourages the College to consider whether it could participate more actively in this programme.

3.21 Some colleges and faculties have scholarships specifically targeted at BME students. Oriel offers, for example, the Reach Oxford Scholarship to students from developing countries who cannot, for financial or other reasons, study in their own country, and has recently launched a scholarship for a woman student from Afghanistan in conjunction with the Yalda Hakim Foundation.

Academic issues

3.22 Two academic issues have been raised particularly strongly in debates generated by the Rhodes legacy and memorials:

- the under-representation of BME academics in British universities; and
- the diversity of the academic curriculum.

3.23 The under-representation of BME academics in British universities is increasingly acknowledged. The Higher Education Statistics Agency reports that the proportions of academic staff in British higher education that are white, BME (including black) and black in 2019/2020 were 75%, 18% and 2% respectively, while the proportion of professors from BME backgrounds was significantly lower at 11%. *The Guardian* noted in February 2020, drawing on these figures, that 'Only 140 academic staff at professorial level identified as black, equating to 0.7% out of a total of more than 21,000 professors.' Oxford, however, it noted, was 'among the few to employ enough senior black academics to show up in the official statistics.'[31]

3.24 The under-representation of BME and particularly black academics is not just a matter of concern regarding equality in employment, though that is obviously important. It also reflects adversely on the experience of BME students, who have expressed concern about the relative absence of role models who can share experience of dealing with the challenges faced by BME students and their possible transition to academic careers if they do not find themselves with role models with whom they can identify.

3.25 In December 2020, 8% of the University's academic staff were known to be BME, including 6% of Statutory Professors, 7% of Titular Professors and 7% of Associate Professors. 22% of research staff were known to be BME and 11% of support and technical staff. 8% of the membership of main Committees of the University's Council, 4% of Divisional Boards and three Heads of Departments were known to be BME. 13% of staff do not record their ethnicity.[32]

3.26 Issues concerning BME representation amongst professional and support staff, and of BME staff welfare, have also raised concern. The diversity of professional and support staff is significant in terms both of equitable employment and the sense of inclusion within the university and college community.

3.27 The University has expressed the wish to increase the proportion of BME professional and support staff from 9% (in 2018) to 22%, 'to more closely reflect the population of Oxford city and surrounding areas,' and in particular to increase the proportion in senior roles.[33] It is currently undertaking a process to identify realistic cross-institutional targets for the representation of BME staff as part of its preparation to renew its Race Equality Charter award in early 2022.[34]

3.28 Calls for curriculum reform, including diversification of the curriculum, have become increasingly widespread in recent years. These seek to widen the curriculum and learning environment in British and other European universities from an historic emphasis on European cultures and experience to one that explores and respects all cultures and experiences and facilitates dialogue between them.

3.29 Diversifying the curriculum has been particularly important in relation to imperial and colonial history. The experience of those who lived under colonial rule differs from that of those who exercised it, and an understanding of colonialism needs to be informed by both. Different perceptions of colonialism lie at the heart of disputes over colonial memorials, as similar differences of perception lie at the heart of other disputed, dissonant or contested history. Historians recognise the central

importance of the experience of those living under colonial rule in enabling both academic and public understanding of colonialism.

3.30 A substantial amount of teaching and research has been undertaken into African history and social sciences in Oxford in recent years, including through the African Studies Centre, the Centre for the Study of African Economies and the Department of International Development. Nevertheless, a survey undertaken by Oxford University Students Union in 2014 found that 'Students feel like their subjects at Oxford only reflect a small subsection of the ideas, accomplishments, and history of the world,' and suggested that 'a broadening of curricula … would serve both to include those students that currently feel excluded by the materials that they are taught, and to expand the horizons of all Oxford students.' This suggested that more still needed to be done in this context, in particular in facilitating undergraduate teaching and research and publications by African scholars.[35]

Racism, racial discrimination and student/staff welfare.

3.31 The student experience is a crucial dimension of equality, diversity and inclusion. Many students from BME backgrounds have reported experiencing problems at universities in Britain ranging from feeling unwelcome and not included in university life in general to active racism and discrimination.

3.32 Some BME students at Oxford have reported isolation in colleges and departments, and a sense of not belonging; overt and subtle forms of racism; negative socialisation and welfare issues; a lack of academic role models and graduate supervisors; and lack of curriculum diversity of thought and perspectives. Just under 60% of BME respondents to a survey undertaken by Oxford University Students Union in 2014[36] reported that they had felt 'uncomfortable or unwelcome on account of theirrace or ethnicity at Oxford.'

3.33 Concerns about the experience of BME students led the University to develop the Action Plan for the 2018 Race Equality Charter. This notes that 'There are a number of areas where the personal experience of our BME students can be enhanced,' and proposes steps 'to address the isolation … students may face in colleges, the lack of awareness around race and racism faced in social settings and any resulting impact on their wellbeing.'[37] It proposes six ways in which colleges might 'promote and celebrate the range of student diversity in college life,' including:

- holding diversity events, for instance in annual Black History Month;
- considering the offer of implicit bias and race awareness workshops;
- revising induction material to include equality and diversity, particularly race equality;
- considering the appointment of a Fellow with a mandate for equality and diversity;
- holding annual focus groups with BME students on their experience and/or a BME students conference; and
- providing a space for BME student groups to meet.

3.34 In its December 2015 and January 2016 statements concerning the future of the Rhodes memorials, Oriel's Governing Body said that it would take action to address issues of BME student experience and representation.

3.35 The College established the new roles of Equality and Diversity Officer and Equality Dean. These were important in helping to address issues raised by the statue's presence. The work of these two roles has since been assimilated into the existing Decanal and administrative structures. Their

mandate is still carried out within the College. The College's Disability, Equality and Diversity contact is currently its Academic Registrar.

3.36 Some submissions to the Commission from Oriel students and recent graduates commented on the student experience at Oriel, including perceptions of poor inclusion in college life and activities, some associating this with the presence of the Rhodes memorials, and calls for 'better understanding' and 'mutual acceptance' of cultural and social differences within the College.

3.37 The number of responses along these lines was not large but suggests the need to review channels through which student concerns can be expressed. In 2020 the College introduced an online Racial Concerns Form for those who wish to report an experience which has made them feel uncomfortable. This includes the following explanation:[38]

> *Reporting Concerns about Racism or Harassment*
>
> *Following feedback from members of the Oriel student community, we have created an online 'Racial Concerns Form' which can be filled out by any student who wishes to inform the College of a negative experience or any concerns they have had during their time here, in particular if it is in relation to their race or racial identity. Concerns submitted via this form will help the Welfare Team to address the experience of BME students in College more generally. Submissions will only be accessed by members of the Welfare Team. We encourage any instances of racism or harassment to be reported to the Welfare Team.*

Inputs to the commission

3.38 The commission invited submissions concerning issues of educational equality, diversity and inclusion, as well as those concerned with the Rhodes legacy and memorials. Relatively few of the contributions that it received addressed these wider issues, and most that did came from current students or recent graduates.

3.39 Some among those that were received were critical of a lack of diversity in Oriel (within the student community and in the college hall and SCR), of perceived limited success in past efforts to improve diversity, and of what was seen as limited focus on equality, diversity and inclusion by the College authorities. Some argued that BME students would not feel welcome at the College until it had removed the Rhodes memorials. Others argued that they did not feel that the memorials made any significant difference to their experience of the college.

3.40 Suggestions for addressing ongoing challenges were made in a limited number of submissions, including:

- activities aimed at bringing BME school and further education students into the College, such as annual lectures ;
- changes to the access and application process that would encourage more BME pupils to apply;
- targeted research scholarships;
- diversification of the Fellowship;
- reform of the curriculum; and
- promotion of academic events exploring racism and colonialism.

3.41 It was also suggested that the College should publish an overall statement of its values, which would draw on the lessons learnt from the last five years of contestation over the Rhodes memorials.

Recommendations

3.42 The challenges of equality, diversity and inclusion discussed in this chapter are not unique to Oriel but have become especially pressing to the College because of the issues raised by its contested

associations with Rhodes and the Rhodes memorials. These need to be addressed proactively, both on their own terms and as part of the College's overall response to its historic legacy. It should be recognised throughout that the BME category is not a homogeneous group, and that approaches need to recognise the different experiences of different groups within it.

3.43 The University's Race Equality Action Plan and other work to improve equality, diversity and inclusion provide a framework within which colleges can work. Oriel's Governing Body made a number of commitments to improvements in this area following the RMF protests in 2015/2016. Some progress has been made on these commitments, and more can be done to build on the steps which the College has put in place in recent years.

3.44 Some colleges in the University have described initiatives that they are undertaking to address the equality, diversity and inclusion issues discussed in this chapter on the Oxford and Colonialism website.[39] These provide useful examples for the College to consider, including approaches suggested below and in Chapter 4.

3.45 In 2015, Oriel's Governing Body committed the College 'to being at the forefront of the drive to make Oxford more diverse and inclusive of people from all backgrounds,' and to 'work with a wide variety of groups within the University and beyond to take these issues forward.' Some specific steps have been taken since then, but a more strategic approach would help to fulfil this ambition. The University's Race Equality Action Plan and other work to improve equality, diversity and inclusion should provide a framework within which Oriel can work.

3.46 The following recommendations suggest actions that the College can take now to fulfil that agenda. These should be considered by the Governing Body with a view to implementation as soon as possible. They are not and should not be contingent on decisions relating to the Rhodes memorials.

Recommendations concerning educational equality, diversity and inclusion (EDI)

3.47 The Governing Body should develop and agree a strategic plan for improving educational equality, diversity and inclusion within the College.

- This should include a strong statement of its values and objectives relating to EDI, identify clear and measurable targets for performance, and ensure that its governance framework for achieving these enables rapid and effective progress.
- Its plan should be consistent with the goals established by the University and its Race Equality Task Force. It should be developed in consultation with all groups within the College, including students, Fellows and staff, should seek advice from experts in EDI and learn from experience in other colleges. This plan should be published within a year, and will require financial and staff resourcing.
- The College should comprehensively and regularly assess the experience of BME students and staff through annual surveys and feedback for improvements. The College should ensure the welfare, needs and concerns of BME students and staff are properly represented, addressed and supported through relevant initiatives in the JCR, MCR and SCR and through staff consultation arrangements.
- The College should consider introducing/extending implicit bias and race awareness training, as recommended in the University's Race Equality Charter Action Plan.
- A named Fellow should have specific responsibility for EDI and relationships between the College and students on issues concerning race and EDI.

3.49 The Governing Body should take further proactive measures to encourage applications from black and other BME applicants, and to improve the offer and acceptance rates for BME students.

- This should include:

- a review of current application, selection and award process and practices in respect of EDI, within the framework of the strategic plan recommended above, including:
    - surveys of current and recent BME students, and of accepted and rejected applicants, concerning their experience of the recruitment process; and
    - training of academic and professional staff, including implicit bias and race awareness training (as recommended by the University).
- a programme of further outreach initiatives targeted at BME student recruitment, including:
    - outreach to schools and local authorities with guidance on applications and materials demonstrating diversity within the College and pre-application experience visits for students including the opportunity to meet peers currently in College.

3.50 The Governing Body should take steps to improve the diversity of the academic community and academic experience within the College.

Recommendations concerning this can be found in Chapter 4 below.

3.51 The College should reach out to the city of Oxford in relation to the Rhodes legacy, race and colonialism.

- The College should engage more proactively with the city of Oxford. It should reach out to the City Council and to BME communities within the city to identify ways in which it can work with them to contextualise and increase understanding of its Rhodes legacy, for example outreach to local schools including the development of educational materials concerning issues to do with Rhodes and colonialism.
- Any exhibition space established by the College should be open without charge to city residents and visitors during clearly publicised visiting hours.

3.52 The Commission hopes that the recommendations set out above will help the Governing Body reach its stated aim of achieving 'a serious, appropriate and productive resolution of a complex series of issues.'

4. THE CAREER AND LEGACY OF CECIL RHODES

4.1 This chapter briefly outlines Cecil Rhodes' career in southern Africa and the College's association with him and his legacy. Rhodes' perceived role in colonisation was a trigger of the protests in 2015-16 and 2020. The chapter also considers views of Rhodes during his lifetime and the century since then that have influenced debates around his legacy. It concludes with recommendations concerning Oriel's future handling of its association with him.

4.2 The summary of Rhodes' career which appears on Oriel's website was revised and extensively discussed within the college following the events of 2015/16 and is included at Annex 4.

Rhodes in his time

4.3 Cecil Rhodes (1853-1902) was a prominent figure in the history of British colonialism, and a pre-eminent figure in the consolidation of British colonial power in southern Africa. He was a student at Oriel, in intermittent residence from 1873 to 1881. He became a major benefactor of the College through his will, published after his death in 1902, in which he gave £100,000 to the College, including £40,000 to construct a new High Street Building and other sums to support Fellows' emoluments, high table and building repairs. Today those sums would be of the order of £12 million and £4.8 million respectively. Most of the money was spent in the years after the legacy was received and the sum currently remaining, following investment over the century, is of the order of £200,000.

4.4 Rhodes' career was controversial during his own lifetime and has remained a powerful symbol of colonialism and attitudes towards Britain's colonial past. Much has been written about it from different perspectives, both supportive and critical, in a number of substantial works. Commission members felt that it would be helpful to understand better some under-researched aspects of Rhodes' career, which were reviewed on their behalf by Commission member Professor William Beinart. These concerned Rhodes' role in respect of the development of racial segregation in the Cape and violence used in the imposition of British South Africa Company rule in what is now Zimbabwe. Professor Beinart's paper is included as an appendix to this report.

4.5 Opinions about the statue have been highly polarised and they have generally been closely related to views of Rhodes. Was he, as proponents of leaving the statue tend to argue, a 'flawed colossus' – a man of his time, who was not particularly racist, helped to lay the foundations of the southern African mining industry, established a progressive central African colony, and left most of his fortune for public purposes both in Britain and Southern Africa? In submissions to the Commission, a good deal was made of Rhodes's generosity, and some emphasised his peace-making with the Ndebele, after the second war against them in 1896.

4.6 For advocates of removal Rhodes is a deeply problematic figure, directly responsible for racial segregation, violence, conquest and land appropriation as well as exploitative relationships in the mining companies that he controlled. He was a man of his time, who became an emblem of a particular phase of late nineteenth-century British imperial expansionism.

4.7 This section of the report is not an examination of every aspect of Rhodes's career. There are a large number of biographies as well as extensive writing on late nineteenth-century southern Africa. It draws on some of the evidence and arguments that have been at the heart of the debate about the statue. It suggests that whatever is done with the statue, the evidence justifies important new initiatives at Oriel in the field of staff and student diversity as well as academic coverage.

The career of Cecil Rhodes

4.8 The son of an Anglican minister, Rhodes arrived in South Africa in 1870, aged 17, and first joined his brother on a farm in Natal. In 1871 he moved to the recently discovered Kimberley diamond fields where he thrived. By 1881 he had bought up sufficient claims to be one of the largest producers, and won election to the Cape parliament. He completed a degree at Oriel in that year, after irregular visits over an eight year period.

4.9 Hugely ambitious and energetic, Rhodes was adept at forming political as well as business alliances. He won support from the Afrikaner Bond and some liberals to emerge as Prime Minister of the Cape Colony from 1890 to 1896. He was also simultaneously: chairman of De Beers diamond company, which monopolised production after 1888; joint managing director of Goldfields of South Africa; one of the richest men in South Africa; and managing director of the British South Africa Company, which colonised Zimbabwe from 1890. It is extraordinary that he was able to hold all these positions while Prime Minister, but also some indication of the range of activities in which he was engaged, his influence, and his ability as politician, mining magnate, businessman and empire-builder.

4.10 In 1895 Rhodes supported an unsuccessful attempt – known as the Jameson Raid – to overthrow the Boer republic in the neighbouring Transvaal as part of a struggle for power between different European communities within South Africa. The failure of this raid forced him to resign as prime minister of Cape Colony, diminished his authority and intensified controversy in Britain concerning his conduct in South Africa. Rhodes died in 1902, from heart failure, following a lifetime of poor health.

4.11 The evidence Professor Beinart has examined, which also draws on a number of submissions to the Commission from historians with different perspectives on Rhodes,[40] shows that Rhodes made a number of important decisions, or supported developments, that intensified racial segregation at the Cape in the late nineteenth century. To a limited degree a pragmatist in Cape politics, prepared to work with a range of people who would be useful to his interests, Rhodes was a deeply committed British imperialist, convinced about racial superiority.

4.12 He had some power to influence an alternative political direction in the Colony but advocated a racially restrictive franchise, punitive Masters and Servants legislation, a labour tax for African people only, a segregated local government system and segregation in the South African cricket team. He was involved in the beginning of coercive compounds for black workers and other racially restrictive practices as an employer.

4.13 In respect of Zimbabwe, 1890-97, Rhodes and his Company were responsible for great violence in attacking the Ndebele kingdom in 1893 and in suppressing resistance to their rule in 1896-7. The Rudd concession concerning mining rights in what is now Zimbabwe was overridden; unbridled use was made of the Maxim gun; cattle were looted by his Company and its agents on a large scale; grain stores, crops and gardens were destroyed over a sustained period during the 1896-7 war; many Ndebele soldiers were shot in flight; supposed rebels were sentenced and hung or shot without due process of law. Over a period of nine months, men (including armed men), women and children sheltering in caves were blown up, when it was clear that many were being killed. Rhodes was aware of these practices, present at times while they were taking place and involved in strategic discussion about the wars.

Perceptions of Rhodes

4.14 Perceptions of Rhodes have varied over time. He was controversial in Britain during his lifetime, particularly in the years after the Jameson Raid, as illustrated by the controversy over his award of an honorary degree at Oxford (see below). He was highly praised by some and regarded with dislike by

others, some (like G.K. Chesterton) with considerable venom.[41] His imperial philosophy was based around perceptions of British superiority ('we are the first race in the world, and ... the more of the world we inhabit the better it is for the human race'[42]) and African inferiority ('If the whites maintain their position as the supreme race, the day may come when we shall be thankful that we have the natives with us in their proper position'[43]).

4.15 Perceptions of Rhodes' legacy in literature and memorialisation, and the ways in which these have changed over time, have been explored in detail in Paul Maylam's study of *The Cult of Rhodes*. While many earlier accounts were largely favourable, more critical assessments have been published in recent decades, following the end of British rule in Africa.

Oxford and colonialism

4.16 A number of universities in many countries – including South Africa, Zimbabwe, the Caribbean and the United States as well as Britain – have paid increased attention in recent years to their contested historic legacies, both in general and with specific reference to memorials. At the University of Oxford, for example, the Rhodes Trust has modified the iconography in its main hall. All Souls College has responded to critiques of its Codrington legacy by renaming its library and initiating scholarships for students from the Caribbean. With regard to broader teaching and research programmes, there has been a strong focus in Oxford on African studies, particularly at the postgraduate level. The Oxford Department of International Development has undertaken extensive interdisciplinary research on developing countries, particularly African countries, since the 1990s. St Antony's area studies centres have provided a similar role since the 1960s, and were developed into a new University School of Interdisciplinary Area Studies in 2002, including the foundation of an African Studies centre. The University has also housed a Centre for the Study of African Economies since 1993, which has fed into degree teaching and influential research programmes.

4.17 The Oxford and Colonialism working group was established in 2016, with extensive participation across the University, 'to reflect on the University's historic ties with Great Britain's colonial past and the ways in which the University's colonial legacies reflect on the present, and our vision of the University's future.'[44] Oxford University, it noted in its report that year, was well-placed to do so because of its historic role in training future colonial administrators.[45] This voluntary working group is supported by the University and the Vice-Chancellor's Diversity Fund, is based at the Pitt Rivers Museum, and is co-chaired by senior personnel from the Museum[46] and Rhodes House. It aims 'to look for common ground, link projects, initiatives and events across the University and suggest University-wide initiatives that are practical, sustainable and relevant both internally and with the wider public.'

4.18 The group's first report, in 2016/2017, suggested that the University could act as an interdisciplinary and intercollegiate focal point for debate on issues related to colonialism, including those concerning faculty and curriculum diversity, and support reflection on the intersection between 'two massive sets of issues: Oxford's colonial legacy and how Oxford today engages with the pluralistic community around the University.' It suggested a number of possible initiatives, including the creation of a permanent or temporary exhibitions to address the University's associations with colonialism.[47]

4.19 The group's current focus is the development of a website, derived from contributions across the University, 'with a view to offer critical and constructive viewpoints on the historical relationship between our University and colonialism and on how this has affected (and continues to affect) the collegiate University's architecture, admission and recruitment processes and curriculum throughout the University.' This includes material from the research into their colonial links undertaken by Balliol and St John's Colleges. Oriel's page on this website[48] currently refers only to Cecil Rhodes and the work

of this Commission. It will need to be updated once the report of the Commission has been considered by the Governing Body.

4.20 Examples from the website provide useful suggestions for activities – and lessons learnt – that would be valuable to Oriel. Many of these address the crossover between EDI initiatives and initiatives that focus specifically on colleges' colonial legacies.

Rhodes and Oxford

4.21 The best known of Rhodes' associations with Oxford is the Rhodes Scholarship scheme which is administered by the Rhodes Trust that was set up by his will. Much of Rhodes' estate was allocated to fund scholarships for students from the United States, Germany (removed by legislation in 1916) and the 'Colonies'. The largest number of scholarships were assigned to the United States and southern Africa. Although there were black scholars from the Caribbean, such as Rex Nettleford (attached to Oriel) and Norman Manley, only one – Alain Locke, an African-American, who came to Oxford in 1904 – was selected from the United States before 1962. His experience, in the very early days of the scheme, was not a happy one. There were no black scholars from South Africa until the 1970s. The Trust has subsequently raised further funding to expand eligibility for scholarships to students from a wider range of countries, and the community of Rhodes Scholars is today diverse.

4.22 Rhodes' name is further marked in Rhodes House, the home of the Rhodes Trust and a gathering place for Rhodes Scholars. The Trust contributed to other posts in Oxford which carried Rhodes's name and also endowed a Rhodes Professorship in Imperial History at King's College, London. Rhodes' name was also used for a post entitled the Rhodes Professorship of Race Relations in Oxford, which has been recently renamed. This was separately endowed by the Rhodesian Selection Trust group of copper mining companies in 1953-4. The Rhodes Trust made no contribution to thisendowment.

4.23 The Rhodes Trust and Scholarships are entirely separate from Oriel College and outside the remit of the Commission. Commissioners were very grateful to have been able to discuss the history and development of the Trust, Scholarships and of Rhodes House with the current Warden, Elizabeth Kiss, and aspects of its current work which are relevant to Oriel's consideration of its Rhodes legacy are cited later.

Rhodes and Oriel

4.24 Rhodes was admitted to the University as an undergraduate student of Oriel College in October 1873 at the age of 20, by which time he had already begun his career in the diamond trade in what is now South Africa. After one term's residence, he returned to South Africa for two and a half years, and then came back to Oxford for six terms from 1876 to 1878. The next three years were spent in South Africa before he returned again to Oriel for his final term, Michaelmas 1881, already a rich man and member of the Cape Parliament. He took a pass degree that December.

4.25 Rhodes was offered an honorary degree by Oxford University in 1892. He was already by this time Prime Minister of Cape Colony, though the offer preceded the most controversial phase of his career. He was unable to visit at this time, but chose to do so in 1899. This was after the Jameson Raid and the wars in what is now Zimbabwe, and there was significant opposition to the award within the University, including a petition by around 90 academics to the Vice-Chancellor and a threat by the Proctors to veto the award. A threat to withdraw by Lord Kitchener, who was also due to receive an honorary degree, led the Proctors to back down. It was during this visit to Oxford that Rhodes first discussed the possibility of leaving funds to Oriel College, which was then in poor financial health.

4.26 Rhodes did not return to Oxford before his early death at the age of 48 in March 1902. His will is a long and complex document and included a legacy of £100,000 to Oriel (less than 2% of the value of his estate):

- £40,000 for a new High Street building - £22,500 to cover the cost of the building itself and the remainder held as an endowment to make up for income lost as a result of demolishing existing High Street premises;
- £40,000 as an endowment to support emoluments for Fellows of the College;
- £10,000 to endow 'the dignity and comfort of High Table' for resident Fellows;
- and the final £10,000 as a buildings repair fund.

There was no allocation for student scholarships in the legacy left to Oriel.

4.27 Today the value of the legacy would be of the order of £12 million. Most of the money was spent in the years after the legacy was received and the sum currently remaining, following investment over the century, is of the order of £200,000.

4.28 In 1989, the College accepted endowed gifts from De Beers and Consolidated Gold Fields to rename two existing Fellowships as Rhodes Fellowships, one each in physics and history, on the centenary of Rhodes' foundation of those companies. No funds for these were derived from Rhodes' own legacy.

4.29 The High Street building which was funded by Rhodes' legacy was designed by the noted architect Basil Champneys, who worked throughout Oxford. There was a great deal of debate between the College and the architect in advance of work commencing on the site. The building eventually cost £23,136 and was opened in September 1911 with some ceremony on the part of the College.

4.30 A statue of Rhodes was not a requirement of the will or of any subsequent negotiation concerning the endowment. The sculptor Henry Alfred Pegram was commissioned to make this statue and ten other figures for the Building. Seven figures, including Rhodes, face the High Street and four the interior of the quadrangle. One College fellow questioned whether Rhodes should be pre-eminent among the seven figures, above two kings (Edward VII and George V). The college website notes that one alumnus wrote that he 'could have wished it were not Rhodes's statue that should appear above the gate into the High' because 'I am not in love with the "Imperial" spirit.'

4.31 The High Street building on which the statue of Rhodes stands was originally known as the New Building, although by the 1920s it was widely known within the College community as the Rhodes Building, and this name is used in a number of architectural surveys of the city. The Commission understands that, in November 2015, the College decided that it would no longer refer to it as the Rhodes Building. Usage today is inconsistent. It is referred to as the Rhodes Building in the College's latest Trustees' Annual Report.[49]

4.32 A plaque 'in recognition of the great services rendered by Cecil Rhodes to his country' was installed in 1906 on the exterior wall of the Oriel-owned building at 6 King Edward Street, at the expense of Alfred Mosely, a Cape diamond merchant and associate of Rhodes who then became a businessman based in Britain. Rhodes had lived at this address in 1881.

4.33 Some other associations with Rhodes can be found within the college. These include four portrayals of Rhodes:

- a bronze bust by S. March
- a miniature by M. H. Carlisle

- an oil painting by P. T. Cole; and
- drawings by M. Menpes.

Perceptions of Cecil Rhodes in submissions to the Commission

4.34 Debates around the memorialisation of Rhodes in Oriel have focused on:

- the nature of his views;
- his conduct;
- and the relevance of these to his benefaction to the College.

4.35 Views concerning Rhodes' actions and their impact can be distinguished from views on the memorials themselves in the submissions received by the Commission.

4.36 Some contributors to these debates have been supportive of Rhodes, some defending Britain's colonial record in general, some describing Rhodes himself as 'visionary' or suggesting that his views and actions mitigated rather than contributed towards colonial excesses. Others have suggested that his status as a colonial figurehead and his actions in Southern Africa should not be considered relevant to the philanthropic benefaction recognised by the statue. 'It seems to be an invidious exercise', Donal Lowry writes for instance in his submission, 'to attempt to weigh Rhodes's moral failings at the distance of more than a century against any beneficial contributions he may have made to Oriel College, Oxford University and – through the Rhodes Scholarships – the world.'

4.37 Many submissions commented on Rhodes' personality, views and conduct. Some of these emphasised Rhodes' prominent role at a critical time in British history. Some expressed admiration for his political career and commercial enterprise, compared his views and actions favourably with those of other leading figures in colonialism, or praised his philanthropy, including the legacies to Oxford in his will. Many of those who favoured retaining the memorials *in situ* argued that Rhodes should be judged by 'the standards of his time' (by which was generally meant views assumed to be then widely held in Britain and by white South Africans), or sought to balance what they saw as positive and negative aspects of his record, reflecting that 'there is good and bad in everyone.' Some felt that removal could inhibit future benefactions. Others argued that removal of the memorials would adversely affect the representation of national heritage and culture. It has sometimes been assumed that criticism of Rhodes equates to criticism of Britain and Britain's place in history and some submissions arguing against removal of the memorials did so from a perspective of national pride.

4.38 Opponents of Rhodes' memorialisation focused on his role as a central figure and symbol of colonialism, and on factors which they felt made it inappropriate for the College to honour his memory today – particularly his views on race, impact in entrenching racial segregation and inequality in southern Africa, the manner in which he secured land and mineral resources and his behaviour towards African communities and workers, the violence with which his power was extended in Zimbabwe, and the long-term impact of his policies and business activities on southern Africa's development. Some felt that retention of the memorials would limit Oriel's ability to reach out to prospective BME studentsand enterprise partnerships, as well as compromising progress on diversity and inclusion, whereas removal would be consistent with the College's commitment 'to fight prejudice and champion equal opportunities for everyone regardless of race, gender, sexuality or faith.'

Assessing the consequences of the Rhodes legacy in Oriel

4.39 Oriel has become particularly known for its association with Rhodes' legacy. The following paragraphs assess the impact of that association on the College. This includes actions which the College has taken since 2015-2016 to address aspects of that legacy.

4.40 While the association has been problematic for the College, an opportunity also exists for it to become an innovative leader in globally focused and globally relevant areas of academic study. Oriel is a formidable centre of scholarship at the heart of one of the world's great research universities. Oxford University is a leading centre of historical research. Research into contested history is essential to contextualisation and explanation of Rhodes' legacy. Oriel is well-placed to inspire and support that research. Aspects of this opportunity are considered at the end of this section.

4.41 The experience of the Rhodes Trust is relevant in this context. It has thought about ways of addressing its Rhodes legacy in the light of today's goals and values of equity and inclusion. It recognises that 'racism and other forms of exclusion have played a significant role' in its development and that addressing this requires 'engaging more fully, critically and honestly with our history, equipping ourselves with the knowledge and skills to engage in anti-racist action, and taking concrete steps to make ourselves and our communities more inclusive and diverse.' The Trust is developing a project on 'how we engage our history and revise the ways we tell our story to key stakeholders and the broader public.' This will 'convene dialogues, engage experts, gather materials and develop programme ideas and options for ways the Trust can engage its own history and legacy and tell its story more fully and critically.' It says that this work will be 'grounded in [its] core commitments to academic freedom, historical rigour, and a willingness to listen to diverse perspectives and challenge assumptions and biases on all sides.'[50]

4.42 This approach – *i.e.* commitment to change to be followed by published plans for specific action – offers an example of ways in which Oriel, too, can address its association with Rhodes, and an opportunity for the College to align with the Trust in doing so. Other opportunities for cooperation with the Trust may arise in connection with scholarships, public education and staff training.

Aspects of the Rhodes legacy at Oriel

4.43 Cecil Rhodes was a major benefactor of Oriel College. His legacy of £100,000 enabled it to build the High Street building on which his statue sits, support the incomes of its resident Fellows and improve high table. It helped the college to resolve financial difficulties that beset it at the time.

4.44 The money was originally split into five separate Funds, A-E. The 'A' fund was spent on the Building. The amounts remaining in the other funds today, following investment over time, are as follows:[51]

Rhodes 'B' Fund (Income Loss)	£23,069.06
Rhodes 'C' Fund (Fellowships)	£124,888.83
Rhodes 'D' Fund (High Table)	£27,023.87
Rhodes 'E' Fund (Building Repairs)	£29,749.76

4.45 The college has recognised, and continues to recognise, the value of this legacy to its development. Its statement of 9 July 2015, during the first phase of Rhodes Must Fall protests, which was reaffirmed later in the year, acknowledged the financial contribution which the legacy made in terms of the High Street Building, before adding that 'the College draws a clear line between acknowledging the historical fact of Rhodes' donation and in any way condoning his political views.'

4.46 The challenge for the college concerns how to reflect this complex legacy and its association with Cecil Rhodes, not just in relation to the Rhodes memorials but more generally.

4.47 The association between the College and Cecil Rhodes affects its current reputation and will continue to do so. Oriel has become publicly known as the college that is associated with Rhodes and

thereby, for many, implicitly, with Britain's colonial past. The Governing Body's decision to retain the statue in 2016 seemed to many – including some supporters and many opponents of the statue – to validate that association; the wish it expressed in 2020 seemed to many – likewise – to reject it.

4.48 The controversy aroused for Oriel will not go away. Its association with Rhodes will remain an undercurrent in perceptions of the College, within Britain and beyond, whatever happens to the Rhodes memorials, and the issue will continue to be raised with the Provost, Fellows and students. If the statue on the High Street Building remains *in situ*, external events, beyond the College's control, may lead to renewed protest and demonstrations, as happened in 2020. Its removal would also have implications for public perception of the College.

4.49 Concerns have been expressed by some within and beyond Oriel that redefining its association with Rhodes may jeopardise future benefactions, either because potential benefactors disagree with the Governing Body's decision or because that decision is considered disrespectful to a previous donor. The extent to which this might be so is unclear. However, it is also likely that perceived association or identification with Rhodes would act as a deterrent to other potential donors, who would *not* wish to be perceived as having that association.

4.50 For all these reasons, the Commission recommends that the College and its Governing Body make a clear and lasting statement regarding Rhodes' legacy, consistent with the College's goals and values, building on those which have already been issued. This is important irrespective of what happens to the memorials and will also provide a framework for their contextualisation.

The College's statements and actions concerning Rhodes

4.51 The College has made a number of statements in recent years concerning its association with Rhodes, which have sought to balance recognition of his benefaction with dissociation from his life and values.

4.52 In its public statement in July 2015, mentioned above,[52] referring to the Rhodes donation, building and statue, it commented: 'Now, over a century after the building was constructed, Rhodes is thought of very differently. The College draws a clear line between acknowledging the historical fact of Rhodes' donation and in any way condoning his political views. Oriel College is committed to being at the forefront of the drive to make Oxford University more diverse and inclusive of people from all backgrounds.' Some initiatives relating to this were proposed in 2016, including a new scholarship and proposed series of lectures, but implementation has been limited.

4.53 In November 2015, the College offered to engage with RMF in Oxford on 'the important issues they have raised in their campaign.'[53] It reiterated the 'clear line' described in July and said that the Governing Body 'is actively considering how the College can help to improve the representation and experience of BME students and staff in Oxford, and is reviewing how Cecil Rhodes' donation to Oriel is marked, given the way his political legacy is now understood.'

4.54 In its December 2015 response to RMF Oxford's petition against the statue, the Governing Body juxtaposed the generosity of his legacies, citing the Rhodes Scholarships, with recognition that 'Rhodes was … a 19th-century colonialist whose values and world view stand in absolute contrast to the ethos of the Scholarship programme today, and to the values of a modern University.'[54] It reaffirmed previous statements that 'the College does not share Cecil Rhodes' values or condone his racist views or actions' and committed to ensuring that 'acknowledgement of the historical fact of Rhodes' bequest to the College does not suggest celebration of his unacceptable views and actions.'

4.55 In its January 2016 statement announcing that the memorials would remain in place, the College said that it 'believes the recent debate has underlined that the continuing presence of these

historical artefacts is an important reminder of the complexity of history and of the legacies of colonialism still felt today. By adding context, we can help draw attention to this history, do justice to the complexity of the debate, and be true to our educational mission.' It hoped to have identified specific proposals for contextualisation later that year.[55]

4.56 Renewed protests against the Rhodes memorials occurred in 2020. In its first statement in June that year,[56] the College said that 'Oriel College abhors racism and discrimination in all its forms. … We understand that we are, and we want to be, a part of the public conversation about the relationship between the study of history, public commemoration, social justice, and educational equality. As a college, we continue to debate and discuss the issues raised by the presence on our site of examples of contested heritage relating to Cecil Rhodes. Speaking out against injustice and discrimination is vital and we are committed to doing so.' Later that month, it decided to establish an independent Commission, and to express its wish to remove the memorials.

4.57 The College has therefore made a number of statements in recent years concerning its associations with Rhodes other than the memorials. It has also taken a number of initial steps concerning posts and scholarships (see below), established the roles of Equality and Diversity Officer and Equality Dean, and commissioned a portrait of the late alumnus and former Rhodes scholar, the Jamaican writer and academic administrator Rex Nettleford. Over the 2020 summer vacation the Provost, Chaplain and Welfare Team sought to learn more from a number of BME members of Oriel about their experience of the college community.

4.58 Those on both sides of arguments over the memorials agree that the association between Oriel and Rhodes should be used as an opportunity for debate and education about colonialism and racial equality. Whatever happens to the statue, the Commission recommends that the College should now invest in understanding and contextualisation of its relationship with Rhodes, and advance its goals of increased understanding and engagement with the history and consequences of colonialism, along the lines proposed five years ago, working with the University's Race Equality Task Force and taking account of the City's anti-racist initiatives.

4.59 A number of suggestions concerning academic aspects of this were discussed within the college and proposed by the Governing Body during 2015/2016. In particular, the Governing Body said then that it would:

- undertake outreach initiatives including 'fundraising for graduate scholarships at Oriel targeted at specific countries in Africa;' and
- 'fund and support a series of lectures and other events examining race equality and the continuing history of colonialism and its consequences' in response to 'the desire expressed by many students and staff across the University to see these issues more fully acknowledged and discussed.'[57]

4.60 The College raised over £80,000 from a number of Oriel alumni to establish a one-off college scholarship for a student from Africa which was announced in the Summer 2018 edition of *Oriel News*, with the following statement:[58]

> *Oxford-Oriel Africa Graduate Scholarship: Oriel has … collaborated with the University of Oxford to set up an African Graduate Scholarship, to provide funding for a student from Africa to study for a Master's degree at Oriel next year. Funding is usually the main issue in deterring outstanding applicants that could potentially find solutions to global problems. The University of Oxford kindly offered to match funding provided by the many generous donations from Orielenses to make this possible. It is hoped this scheme will continue in future years if further donations can be raised.*

The scholarship was taken up in 2018-19 but has not been repeated.

4.61 The College has recently advertised its existing Turpin Junior Research Fellowship in the Humanities as a JRF in 'Black History since 1800 (Black British History post 1800 or Black Atlantic or Caribbean post 1800 or Black African History post 1800)'.

4.62 Discussions took place with the intention of establishing a lecture series following the 2015 statement but practical problems meant that the lecture series never actually got underway. This is regrettable and the Commission recommends that a process is put in place to drive this idea forward and plan for a lecture series in the near future (see Recommendations below).

4.63 One possibility for the initial year might be to use the opportunity of the annual John Collins lecture, established in memory of Canon John Collins, a former Chaplain of Oriel and prominent anti-apartheid activist whose Defence and Aid Fund for Southern Africa supported South African and Namibian refugee students in higher education in the 1980s, at least as an initial way of moving forward. The Collins lecture (which is managed by the College's John Collins Society) has, however, an established brief to address issues concerned with the relationship between Christianity and contemporary cultural, political and scientific concerns.'[59]

Academic fellowships and scholarships

4.64 As indicated above, the College has already put in place some academic initiatives related to its Rhodes legacy. The following paragraphs suggest ways in which they may be further linked within broad ranging and ambitious developments that can be sustained for some years. In this way the College can respond to the criticisms of its association with Rhodes and imperialism with measures that are likely to attract greater diversity. Such initiatives are likely to be much less controversial than thoseconcerned with the memorial and to attract widespread support amongst staff, students and alumni. Whatever happens to the statue, they can enhance the academic excellence and breadth of coverage at the College. Initiatives such as these can build on strengths that already exist within the College andhelp to make it a more attractive hub for current students and future applicants. These initiatives wouldalso recognise the contribution made by Africa and Africans to the wealth creation that enabled Rhodesto make his benefaction.

4.65 The academic coverage and student intake of any College in Oxford is shaped significantly by the interests and specialisms of its fellows. Colleges can largely choose which of Oxford's many degrees, undergraduate and postgraduate, they will support. For Oriel, therefore, a central route to diversifying the College in relevant fields will be to expand the number of College fellowships in those that are likely to attract BME scholars, which in turn will help to attract students from such backgrounds over the long term. This process would be reinforced if the College builds a reputation as a hub for international and especially BME students.

4.66 Within the University as a whole, for example, expanding the field of African Studies, with a new Masters degree since 2005 and an increasing number of doctoral students, has led to a greater diversity in staff and in student intake. In 2018-2019, some 24 out of 32 students on the MSc African Studies were from African and Asian countries or from minorities within the UK. Other relevant developments in the University have involved the History Department, the Department of International Development, the Africa Studies Centre and the Africa Oxford (AfOx) Initiative.

4.67 As Oriel is a multi-disciplinary College, catering to undergraduates and postgraduates, its Fellows cover a wide range of specialisms from medicine and sciences to the humanities including history, literature and theology. The College may wish to build on existing strengths and is also not entirely free to make academic appointments. In the great majority of cases, it will have to work with

University departments. Opportunities may be contingent on a range of factors that are not fully within the College's control. Some current and potential appointments have arisen in discussions and are included here as illustrations.

- Together with the Department of Modern Languages, the College has recently filled a post in Francophone Postcolonial Literatures and Cultures with a Governing Body fellowship.
- The College has a strong commitment to History. There has in recent years been high demand for masters and doctoral supervision in African and global/imperial history. It would be particularly appropriate for a Fellow linked with the College, in addition to the Turpin JRF, to include teaching and supervision on the late nineteenth-century context and era in which Rhodes came to prominence. There is potential for links with this expanding field in the History faculty and the African Studies Centre.
- Three other fields might be considered relevant.
    - The debate about the statue has directed global and national attention to issues of heritage, public symbols and museums. Oxford is rich in resources that can underpin such academic interests, with globally important museums and collections, including extensive material relating to the extra-European world – particularly at the Pitt-Rivers museum.
    - The Said Business School has increasingly focused on African countries, which are being studied in relation to economic growth as they take their place more centrally in the global economy. There are potential links to colleagues not only at the Business School but at the Centre for the Study of African Economies and the Department of International Development.
    - The College has strengths in environmental studies. The School of Geography and the Environment is a leading centre for environmental studies, with a strong international focus. This is another field of critical importance to African development.

4.68 It would be possible for the College to work with relevant departments and centres in the University as well as bodies such as the Rhodes Trust, the Africa Oxford (AfOx) Initiative, and the African Studies Centre, to expand its role in these and similar fields and draw in undergraduate and postgraduate students of BME background.

4.69 Another area which the College could consider is financing scholarships. As noted above, Oriel raised funds for a scholarship for a student from Africa following the protests in 2015-2016, and has enabled other one-off scholarships for international students. There is potential for it to do more along these lines, either alone or in conjunction with other funds, such as the Rhodes Trust (which aims to increase the number of African scholarships in its portfolio from 17 to 32), perhaps as part of its fund-raising for its 700th anniversary in 2026. The Canon Collins Trust, which offers scholarships for postgraduate students from southern Africa could be another partner.

RECOMMENDATIONS

4.70 The following recommendations suggest ways in which the College and the Governing Body could take action to contextualise the legacy of Cecil Rhodes within the College and beyond. They are intended to help the College take the opportunity of redefining its relationship with its Rhodes legacy to advance academic and public understanding of that legacy and its associations with race and colonialism and to support research on those issues within the College and the University.

Recommendations concerning Rhodes' legacy in general and potential educational and other public responses

4.71 The Governing Body should agree and publish a definitive statement of its view concerning its association with Cecil Rhodes.

- A clear and definitive statement of its view will provide Oriel with an opportunity to advance academic and public understanding and research. It will need to build on statements that the Governing Body issued in 2015-2016 and 2020, which acknowledge Rhodes' historic benefaction while distancing the College from his views and actions and from colonialism in general. It should look forward rather than back, and identify the substantial actions which the College will now take.

- This statement will provide an appropriate framework for informing decisions concerning the Rhodes memorials and their context, including the preparation of planning applications and contextualisation.

4.72 The College should review and take appropriate actions concerning its Rhodes legacy in College and revise College materials to ensure they are consistent with the statement made.

- This should include associations with Rhodes other than the two memorials, including portraits, any relevant namings in College and references to Rhodes in College events.

- Text relating to Rhodes in College publications should be revised to reflect the College statement of views. There should be a page on the College website addressing the issues surrounding the Rhodes legacy. This should also be addressed in material such as the website's online virtual tour.

4.73 The College should seek to fund two new Fellowships in fields related to its Rhodes legacy.

- A number of suggestions have been made concerning possible Fellowships which should be considered by the College. These might build on the College's strong commitment to history relevant to Africa or colonialism, or address subjects such as heritage, public symbols and museums, African economic development or environmental studies. The College should aim high and work with University departments and divisions to expand its academic coverage in these or related areas.

- The College has recently filled a post in Francophone Post-Colonial Literatures and Structures.

- The Commission was pleased to see that the College recently advertised its existing Turpin Junior Research Fellowship in History in the field of Black History post-1800.

- The College should consider the possibility of hosting further short-term visiting fellows in relevant fields, in order to foster academic partnerships between Oxford and relevant research institutions, particularly those in southern Africa. Such short-term visiting fellowships – for perhaps three months – would enrich the College community and could be associated with a seminar or lecture, addressing new research and adding to the educational outreach enabled by the College.

4.74 The College should provide/seek funding for scholarships for students from southern Africa and graduate students undertaking relevant research.

- The Commission suggests that the College should aim to fund two new recurring scholarships:

a) one for students from the southern African countries associated with Rhodes' colonial career (South Africa, Botswana, Zambia and Zimbabwe); and

b) one for graduate students undertaking research into African history, colonialism and/or race relations.

- It should seek further funding for additional scholarships that respond to issues raised in this report, perhaps in collaboration with the Rhodes Trust, which is seeking to expand its African scholarship provision, or the Canon Collins Trust.

4.75 The College should introduce an annual lecture and other outreach initiatives concerned with issues related to Rhodes' legacy, race and colonialism.

- The introduction of an annual lecture series was proposed by the College in 2015/2016 but regrettably has not been followed through. A prestigious series of annual lectures would help the College to build its reputation in leading academic study in relevant fields.
- An alternative or complement to this might be an annual term-long series of lectures in a relevant field open to members of the public as well as of the University.
- Other ways of building academic and public understanding of Rhodes' legacy, race and colonialism that might be considered by the College include:
    - financial support for students undertaking research in relevant fields of study, as part of their degrees;
    - an essay prize and/or travel grants for student work in relevant fields; and
    - an art or photographic competition for work related to these subjects.

5. THE RHODES MEMORIALS IN ORIEL

5.1 This chapter considers the Rhodes memorials in Oriel in light of the college's goals and values (discussed in Chapter 2), its approach to educational equality, diversity and inclusion (discussed in Chapter 3), and the assessment of Rhodes and his legacy (discussed in Chapter 4), together with the additional assessment of Rhodes' career in Appendix A, and a review of memorialisation in general in Appendix B. It has five sections:

- the first section describes the Rhodes memorials themselves and summarises their history;
- the second summarises views expressed concerning the future of the memorials by different parties during the current controversy, including contributions made to the Commission;
- the third sets out the Commission's assessment of the issues that now face the College;
- the fourth describes the legal context;
- the fifth sets out the Commission's recommendations regarding the memorials.

5.2 As in previous chapters, the Commission has sought to provide evidence and suggestions to support the Governing Body's future decisions.

1. The Rhodes memorials in Oriel

5.3 There are two memorials to Cecil Rhodes on Oriel College buildings:

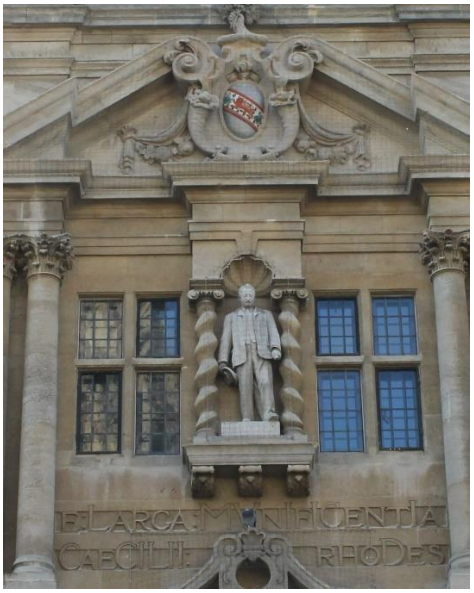
a) a statue of Rhodes on the High Street Building, which has an associated inscription expressing gratitude for Rhodes' benefaction and a coat of arms (there is no suggestion in the Governing Body's decision that either the inscription or the coat of arms should be removed); and

b) a plaque with a head and shoulders portrait of Rhodes and an inscription praising his 'great services rendered … to his country,' which is located on the wall of a building owned by the College in King Edward Street.

5.4 The principal memorial is the statue of Rhodes which stands on the High Street Building which was erected with funds from Rhodes' legacy in 1909-11, together with its inscription and coat of arms. This is illustrated below.

The Oriel Rhodes statue in relation to the High Street Building

The Oriel Rhodes statue, with inscription and coat of arms

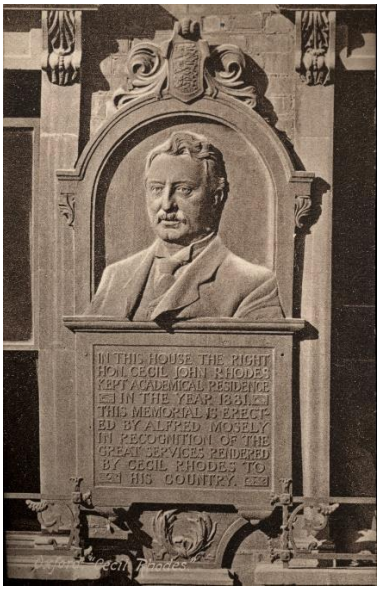


5.5 The life-size statue of Rhodes by Henry Alfred Pegram is on the building's highest tier, above other figures representing King Edward VII and King George V, chosen because the former died and the latter came to the throne in the year the building was erected (1910), and four former heads of the college: Cardinal William Allen (1532–94, Fellow 1550, Principal of St Mary's Hall), Walter Hart or Lyhert (Provost 1435–46), John Hales (Provost 1446–9) and Henry Sampson (Provost 1449–76). Rhodes is dressed in civilian clothes of his time – not always the case for statues of that period – and looks down on passers-by.

5.6 Rhodes' coat of arms, which was granted posthumously, appears on the pediment above the statue. The words *E LARGA MUNIFICENTIA CAECILLII RHODES* (*by means of the generous munificence of Cecil Rhodes)* are inscribed below the statue, some letters enlarged to show the construction date (MDCCCLLVIIIIII = 1911). These are shown below.

5.7 The second public-facing memorial to Rhodes at Oriel is a plaque, illustrated below, with a head and shoulders relief portrait of Rhodes and associated inscription.

The King Edward Street plaque



This is located on the wall of the No 6 King Edward Street, between two first-floor windows. Its inscription reads:

> *In this house, the Right Hon. Cecil John Rhodes kept academical residence in the year 1881. This memorial is erected by Alfred Mosely in recognition of the great service rendered by Cecil Rhodes to his country.*

The plaque, which was erected in 1906, is not listed but the building on which it sits is in a conservation area.

Architectural and aesthetic issues

5.8 Relatively little public discussion of the statue has considered aesthetics. What there has been is concerned more with the Building's overall architectural integrity than the statue itself.

5.9 Rhodes' will did not require a statue to be erected on the High Street Building. Contemporary news reports suggest that the building was controversial in the city at the time of its construction, because it was seen as an instance of university expansion displacing existing local shopping facilities, and seen by some as closing off another part of the city centre to its residents. This view was expressed, for instance, in the *Oxford Times*.[60]

5.10 The Building's listing (see Annex 5) describes it as the last major work of a 'significant … architect whose work is … increasingly appreciated' and as 'an important, bold, impressive and successful contribution to the interest and variety of the High Street frontages,' with 'features of originality and distinction,' which remains 'substantially as built.'

5.11 The Royal Commission on Historical Monuments said almost nothing about the Building in its 1939 survey of Oxford ("The N. Range was built in 1908-11"). Pevsner's 1974 Oxfordshire volume describes it as 'a mighty piece, dominating its stretch of the High Street, to which it turns its façade,' and as having 'plenty of original touches' which are nevertheless 'easily recognized' as the work of its architect. It mentions 'oriels and statues on the first floor, dormers with shaped gables above,' but says nothing of Rhodes' statue.

5.12 The building has had mixed reviews over the years from an aesthetic point of view. One Oxford commentator cited by the Oxford History website, W.E. Sherwood, referred to it 'destroying a most picturesque group of houses … and … hardly compensating us for their removal,' and the loss of these earlier buildings seems to have been quite widely regretted at the time.[61] The architectural historian Edward Impey reports that the college 'hated it' when it was built, and that dislike of it was shared elsewhere: 'Evelyn Waugh suggested blowing it up (1930) and W.J. Arkell regretted its construction in anything more durable than mud brick (1947).'[62] Jan Morris reported caustic views in her *Oxford* of 1965: 'If you are very old indeed,' she wrote, 'you are probably still fuming about the façade built in the High Street by Oriel College in 1909, which most of us scarcely notice nowadays, but used to be thought an absolute outrage.'

5.13 Impey reports that the building was either criticised or ignored in its architect's obituaries in 1935 and continued to be disparaged until its listing in 1972, since when the style it represents, and Champneys as an architect, have been more appreciated. Impey's own assessment is positive: 'Its merits,' he wrote in 2011, 'lie largely in its combination of originality and adaptation of seventeenth-century models, and its significance in its departure from the 'Jacksonian' model from which it sprang. Its boldness fits it both to its prominent site and as a memorial to Rhodes. It deserves recognition as one of Oxford's better buildings of the period.'[63]

5.14 Some alterations took place to the building during the last decade (consideration of which led to a review and upgrading of its listing in 2011). As well as major internal refurbishment and

repurposing, the building was, in the words of the architect, 'subtly transformed by a new 'origami' roof' in 2015, when an additional top floor was added to its accommodation, visible from the other side of the High Street. The ground floor windowsills were also lowered 'and glass doors installed in the central archway to increase the visual openness between the college and the city.'[64]

5.15 Aesthetic opinion on the memorials is divided. The art critic Jonathan Jones has described it as 'an ugly, third-rate work that jars with its beautiful surroundings.'[65] Historic England's listing, however, describes 'an integral and impressive collection of Portland stone sculptural elements and statues, … all of artistic quality and historical significance to the building.'[66] The Public Statues and Sculpture Association, in its submission to the Commission, described the King Edward Street plaque as a work 'of considerable cultural, aesthetic and intellectual interest' by 'an accomplished artist.'

2. Views concerning the memorials

5.16 Debates about the Rhodes memorials at Oriel have been connected, in many minds, with other recent debates concerning memorials associated with contested history elsewhere in Britain and in other countries, particularly those in South Africa (concerning Rhodes himself), in the United States (concerning, in particular, memorials to the Confederacy), and in other European countries that engaged in colonial expansion in Africa and elsewhere. Many of the controversies in Britain have concerned memorials associated with enslavement and the slave trade. All of these have fed into a longstanding history of contested memorials which is reviewed in Appendix B.

5.17 The symbolism of contested memorials, including those that celebrate specific individuals' historic roles, is at the centre of these controversies and disputes, including at Oriel. What the memorials symbolise to different groups within communities is crucial to understanding differing views concerning the Rhodes memorials.

5.18 'Symbols,' as the former UN High Commissioner for Human Rights, Mary Robinson, put it in her inaugural address as President of Ireland, 'are what unite and divide people. Symbols give us our identity, our self-image, our way of explaining ourselves to ourselves and to others. Symbols … determine the kinds of stories we tell; and the stories we tell determine the kind of history we make and remake.'[67] Often, in the words of a recent study published by the International Bar Association, 'it is less the facts [concerning these memorials] that are in dispute than the interpretation of … historic events.'[68]

5.19 Symbols can be particularly important in contexts where different communities have different interpretations of the past, which may be associated with ethnic and other differences. The *Ljubjana Guidelines* of the Organisation for Security and Co-operation in Europe, which has long experience in seeking to resolve contested histories, address the responsibilities of governance in this regard. 'States,' they say, 'should promote integration by respecting the claims and sensitivities of both minority and majority groups regarding the display and use of symbols in shared public space. … [They]should avoid the divisive use of symbols and discourage such displays by non-State actors.' More specifically, 'When introducing or prohibiting symbols or erecting or dismantling statues, monuments and other symbolic objects or buildings,' the *Guidelines* suggest, 'States should take due account of both historical and contemporary community relations. In this context, State policies should aim to foster intercultural links and mutual recognition and the accommodation of all groups in society.'[69]

5.20 The risk, in contexts such as this, is that disputes over contested memorials are seen as contests for supremacy between opposing sides. The biggest challenge facing those concerned with them, including Oriel, is to create a narrative that embraces conflicting historical experience.

Protests against the memorials

5.21 The first of two substantial periods of campaigning against the Rhodes memorials at Oriel, in 2015/2016, followed demonstrations against a statue of Cecil Rhodes at the University of Cape Town (UCT). These demonstrations, under the banner of South Africa's Rhodes Must Fall movement, led to the university's decision to remove that statue in April 2015. Rhodes Must Fall Oxford was formed in recognition of its counterpart at UCT and began protests against the Oriel statue during Michaelmas Term 2015, calling for the removal of the memorials along with other changes to promote educational equality and inclusion, and to address racism and racial discrimination. In November that year, it presented a petition to the College describing the statue as 'a celebration not just of the crimes of the man himself, but of the imperialist legacy on which Oxford University has thrived,' and demanding the movement or removal of the statue as 'a welcome first step in the University's attempt to redress the ways in which it has been an active beneficiary of empire.'[70]

5.22 In December 2015, the Governing Body announced that it would undertake a listening exercise about the statue and said that it intended to submit a planning application to the city council for the removal of the plaque in King Edward Street. In January 2016, however, the Governing Body decided that the statue and plaque should remain in place, and that the listening exercise would instead 'focus on how best to place the statue and plaque in a clear historical context.'[71]

5.23 Demonstrations against the memorials continued during 2016 but largely ceased between 2017 and 2020. Opposition to the memorials arose again during the international wave of protest about racial injustice that followed the death of George Floyd in the United States.

5.24 Two substantial protests were organised against the Rhodes statue at Oriel. The first, on 9 June 2020, was attended by more than 1000 people, and led the College to issue a statement in support of racial justice and educational inclusion (see Chapter 2). The second, a week later, was the culmination of a march that had begun in Cowley, reflecting opposition to the memorials in the city as well as the University. Oriel's student associations – the JCR representing undergraduates and the MCR representing postgraduates – both carried motions calling for the removal of the statue from its present location. On 17 June 2020 the Governing Body 'expressed their wish to remove the statue of Cecil Rhodes and the King Edward Street Plaque' and said that it would convey this wish to the Commission that it intended to set up to inquire into the issues concerned.

Views expressed concerning the future of the Rhodes memorials

5.25 This section is concerned with views expressed concerning the memorials since 2015, including views expressed in submissions to the Commission.

5.26 The protests and debates in 2015/2016 and 2020 have led to much more widespread discussion of Rhodes' statue, and thereby his career and the colonial legacy in general, than had been previously generated by the memorials. Strong positions were taken for and against the statue, and for and against the RMF analysis, by a variety of actors, including prominent figures in the University, politicians, historians and newspaper columnists. A 2020 petition on the website change.org, calling on the College to take down the statue, received over 185,000 signatures,[72] while a petition on the parliamentary petitions website seeking the protection of all statues and monuments received over 35,000 signatures the same year.[73] A current change.org petition to keep the Oriel statue had just under 6,000 signatures on 23 April 2021.[74]

5.27 The Commission has considered views from many sources during its deliberations, including public commentary and local organisations, and submissions from students, alumni, other associates of the college, and the general public. A wide range of issues have been raised, including Rhodes' own

views and career, issues concerning race and colonialism, the nature of historical understanding, the meaning and interpretation of public memorials and the conservation of heritage.

Statements by the College

5.28 The Governing Body has expressed the following views concerning the memorials. The full texts of its statements are included in Annex 7.

5.29 In December 2015, in responding to the RMF petition, it proposed the following approaches to the statue and the plaque:[75]

- Regarding the statue it said that:

the future of the statue raises complex issues, which cannot be resolved quickly. In the absence of any context or explanation, it can be seen as an uncritical celebration of a controversial figure, and the colonialism and the oppression of black communities he represents: a serious issue in a College and University with a diverse and international mix of students and staff, and which aims to be a welcoming academic community. Any changes to the building – including the addition of a permanent information board to explain the history and context, removal or replacement of the statue, or the commissioning of new works of art – would require planning consent. The statue, and the building on which it stands, is Grade II listed, and has been identified by Historic England as being of particular historical interest, in part precisely because of the controversy which surrounds Rhodes*.

It said that it would initiate a six-month 'listening exercise' on the future of the statue 'to seek views in as inclusive a way as possible on how controversial associations and bequests, including that of Rhodes to Oriel, and the record of them in the built environment, can be dealt with appropriately.' It would also put up a temporary notice in the window of the High Street Building, 'clarifying its historical context and the College's position on Rhodes.'

- Regarding the plaque it said that it was immediately:

starting the process of consultation with Oxford City Council … in advance of submitting a formal application for consent to remove the Rhodes plaque on No. 6 King Edward Street…. This plaque was erected in 1906 by a private individual. Its wording is a political tribute, and the College believes its continuing display on Oriel property is inconsistent with our principles. The plaque is not listed but consent is required for its removal because it is within a conservation area.

'Our decision to seek consent to remove the plaque, it added, 'is without prejudice to any decision about the future of the statue ….'

5.30 In January 2016, the Governing Body said that it had received a large volume of comments 'from students and academics, alumni, heritage bodies, national and student polls and a further petition, as well as over 500 direct written responses to the College,' 'the overwhelming message' of which 'has been in support of the statue remaining in place.'[76] It had therefore decided that the statue and plaque should both remain in place, 'and that the College will seek to provide a clear historical context to explain why [the statue] is there.' The College added that it:

> *believes the recent debate has underlined that the continuing presence of these historical artefacts is an important reminder of the complexity of history and of the legacies of colonialism still felt today. By adding context, we can help draw attention to this history, do justice to the complexity of the debate, and be true to our educational mission.*

The previously announced 'listening exercise' would now 'focus on how best to place the statue and plaque in a clear historical context.' The College said it would 'seek expert advice on parallels and

precedents, and conduct focused discussions with the College community, including students, staff and alumni.' It expected, it said, 'to have identified specific proposals by the autumn.'

5.31 A notice with the following text was displayed in a window of the High Street building from around March 2016 but subsequently removed:

> *This building, completed in 1911, was funded by a bequest from Cecil Rhodes. The statue of Rhodes was erected at the time of construction and is part of a Grade II* listed building.*
>
> *Many of Cecil Rhodes's actions and public statements are incompatible with the values of the College and University today. In acknowledging the historical fact of Rhodes's bequest, the College does not in any way condone or glorify his views or actions.*

A notice containing information about the Commission is currently displayed in the window.

5.32 While changes have been made to material on the College website, no permanent physical contextualisation has yet been put in place. This is regrettable in view of the College's stated intent to contextualise in its statement of January 2016. Appropriate contextualisation then would have significantly altered the context for the protests that followed in 2020. The College should ensure that any decisions taken this time are implemented in full and with expedition.

5.33 On 17 June 2020, as noted above, the Governing Body 'expressed their wish to remove the statue of Cecil Rhodes and the King Edward Street Plaque.' This decision, it said, 'was reached after a thoughtful period of debate and reflection and with the full awareness of the impact these decisions are likely to have in Britain and around the world.'[77]

The views of Oxford residents

5.34 Oxford is a multicultural city, and its residents are important stakeholders in decisions concerning the landscape of their city. Many, probably most, of those who walk by the Rhodes memorials, particularly the statue on the High Street, are not members of the University but city residents or visitors. Some 26% of city residents are estimated to have BME heritage, many with historic associations with countries that were subject to colonial rule. In normal times, there are also many tourists, though this has not been the case during the pandemic.

5.35 Arguments for both retention and removal of the memorials, can be heard within the city, and have been reported in the local press. These reflect the range of opinion represented in submissions to the Commission, including strongly-expressed views for both alternatives.[78]

5.36 Several of those who commented to Commissioners said that they had not previously been aware of the statue: 'I didn't know anything about the statue until the demonstrations last year; then I read some of the news stories and thought yes, it should go;' 'I didn't know the statue was there - my daughter is 15, she told me about it;' 'I honestly have no interest in the statue. I don't care what happens to it. It's a distraction.' Some felt more strongly that the bigger issue was the divide between the University/Colleges and other residents of the city.

5.37 Nearly 40,000 young people aged 19 or younger are estimated to live in Oxford.[79] The Commission held three online events to explore the views of Oxford school students concerning issues in its remit – as stakeholders in the future of the city. One event was held with Year 5 students at an Oxford primary school; others with engaged groups of Key Stage 4 and Key Stage 5 students at an Oxford secondary school.

5.38 In preparation for these events, teachers explained the present controversy over statues in the UK and introduced students to the historical figure of Cecil Rhodes as well as the tasks of the Commission. Students were encouraged to think of questions they might have for the Commissioners.

5.39 Diversity and inclusion was the subject of the first half of the event, giving students further context to the Commission's terms of reference. Thereafter students were given the opportunity to pose questions and comments to a group of Commissioners. A survey was distributed to students asking for their thoughts on the question of the Oriel Rhodes statue, diversity and inclusion within educational institutions as well as how Oriel might strengthen its relationship with the city of Oxford.

5.40 A summary of these school events and the views expressed by school students is set out in Appendix C.

The view of the City Council

5.41 Oxford City Council has adopted an Anti-Racist Charter, setting out the principles which it follows in respect of issues concerning race within the city.[80]

5.42 The Leader of the City Council, Cllr Susan Brown, set out her view regarding the statue in a statement on 9 June 2020, as follows:[81]

> *I'm clear in my support for the Black Lives Matter movement and I have a great deal of sympathy with the Rhodes Must Fall campaign. The question of statues and their historical context is not a simple matter, but sometimes acts of symbolism are important. I know my views are shared by a majority of my fellow councillors.*
>
> *It would be better for the statue to be placed in a museum, such as the Ashmolean or the Museum of Oxford, to ensure this noteworthy piece of the story of our city isn't lost to history.*
>
> *Of course, bringing down statues alone isn't sufficient to address the issue of racism in our society and continued action on this should involve all our city's key institutions.*
>
> *I have today written to Oriel College to invite them to apply for planning permission to remove the statue, as it is a Grade II* listed building. Typically such actions are only allowed in the most exceptional of circumstances. But these are exceptional circumstances, and as a City Council we are keen to work with Oriel to help them find the right balance between the laws that protect our historic buildings and the moral obligation to reflect on the malign symbolism of this statue.*

5.43 On 17 June, in response to the Governing Body's expression of its wishes, she added a further statement:[82]

> *I welcome the news that Oriel College have come to the view that they would like the statue and plaque of Cecil Rhodes to be removed.*
>
> *Oriel's formal review into the issues surrounding the statue and how to take forward the college's commitment to diversity will be an opportunity for everyone to have their say on where this statue will best be curated in future.*
>
> *The City Council would welcome an early submission of a formal planning application from Oriel to accompany the review process and feed into it. …*

The views of students

5.44 A number of attempts were made to assess student opinion in Oxford in 2015/2016, though none was scientific or conclusive. When more than 450 members of the Oxford Union debated the issue, a majority of 245 to 212 voted to remove the statue,[83] while a survey by the student paper *Cherwell*, with 967 respondents, found 54% of these in favour of retention and 37% in favour of removal, with 9% unsure.[84] OUSU voted in February 2016 in favour of a motion criticising Oriel's 'failure to follow through on commitments made' concerning the memorials.[85]

5.45 Oriel students have, naturally, been particularly concerned with the memorials. A special issue of the Oriel student paper, *The Poor Print*, examined the issue in 2017.[86] Both the JCR and MCR voted in 2020 to support removal.

5.46 The majority of the (relatively small number of) Oriel students who commented on the Rhodes memorials in submissions to the Commission expressed discomfort or opposition to them, though some were supportive of retention. One BME student referred to the memorials and defence of them by others within College as indicating that s/he 'do[es] not really belong here;' others suggested that BME students in particular were or should be angered and alienated by the memorials, or that these implied that the well-being and opinions of BME students were disregarded by the College. There was criticism that the College had not contextualised the statue and plaque as promised in 2016, and that its statements in support of inclusion were 'empty' unless associated with action to remove them. The statue's presence, 'so centrally and proudly at the college's High Street front,' another wrote, 'can be symbolically communicative of a subtler and insipid prejudice in Oriel and the University ….'

The views of alumni

5.47 A substantial proportion of submissions received by the Commission (see below), as with those received during 2015/2016, were from alumni, and opinion amongst alumni has also been sought by the Oriel Alumni Advisory Committee (OAAC).[6] The arguments used by alumni in favour of retention or moving the memorials (less frequently expressed in submissions) generally reflect those set out in the next section of this chapter, which summarises arguments used in submissions generally. Alumni, however, unsurprisingly tended to frame their views within a strong sense of personal commitment to and engagement with the College.

5.48 As in 2015/2016 it is clear that a significant proportion of alumni, and a significant majority of those alumni who made written submissions to the Commission, believe that the memorials should remain in place. The main reasons given are broadly to preserve the historical record and deal objectively with history however difficult, rather than be perceived to be sweeping it away. From the soundings taken by the OAAC this view tends broadly to be taken by older alumni, though obviously there are exceptions to this generalisation. However, even among this group there is a feeling that the problems associated with the Rhodes legacy will not go away and will continue to distract the College from its educational purpose until resolved definitively in some way. Among younger alumni consulted by the OAAC there is a more widespread view that the memorials should be removed, with a significant proportion suggesting relocation to a less prominent position either within the college or a museum, and further contextualisation. There are also exceptions to this generalisation. A view expressed in many submissions was that the College should be focused on reinforcing its position on equality of opportunity through outreach projects and initiatives focused on BME applicants and students, whether or not the memorials remain in place.

5.49 A number of alumni noted that, while they had previously supported retention of the memorials, they have now changed their minds, either in favour of greater contextualisation or in favour of moving them. This is partly because of changing attitudes in society in general regarding issues concerning racial equality, with the statue now resonating in a contemporary manner rather than simply as an historic artefact; and partly because of a sense that, if people from BME and other backgrounds find the statue upsetting or offensive their views should be listened to with care, and that failing to respond to such concerns may deter BME applicants or otherwise harm the College'sacademic mission. Some alumni expressed disappointment that more was not done to develop contextualisation of the memorials and build on the commitments made in 2015/2016 during the

[6] whose chair is a member of the Commission.

period between then and renewed protests in 2020, including through a definitive statement of the College's position.

5.50 Many alumni, particularly those who believe the memorials should be retained, feel that the College should not appear to be cowed by protest. Even among those who would prefer the memorials to be removed, there is a sense that the College should approach the issue in its own time and in a non-reactive manner. There is generally a sense of regret that the College finds itself in a defensive position, but also on the part of many alumni a view that, however it chooses to act now, the College has an opportunity to make a definitive and powerful statement on its values and approach to minority issues.

Views expressed in submissions

5.51 The Commission received more than 1400 written contributions from students, alumni, other associates of the college, and members of the general public by 23 April 2021, when it submitted its report to the Governing Body. These submissions represent the views of individuals, some with expertise in particular issues, some with connections to the College, others from the wider public. While opinions varied, as in 2015/2016, a substantial majority of the submissions in writing to the Commission supported retention of the statue, citing a variety of reasons described in paragraph 5.57 below. This contrasts with the balance of opinion expressed in petitions on the change.org and parliamentary petitions websites (see above).

5.52 Contributions were initially requested by 30 September 2020, but the Commission decided to continue accepting submissions as its work continued. The total number of submissions from all sources received, was 1447 (not all of which took an explicit position on the future of the memorials). These included 338 submissions from alumni, of which 95 supported and 222 opposed moving the statue;[1] 83 submissions from students, of which 62 supported and 15 opposed moving the statue;[2] and 37 submissions from academics and staff, of which 15 supported and 20 opposed moving the statue. Seven submissions were made by organisations, five of which opposed moving the statue. 982 submissions were made by members of the general public, of which 966 opposed moving the statue. 490 of these were received on two days in March 2021 following an appeal to its supporters by the organisation Save Our Statues (which had issued a similar appeal to its supporters at the end of the initial consultation period).

5.53 The majority of these contributions focus on the memorials and, to a lesser extent, Rhodes' personal history and legacy. They are, in the nature of things, a self-selected sample, likely to come from those with strong views on either side of the debate, and it is difficult to differentiate between those which are from individuals directly affected by the memorials (such as city residents) and those who are expressing general views. A wide range of issues has been raised, including Rhodes' own views and career, issues concerning race and colonialism, the nature of historical understanding, the meaning and interpretation of public memorials and the conservation of heritage. Some are emphatically in favour of one or other approach to the memorials, but others are more nuanced and not susceptible to simple categorisation. Relatively few submissions address the broader context of educational equality, diversity and inclusion, or the relationship between the College and the city's resident community.

5.54 Many submissions commented on Rhodes' personality, views and conduct. Some of these emphasised Rhodes' prominent role at a critical time in British history. Some expressed admiration for his political career and commercial enterprise, compared his views and actions favourably with those of other leading figures in colonialism, or praised his philanthropy, including the legacies to Oxford in his will. Many of those who favoured retaining the memorials *in situ* argued that Rhodes should be

[1] The College has contact details for 6289 alumni.
[2] The College currently has 571 students.

judged by 'the standards of his time' (by which was generally meant views assumed to be then widely held in Britain and by white South Africans), or sought to balance what they saw as positive and negative aspects of his record, reflecting that 'there is good and bad in everyone.' Some felt that removal could inhibit future benefactions. Others argued that removal of the memorials would adversely affect the representation of national heritage and culture.

5.55 Opponents of Rhodes' memorialisation focused on his role as a central figure and symbol of colonialism, and on factors which they felt made it inappropriate for the College to honour his memory today – particularly his views on race, impact in entrenching racial segregation and inequality in southern Africa, the manner in which he secured land and mineral resources and his behaviour towards African communities and workers, the violence with which his power was extended in Zimbabwe, and the long-term impact of his policies and business activities on southern Africa's development. Some felt that retention of the memorials would limit Oriel's ability to reach out to prospective BME students and enterprise partnerships, as well as compromising progress on diversity and inclusion, whereas removal would be consistent with the College's commitment 'to fight prejudice and champion equal opportunities for everyone regardless of race, gender, sexuality or faith.'

5.56 Whether they supported removal or retention *in situ* of the memorials, many of these contributions also called for contextualisation or explanation so that the memorials could be properly understood. Interpretation could evolve in the light of new research and understanding.

5.57 The summary below sets out the principal arguments used in respect of the memorials in these submissions and in other contributions to the debate, and is intended to help the Governing Body clarify the views expressed. Some of these concern memorialisation in general, as applied to the Rhodes memorials, while others are specific to Rhodes and the Rhodes memorials themselves. Many submissions also addressed aspects of contextualisation, issues concerning which are discussed later in the chapter.

Arguments used in favour of retention of the memorials in situ

A) ARGUMENTS CONCERNING RHODES

- We are less well placed to assess Rhodes than people of his time and should defer to their judgement.
- No-one is perfect. We should identify Rhodes' strengths and weaknesses / 'good' and 'bad' sides.
- The statue is only concerned with Rhodes' benefaction, not his views or his career.
- Rhodes was a visionary whose work benefited Britain and colonial territories.

B) ARGUMENTS BASED ON NATIONAL HERITAGE

- Memorials, including these memorials, have artistic and aesthetic value and are an important part of national culture.
- Memorials, including these memorials, should be retained because they represent the heritage of the country and are an essential part of its national story.
- Existing memorials should be retained, irrespective of what they symbolise (but may be contextualised if necessary).

C) ARGUMENTS BASED ON THE HISTORIC RECORD

- Removing memorials is erasing or rewriting history / censorship / hiding historical facts. (With divided conclusions drawn from this: in favour or against contextualisation).

- There is a legitimate debate to be had about the merits of colonialism/imperialism (for some: the British Empire is a source of pride).

D) ARGUMENTS FROM AESTHETICS

- Removing memorials is cultural vandalism.
- The statue is an integral part of an aesthetically important building. Removing it would harm the building's architectural integrity and quality.

E) ARGUMENTS BASED ON HISTORIC AND CONTEMPORARY SETS OF VALUES

- We should judge historic figures by the standards of their own time, not of ours.
- Rhodes' imperialism and racial attitudes were normal/widespread in his day.
- There is good and bad in everyone. Removing memorials is a slippery slope that will lead to a cycle of removing memorials of other individuals, including many who are less controversial.
- Removing the memorials is 'political correctness' (and may provoke a backlash against diversity).
- People, views and actions that are acceptable today may not be acceptable tomorrow. We should not rush to judgement.

F) ARGUMENTS BASED ON RELEVANCE AND SALIENCE

- No-one notices these memorials or thinks about them much. The Rhodes statue is inconspicuous.
- Despite claims to the contrary, the statue does not actually offend many people.
- These memorials are highly valued by some people. Their views should be respected.
- The statue symbolises free speech. Removing it would inhibit historical debate.
- Removing the statue is pandering to protestors whose views should not be respected.

G) ARGUMENTS CONCERNING ORIEL COLLEGE

- The Rhodes statue was erected in gratitude for benefaction, not as an endorsement of Rhodes' values or actions.
- Rejecting historic benefactors may deter future benefactions.
- Oriel should not be swayed by public opinion, which is ephemeral.

H) ARGUMENTS BASED AROUND EDUCATION AND HISTORICAL UNDERSTANDING

- Memorials are an educational resource that enables us to learn about our past (sometimes, but not always, associated with calls for contextualisation).
- Removing the memorials would reduce understanding of their context.
- Removing the memorials would not change anything or do anything to bring about a better world.
- Removing the memorials distracts attention from the real issues that need to be addressed.
- Removing the statue is a slippery slope that will lead to other statues being removed for lesser reasons, and to other changes such as renaming institutions.

Arguments used in favour of moving or removing the memorials

A) ARGUMENTS CONCERNING RHODES

- Rhodes was contentious in his own day, let alone today. The statue, when it was erected, reflected one side of an argument, not both.
- It is wrong to venerate individuals who were responsible for gross injustices / violence.
- Rhodes' values, racial attitudes and conduct invite opprobrium not veneration.
- Rhodes' record in southern Africa was one of conquest and exploitation, leading to segregation and apartheid, and has lasting consequences in poverty and inequality today.
- Rhodes' benefaction was derived from exploitation of the territories and peoples that he colonised. The money that financed the building rightly belonged to them, and it is they who should be commemorated.

B) ARGUMENTS CONCERNING HISTORY

- History is a process of reinterpretation, not setting one interpretation of the past in stone as an official national history.
- The statue is not history because it venerates / represents one perspective on the past and lacks historical context.
- It is the statue that censors the past ('erases history') by erasing or concealing the experience of peoples who were subject to colonial rule.
- The memorials would be more usefully placed in museums, where they can be properly interpreted and better preserved.

C) ARGUMENTS CONCERNING SYMBOLISM

- Retaining memorials that symbolise colonialism and racial discrimination perpetuates such ideologies today. They shame those who display them.
- The memorials are powerful symbols that sought/seek to justify past injustice and racial supremacism.
- The landscape of memorials should remember the victims of colonialism and their contributions rather than, or at least in addition to, its architects.

D) ARGUMENTS CONCERNING VALUES AND RESPONSES

- The landscape that surrounds us – and the college – should reflect our values today, not values of the past.
- Rhodes' values were not shared universally in his time, in Britain or elsewhere. In particular, colonialism was not welcomed by those whose lands were colonised and who were subjected to colonial rule and racial segregation.
- Some historic attitudes are wholly unacceptable today and should be condemned not venerated: racism in particular.

E) ARGUMENTS CONCERNING REPRESENTATION

- Representation that excludes diversity misrepresents society.
- BME students, staff, citizens of Oxford and visitors to the city should not have to walk past symbols of racism that they find offensive and that commemorate those who oppressed their ancestors.

- Local communities should determine the environment in which they live.

F) ARGUMENTS CONCERNING ORIEL COLLEGE

- The memorials harm the College's reputation by associating it with racism and colonialism – implying that the College approves of Rhodes' views and of colonialism, and/or contradicting/contravening its stated commitment to equality, diversity and inclusion.
- Moving the memorials would reflect the College's stated rejection of Rhodes' views and actions.
- The views of students and others offended by the memorials should be heard and respected, particularly the views of those most affected by them.
- Keeping the memorials discourages potential students and faculty from applying to or joining the college.
- Retention will be a continuing problem for the college, antagonising some and posing security problems which are likely to recur.

G) ARGUMENTS BASED AROUND EDUCATION AND HISTORICAL UNDERSTANDING

- Education today, including that in the University, does not adequately recognise or serve goals of equality, diversity and inclusion.
- Moving or removing memorials enables improved understanding of contentious history and would enable more effective education concerning colonialism, than has ever resulted from their presence.
- We do not need statues to enable historical understanding; in fact, they may detract from it by misrepresenting the complexity of history.
- Moving or removing memorials draws attention to the bigger issues of (in)equality and injustice within society and in education that need to be addressed.

Suggestions regarding contextualisation

5.58 The importance of contextualising the statue (in particular) was recognised in many submissions to the Commission, both from those who supported moving the memorials and those who supported retention *in situ*.

5.59 Some suggested that the location of the statue – on the College frontage in the High Street, overlooking the heart of Oxford – makes movement or removal more appropriate, not least because of the difficulty of contextualising it *in situ*.

5.60 Many of those in favour of moving the statue suggested that relocation to a museum would allow more effective contextualisation and additional information to be displayed. Some suggested specific relocations such as the Ashmolean, a new museum space concerned with 'Oxford and colonialism', or relocation to Rhodes House. Others suggested that the statue should be relocated within Oriel to act as a focus for information, debate and education, perhaps in the form of a permanent exhibition. Moving the statue to a museum was preferred as a second option by some who wished the statue to remain in place.

5.61 A variety of suggestions was made concerning recontextualization at the site itself, ranging from the commissioning of new artwork to replace the statue to a simple plaque or notice explaining its retention or removal. Some argued that it is important for the landscape of memorialisation to become more inclusive of the wider population, particularly women and people of colour. Some suggested that the contribution of those whose countries were colonised should be celebrated and commemorated in any contextualisation, the purpose of which should be to enable greater exploration

and understanding of the past.

3. *Assessing the memorials: the issues facing the College*

5.62 Three things are clear from the public debates that arose during 2015/2016 and 2020 and the submissions received by the Commission.

5.63 First, there is a high degree of polarisation between those who would move/remove and those who would retain the Rhodes memorials.

- Some feel strongly that Rhodes' representation reflects an important part of British history and that removing memorials to him would reduce knowledge and understanding of that history. Relatively few amongst these identify with Rhodes himself and the colonial views he represented; others distance themselves from such identification and are critical of aspects of his life, views and career, sometimes strongly so. Some feel more strongly about Rhodes' legacy to the college than his views and actions, arguing that the memorials recognise his generosity to Oriel rather than endorsing these and that movement or removal of memorials to an historic donor might discourage future benefactors.
- Others feel strongly that the Rhodes memorials represent veneration for a man who they consider exploited others through imperial conquest and economic power, held (and acted on) a racist vision of the world, was a principal architect of colonialism and racial segregation in southern Africa, and represents a legacy that discredits Britain and is deeply offensive to many, including citizens of Oxford and members of the University, particularly those who have historic links to societies subjected to colonial rule.

5.64 Second, many of the arguments deployed for and against retention *in situ* or movement/removal are symmetrical.

- Some think, for instance, that moving or removing the statues would diminish understanding of the nation's history; others that doing so would enable increased understanding. (Many in both groups, however, argue for more understanding of history, not less.)
- Some think that contemporary values should not be imposed over the values expressed by existing memorials; others that the landscape of contemporary society should reflect today's values rather than values that are rejected nowadays.
- Some think the College's reputation would be damaged by moving or removing the memorials; others that it would be damaged by retaining them.

5.65 Third, in spite of this polarisation, there is some common ground in arguments used for and against retention or movement/removal of the memorials. Many consider the debate engendered by contestation over the memorials as having enabled more discussion of colonialism than there has been previously, including more representation of its victims.

5.66 The need for contextualisation of the memorials, whether they are moved or remain in place, was stressed by many contributors to the debate, both in public and in written submissions. It is often difficult to understand a memorial without contextualisation. Research into the past, of the kind that Oriel as an academic institution, is well-placed to inspire and support, is essential to enable contextualisation and explanation of contested history.

5.67 Many advocates of moving/removing the memorials argue that enabling permanent contextualisation would generate further debate and see that as a critical reason for doing so. Many advocates of retention also argue that the memorials provide opportunities for improving understanding of colonialism and Britain's relationship with the countries that it colonised, and that the memorials can therefore act as educational resources when they are properly contextualised.

Government ministers and heritage organisations have emphasised the importance of promoting debate and understanding through contextualisation of monuments, including those that have not previously been contextualised.

5.68 The College's decisions regarding the Rhodes memorials should stem from and be consistent with its overall and educational goals (discussed in Chapters 2 and 3) and with its view of Rhodes' legacy and its association with Rhodes (discussed in Chapter 4). They should also reflect the memorials' historical, geographic (including aesthetic) and social contexts. The review of memorialisation in Appendix B identifies a number of questions concerning those contexts which the Commission has considered, as set out in the following paragraphs.

Overview

- Who is commemorated?
- What does their commemoration symbolise – both as it was intended, and as it is now understood?
- How contested, disputed and/or polarising is that symbolism?

5.69 The memorials, obviously, commemorate Cecil Rhodes. The statue, at least, was primarily intended as an acknowledgement of benefaction, though Edward Impey also sees commemorative purpose in it.[87] The plaque explicitly endorses his career as 'service … to his country.' Celebration of Rhodes was far from unanimous in his lifetime or at the time of their erection.

5.70 Rhodes' position within colonial history necessarily made his commemoration symbolic of Britain's colonial power – and the inscription on the plaque in King Edward Street more explicitly conveys that message.

5.71 Understandings of colonialism today, in Britain, are different from those in Rhodes' own day. Then a majority in Britain may have supported the expansion of British rule in Africa, though those most affected by that expansion, whose homelands were brought under colonial rule, would have seen things differently.

5.72 Attitudes today are different. For many in Britain (and in Oxford) now, colonial symbolism is highly negative: to Britain's discredit, not its credit. Symbols of colonialism are alienating to many British citizens, Oxford residents and others who have historic links with countries that were subject tocolonial rule, who include a significant proportion of present and potential students and academics. Colonialism is generally regarded with hostility by governments and citizens of countries that were subject to colonial rule. Rhodes' racial attitudes also affect contemporary understanding of the memorials.

History

- When was the memorial erected, and by whom?
- What was the purpose of the statue or memorial – for instance, was it an assertion of power and authority, a reflection of a vision of society, an attempt to change the prevailing narrative (as with Confederate statuary in the United States), veneration, acknowledgement or a gesture of gratitude for philanthropy?
- What view/vision of the past, present or future was it meant to represent, and who is included or excluded from this view/vision?
- How representative was that vision at the time, and how representative is it today?
- How have perceptions of the individual (and of that individual's values) changed?

5.73 The statue was erected in 1911, as part of the building funded by Rhodes' legacy. Its inclusion

was not required by the legacy and was not part of the original design for the building, being added sometime around 1905 when the original design was altered.

5.74 The plaque was erected in 1906 by an associate and admirer of Rhodes, acting as a private citizen, not on behalf of the College.

5.75 The purpose of the statue, as the inscription beneath it makes clear, was primarily an acknowledgment of the benefaction in Rhodes' will that financed the building on which it stands. However, Impey believes that, 'while [the architect] Champneys's views on Rhodes are unknown, commemorative intent clearly influenced his design.'[88] The plaque, by contrast, was erected in recognition of what its inscription described as 'the great service rendered by … Rhodes to his country.' It was, therefore, explicit endorsement of his colonial record.

5.76 As noted above, Rhodes' prominence would have been difficult to disentangle from his commemoration. His status as a central figure in colonial expansion means that it must have had symbolic value in that context at the time (just as it has today). Although the statue's primary purpose was recognition of benefaction, therefore, it could not then (and cannot now) be entirely separated from Rhodes' vision of colonial expansion and views of racial superiority and inferiority. Indeed, Historic England's listing description refers to it as 'a major monument to Rhodes, a controversial figure, but of immense historical importance and whose legacies had a major impact on the University.'

5.77 Rhodes' vision and racial attitudes were widely shared in Britain during his time but also challenged then in Britain and, clearly, regarded with hostility by the majority in southern Africa. He was a controversial figure in Britain and his actions in Africa were strongly disapproved by some within the country. Colonialism and ideas of racial superiority are regarded differently now, not only in the countries where he exercised his power but also in Britain. Perceptions of Rhodes himself have also changed. While some still regard his career benignly, the majority do not and many regard him, and what they consider him to symbolise, with great hostility.

Geography

- How does a statue or memorial fit into or change the landscape/cityscape around it?
- Where is it located? Is its location an important public space, one that expresses or represents power and authority, or defines the character of an institution?
- What are its aesthetic qualities? Does it have significant architectural or artistic standing?
- How prominent is it, how easy or difficult to notice or ignore?
- How does it fit into the wider environment of memorialisation in the city? In particular:
- Where it represents a particular view of history or set of values, are alternative histories and visions also reflected nearby or elsewhere in its community?

5.78 The High Street Building occupies a prominent position, on one of Oxford's most important streets and opposite the University Church, one of the University's most important buildings. This is an important place within the city: indeed the architect, Basil Champneys, reportedly described it as being 'in the most conspicuous position in Oxford.'[89] That the statue is located there is as much by chance as a deliberate assertion of authority: Rhodes studied at Oriel, and that is where Oriel is situated. As noted above, the statue's prominence may be less evident to members of Oriel, who enter the College through the lodge in Oriel Square and experience the Building from inside the College, than it is to those who use the High Street.

5.79 The plaque is on a side street and therefore less generally visible.

5.80 The statue occupies a prominent position on its building, elevated above two kings and several former provosts, looking down on passers-by. Viewed from across the street, it clearly defines the building and, at the time that it was built, when Rhodes' likeness would have been familiar to many people, it would have done so very clearly. The arrangement of the statuary emphasises Rhodes and places him in powerful company. This was presumably intended.

5.81 Aesthetic questions concern both the architecture of the building and the artistry of the statue. There are mixed views on both. For most of the twentieth century, the High Street Building was disparaged and, by many, actively disliked, but its architect and architectural merits have been reappraised since its listing in the 1970s. While not considered a major building, it is now more appreciated, its listing describing it as architecturally as well as historically significant. The statue was not part of its original design but was installed during construction. Public discussion of the statue's future has focused on its symbolic significance rather than artistic merit.

5.82 Because it is elevated on a building, some who submitted comments suggested that they barely noticed it before it became controversial. Now that it is controversial, however, the statue has achieved more prominence than previously. People look for it today. It is a regular feature of walking tours that focus on Oxford's 'Uncomfortable Heritage', with tour groups standing outside St Mary the Virgin encouraged to look up at the statue. Its presence or absence is likely to continue being noticed more than previously whether it is removed or contextualised *in situ*.

5.83 There are many statues and memorials in Oxford, particularly in the University, and many of these are on buildings. The wider environment of memorialisation in Oxford is not diverse, with little representation of women or people of colour.

Society

- What experience do different groups of people (in relevant academic literature, sometimes called its 'users') have of a memorial – citizens who pass by it every day, students and academics, tourists and other visitors?
- To what extent are they affected by it? Are they inspired, offended or indifferent? Do they see a reflection of their own or of a national identity, or do they feel intimidated or resentful?
- How relevant are changing values and different historic experiences to perceptions of memorials, including different views of different groups today?
- What changes have occurred in the reputation of the individual commemorated, either through re-evaluation of that person's record or through new information coming to light? How strongly do people feel about a memorial (on both sides) and how fiercely, therefore, is it contested? How far is debate about its future seen as a binary choice between incompatible positions?
- Would today's society (or, in the case of Oriel's Rhodes statue, the college today) consider the individual concerned appropriate for memorialisation now if not already set in stone?

5.84 The experience that different people have of the Rhodes memorials depends on the visibility of those memorials to them, their perceptions of the memorials and the extent to which those perceptions arouse strong feelings.

5.85 The statue's elevation means that it less likely to be noticed routinely, by those who pass by every day, than by occasional visitors such as tourists who tend to look more about them and at the architecture (or have that architecture pointed out to them).

5.86 Its effect on those who are aware of it (or become aware of it) depends on their perception of it and what it represents. A few venerate Rhodes as a symbol of British identity and achievement. More

consider Rhodes a part of British history without identifying with his acts or values. Many, despite the controversy, will be unaware of who is represented, or what he represents. For a significant number of those who experience it, however, the statue is offensive: a symbol of racial attitudes and imperial conquest that they feel discredits Britain and/or demeans them and their heritage.

5.87 Some feel personally alienated or excluded by it. For many of those with historic links to African and other countries that were subject to colonial rule, this is compounded by personal experience of racism, discrimination and inequality. This includes citizens and residents of Oxford; students and potential students, from Britain, Africa and other parts of the world; academics and potential academics. In normal times it also includes tourists from many countries.

5.88 The values that are prevalent in Britain (and the world) today are very different from those at the time the memorials to Rhodes appeared. Racial attitudes have changed substantially; racial discrimination has been illegal for many years; racial equality is formally enshrined in British law. While discrimination and inequality remain profound problems in both society and education, efforts to promote equality, diversity and inclusion are central to the values of the University. The formal structures of colonialism were dismantled in the years after the Second World War as Britain and other colonial powers recognised its inconsistency with fundamental rights of self-determination, international equity and partnership. Insofar as the Rhodes memorials symbolise or articulate these, therefore, they represent values that do not represent Britain today or values that it would project.

5.89 There has been similar re-evaluation of Rhodes the man. His racial views are now regarded very negatively, both officially and unofficially, and his promotion of colonialism is also disfavoured by very many people. His business and political conduct in southern Africa is widely considered to have been exploitative and his legacy in the region is seen to have contributed to the inequality and segregation that disfigured its politics for close to a century and still weigh heavily today.

5.90 Oriel College has made clear that it dissociates itself from Rhodes' views and actions. On that basis, it would not set up a memorial to him today. Its expressed wish to remove the memorials that are in place reflects that dissociation from his views and actions.

Considerations for the College

5.91 The Commission suggests that Oriel's consideration of the memorials, and of the ways in which it can fulfil its wish to remove them, should address the following themes:

The college's goals and values

5.92 One of the central areas of disagreement regarding contested memorials has concerned whether they ought to reflect historic or contemporary values (where these are seen to differ). This is not as simple as it seems. Values and attitudes that are described as commonplace historically were often far from universal. Colonial subjects, in particular, had different attitudes to colonial rule than did colonial rulers.

5.93 The College's own (contemporary) goals and values are described in Chapter 2. It has a responsibility to promote these, and decisions taken by the Governing Body – including those regarding memorials located on its buildings – should be consistent with them (whether or not its decisions are then subject to external supervision). This includes legal responsibilities in its General Equality Duty.

Educational equality, diversity and inclusion

5.94 The College has legal responsibilities to ensure equality in education and to secure the welfare of students and employees. Its commitments to equality, diversity and inclusion, aligned with those of the wider University, are described in Chapter 3, along with recommendations concerning future action.

5.95 The College has a responsibility to ensure that students and potential students, academic and

non-academic staff, feel welcome and included in the College community and do not experience racial discrimination or harassment. That welfare responsibility includes the College environment experienced by students and staff. The College's response to its Rhodes legacy affects these aspects of welfare and inclusiveness.

5.96 Some students and others have expressed distress at the College's association with Cecil Rhodes and the presence of memorials to him. It is unclear whether potential students from BME/black backgrounds have or have not rejected Oriel because of that association.

Donations and benefactions

5.97 The Charity Commission requires that charities (such as Oriel) have a policy on donations 'which identifies when the accepting of donations may not be in the interests of the charity,' including 'where the acceptance of the donation would be detrimental to the charity's reputation.'[90] Oriel's Ethical Donations Policy establishes a Committee to Review Donations which assesses prospective donations in accordance with criteria including whether acceptance of the gift would 'be in the best interests of the College,' whether it creates conflicts of interest for the College or beneficiaries of the donation, whether it would 'do serious harm to the reputation of, or cause significant public scandal to, the College' and whether it would 'seriously harm the College's reputation with other benefactors, partners, staff, students, or other stakeholders.'[91] While this relates to new donations, it inevitably has some bearing on how the College reflects those from the past.

5.98 Rhodes' bequest has been, in real terms, the largest received by Oriel in the modern era. Some submissions to the Commission argued that the College should respect that generosity regardless of its view of Rhodes' views and actions. Some have suggested that the College will lose potential future benefactions if it moves/removes the Rhodes memorials, though the Commission understands that this has been raised less than was the case in 2015/2016. On the other hand, the College may fail to attract funding from potential donors who would not wish their donation to be associated with Rhodes' legacy, should it retain the memorials *in situ*.

The College's relationship with the wider community

5.99 Oriel is not just an educational community, nor just part of the University of Oxford. It is also part of the city of Oxford, whose residents and visitors engage with it in many ways – some substantially as employees, some simply as passers-by along the High Street.

5.100 The relationship between town and gown is an important one in Oxford, and has sometimes been difficult. In taking decisions that affect the wider community within the city, the Governing Body should take the interests and views of Oxford's residents into account, through the City Council and other groups representing the community. Decisions concerning the memorials fall within this category and should recognise the multicultural diversity of both the University and city.

The College's reputation

5.101 The controversy surrounding the Rhodes memorials presents a reputational challenge for Oriel. Many people, in Britain and around the world, now know it as 'the Oxford College with the Rhodes statue'. While that may not have significantly affected its reputation in the past, before the controversy around it erupted in 2015, it does so now. If the memorials remain in place, they are likely to be the focus of further protests, in the short or medium term.

5.102 Whatever decisions it takes – or is required to take – about them will affect that reputation. Some have argued that its reputation will be damaged if the memorials are retained (or required to be retained); others that it will be damaged if they are moved or removed. In practice, decisions concerning the memorials and their contextualisation will affect the reputation of the College among different constituencies in different ways, some favourably, some unfavourably. Some of the

implications of this, such as those concerning student applications and potential benefactions, have been raised above.

Adding to education and understanding of Rhodes and colonialism

5.103 Many voices from all sides of the debate concerning the memorials have pointed to the potential which they hold to increase understanding of the College's association with / view of Rhodes and colonialism in general. The Rhodes Trust encapsulates this in the phrase 'We cannot reconcile or heal if we do not acknowledge and see.'[92]

5.104 Oriel is an educational institution, with a commitment and responsibility to advance knowledge and understanding. The Rhodes memorials represent an opportunity for it to do so, through contextualisation, research and scholarship, wherever the memorials are located. The scale and nature of contextualisation will have a significant impact on future perceptions of the College amongst students, within the wider academic community, and amongst the general public, regardless ofwhether the memorials remain *in situ* or are moved.

College objects

5.105 The College's charitable objects, as approved by the Charity Commission, derive from its founding Charter and establish it as 'a college of scholars studying sacred theology, civil and canon law and useful knowledge.' In 2009, the Governing Body agreed a modern iteration of these objects which, in addition to educational objectives, includes 'the advancement of public education, heritage and culture, in particular by the maintenance of articles of historic or aesthetic interest, and the conservation of the College and its grounds.'

5.106 The 'maintenance of articles of historic or aesthetic interest' does not specifically preclude the movement of those articles from one place to another, at least within the College. The reference to 'public education' could be understood as reference to contextualisation.

5.107 The International Bar Association suggests that 'In cases where an object has significant [artistic, architectural, cultural or historical] value but stands in opposition to the mores and values in contemporary society, efforts should be taken to indicate how and why the object is objectionable and consider remedies that promote its use as an educational tool' (see 6 above).[93]

Legal and planning requirements

5.108 The Governing Body's wish to remove the Rhodes memorials is consistent with its goals and values. Its legal right to implement that wish is constrained by the planning framework and, possibly, by future legislation. This is the subject of the following section.

4. *Legal and planning requirements*

Planning and heritage issues

Summary

5.109 The College made clear its wish to remove the Rhodes memorials in its statement of 17 June 2020. This was conveyed to the Commission. The Governing Body is aware that its ability to implement this wish is subject to legal and planning processes involving the City Council, Historic England and the Secretary of State for Housing, Communities and Local Government. The Commission has provided information to support the Governing Body through those processes, as well as recommendations that are relevant irrespective of the outcome of those processes.

5.110 The National Planning Policy Framework (2019) describes 'heritage assets' as 'an irreplaceable resource [which] should be conserved in a manner appropriate to their significance, so that they can be enjoyed for their contribution to the quality of life of existing and future generations.'

5.111 The High Street Building is listed Grade II* under the Planning (Listed Buildings and Conservation Areas) Act 1990 as 'a building of special architectural and historic interest.' The Building's listing refers, in particular, to the significance of its architect, its contribution to the High Street frontage, its largely unchanged character, its collection of statues, and its status as 'a major monumentto Rhodes, a controversial figure, but of immense historical importance and whose legacies had a majorimpact on the University.'

5.112 Listed building consent would be required from the Local Planning Authority (LPA), in this case Oxford City Council, for the removal or alteration of a statue, plaque, memorial or monument which is designated as a listed building, or which forms part of a listed building, where it affects the special historic or architectural character of the building. Planning law requires a local authority to notify Historic England (and other statutory consultees) on proposed changes to Grade II* listed buildings. Historic England decides whether to object to an application on the basis of a checklist that, *inter alia*, includes the balance between public benefit and damage to architectural or historic associations. If the LPA is minded to grant consent despite an objection by Historic England, it must notify the Secretary of State for Housing, Communities and Local Government who will consider whether to call in the application and may overrule the LPA.

5.113 Where the works have an impact on the external appearance of the building, planning permission may also be required and if so should be applied for at the same time. In presenting an application for planning permission, the Governing Body would be required to set out a case that the public benefit and reduction of social harm arising from removal would outweigh harm to the appearance of the building.

5.114 The plaque in King Edward Street is not listed but is in a conservation area, designated by the City Council, and its removal would therefore also currently require a form of consent.

5.115 The Government's emerging policy in relation to historic statues and sites which have become contested is to 'retain and explain' them. Historic England has also adopted this policy and states its desire to see the provision of 'thoughtful, long-lasting and powerful reinterpretation that responds to their contested history and tells the full story,' adding that 'New responses can involve re-interpretation, added layers and installations, new artworks, displays and counter-memorials, as well as intangible interventions, such as education programmes.'

5.116 The need to contextualise and explain the memorials is therefore fully recognised in government policy. Substantive contextualisation of the memorials was proposed by the Governing Body in 2016. While changes were made to the College website, it is regrettable that more lasting visible contextualisation has not yet been put in place.

5.117 An application for planning permission to remove the memorials would face considerable challenges in the planning process. At the same time, it would test the significance of considerations of social harm in planning applications concerning 'contested history'. It would also provide opportunities for further public debate, education and understanding in relation to the Rhodes legacy and the wider issues raised by that legacy, including opportunities for further historical research.

5.118 The Governing Body needs to consider how to proceed in the light of these considerations. The Commission's advice and recommendations concerning the memorials can be found below. They are concerned with:

a) contextualisation of the memorials; and

b) planning and listed building considerations should the Governing Body decide that its objective remains unchanged in the light of all relevant considerations.

Assessment

5.119 The Governing Body expressed its wish that the memorials should be removed in June 2020, knowing that its decision would be subject to legal permission which could be refused.

- Although the Rhodes memorials belong to Oriel, the college is not legally free to determine what happens to them, and can be required to retain at least the statue *in situ* irrespective of its wishes.
- If the City Council supports an application by Oriel's Governing Body that the statue should be relocated, its wishes can also be over-ruled by national government through a decision by the Secretary of State for Housing, Communities and Local Government.
- The Secretary of State has recently announced the government's intention to propose new legislation which could remove the power of decision-making from the College and the City Council in respect also of the plaque.

5.120 The High Street Building, like many parts of Oriel College, is listed under the Planning (Listed Buildings and Conservation Areas) Act 1990 (as amended) as 'a building of special architectural and historic interest.' Its listing as 'the Rhodes Building (North Range),' dates from 1972, when it was listed Grade II, and revised in 2011 when it was upgraded to II*. The statue is specifically mentioned in its listing. The full listing description is attached as Annex 5.

5.121 Listed building consent is required if work to a listed building would affect the special interest of the building in one or both of two ways:

a) its architectural interest (see the listed building reference to Champneys' design etc.); and/or
b) its historic interest (see paragraphs of the listing description that relate to Rhodes).

5.122 Changes to listed buildings can (and often are) accepted by planning authorities subject to a number of tests, including judgement concerning any 'harm' or 'damage' that may be done to their architectural or historic interest, and whether that is justified. Ascertaining whether 'harm' is justified requires consideration of reasons that are wider than those for a building's listing. For example, if a listed building contained a wall that was unsafe for the public, the demolition of that wall could be justified. Social impact reasons can be appropriate considerations, in addition to issues identified within the listing, and would be relevant to any application concerning the High Street Building.

5.123 The reasons identified for the listing of the High Street Building are as follows:

Work of major architect: as a design of a significant C19 and C20 architect whose work is now increasingly appreciated

Architectural: the building makes an important, bold, impressive and successful contribution to the interest and variety of the High Street frontages. It represents a new departure in the architect's style, has features of originality and distinction, and was both his last major work and Oxford's last building in this style

Sculptural: the building has an integral and impressive collection of Portland stone sculptural elements and statues, including kings, major figures associated with Oriel and Rhodes himself, all of artistic quality and historical significance to the building

Plan: the internal layout of the building and the inclusion of plumbed sanitary facilities in the basement represent innovations in collegiate architecture and amenity

Intactness: internally and externally the building remains substantially as built

Historic interest: the Rhodes Building, adorned with his statue in pride of place, serves as a major monument to Rhodes, a controversial figure, but of immense historical importance and whose legacies had a major impact on the University.

5.124 The plaque in King Edward Street is not listed and the Commission understands that a proposal for listing was rejected within the last decade. However, like the High Street building, it is in a conservation area designated by the City Council.

5.125 The City Council has said that it would welcome an application to fulfil the Governing Body's wish to move or remove the memorials. As mentioned above, the Leader of the City Council wrote to Oriel on 9 June 2020, inviting it to apply for planning permission to remove the statue, as part of a Grade II* listed building. 'Typically,' she wrote, 'such actions are only allowed in the most exceptional of circumstances. But these are exceptional circumstances, and as a City Council we are keen to work with Oriel to help them find the right balance between the laws that protect our historic buildings andthe moral obligation to reflect on the malign symbolism of this statue.' She said that, in her view, the statue should be moved to a museum 'to ensure this noteworthy piece of the story of our city isn't lostto history.'

5.126 The Commission understands that the College had preliminary discussions with the City Council regarding removal of the plaque in 2015/2016.

5.127 The processes which the College would need to follow in order to remove the memorials are discussed below.

Historic England

5.128 Planning law requires a local authority to consult Historic England on Grade II* listed buildings, including Oriel's High Street Building. Historic England says that it will 'assess each case on its own merits in the context of Government legislation, policy, its own advice [including the issues outlined below], and judgement.'

5.129 Historic England summarises its position on 'contested heritage' as follows:

England has a very rich but complex history. Our buildings, monuments and places sometimes bring us face to face with parts of our history that are painful, or shameful by today's standards. We recognise that there are historic statues and sites which have become symbols of injustice and a source of great pain for many people. …

We believe the best way to approach statues and sites which have become contested is not to remove them but to provide thoughtful, long-lasting and powerful reinterpretation, which keeps the structure's physical context but can add new layers of meaning, allowing us all to develop a deeper understanding of our often difficult past.

5.130 The introduction to its checklist for local authorities regarding contested heritage adds the following:

Historic England is acutely aware that certain representations of history in our public realm today can cause offence. The statues and monuments that society keeps and protects – for a number of reasons – do not always represent contemporary values, and some are distinctly at odds with them. In such situations there are sometimes calls to remove or alter the statue or monument, and this may precipitate planning and/or listed building consent applications. It is important to recognise that as a group they represent our collective past and as such have a significant heritage value.

5.131 The checklist invites local authorities to ask the following questions. The Governing Body will need to address these in advance, therefore, in making any application (see in particular point 6):

1. *Are there any particularly contested or challenging assets in the local authority area for which it would be worth facilitating discussions, and/or inviting applications for their contextualisation?*
2. *Does the authority have enough information about the heritage asset in question, from an appropriate range of sources, to understand its significance?* 'Significance,' in this context, is defined as 'the value of a heritage asset to this and future generations because of its historic interest,' which may be 'archaeological, architectural, artistic or historic.' The checklist adds that 'Understanding what is significant about a historic object or site includes all the diverse values or interests that people associate with it. Eliciting and understanding community perspectives will be important within this process…. It will [also] include the reasons for its creation, and why it is being challenged now.'
3. *Does the authority have enough information about any proposed changes to be able to understand the impact on the heritage asset (or assets) and make a decision in accordance with the NPPF* (the National Planning Policy Framework)*?*
4. *If the proposals damage what is important about the heritage asset, or the contribution that the setting makes to other assets, what is the nature of that impact?*
5. *Assuming that the proposed alternations and changes cause some damage to the heritage asset, is that damage necessary?*
6. *Is there sufficient justification for the proposed level of damage caused?* The NPPF requires 'great weight' to be attached to the conservation of 'heritage assets.' The checklist adds that 'A good application will have set out the justifications clearly in the statement of the heritage asset's significance and the impact of the proposals. In addition to this, the views of statutory consultees (such as the national amenity societies) and those who have responded to the application need to be taken into consideration. On contested sites the authority may need to plan for a greater volume of information provided by third parties and demonstrate how this has been taken into account when the authority makes a decision.'
7. *When dealing with designated heritage assets, what are the public benefits of the proposal?* Explanatory text states that 'These benefits can cover a wide range of considerations and are likely to go beyond straightforward heritage issues. The continued conservation of a heritage asset is a public benefit, even if its historic interest is contested in some way. The alteration of a contested heritage asset may provide public benefits. These might relate directly to the heritage asset, for example by adding additional interpretation which will help people to gain a deeper understanding of the historical context which led to the creation and installation of the asset.'
8. *The balancing act: where necessary and justified, is the damage outweighed by the public benefit?* The NPPF requires evidence that 'any harm needs clear and convincing justification' and the local authority is required to '[set] out the harm and public benefits very clearly and analyse those considerations to be able to come to an informed decision.'

5.132 Regarding contextualisation, Historic England has stated as follows:

Our stance on historic statues and sites which have become contested is to retain and explain them; to provide thoughtful, long lasting and powerful reinterpretation that responds to their contested history and tells the full story. New responses can involve re-interpretation, added layers and installations, new artworks, displays and counter-memorials, as well as intangible interventions, such as education programmes. However, the decision-making body in this situation is usually the local

planning authority, so this advice is designed to help those authorities to make a balanced decision. Proposals may of course also involve change such as the addition or replacement of an interpretative plaque on a statue. All such decisions need clear justification.

5.133 Any contextualisation that is physically attached to the High Street Building would require listed building consent, and, if approved by the local authority, could also be called in by the Secretary of State in the same way as any proposal to move the statue from the building. Any decision concerning contextualisation material, by either the City Council or the Secretary of State, would need to be considered on planning grounds rather than on grounds of content.

5.134 In summary, therefore, the Secretary of State can overrule both the applicant seeking a change to a listed building – in this case, Oriel College – and, should it approve an application, the City Council, and require the College to retain the statue *in situ.* Listed building consent, which could entail all of the above procedures, would also be required for any contextual material which the College proposed to attach to the building or any neighbouring listed building. While this does not affect the College's wishes regarding the memorials, it does affect its capacity to put those wishes into effect.

5.135 In mid-2020, a public petition was initiated urging that 'All statues and monuments should be protected from being taken down under laws protecting listed buildings and structures, to protect our history,' because 'We need laws to stop historical monuments and statues from being removed.' The Government responded on 14 July 2020 as follows:[94]

Events have demonstrated how the statues and memorials that adorn public spaces elicit strong feelings. We are satisfied that the system in place [*i.e.* the listing arrangements described above] *recognises those that merit statutory protection. … Should the petitioners believe that other statues or memorials have claims to special architectural or historic interest they can apply to the Secretary of State, through Historic England, for them to be considered for listing. …*

The Government does not propose to amend the terms of the 1990 Act to enable the listing of public statues or memorials that are not of special architectural or historic interest. It believes that the retention of this threshold is justified and appropriate – both to maintain the integrity of the list, and to avoid placing undue burdens on owners. Other opportunities exist to recognise the significance of such assets. For instance, local planning authorities can opt to include them in 'local lists' and develop related policies. …

It is important to recognise that listing does not prevent a statue or memorial from being removed if the relevant planning authority decides to grant listed building consent (LBC) for this, having had regard to the terms of the National Planning Policy Framework.

The Government does not propose to remove contested statues or memorials located on its property. It believes that it is always legitimate to examine and debate Britain's history, but that removing statues or memorials is not the right approach. Instead, it believes that they should be used to educate people about all aspects of Britain's complex past, good and bad. This view is shared by Historic England, which is engaging proactively on the subject of contested heritage, supporting conversations with guidance, research and advice to owners, local authorities and communities.

5.136 On 17 January 2021, however, the Secretary of State announced his intention to enact new laws 'to protect England's cultural and historic heritage'. The statement announcing this proposed legislation reads as follows:[95]

New laws to protect England's cultural and historic heritage have been announced by Communities Secretary Robert Jenrick today (17 January 2021).

The new legal protections mean that historic statues should be 'retained and explained' for future generations. Individuals who want to remove any historic statue, whether listed or not, will now require listed building consent or planning permission.

Under the new regulations, if the council intends to grant permission for removal of a particular statue and Historic England objects, the Communities Secretary will be notified so he can make the final decision about the application in question. Historic England and the Secretary of State will apply the new policy of "retain and explain", meaning historic statues will only be removed in the most exceptional circumstances.

Many unlisted heritage assets are of interest, significance and pride to the local communities in which they are erected and it is right that protections are put in place for them.

These new laws will protect 20,000 statues and monuments throughout England for future generations.

5.137 When enacted, this legislation would extend the Secretary of State's right to overrule the wishes of both building owners and local authorities and require retention of unlisted as well as listed 'statues and monuments'. Although the characteristics that would define the 'historic' nature of such memorials are not identified, it seems likely that it would apply, once legislation has been enacted, to the Rhodes memorial in King Edward Street. The proposed legislation will include a presumption against removal except 'in the most exceptional circumstances' but, in the words of an explanatory note, 'The law will make clear that historic monuments should be retained and explained.' This impliesthat building owners will be able to contextualise memorials they are required to retain.

5.138 The full text of the statement and the associated comments by the Secretaries of State for Communities and Local Government and for Digital, Culture, Media and Sport, are attached as Annex 6.

Recommendations concerning the memorials

5.139 The controversy surrounding the Rhodes memorials has been hanging over Oriel College for the past half decade. It is clearly in the best interests of the College for a resolution to be reached as soon as possible that reflects its expressed goals and values and allows it to focus on its responsibilities to education and the welfare of its students.

5.140 As the Commission's terms of reference make clear, the future of the memorials cannot and should not be seen in isolation from the broader issues relating to educational equality, diversity and inclusion, and Rhodes' legacy in general, that were raised during the debate about them and that were also referred by the Governing Body to the Commission. The College's approach to all these questions should be consistent, comprehensive and inter-related.

5.141 Recommendations concerning educational equality, diversity and inclusion are set out in Chapter 3. Those relating to the College's Rhodes legacy in general, and its responsibilities to promote academic debate and improve public understanding of colonialism are set out in Chapter 4.

5.142 The College's Governing Body made clear its wish to remove the Rhodes memorials in its statement of 17 June 2020. This wish was conveyed to the Commission.

5.143 The Governing Body is aware that its ability to fulfil its wish to remove the memorials is subject to legal and planning processes involving the City Council, Historic England and the Secretary of State for Communities and Local Government.

5.144 The final section of this report sets out the actions which the College would need to take in order to implement its wish to remove the memorials, including the arguments that it would need to make in support of an application to do so.

5.145 The need to contextualise (or explain) the memorials is widely agreed, including by Historic England and the Secretary of State, irrespective of the outcome of these processes. Substantial, serious contextualisation of the memorials should be introduced by the College as soon as possible. It is regrettable that this did not follow the Governing Body's statements concerning the memorials in 2015 and 2016. It is vital that it should do so now.

5.146 This should include immediate temporary contextualisation to explain the context of the memorials, the College's view concerning them and the legal and planning processes that are underway.

5.147 Permanent contextualisation should follow. While some aspects of this will be contingent on the outcome of legal and planning processes, others will not and decisions can be made concerning these while legal and planning processes are underway. The Governing Body should be prepared to invest significant resources in this.

A. Recommendations concerning the memorials

5.148 These recommendations are concerned with:

c) contextualisation of the memorials; and

d) planning and listed building considerations.

5.149 The memorials provide an opportunity to increase knowledge and understanding of issues raised by the life and times of Cecil Rhodes. It is important that they are preserved, whatever their future location.

a) Contextualisation

5.150 The Governing Body should be prepared to invest significant resources in contextualisation. While some aspects of contextualisation or explanation would be contingent on the outcome of planning processes other aspects would not, and decisions can be made concerning these while planning processes are under consideration.

5.151 The Commission recommends that the College should establish a working group to develop and implement contextualisation. The composition of this working group is a matter for the Governing Body. It is important, however, that it reflects the College's values of equality, inclusion and diversity and that it consults or includes representation from relevant constituencies including students, staff, fellows and the College's alumni committee, the City Council, historians and heritage professionals. It is essential that it includes BME membership.

5.152 On-street contextualisation will be required irrespective of whether the statue is removed, replaced or retained *in situ*. The location of the statue at height on the façade of the High Street building, on a major road and in a conservation area, makes it more difficult to achieve the goal of substantive contextualisation. The College should work with the City Council to consider the best ways to present contextualising materials in the geographic contexts of the High Street and King Edward Street.

5.153 Recommendations for contextualisation include:

a) a clear public statement of the College's views concerning its Rhodes legacy and historic association with Cecil Rhodes, and the other actions it is taking;

b) the introduction of explanatory material, in proximity to the memorials and visible to passers-by, such as a permanent street-level display board (this will require listed building consent if attached to the building);

c) a notice to be displayed below the plaque in King Edward Street (permanent contextualisation of the plaque at this location would not be necessary if it were removed, though the plaque itself would then need to be located and contextualised elsewhere);

d) an exhibition space within the College (ideally at ground level), open to all including the public during visiting hours, displaying information about Rhodes' association with the College, his career, wider issues concerned with colonialism, and the College's efforts to improve equality, diversity and inclusion;

e) temporary or permanent artwork reflecting on the impact of colonialism, which could be located in the College, on the High Street (in consultation with the City Council) or in a nearby building such as the University Church (if agreeable to the management of the Church);

f) revision of materials on the College website to reflect the same objectives.

5.154 On-site contextualisation of the kind in a) and b) above could be accessed digitally by use of QR codes displayed in such a way that they do not require planning permission. This may enable material to be made available more quickly than physical displays, and would be a useful long-term complement to more substantial contextualisation.

5.155 If the statue and plaque are moved, they could be:

- relocated inside the college, to a less prominent position or to an exhibition space as described above; or
- moved to a museum or other location where they could be similarly contextualised alongside other material concerned with Rhodes' career and colonial legacy. (Ideally, this should be a museum or location in Oxford which is open to the public and willing to accept the statue.)

5.156 If the statue is removed from its current location, the niche could either:

- remain empty, with the reasons for this explained in contextualising material at street level; or
- be filled by an alternative memorial, either symbolic or representational, following an artistic commission by the college, chosen by a panel from the broad College community, including BME representation, artists and representatives of the City of Oxford. Temporary artworks may be appropriate.

5.157 If the plaque is removed, the space that it previously occupied could be either left empty, replaced with an explanatory notice or replaced with an alternative memorial along the lines suggested for the statue niche. If alternative memorials are commissioned, the City Council will need to be involved regarding any materials that are installed on public land.

b) Planning and listed building considerations

5.158 Decisions on how to proceed in respect of the College's wish to remove the memorials need to be made by the Governing Body. The following paragraphs outline the planning and listed building considerations which it would need to follow.

The King Edward Street plaque

5.159 An application would need to be made to the City Council to remove the plaque because it is in a conservation area. The Commission understands that the Council did not oppose the removal of the plaque during preliminary discussions in 2016.

5.160 Forthcoming legislation may add a requirement for reference to the Secretary of State for Housing, Communities and Local Government.

The Rhodes statue

5.161 An application would need to be made to the City Council to remove the statue. As the High Street Building is Grade II* listed, the College's application would need to address the issues raised in Historic England's checklist for local authorities concerning applications with contested heritage. It would need, in particular, to articulate the public benefits and reduction in social harms to be achieved by moving the statue. These would need to include reference to the College's educational responsibilities (including its responsibilities to equality, diversity and inclusion under the 2010 Equality Act) and the impact of the statue and its associations on College members (students, fellows and staff), other students of the city's universities, residents of the city, visitors and tourists.

5.162 The case presented would need to be detailed and comprehensive in view of the preference to 'retain and explain' articulated by both Historic England and the Secretary of State, including 'information which is proportionate to the asset's importance and sufficient to understand the potential impact of the proposal on its significance.' A substantial plan of action for contextualising the removed memorials would be essential in addressing the issues to be considered by the Council, Historic England and the Secretary of State. It would be appropriate for there to be consultation with the Council before an application was submitted.

5.163 If an application to move or remove the statue were approved by the City Council, it would be further considered by Historic England and, in light of recent statements, would be likely to be called in for decision by the Secretary of State. These processes would take significant time, increasing the importance of substantive temporary contextualisation and early steps towards permanent contextualisation (see above).

6. CONCLUSION

6.1 The College's goal in inviting the Commission to explore these issues was to find the best way of resolving them in the interest of the College and the wider communities of which it is a part, reinforcing and advancing its commitment to educational inclusion and diversity, and addressing the complex issues arising for it and for its constituent communities from the legacy of Cecil Rhodes. The Commission has aimed in this report to explore those complex issues, assess their implications for the College and suggest ways forward.

6.2 Throughout its work, the Commission has borne two things in mind.

- The first concerns the role and purpose of the college. Oriel is an educational institution first and foremost. Its primary responsibilities are to promote education and understanding, and to serve the interests and welfare of its diverse community of students, fellows and staff. Issues concerning the college's Rhodes legacy and memorials should be considered through that lens, and decisions should be made in ways that fulfil those responsibilities.
- The second has been to respect the diversity of views and strength of feeling aroused by the Rhodes legacy and memorials. It is important for the college and for the wider community to seek a way forward that responds to and respects the feelings aroused by the memorials, particularly feelings of distress.

6.3 Resolution of these issues, rather than continued confrontation, should be sought. We hope that this report will assist the College to achieve such resolution, and that public debate about the issue going forward will also respect that goal.

ANNEXES AND APPENDICES

Annex 1: Oriel College Statement announcing the Commission, 17 June 2020

Annex 2: The Commission's terms of reference

Annex 3: Biographies of Commission members

Annex 4: Biography of Rhodes on Oriel College website

Annex 5: Historic England listing description

Annex 6: Ministerial statements, 17 January 2021

Annex 7: Statements by Oriel College

Appendix A: Article on aspects of Rhodes' life and career written by Professor William Beinart in a personal capacity

Appendix B: A review of issues concerning statues and memorials

Appendix C: Discussions with Oxford schoolchildren

ANNEXES AND APPENDICES

Annex 1: Oriel College Statement: 17 June 2020

The Governing Body of Oriel College has today (Wednesday 17th June) voted to launch an independent Commission of Inquiry into the key issues surrounding the Rhodes statue. They also expressed their wish to remove the statue of Cecil Rhodes and the King Edward Street Plaque. This is what they intend to convey to the Independent Commission of Inquiry.

Both of these decisions were reached after a thoughtful period of debate and reflection and with the full awareness of the impact these decisions are likely to have in Britain and around the world.

The Commission will deal with the issue of the Rhodes legacy and how to improve access and attendance of BAME 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.

At today's meeting, the Governing Body also approved the appointment of an independent Chair for the Commission of Inquiry, Carole Souter CBE, the current Master of St Cross College and former Chief Executive of the National Lottery Heritage Fund, who in turn will approach a number of individuals drawn from the worlds of academia, education policy, law, politics and journalism. The commission is intending to draw upon the greatest possible breadth and depth of experience, opinion and background.

The Inquiry will, in turn, invite submissions from a broad range of stakeholders from Oxford itself and the country as a whole; the students, representatives of Rhodes Must Fall and Oxford City council, as well as alumni of Oxford and Oriel and citizens of the city. Written and oral evidence will be requested. It is intended that some oral evidence sessions will be held in public, with similar rules of engagement to that of a parliamentary select committee.

By setting up this commission, Oriel governing body is demonstrating that it is willing to be guided by all its stakeholders.

The Governing Body believes that this decision will allow a serious, appropriate and productive resolution of a complex series of issues.

Ms Souter has insisted on a thorough process - but conducted at pace - and set to report to the Governing Body by the end of January 2021.

Annex 2: Independent Commission of Inquiry Terms of Reference

The Governing Body of Oriel College Oxford agreed on 17th June 2020 to launch an independent Commission of Inquiry into issues surrounding the College's Rhodes statue. They expressed their wish to remove the statue of Cecil Rhodes, which currently overlooks Oxford's High Street, and the King Edward Street plaque. As well as the Rhodes legacy, they invited the Commission to consider how to improve access, attendance and experiences of BME undergraduate, graduate students and faculty, and to review how the College's 21st century commitment to equality and diversity can sit more easily with its past.

The Commission draws together individuals with a variety of expertise, opinion and background to build on these goals of the Governing Body. Its work will be guided by:

- The College's forward-looking commitments to equality, diversity and inclusion alongside academic excellence.
- The importance of reflection on the College's historic legacy and its implications for the College and its community today and in the future.
- The values held and contributions made to the College by its diverse community of students, faculty, staff and alumni.
- The College's relationships with others in the city in which it has its home.

The Commission's work will address six issues:

1. The College's understanding and presentation of its historic legacy for current and future members of the College and the wider community.
2. Issues concerning the future development of the College as an association of students, faculty and alumni arising from this, including:
    1. The future of the Rhodes statue, the King Edward Street plaque and related memorials and artefacts in the context of historical understanding of Rhodes's role in Africa, his bequests, and historic environment legislation;
    2. Access, attendance and experiences of BME undergraduates, graduate students, faculty and other staff within the College;
    3. Developments in processes which would foster a culture of equality, inclusion and diversity;
    4. Development of the relationship between the College and the city of which it forms a part.

The Commission will therefore consider themes and issues relating to the history of the College, its donors and memorials; educational access and diversity; and the relationships of the College within the university and city.

It will seek evidence from stakeholders including all sections of the College community, relevant university experts, representatives of organisations such as Rhodes Must Fall Oxford, Oxford City Council, community organisations and citizens of Oxford, and other interested parties.

It will reflect on the deliberations and outcomes of other initiatives around the world which have been or are concerned with the contested legacy of educational and other institutions, particularly those concerned with the legacy of Cecil Rhodes in Africa and Oxford.

Annex 3: Biographies of Commission members

Carole Souter CBE - Chair of Commission

Carole Souter CBE studied Philosophy, Politics and Economics (PPE) at Jesus College, Oxford. She was Chief Executive of the Heritage Lottery Fund/National Heritage Memorial Fund from 2003 to 2016, when she was elected Master of St Cross College, Oxford.

Carole is a Trustee of Historic Royal Palaces, the Horniman Museum, Oxford Preservation Trust, London Emergencies Trust and also Chairs the Board of Visitors of the Oxford University Museum of Natural History. She is a Lay Canon of Salisbury Cathedral.

Peter Ainsworth

Peter Ainsworth was appointed Chair of The Heritage Alliance in December 2018. Formerly an Investment Banker, a Local Councillor and a Member of Parliament, he was Shadow Secretary of State for Culture Media & Sport (1998-2001) and for the Environment, Food and Rural Affairs (2005-2009). He chaired the Environmental Audit Select Committee. He served as Chair of the National Lottery Community Fund until 2019 and was also a Board Member of the Environment Agency for six years. He chaired the Elgar Foundation and Plantlife and was also Chair of the Churches Conservation Trust.

Geoffrey Austin

Geoffrey Austin is Chair of the Oriel Alumni Advisory Committee, the purpose of which is to represent the interests of all alumni and to help foster relations between Oriel College and its former students, former staff and friends. He was previously President of the Oriel Society and, from 2006 until 2011, when it combined with Oriel College, Chairman of the Oriel College Development Trust. He is a Trustee of the Eden Trust, which is responsible for the Eden Project at Bodelva, Cornwall, and a Member of the Childline Board of the NSPCC.

Geoffrey is a Managing Director at Moelis & Company, the leading independent investment bank, where he specialises in advising clients in the media and communications sector. He has over 25 years of investment banking experience and was previously Managing Director and Global Co-Head of Media and Communications Investment Banking at Deutsche Bank and, prior to that, at Hambros Bank. He holds an M.A. from Oriel College, and attended the Corporate Finance Programme at London Business School.

Councillor Shaista Aziz

Shaista Aziz is a former BBC and CNN journalist and a national anti-racism, equalities, and Violence Against Women and Girls campaigner. She regularly writes, broadcasts, and contributes to national and international media on the issues of race, gender, identity and women's rights.

Shaista was elected a Councillor for Rose Hill and Iffley ward in 2018 and is Oxford City Council's Race and Equalities Champion. She is a former international aid worker and has spent more than fifteen years working across East and West Africa, the Middle East, and extensively across Pakistan, predominantly working with women and children impacted by conflict, sexual violence, violence and displacement.

Shaista is a passionate and committed campaigner for the rights of people experiencing rough sleeping and homelessness and in Oxford works closely with women experiencing rough sleeping and homelessness impacted by domestic abuse and other trauma. She is a Clore Emerging Leader Fellow and in 2019 was appointed a Fellow by the Royal Society for the Arts and Manufacturing for her work on advocating for the rights of Black women and women of colour impacted by #AidToo abuses.

Shaista was born and raised in Oxford, generations of her family live in Oxford, and she attended Cheney School. She is the founder of Anti-racist City Oxford, a platform bringing people together to create a truly anti-racist city. Shaista is also Vice Chair of the Fabian Women's Network.

Zeinab Badawi

Zeinab was born in the Sudan - her family moved to London when she was two years old. She studied Philosophy, Politics and Economics at Oxford University and took a Master's Degree (awarded with a distinction) on History and Anthropology at SOAS London University.

Zeinab has been awarded two honorary doctorates: from SOAS, London University and from the London College of Communications - University of the Arts London for her services to broadcasting.

She has worked in the British media for four decades and is now best known for her work on the BBC's 'Hard Talk', and 'Global Questions'.

Through her own production company, Zeinab has produced and presented a major 20-part television series of Africa's history, amongst other programmes. This series explores the history of Africa related by Africans themselves.

Zeinab's many awards include International TV Personality of the Year (the Association of International Broadcasters). In 2018, she was awarded the President's Medal by the British Academy and the MVISA Movie and Video Industry Lifetime Achievement Award, and she has been named several times in 'Power List' as one of Britain's top 100 most influential members of the black community.

Zeinab is the current Chair of the Royal African Society, a trustee of Historic Royal Palaces, BBC Media Action (the charitable arm of the BBC), the Royal Opera House Covent Garden and of Hampstead Theatre.

William Beinart

William Beinart is emeritus professor at St Antony's College, University of Oxford. He completed his undergraduate degree at the University of Cape Town and his masters and doctoral work in Area Studies and History at the University of London in the 1970s. He taught at the University of Bristol (1983-1997) and was Rhodes Professor of Race Relations at the University of Oxford from 1997 to 2015. The position was established in 1954 to study 'race relations' with special reference to Africa and has become an African Studies post. William was chair of the Board of the *Journal of Southern African Studies*, Director of the African Studies Centre at Oxfordchair of the School of Interdisciplinary Area Studies, and President of the African Studies Association of the UK. In 2009 he was elected to the British Academy.

William's research has focussed largely on the history of South Africa and environmental history. Publications include *Twentieth-Century South Africa* (Oxford UP, 2001), *The Rise of Conservation in South Africa* (OUP, 2003), *Environment and Empire* (OUP, 2007, with Lotte Hughes); *Prickly Pear: the Social History of a Plant in the Eastern Cape* (Wits UP, 2011 with Luvuyo Wotshela) and *African Local Knowledge* (Wits UP, 2013 with Karen Brown). He recently completed an overview, with Saul Dubow, on *The Scientific Imagination in South Africa, 1700 to the Present* to be published by Cambridge. Heco-authored the section on South Africa of the Pearson Edexcel A-Level textbook: *Searching for Rights and Freedoms in the Twentieth Century* (2015) and *Rights to Land* (Jacana, 2017 with Peter Delius and Michelle Hay).

Laura van Broekhoven

Laura Van Broekhoven is the Director of the Pitt Rivers Museum, University of Oxford. Laura's research interests focus on collaborative praxis, repatriation and redress, and implementing decoloniality through socially engaged practice. She holds a Professorial Fellowship at Linacre College and is associated with the School of Anthropology and Museum Ethnography at Oxford and co-Chair of the Oxford and Colonialism network.

Margaret Casely-Hayford

Margaret Casely-Hayford was appointed Chair of Shakespeare's Globe in January 2018, the same year in which she was appointed Chancellor of Coventry University. She has been an elected member of the Board of the Co-op Group since 2016.

In 2018, upon ending her term as trustee and Chair of international development charity ActionAid UK, Margaret was awarded a CBE in the Queen's Honours list for services to charity and for promoting diversity. She was also awarded an Honorary Fellowship by Somerville College, Oxford, of which she is an alumna.

Margaret is a trustee of the Radcliffe Trust, which supports the development of skills in classical music and traditional arts and crafts.

She chaired a diversity review of the Carnegie and Kate Greenaway Awards for CILIP (the Libraries Association); and served on a panel that oversaw the 2018 strategic review of the British Council, making recommendations to the Foreign Secretary.

Margaret was Director of Legal Services and Company Secretary for the John Lewis Partnership for nine years. Before that she worked for twenty years with City law firm Dentons, where she had been a partner and jointly led an award-winning team in planning and development work. Margaret is now retired from executive roles.

Margaret's portfolio includes advising young entrepreneurs, supporting and advising organisations on governance and advising those, in particular women and BME or LGTBQ+ people, who wish to embark upon board careers. She is passionate about establishing diversity on boards and is an ambassador of Board Apprentice.

Margaret champions better governance and democratic processes and, this year, was appointed to the Institute of Directors' Governance Advisory Board, and made a Fellow of the Institute of Public Impact.

Margaret is also Chair of the Advisory Board of award-winning Ultra Education, an enterprise which provides teaching of entrepreneurial skills to primary school children, and is Patron of the John Staples Society - a body created across the Leathersellers' Federation of Schools, to develop social mobility by providing opportunities and access.

Michelle Codrington-Rogers

Michelle Codrington-Rogers became the first black National President of the NASUWT Teacher's Union in April 2020. Michelle teaches citizenship at The Cherwell School in Oxford, where she was once a pupil herself.

Michelle, whose parents hail from the Caribbean island of St Vincent, got into teaching citizenship in part due to her love of media, film, and gender and identity politics, which she studied at university. She completed her PGCE at the University of Leicester.

Michelle has been a long-time activist and advocate for the decolonisation of the UK curriculum to include not only a better integration of black history, beyond slavery and the British empire, but also to show greater representation of the current black British experience across all subjects.

Annex 4: Cecil John Rhodes (1853-1902) [text currently on the Oriel College website]

Cecil Rhodes was born in 1853, the son of a clergyman. In 1871 he was sent by his father to join his elder brother and forge a career in Africa.

After a brief period cotton farming, Rhodes followed the rush to the recently discovered Kimberley diamond fields. These, which were worked by numerous small claims holders both African and European, formed the centre of Cape diamond mining. To forge profitable enterprises, Rhodes and other entrepreneurs began to buy out the smaller holders. Early commercial success enabled Rhodes to fulfil his ambition to study at Oxford, where he was admitted to Oriel College in 1873 and took his degree in 1881. He returned to Africa where, by 1885, his mining company, De Beers, had become the largest firm in the region.

Rhodes's activities in Africa, and the vision of empire that he represented, were controversial in his lifetime, and debate has continued throughout the intervening century in public opinion and academic historiography. This brief account seeks to explain something of why Rhodes and his views were and are controversial.

Once small claim holders had been bought out by larger mining companies, those who continued to work for them were forced to accept what are now recognized as exploitative forms of employment [1]. De Beers pioneered the construction of 'closed compounds', where migrant labourers were racially segregated and locked in for the duration of their contracts [2]. In 1881 Rhodes entered Cape politics as an MP, and from 1890-96 was Prime Minister of the Cape Colony. In 1889 the British government under Lord Salisbury awarded Rhodes a charter for a British South Africa Company (BSAC) to expand British interests into south-central Africa. The company's trust deed empowered it to acquire, in these territories, 'all or any rights interests authorities jurisdictions and powers of any kind or nature whatever, including powers necessary for the purposes of government and the preservation of public order' and to use these powers for the purposes of the Company [3]. In practice, the exercise of authority often involved force (as, for instance, against the Ndebele in 1893) [4].

Rhodes was a pragmatic politician. His treatment of educated or powerful Africans, whose support he needed, could be cordial, and he financed a newspaper for a largely black readership [5]. His government also passed the Franchise and Ballot Act (1892) which, by raising the property qualification for voters and introducing a literacy test, excluded most Africans from the franchise.

By the 1890s Rhodes was one of the most powerful men in the British empire [6]. In 1899 Oxford University awarded him an honorary doctorate of law. At dinner in Oriel after receiving his doctorate, Rhodes heard of the college's then poor financial situation and offered to leave it £100,000 in his will [7]. £40,000 of this was to finance the construction of a new building on the High Street; the rest was to support the endowment of Fellowships and other college expenses. The building was completed in 1911 and decorated with a number of statues, including one of Rhodes himself. The bulk of Rhodes's fortune was willed to the establishment of the Rhodes Trust and its programme of scholarships for students from Germany, the USA, and the then British colonies.

After his death, Rhodes's life and legacy continued to divide opinion. Alfred Mosely, a diamond merchant and friend of Rhodes, gained permission from the College to erect a plaque to him on the house in King Edward Street where Rhodes had lived in 1881. Enthusiasm for Rhodes was not universal, however: an alumnus of Oriel wrote of the proposed new building that he 'could have wished it were not Rhodes's statue that should appear above the gate into the High. I am not in love with the "Imperial" spirit' [8].

The nature and coherence of Rhodes's thinking have been much debated and cannot easily be summarized. In some respects he can be compared with other nineteenth-century men of wealth and ambition in the colonial world and the USA. He shared with many others of his time theories of cultural evolution according to which most Africans were not yet ready for equal treatment with Europeans [9]. He became a staunch imperialist and in his 'Confession' of 1877 wrote 'I contend that [the British] are the finest race in the world and that the more of the world we inhabit the better it is for the human race…' [10]. He established the Rhodes Scholarships, however, on the basis that 'no student shall be qualified or disqualified for election … on account of race or religious opinions' [11]. Rhodes was a businessman and a political deal-maker who prosecuted wars in pursuit of his goals. He held late-Victorian ideals of public service, institution-building, and the importance of an educated ruling class.

Rhodes died in 1902 near Cape Town.

More about Cecil John Rhodes: Oxford Dictionary of National Biography

[1] William H. Worger, *South Africa's City of Diamonds: Mine Workers and Monopoly Capitalism in Kimberley, 1867-1895* (Yale UP, 1987), p.108; Charles Feinstein, *An Economic History of South Africa* (CUP, 2005), pp. 62-6.

[2] Robert Vicat Turrell, *Capital and Labour on the Kimberley Diamond Fields 1871-1890* (CUP, 1987), pp. 25-9, 94-9; Marks and Trapido, 'Rhodes, Cecil John', p. 596.

[3] Charter of the BSAC, clause 3. For the full text of the Charter see e.g. www.sahistory.org.za.

[4] Marks and Trapido, 'Rhodes, Cecil John', p. 595.

[5] The *Izwi la Bantu*: Marks and Trapido, 'Rhodes, Cecil John', p. 601-2.

[6] The background to the bequest is described by Ernest Nicholson, 'Hawkins, Monro, and University Reform', in Jeremy Catto (ed.), *Oriel College: A History* (OUP, 2013), pp. 438-9. The following outline of Rhodes's life is based on the biography by Shula Marks and Stanley Trapido in the *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (OUP, 2004), vol. 46, pp. 592-603 (available at http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/35731) supplemented by other materials, and advice from several leading historians of southern Africa.

[7] Jeremy Catto ed., *Oriel College: A History.* Oxford: OUP, 2013, pp. 438-9.

[8] Oriel College Archives, S.H. Scott to Provost Phelps, 10 May 1906.

[9] Marks and Trapido, 'Rhodes, Cecil John', p. 599.

[10] Rhodes, 'Confession of Faith', 1877, cited in John E. Flint, *Cecil Rhodes* (Little Brown, 1974), pp. 248-52.

[11] *Wills and Codicils of the Rt. Hon. Cecil John Rhodes* (OUP, 1929), p. 12.

Annex 5: Historic England listing description:

Location

Statutory Address:

THE RHODES BUILDING (NORTH RANGE), ORIEL COLLEGE, ST MARYS QUADRANGLE

The building or site itself may lie within the boundary of more than one authority.

County:

Oxfordshire

District:

Oxford (District Authority)

National Grid Reference:

SP 51614 06233

Details

612/9/370A

ST MARYS QUADRANGLE The Rhodes Building (North Range), Oriel College (Formerly listed as: ST MARYS QUADRANGLE Oriel College, north range)

28-JUN-72

II*

The Rhodes Building forms the north range of St Mary's (or 'the Third') Quadrangle at Oriel College and was built to house undergraduates and Fellows of the college. It was built between 1909 and 1911 to the designs of Basil Champneys (1842-1935) in a bold Jacobethan style and remains largely unaltered except for modifications to the south-east wing in 1981. In 2010 it provides both student and office accommodation.

MATERIALS: The fabric is of load-bearing brickwork, faced throughout in Clipsham and Weldon ashlar.

PLAN: The main range, of three floors over a semi-sunk basement, runs east-west, fronting the south side of the High Street, with short wings returning southwards at each end. A broad passageway (disused) runs between the quadrangle and the street at ground level.

EXTERIOR: The main elevations are those facing the High Street and quadrangle. The High Street front has a central entrance tower, with two windowed bays to each side, flanked by (slightly) projecting two-bay wings. The lower stage is rusticated, with small mullioned windows to the central section in deep-sunk in broad arches, with larger ones to the wings. The arms of Monro, Sir John Holt (Oriel, 1650s), the College, Bishop Robinson (John Robinson, Fellow, 1670s) and Provost Shadwell are displayed at key points. Above a prominent cornice, the first floor has windows to the wings (mullioned, four equal lights), forming subtly-projecting curved bays, with cornices surmounted by Jacobean cartouches with scrolls. Between the windows stand life-size Portland-stone statues by Henry Alfred Pegram (1862-1937) representing (east to west) William Allen, Cardinal (1532-94, Fellow 1550, Principal of St Mary's

Hall) Walter Lyhert (Provost 1435-46), Edward VII, George V, John Hals (Provost 1446-49), and Henry Sampson (Provost 1449-76). Above a second cornice, the top floor is lit by mullioned four-light windows in scrolled gables. The tower entrance arch is flanked by paired roman Doric columns. Above, statues of Edward VII and George V stand in rusticated niches flanking shallow-projecting bay window, with cartouche and scrolls above. The level above, flanked by paired, un-fluted Corinthian columns, displays a statue of Rhodes himself, under a shell canopy propped by barley-sugar columns. At his feet a relief inscription reads E[X]: LARGA: MVNIFICENTIA CAECILII:RHODES, ie 'Out of the splendid generosity of Cecil Rhodes', the raised letters (here in bold) forming the laborious chronogram LMVIICICILIID (ie, reshuffled, MDCCCLLVIIIIII, ie 1911). The pediment above is interrupted by Rhodes's posthumously-granted arms (Argent within two bendlets a lion passant gules between two thistles stalked and leaved proper), flanked by cornucopia and swags.

The central and two flanking bays of the south elevation, facing St Mary's Quad, are largely similar to those on the north, although with flat-topped the first-floor windows. The statues here, in niches or under canopies are (west to east) Adam de Brome (Rector of St Mary's, founder of Oriel, d.1332); A.G.Butler (1831-1909, Fellow & Rhodes's tutor), Cardinal Newman (1801-90, Fellow), and Archbishop Arundel (1353-1414, Fellow and benefactor); the Arms of Gilbert White, Edward Hawkins (Provost 1828-82), John Keble and Sir Walter Raleigh appear below. The top stage of the gate tower has paired Corinthian columns flanking a window, beneath which is inscribed INCEPTUM MCMIX ABSOLUTUM MCMX (ie begun 1909, finished 1910) with 'GR' and 'ER' underneath. The pediment frames a statue of the Virgin. At the west end of the main elevation is a stair turret, its windows staggered, rising with the stairs. The stair to the east, by contrast, is concealed deep within the building.

INTERIOR: At basement level, the building housed a large purpose-built bicycle store, five single bathrooms, and two strong rooms. The floors above contained undergraduate 'sets' (bedroom and sitting room combinations) and larger apartments for Fellows, now offices. The vaulted ground-floor gate passage contains a memorial to the seventy-eight Orielenses killed 1939-45. Internal detailing is overwhelmingly Queen Anne not Jacobethan, with hints of Art Nouveau. Glazed 'lavatory brick', bare oak and bare stone are prominent in the common areas, notably the stair wells where brown predominates. Modern kitchens, bathrooms and service areas are not of special interest.

HISTORY: The Rhodes Building owes to the initiative and generosity of Cecil Rhodes, intermittently an Oriel undergraduate between 1873 and 1881, whose £100,000 legacy included £40,000 'for the extension to the High Street of the college buildings': £22,500 was to be for building, the rest to replace income from tenements to be destroyed. At Rhodes' death in March 1902 annexation was still blocked by the life-interest of the Principal of St Mary's Hall, which owned the site, but swiftly followed his death a few months later.

Although later sources hint at an initial preference for the architect Thomas Graham Jackson, the Fellows chose Basil Champneys (1842-1935), whose Jacksonesque work of the 1880s, particularly at New College, had evidently impressed them. The appointment was made well before April 1905, when revised plans were received by the Provost, DB Munro. The contractors, signed up in June 1909, were John Wooldridge and George William Simpson of Frenchay Road, Oxford.

The site of the new building was occupied on the street side by an assortment of re-fronted houses (medieval to C18), with shops beneath, and at the rear largely by the Gothic Principal's house of c.1833, projecting well into the current area of St Mary's Quad. The first scheme, presented as sketches only (lost), would have rebuilt only the street frontage, preserved the Principal's house, included a loggia extending the full width of the central section of the new building, and omitted the gate and tower of the later ones. Following further correspondence, the College was presented with a fully worked-up

scheme for which all the drawings survive (scheme 2): in this, the loggia survived in the vestigial form of two arched bays occupying a third of the building's width. The main floors of the east wing and much of the central section, including a five-windowed first-floor 'Gallery' on the street front, were to house the Provost.

In the event, in November 1905, the incoming Provost, CA Shadwell, wished to retain the old Lodgings, which, being at the heart of the college, he felt were better situated. The brief now being rather different, Champneys had been asked by November 1906 to provide a full set of new plans, this time with the proviso that the buildings should be 'architecturally of the character of the original C17 buildings forming the present front quadrangle'. The architect replied with a series of 'Questions for discussion preparatory to new plans for the High Street front', defending his stylistic approach and explaining his aim to realise 'the line which the designer of the original work would have taken had he been called in to meet the new problem'. Shadwell's point-by-point response accepted most of what he said but urged a spending limit of £15,000.

The preliminary design for the third scheme (scheme 3, known only from correspondence), provoked some fundamental criticism. At a special meeting on 2 March 1907 the design was severely criticised, the Dean insisting that 'detailing more in accordance with the style that has become traditional in Oxford, for buildings and for College rooms' was essential to give it a 'good academical character'. The 'style' referred to was Jackson's - the one invented and launched with the building of the Schools (1876-83); it evoked not the Middle Ages but the Renaissance, was championed by the university's reforming tendency, and by 1900 had made its author 'the arbiter of Oxford building'. Subsequentcorrespondence reveals Champney's dogged reluctance to change his designs, but revisions made by 24 April 1907 resulted in the version (scheme 4) eventually signed off by the General Purposes Committee on 23 June 1909. As can be seen, Champney's stylistic concessions were impressively limited. Work must have begun in the summer of 1909, although demolition probably started in the previous year.

Whatever the actual merits of the design, Champneys' intransigence ensured the building a frosty reception from his clients: already reviled on the drawing board, anticipated with foreboding whilst in progress, it was ridiculed on completion. The Oriel Record for March 1910, includes a frontispiece of the street façade and calls it a 'compromise', as did the college Treasurer, also in print; the Record of September 1911 comments that 'The New Buildings are now a fait accompli, and all that remains is to get accustomed to them'. Other critcisms followed, but Evelyn Waugh trumped them all in 1930, suggesting that 'a very small expenditure on dynamite should be enough to rid us forever of... the High Street front of Oriel..' Later commentators, though, including Pevsner and Sherwood (the Buildings of England volume for Oxford (1974)), have been more generous. As a memorial to Rhodes, however, the building was deemed more successful. Shadwell's inauguration speech described it as 'one of the monuments of his splendid generosity to Oriel... [which] ...will stand as the visible monument of the generosity and loyalty of Cecil Rhodes'. By the 1920s the building was being termed the 'Rhodes Building', not, as had at the opening, the 'New Buildings'.

SOURCES: Amory, M ed., The Letters of Evelyn Waugh (1980), 49 Anon, 'College Notes', Oriel Record, March 1910, Vol. 1, no.3 Arkell, WJ, Oxford Stone (1947) Champneys, B, 'The Planning of Collegiate Buildings', RIBA Journal, 16 February 1903, 205-10 Clark, GN, 'Rhodes and his College', Oriel Record (1980), 15-25 James, S, 'Basil Champneys. An underrated Victorian', The Victorian, March 2003, 12-15 Pantin, WA, Victoria County History, Oxfordshire, vol 3 (1954), 129-31 Pevsner, N, and Sherwood, J, The Buildings of England: Oxfordshire (1974) Richards, GC, An Oxonian Looks Back (1885-1945), typescript (1960) Stead, WT (ed.), The Last Will and Testament of Cecil J. Rhodes, with elucidatory notes to which are added some chapters describing the political and religious ideas of the Testator (1902) Watkin, D,

The Architecture of Basil Champneys (1989) Whyte, W, 'Anglo-Jackson attitudes. Reform and the rebuilding of Oxford', The Victorian, March 2003, 4-9 Whyte, W, Oxford Jackson: Architecture, Education, Status, and Style 1835-1924 (2006) Draft extracts from the forthcoming college history by TBF (unpublished), kindly supplied by Dr Jeremy Catto Oriel College Archives (Rhodes Building files, photographs, meeting minutes, correspondence, drawings).

REASONS FOR DESIGNATION: The Rhodes Building at Oriel College Oxford was built 1908-11 to the designs of Basil Champneys, and is listed at Grade II* for the following principal reasons: * Work of major architect: as a design of a significant C19 and C20 architect whose work is now increasingly appreciated * Architectural: the building makes an important, bold, impressive and successful contribution to the interest and variety of the High Street frontages. It represents a new departure in the architect's style, has features of originality and distinction, and was both his last major work and Oxford's last building in this style * Sculptural: the building has an integral and impressive collection of Portland stone sculptural elements and statues, including kings, major figures associated with Oriel and Rhodes himself, all of artistic quality and historical significance to the building * Plan: the internal layout of the building and the inclusion of plumbed sanitary facilities in the basement represent innovations in collegiate architecture and amenity * Intactness: internally and externally the building remains substantially as built * Historic interest: the Rhodes Building, adorned with his statue in pride of place, serves as a major monument to Rhodes, a controversial figure, but of immense historical importance and whose legacies had a major impact on the University.

Annex 6: Ministerial statements, 17 January 2021[96]

Communities Secretary Rt Hon Robert Jenrick MP said:

For hundreds of years, public statues and monuments have been erected across the country to celebrate individuals and great moments in British history.

They reflected the people's preferences at the time, not a single, official narrative or doctrine. They are hugely varied, some loved, some reviled, but all part of the weft and weave of our uniquely rich history and built environment.

We cannot – and should not – now try to edit or censor our past. That's why I am changing the law to protect historic monuments and ensure we don't repeat the errors of previous generations, losing our inheritance of the past without proper care.

What has stood for generations should be considered thoughtfully, not removed on a whim, any removal should require planning permission and local people should have the chance to be properly consulted. Our policy in law will be clear, that we believe in explaining and retaining heritage, not tearing it down.

Culture Secretary Rt Hon Oliver Dowden MP said:

I strongly believe that we should learn from our past – in order to retain and explain our rich history.

The decisions we make now will shape the environment inherited by our children and grandchildren.

It is our duty to preserve our culture and heritage for future generations and these new laws will help to do so.

The new rules will also apply to unlisted historic plaques, memorials or monuments which will also require planning permission and Historic England to be informed.

Annex 7: Statements by Oriel College

Oriel College statement, 9th July 2015

"When Cecil Rhodes died in 1902 he left 2 per cent of his estate to Oriel College, where he had been a student. His legacy helped to fund the construction of a new building, opened in 1911, which is now Grade II* listed. The building frontage included a statue commemorating his benefaction.

Now, over a century after the building was constructed, Rhodes is thought of very differently. The College draws a clear line between acknowledging the historical fact of Rhodes' donation and in any way condoning his political views. Oriel College is committed to being at the forefront of the drive to make Oxford University more diverse and inclusive of people from all backgrounds."

Oriel College Public Statement on the Rhodes Must Fall in Oxford Campaign, 6th November 2015

Oriel is happy to engage with the Rhodes Must Fall in Oxford movement on the important issues they have raised in their campaign. We absolutely support their right to a peaceful protest and Oriel's Vice Provost and Senior Dean collected the petition as arranged on Friday. The College has offered to meet a group of representatives of the campaign in the weeks to come and we hope that they will take up this offer.

Oriel College is committed to being at the forefront of the drive to make Oxford University more diverse and inclusive of people from all backgrounds. Oriel's Governing Body is actively considering how the College can help to improve the representation and experience of BME students and staff in Oxford, and is reviewing how Cecil Rhodes' donation to Oriel is marked, given the way his political legacy is now understood. The College draws a clear line between acknowledging the historical fact of Rhodes' donation and in any way condoning his political views.

Background Information for Editors:

- Cecil Rhodes was a student at Oriel College between 1873 and 1881.
- When he died in 1902 he left 2% of his fortune to Oriel. This funded the construction of a new building on Oxford's High Street, including a statue commemorating his benefaction.
- The entire building, including the statues, is listed, and was upgraded to II* in 2011 following representations from a variety of organisations.

Statement by Oriel College about the issues raised by the Rhodes Must Fall in Oxford Petition, 17th December 2015

For much of 2015, the political legacy of Cecil Rhodes, and the significance of commemorating him, has been the subject of intense attention worldwide. Rhodes was a student at Oxford, and a member of Oriel College, in the 1870s, and left money to the College on his death.

On 6 November 2015, Oriel received a petition organised by the Rhodes Must Fall in Oxford movement, calling for the removal of the statue of Cecil Rhodes from the College's High Street frontage. The petition said that its continued presence violates the University's commitment to "fostering an inclusive culture which promotes equality, values diversity and maintains a working, learning and social environment in which the rights and dignity of all its staff and students are respected".

Cecil Rhodes's historical legacy includes the Rhodes Scholarships programme, which he endowed and which has so far given nearly 8000 scholars from countries around the world the opportunity to study at Oxford. But Rhodes was also a 19th-century colonialist whose values and world view stand in absolute contrast to the ethos of the Scholarship programme today, and to the values of a modern University.

Oriel's Governing Body has considered the petition submitted by Rhodes Must Fall in Oxford, as well as the wider issues it raises, and its response is as follows.

The College's approach reflects three key positions:

- We agree that the representation and experience of BME (Black and Minority Ethnic) students and staff in the University of Oxford, including Oriel College, need to improve and we are committed to being at the forefront of the drive to make Oxford more diverse and inclusive of people from all backgrounds.
- We affirm, as we have in our previous statements on this issue, that the College does not share Cecil Rhodes's values or condone his racist views or actions.
- We commit to ensuring that acknowledgement of the historical fact of Rhodes's bequest to the College does not suggest celebration of his unacceptable views and actions, and we commit to placing any recognition of his bequest in a clear historical context.

We announce today the following steps that reflect these positions of principle:

1) We will put in place a series of substantive actions to improve the experience and representation of ethnic minorities in Oriel. We will work closely with BME students and staff to understand all the issues that need to be addressed. Our actions will include further outreach initiatives focused on potential BME applicants, more support and training on equality and diversity issues affecting students and staff within the College, and fundraising for graduate scholarships at Oriel targeted at specific countries in Africa.
2) Starting in 2016, we will fund and support a series of lectures and other events examining race equality and the continuing history of colonialism and its consequences. The aim of this series is to complement other initiatives in the University and to respond to the desire expressed by many students and staff across the University to see these issues more fully acknowledged and discussed.
3) We announce the following actions in relation to two physical memorials of Rhodes on College property:
    - We are starting the process of consultation with Oxford City Council this week in advance of submitting a formal application for consent to remove the Rhodes plaque on No. 6 King Edward

Street, an Oriel-owned property. This plaque was erected in 1906 by a private individual. Its wording is a political tribute, and the College believes its continuing display on Oriel property is inconsistent with our principles. The plaque is not listed but consent is required for its removal because it is within a conservation area. Our decision to seek consent to remove the plaque is without prejudice to any decision about the future of the statue of Rhodes, covered in the point below.

- The future of the statue raises complex issues, which cannot be resolved quickly. In the absence of any context or explanation, it can be seen as an uncritical celebration of a controversial figure, and the colonialism and the oppression of black communities he represents: a serious issue in a College and University with a diverse and international mix of students and staff, and which aims to be a welcoming academic community. Any changes to the building – including the addition of a permanent information board to explain the history and context, removal or replacement of the statue, or the commissioning of new works of art – would require planning consent. The statue, and the building on which it stands, is Grade II* listed, and has been identified by Historic England as being of particular historical interest, in part precisely because of the controversy which surrounds Rhodes.

  In view of these complexities, the College has decided to launch a structured six-month listening exercise on the statue, running from early February 2016, seeking the views and ideas of students and staff of the College and the wider University, alumni, heritage bodies, Oxford City Council, residents of Oxford, and other members of the public, as we seek a positive way forward. This is a commitment to seek views in as inclusive a way as possible on how controversial associations and bequests, including that of Rhodes to Oriel, and the record of them in the built environment, can be dealt with appropriately.

- In the short term, we have put up a temporary notice in the window of the High Street building, below the statue, clarifying its historical context and the College's position on Rhodes.

The steps we are announcing today are considered actions to address the contentious issue of physical memorials to Cecil Rhodes, and to improve the experience of BME students and staff. We hope that we will receive consent to remove the plaque in King Edward Street and look forward to hearing views and ideas in relation to the High Street statue during the listening exercise. The other actions we are announcing today demonstrate our continuing commitment to being at the forefront of the drive to make Oxford more diverse and inclusive of people from all backgrounds, and to address directly the complex history of colonialism and its consequences. We look forward to working with a wide variety of groups across the University and beyond to take these issues forward as part of our continued commitment to equality, fairness and respect for all.

Background Information:

BME experience

Oriel's work to improve the BME experience contributes to a wider University effort, which includes the work of the Race Equality Working Group towards achieving the national Race Equality Charter Mark in 2017, increased staff training, a more diverse curriculum and a new lecture series on race and the curriculum. Further information about Oxford University's race equality work can be found here.

The King Edward Street plaque

If consent for removal is granted, the Rhodes plaque from King Edward Street will be taken down and stored as a historical artefact.

Listening exercise

The College will conduct a structured listening exercise and will ensure that it achieves wide levels of awareness and input amongst those who may have a perspective.

More information about the listening exercise will follow in the New Year, and we intend to work with a wide variety of groups throughout the University and beyond to take it forward.

Anyone wishing to submit views in advance of the listening exercise may do so to the following address: listening.exercise@oriel.ox.ac.uk

The Rhodes bequest, the High Street frontage and the statue of Rhodes

Cecil Rhodes was a student at Oriel College, intermittently, between 1873 and 1881.On his death in 1902 he left 2% of his estate to the College. This was principally used to fund fellowships and for the construction of a new building on Oxford's High Street. When the building was completed in 1911, a statue of Rhodes was placed above the main entrance overlooking the High Street in recognition of his bequest.

The entire building, including the statues, is listed, and was upgraded to II* in 2011: https://historicengland.org.uk/listing/the-list/list-entry/1046662

Temporary notice

The text of the temporary notice being placed on the High Street frontage of the college is:

This building, completed in 1911, was funded by a bequest from Cecil Rhodes. The statue of Rhodes was erected at the time of construction and is part of a Grade II listed building.*

Many of Cecil Rhodes's actions and public statements are incompatible with the values of the College and University today. In acknowledging the historical fact of Rhodes's bequest, the College does not in any way condone or glorify his views or actions.

Oriel College statement: decision about the Rhodes statue, 28th January 2016

Over the past few months, there has been intense debate about how Cecil Rhodes is commemorated in Oxford, and particularly about the Rhodes statue on Oriel College's High Street frontage. Oriel believes that this issue needs to be addressed in a spirit of free speech and open debate, with a readiness to listen to divergent views. The College's intention, by releasing its statement in December was to open debate and listen to the response. Since that announcement we have received an enormous amount of input including comments from students and academics, alumni, heritage bodies, national and student polls and a further petition, as well as over 500 direct written responses to the College. The overwhelming message we have received has been in support of the statue remaining in place, for a variety of reasons.

Following careful consideration, the College's Governing Body has decided that the statue should remain in place, and that the College will seek to provide a clear historical context to explain why it is there. The College will do the same in respect of the plaque to Rhodes in King Edward Street. The College believes the recent debate has underlined that the continuing presence of these historical artefacts is an important reminder of the complexity of history and of the legacies of colonialism still felt today. By adding context, we can help draw attention to this history, do justice to the complexity of the debate, and be true to our educational mission.

The previously announced listening exercise will focus on how best to place the statue and plaque in a clear historical context. The College will seek expert advice on parallels and precedents, and conduct focused discussions with the College community, including students, staff and alumni. The Governing Body expects to have identified specific proposals by the autumn.

The campaign to remove Oriel's statue of Rhodes has highlighted other challenges in relation to the experience and representation of black and minority ethnic students and staff at Oxford. Oriel takes these very seriously and, as previously announced, is taking substantive steps to address them. The College supports the work the University is doing in this area, and reaffirms Oriel's commitment to being at the forefront of the drive to make Oxford more diverse and inclusive of people from all backgrounds.

Statement from Oriel College on Black Lives Matter Protest, 9 June, 2020

Oriel College abhors racism and discrimination in all its forms. The Governing Body are deeply committed to equality within our community at Oriel, the University of Oxford and the wider world.

As an academic institution we aim to fight prejudice and champion equal opportunities for everyone regardless of race, gender, sexuality or faith. We believe Black Lives Matter and support the right to peaceful protest.

The power of education is a catalyst for equality and inclusiveness. We understand that we are, and we want to be, a part of the public conversation about the relationship between the study of history, public commemoration, social justice, and educational equality. As a college, we continue to debate and discuss the issues raised by the presence on our site of examples of contested heritage relating to Cecil Rhodes.

Speaking out against injustice and discrimination is vital and we are committed to doing so. We will continue to examine our practices and strive to improve them to ensure that Oriel is open to students and staff of all backgrounds, and we are determined to build a more equal and inclusive community and society.

Statement by the Governing Body of Oriel College, 17th June 2021

See Annex 1.

APPENDICES

The following Appendices include some of the work which was requested by the Commission to add to the information available to it from published sources and submissions.

Appendix A: Article on aspects of Rhodes' life and career written by Professor William Beinart in a personal capacity

Appendix B: A review of issues concerning statues and memorials

Appendix C: Discussions with Oxford schoolchildren

Appendix A: Historical Appendix to the Report of the Oriel College Commission on the Rhodes Statue and Diversity within the College

William Beinart, emeritus professor, St Antony's College, University of Oxford

Introduction

History has been central in the debates about the Rhodes statue and other legacies of his donation to Oriel College. The protests by Rhodes Must Fall in 2015/6, renewed in 2020, helped to trigger challenging questions about the relationship between the past and the present and what action should be supported in the present. This appendix briefly explores some evidence about Rhodes as a historical figure.

Rhodes's legacy should be debated. Aside from his very public role in his life time, he quite deliberately set out to memorialise himself and his views, and this project was further pursued by his admirers and protagonists (Maylam, 2005). The Commission appointed by Oriel College requested that I examine evidence about aspects of Rhodes's political impact. This is attached as an appendix under my own name. It is intended neither as a biography, nor as a summary of various constructive and destructive aspects of the career and personality of the 'flawed colossus' (Roberts, 1987). There is a huge volume of biographical work available, as well as an extensive literature on late nineteenth-century southern Africa. References used in this research are given at the end of this appendix.

Rhodes Must Fall, Black Lives Matter, as well as other critics of the statue, and proponents of diversity in the University, made a number of historical claims about Rhodes. These were at the heart of their campaign, which would not have mobilised against the statue if they did not believe them to be valid. This appendix attempts to test and explore just two of the key critiques raised: did Rhodes contribute to, and support, racial segregation in the Cape Colony; and what was the nature of violence deployed by Rhodes and the British South Africa Company in the conquest of Zimbabwe in the 1890s? These issues were central in debates about the statue and are explored in order to provide background evidence in connection with Oriel College's provisional decision to move the statue. This appendix does not try to analyse many other aspects of Rhodes's career that have been the subject of extensive historical writing: his financial dealings; his involvement in diamond and gold-mining; the Jameson Raid; his role in the Tswana-speaking territories; his political relationship with Afrikaners and why he abandoned it; the Cape to Cairo railway; his donations, political gifts and many other issues.

The College must finally decide, in the light of historical material and other criteria, whether it still wishes to have a celebratory, and very public, statue of Rhodes facing the High Street in Oxford. The statue has become a primary symbol through which Oriel faces the world. To clarify: neither Oriel College, nor this appendix recommends that the statue be destroyed or hidden. The Commission discusses methods of contextualising the statue and other Rhodes memorials. My recommendation, based on the evidence presented in this appendix, is that the College should apply for planning permission to move the statue to a place, ideally a museum or a similar site, where it can become part of a critical exhibition on Rhodes and aspects of southern African and imperial history. This would both remove it from a celebratory position and serve to sustain historical debate and research.

The College also asked the Commission to address issues of diversity. Recommendations are made in the Commission report but the historical material presented here may have relevance to this issue. It locates Rhodes in his southern African context. The College should recognise the origins of the money that funded its donation. Oriel should consider aspects of Rhodes's southern African record in

responding to its close identification with him. The Commission recommends that this should take shape in initiatives with respect to posts, student intake, scholarships and academic coverage.

Those defending the statue often argue that historical figures should not be judged by present day standards. Quite clearly, the protests and the appointment of the Oriel Commission are a result of twenty-first century concerns. However, this analysis aims also to include some discussion of Rhodes's options at the time.

Summary

Rhodes did an extraordinary amount in his short life (1853-1902). Hugely ambitious and driven, he made an impact in many different spheres.

Born in England, he arrived in South Africa in 1870, gained a little experience with his older brother on a farm in Natal, but soon migrated to the Kimberley diamond fields in 1871. There he flourished. By 1881 he had bought up sufficient claims to be one of the largest diamond producers. In that year he won election to the Cape Legislative Assembly and also completed a degree at Oriel College, following irregular visits to Oxford over an eight year period.

Rhodes became an increasingly influential member of the Cape parliament and served as Prime Minister from 1890 to 1896. He was the second longest-serving Prime Minister of the Colony and wouldhave been in office longer if he had not staged the Jameson Raid (1895-6, see below). At this time, Rhodes, in his late 30s and early 40s, was at the peak of his power. He was simultaneously: chairman ofDe Beers diamond company, which monopolised production after 1888; joint managing director of Goldfields of South Africa; one of the richest men in South Africa; and managing director of the BritishSouth Africa Company, which colonised Zimbabwe and areas to the north from 1890. It is extraordinary that he was allowed to hold all these positions while Prime Minister but also some indication of the range of activities in which he was engaged, his influence, and his ability as politician, mining magnate, businessman and empire-builder.

With respect to the key areas of focus in this appendix, the evidence shows that Rhodes made a number of important decisions, or supported developments, that intensified racial segregation at the Cape in the late nineteenth century. He had some power to influence an alternative political direction in the Colony but advocated a racially restrictive franchise, punitive racially-based Masters and Servants legislation, a labour (poll) tax for African people only, a segregated local government system and segregation in the South African cricket team. He was involved in the beginning of coercive compounds for black workers and other racially restrictive practices as an employer. To a limited degree a pragmatist in Cape politics, prepared to work with a range of people who would be useful to his interests, Rhodes was a deeply committed British imperialist, intent on white, specifically British, authority and committed to the idea that 'the natives' should be a 'subject race' (Samkange, 1982, 15; Vindex, 1900, 159).

In respect of Zimbabwe, 1890-97, Rhodes and his Company were responsible for extreme violence against African people: unbridled use was made of the Maxim gun; cattle were looted by his Company and its agents on a large scale; in the 1896-7 war, grain stores, crops and gardens were appropriated or destroyed over a sustained period as a deliberate strategy; many Ndebele soldiers were shot in flight; supposed rebels were sentenced and hung or shot without due process of law. Over a period of nine months in 1896-7, African men (including armed men), women and children sheltering in caves were blown up with dynamite, when it was clear that many were being killed. Rhodes was well aware of these practices, at times present while they were taking place and involved in strategic discussion about the wars.

Wars were fought in Zimbabwe in 1893 and 1896-7. Some people in the small settler population and in the colonial forces were also killed especially at the beginning of the conflicts in Matabeleland and Mashonaland in 1896. The casualties overall were in the proportion of roughly 1 white to 40 African in 1893 and 1 to 20-30 in 1896-7. The appendix does not attempt to analyse in detail the causes of these wars, nor the rich historiography that has built up around the colonisation of Zimbabwe. The discussion below suggests strongly that conflict arose as a result of British South Africa Company policies.

Rhodes and Segregation in the Cape

Robert Rotberg (1988, 455), Rhodes's most thorough biographer, who worked hard to understand his complexities, wrote: 'It is not wholly unfair to suggest that Rhodes's legislative victories … proved essential precursors to apartheid'. Rhodes contributed to restricting the vote for black people in the Cape: this has been an important theme in the historiography of late nineteenth-century South Africa – a central element of the shift from Cape liberalism to segregationism. The Cape Colony, finally taken by Britain from the Dutch in 1806, was the largest and most significant of the four settler states in South Africa in the nineteenth century. It was granted representative self-government in 1853 with a non-racial qualified franchise; this was taken forward into responsible government (1872), after which Cape parliamentarians, then all white, could form their own executive.

Rhodes supported two major limitations on the black franchise. The first, in 1887, when Sprigg was Prime Minister, excluded land held in communal or customary tenure from the property qualifications for the franchise. Very few whites held their land in this way but most Africans in the Colony did so. The second Act in 1892, when Rhodes was in office, raised the property qualifications and introduced an educational qualification. This applied to all voters (men only) but had the effect of excluding a higher proportion of black people.

Much of the pressure for this legislation came from the Afrikaner Bond with whom Rhodes made an alliance in order to take office in 1890. Afrikaners (Boers) were the largely white descendants of earlier Dutch colonists and a majority of the white population. But Rhodes clearly shared the view that the black franchise should be curtailed and this was the explicit intention of both Acts. He said in his speech in 1887: 'Treat the natives as a subject people as long as they continue in a state of barbarism and communal tenure; be the lords over them, and let them be a subject race, and keep the liquor from them' (Vindex, 1900, 159). In 1892, he indicated that he would have preferred the much more restrictive Natal franchise (Tamarkin, 1996, 175).

The precise effects of this legislation are difficult to quantify because race was not recorded in voter registration till 1903. The latest analysis by Nyika and Fourie (2020) argues that earlier estimates of the reduction were exaggerated. However, they find that the 1887 Act reduced black voters by 40 per cent in the districts that they have carefully researched. The Act was called *tung' umlomo* (sewing up the mouth) in isiXhosa. Although this spurred voter registration, and the numbers were partly restored by 1891, the 1892 Act again reduced them by over 20 per cent. By 1895 they were down 30 per cent in comparison with 1886. By 1910 roughly 15 per cent of Cape voters were black, the majority of them 'Coloured' rather than African people (Trapido, 1970). They comprised over 75 per cent of the population.

No black representatives were elected to parliament, but they did influence the election of white liberals in some Eastern Cape and Cape Town constituencies. Black voters were not initially organised into a party but found a focus in John Tengo Jabavu's newspaper, *Imvo Zabantsundu.* In this way, the franchise provided some protection and influence in the Colony – for example in respect of defending the franchise, funding for education, opposing pass laws, protecting the right to own land in private

property outside of the customary tenure districts and protecting African customary landholdings. The African common roll franchise was further diluted in 1910, when the Union of South Africa was formed; Cape white liberals insisted that the remnant black vote be retained but it was not extended to the rest of South Africa. Africans lost any franchise on a common voters' roll in 1936, at the height of the segregationist era, and people classified as Coloured finally lost such a vote in 1956, during the early years of apartheid.

Rhodes was not opposed to a small measure of representation in the central colonial legislature for black people. He accepted to some degree that African people could become educated and share in the progress (then a central idea) of the Colony. But at a time when the number of black voters had started to increase significantly, he was in favour of strongly restricting such expansion. He excluded the great majority of Africans from the category of civilised. This included christians with some education and many of those who participated in colonial economy as innovative, small-scale agriculturalists and ox-wagon drivers (Bundy, 1979). In the Transkeian Territories, for example, there had been mission stations since the 1830s and a growing number of Africans with basic literacy. But in the great majority of Transkei districts, land was held in customary tenure so that it was difficult to qualify for the vote.

There were other options at the time. Key white liberals, then still in Rhodes's government, as well as African leaders such as Jabavu, defended the vote although most compromised over the 1892 Act because they saw the alternatives as being even more restrictive. (They left government over a corruption case in 1893.) Cape politics were fluid and not yet tightly divided into parties. In 1898 the Afrikaner Bond went into alliance with white liberals, under Prime Minister W. P. Schreiner, because they shared a common antipathy to the pro-imperial views of the Progressive Party, so closely associated with Rhodes, that seemed to favour war with the Boer-controlled Transvaal.

Much is made of Rhodes's slogan, in various versions, of equal rights for every civilised man south of the Zambezi. It seems that this was first coined in 1896-1897, including the word white, and was promised to white working class men in Cape Town – not all of whom were voters (Bickford-Smith, 1995, 166, 199). In the closely fought election of 1898, Rhodes used a similar slogan about civilised white men in speeches to Afrikaners, whose support he wanted to win back after the Jameson Raid (1895-6). Rotberg (1988, 610-11) affirms it was not initially intended to include African or Coloured people. But when pressed by Coloured voters in Kimberley in 1898, Rhodes responded by generalising the statement and specifying that equal rights should be based on conditions similar to the existing franchise requirements. The slogan was thus deployed after the restrictions on the franchise with no implication that they would be removed for black people.

Rhodes's political pragmatism was also evident in his dealings with African chiefs and politicians. In 1896, he met Ndebele (but not Shona) chiefs in Zimbabwe in a series of indabas in order to resolve the war with them (see below). As Biggar and others have noted, in their defence of the statue, Rhodes briefly funded the Cape newspaper *Izwi laBantu* aimed at an African readership. This arose initially out of a split within African politics, when Rhodes was approached by opponents of Jabavu to assist in financing a rival paper (Odendaal, 2012, 146-7). Rhodes did not support the views of the paper, launched in November1897, but sought black votes in the March 1898 election. He and the Progressive party had fallen out with Jabavu, who worked with Schreiner and the Cape liberals. The Progressives did win a majority of the votes, but lost the constituency-based election. *Izwi laBantu* was later edited by A. K. Soga, who was educated partly in Scotland and a radical in the spectrum of African opinion at the time. Jabavu opposed the British decision to go to war with the Boer republics while Soga, as well as some other African proto-nationalists, defended it.

Rhodes supported a Masters and Servants Amendment (Strop) Bill (1890), proposed by the Afrikaner Bond, that would allow flogging of black servants found guilty of breaking contracts. He was one of the few English-speakers who voted for it, but it was defeated because even some Afrikaner representatives voted against it (Tamarkin, 1996, 140). He also supported racially segregated locations for Africans in Cape Town. At least the pavements remained open in Cape Town, although Africans were barred in 1894 from using them in the new colonial town of Bulawayo, recently founded by Rhodes and Jameson (Ranger, 2010, 24).

The Glen Grey Act (1894) is often mentioned in discussions of the origins of segregation and apartheid. This complex piece of legislation cannot be analysed in full here, but one central feature was the priority to mobilise African workers, following widespread colonial concerns about labour shortages on the farms and in the mining industry. A primary mechanism was the labour tax on every adult African man – in effect a poll tax that would be levied in addition to the existing hut tax on all African household heads. In Rhodes's words, he wished to teach Africans 'the dignity of labour'. The labour tax was little implemented, because Rhodes soon lost his position and officials, as well as his political successors, thought it too draconian and unnecessary. This is another example where Rhodes had a choice in connection with a racially based, discriminatory tax, which was opposed not only by white liberals but Cape officials. A poll tax on African men was introduced by the Afrikaner nationalist Union government in 1925.

The Glen Grey Act also introduced councils, paid for by an additional tax on Africans, which created a segregated system of local government in districts where African people were in the great majority. Rhodes and others saw it at the time as increasing local government responsibility for African people. It did include a restricted element of election and foresaw the political emergence of an educated African elite, rather than placing authority, as in the later British system of indirect rule, in the hands of chiefs. In this latter sense it differed from the apartheid Bantu Authorities Act (1951), which privileged traditional leaders. But councils were underpinned by an evolving Cape policy to set up segregated African reserves. These areas became the geographic base for two of the apartheid Bantustans.

There are also important examples where Rhodes intervened informally to support racial segregation. In the 1880s, some inter-racial cricket was possible (Odendaal et al, 2016) and in 1892, the English touring side played against a team described as Malay in Cape Town. Fast bowler H. 'Krom' Hendricks impressed the English captain, who was quoted in the *Cape Times* as saying 'if you send a team [to England], send Hendricks; he will be a drawcard'. A South African wide cricket association was formed in 1894 and organised a tour of England in that year; Hendricks was enthusiastically proposed by key white cricketers. But the chairman of selectors William Milton, Rhodes's private secretary and future Administrator of Rhodesia, refused to include him. Rhodes later said 'They wanted me to send a black fellow called Hendricks to England … but I would not have it' (Winch, 2014; Bundy, 'More than a Game'). This was a fateful decision, helping to confirm racial segregation in sport when other possibilities were still open and could have been facilitated by a decision to include Hendricks. Later in 1894, Milton intervened to stop the selection of Hendricks for a 'Colonial Born' side to play against 'Mother Country' in Cape Town. Organised sport became a particularly important cultural expression, especially for whites, in South Africa.

Rhodes was deeply immersed in diamond mining at Kimberley for much of his adult life: his role in buying claims, developing technology, marketing gems as well as financing and amalgamating diamond companies has been extensively analysed. Together with others, his company De Beers introduced closed compounds for African migrant workers in the mid-1880s (Turrell, 1987; Worger, 1987). Compounds were initially in part a means of suppressing 'Illicit Diamond Buying', but increasingly they

became a means of reducing costs, mobility, wages and African bargaining power. Black workers were rigorously searched before and after work and their movements restricted during their contracts. Compounds were not imposed on white workers who could live in town – as could the small African elite (Willan, 2018).

In a less restrictive form, compounds were transposed to the Witwatersrand gold fields and became a central feature of the exploitative migrant labour system in South Africa (Wilson, 1972). Successive governments imposed rigorous controls on African freedom of movement by pass laws. Recent participants in debates about Rhodes have called these practices in Kimberley and Johannesburg a form of slavery. Africans were contracted workers, not slaves, and the distinction is important. But their rights as workers were increasingly curtailed and job colour bars formalised; compounds have been seen as coercive institutions at the heart of South African segregation (1910-1948) and apartheid (1948-1994).

With respect to land and conquest, South Africa should be distinguished from Zimbabwe. Rhodes had barely arrived from England when the Cape Colony forcibly annexed the diamond fields in 1871. He was certainly an expansionist, but the great majority of what became South Africa was already annexedby the time he had significant political power. Rhodes did, however, have some role in the colonisationof Tswana-speaking people, not discussed here, and oversaw the annexation of Mpondoland in 1894 -the last independent African kingdom that came under the Cape.

By this time, Rhodes was directly involved in violent conquest in Zimbabwe, where his British South Africa Company's military methods included an early deployment of the Maxim machine gun in warfare (see below). A number of texts report that when he visited Mpondoland in 1894, Rhodes ordered a field of maize to be flattened by machine gun fire in order to demonstrate what would happen to the Mpondo if they tried to fight annexation; this persuaded them to sign the agreement. The story is mentioned, perhaps for the first time, in J.G. McDonald's sympathetic biography *Rhodes: a Life* (1927). McDonald, who claimed that Rhodes was his source of information, is incorrect on some points in that he suggests that the episode preceded the act of submission. In fact Walter Stanford and Henry Elliott, the two key local officials, had already negotiated chief Sigcau's agreement without significant conflict before Rhodes arrived. Stanford (1962), who gives details of Rhodes's visit, does not mention this incident. However the story was picked up in later books, including Monica Hunter's widely circulated anthropology of Mpondoland, *Reaction to Conquest* (1964, 412). It is likely that either Rhodes or McDonald was misremembering, but the latter's account says something about metaphors of power.

James Rose Innes, liberal Cape parliamentarian, and later Chief Justice of South Africa, embellished the story of machine guns and mealies in his autobiography. He added that 'the lane of shattered stalks spoke more eloquently than words … [Rhodes] had killed Lobengula and would kill Sigcau too if he did not mend his ways. He spoke to a cowed and submissive potentate who promptly came to heel' (Rose Innes, 1949, 102, 108). This was written with such conviction, by a man famed for his respect for evidence, that it may seem to lend credence to the incident. Rose Innes worked with Rhodes in the 1890s before distancing himself and may have had first-hand information. But his autobiography was written after he retired as Chief Justice in 1927 and after the publication by McDonald.

While it is possible that clear evidence for the slaughter of mealies may emerge, Rose Innes was probably relaying the story at second hand, and he also exaggerated in saying that Sigcau was cowed. Not only did Rhodes regard the chief as insufficiently submissive at the time (Stanford , 1962), but Sigcau tried to defend his remaining authority in court. It is nevertheless interesting that Rose Innes (1949, 106) saw this period as one in which Rhodes turned to violence and the machine gun, which 'woke in the minds of the possessors of the new weapon - an overweening sense of its importance'.

Rhodes 'publicly displayed that dictatorial and impatient vein with which, in the near future, we were to become familiar' and he moved 'from the constitutionalism of the statesman to the lawlessness of the revolutionary'. Rhodes and Jameson had already become violent adventurers in Zimbabwe and observers increasingly noted his intemperance. Rose Innes, looking back, was also referring to the 'lawlessness' of the Jameson Raid.

At the end of 1895, Rhodes and Jameson tried to orchestrate a simultaneous invasion and internal rebellion by 'Uitlanders' (largely British) in the Transvaal. It failed but it was illegal, highly aggressive and careless. Jameson took Maxim guns but could not use them. Most of the deaths – probably less than 100 – were among the small invading force, which was based on the British South Africa Companypolice and volunteers. Chamberlain, Secretary of State for the Colonies in Salisbury's administration, was party to the raid and encouraged it. It could have precipitated a civil war, when alternatives were again possible. Rhodes had to resign as Cape Prime Minister because he lost the support of the Afrikaner Bond. Having spent much of his political career working with Afrikaners, he helped to polarisewhite society, intensified Afrikaner suspicion of British imperialism and probably made the South African War (1899-1902) more likely. He did not, however, stay out of politics and he supported the British move to war against the Transvaal. Representatives of Rhodes Must Fall associated Rhodes with the concentration camps used in that conflict. This connection is not justified; they were the responsibility of the British army.

Rhodes continued to attract widespread support amongst English-speakers in the Cape. In the 1891 Cape census, 25 per cent of population was recorded as white, of which English-speakers were probably a minority, so that they may not have been much more than 10 per cent of the whole. Yet they were socially and culturally dominant in the cities, in politics, in the professions, in the military and especially in business. Despite this, Rhodes was widely criticised in his time by English-speakers, as well as by Africans - and by Afrikaners especially after the Jameson raid.

Among liberals, John X. Merriman, who was once a friend, and served in the Rhodes cabinet 1890-93, wrote in 1897: 'Rhodes is a curious product of his time. People who compare him with Clive or Warren Hastings are those who take their history from the *Daily Telegraph* or *Tit Bits.* He is a pure product of the age, a capitalist politician … and has neither moral courage nor convictions, but he has the sort of curious power that Napoleon had of intrigue and of using men – the worse they are the better for his purpose which is self-aggrandisement under one high-sounding name or another' (Lewsen, 1963, 254-5). Contrary to Merriman, the comparison with Clive is appropriate: the latter was also committed to conquest for a colonising company and intent on enriching himself while also expanding British interests.

The author Olive Schreiner was initially attracted to Rhodes's modernising ambitions, but turned against his policies, particularly when he backed the Strop Bill of 1890. Her novel, *Trooper Peter Halket* (1897), focussing on the conquest of Zimbabwe, was a sustained attack. She wrote to Merriman in that year: 'we fight Rhodes because he means so much of oppression, injustice, and moral degradation in South Africa' (Lewsen, 1963, 265). John Charles Molteno, son of the first Prime Minister of the Cape Colony, who represented the Thembuland constituency, which had a significant African vote, was an outspoken critic of Rhodes both in relation to the franchise and his imperial ambitions.

Rotberg is justified in pointing to Rhodes's increasing pursuit of segregationist measures at a critical moment when policies in the Cape, at least, could have taken a different route. He advocated restrictions on the black franchise, a punitive tax for African people only, locations for African people in Cape Town, a segregated local government system, segregation in cricket, coercive compounds for black workers only and other racially restrictive practices as an employer.

Conquest and Extreme Violence in Zimbabwe: Background

The arguments in Oxford characterising Rhodes as violent, criminal and even responsible for genocide focused particularly on the colonisation of Zimbabwe by his privately owned British South Africa Company in1890-97. Rhodes's actions in Zimbabwe certainly involved force and violence, when he was at the height of his political power. It seems that as power and wealth concentrated in his hands, Rhodes's sense of urgency, and perhaps his hubris, increased.

Lobengula, the Ndebele king, signed the Rudd concession voluntarily in 1888 although his indunas and chiefs were split and he soon tried to retract. He sent a delegation to England, but the British government decided to enforce the concession. It was an important step in winning support for the British South Africa Company charter in 1889. The Rudd concession covered minerals and not land rights over areas that Lobengula controlled. The pioneer column of 1890, guided by hunter and author F.C. Selous, was an armed invasion and the British South Africa Company went further than this concession in laying claim to land (Ranger, 1967, 31). Jameson, administrator from 1891, was particularly generous in handing out farms. At a time that the Cape government was peacefully annexing Mpondoland and reserving its land for Africans, Rhodes and Jameson were responsible for an aggressive settler colonialism in Zimbabwe that precipitated rebellions.

I will focus largely on two issues. Firstly, the pattern of violence by the British South Africa Company is examined. In view of the debates in Oxford and elsewhere about the character of colonialism in Zimbabwe, this must be a central issue. Secondly, evidence of systematic appropriation or destruction of livestock and grain is illustrated, both of fundamental importance to agrarian societies that had few other means of securing food.

Colonial commentators sometimes gave rough figures for the deaths inflicted on African people in armed clashes and these are included. Estimates are generally fuller for the more dramatic incidents and for battles with the Ndebele, rather than for deaths in Mashonaland where conflict was more diffuse. Some are in government documents, some are from reminiscences by participants such as Selous and Baden-Powell and others are reported in secondary sources from archival records. In the short time available, it has not been possible to consult all sources nor to visit archives.

Assessment of mortality in these conflicts must also take into account losses from conflict-related famine. After the war of 1893, the British South Africa Company organised and facilitated the looting of cattle, central to African diets, on a large scale. The term loot was widely used by the Company; it constituted and staffed a Loot Committee and set up loot kraals in Bulawayo and elsewhere. In 1896- 7 Company forces, and the imperial detachments that joined them, pursued a scorched earth strategy. There are many records of the appropriation of grain and livestock, burning of huts and grain stores, as well as destruction of crops and gardens. Colonial contingents blew up caves where Shona communities had retreated; some of these were also shelters for grain supplies.

Nineteenth-century wars often resulted in a higher number of deaths from disease and famine than from military casualties. This was the case on both sides in the South Africa War of 1899-1902 even though food supplies and medical care were more widely available than in Zimbabwe in the 1890s. The Boers lost about 27-28,000 from disease, largely women and children in the concentration camps, and perhaps 6-7,000 in conflict. Nearly two thirds of British deaths, roughly14,000 out of 22,000, were also from disease, particularly typhoid. It is estimated that 20,000 Africans died, mostly in (segregated) camps. Deliberate scorched earth tactics by the British destroyed food supplies of both Boer and African people. Although the figures are elusive, it is also possible that more people died from war-

related famine and disease in Zimbabwe than from military conflict. Numbers are significant in assessing the character and scale of colonial violence.

Matabeleland 1893

Ndebele people, whose ancestors originated from the peripheries of what became the Zulu kingdom, over 1,000 km to the south, migrated to Zimbabwe in the late 1830s. They established a militarised state, initially by conquest, with a relatively small heartland that was mostly within 80 km radius around Bulawayo. Lobengula succeeded as King in 1868. The Ndebele elite (*abezantsi* –people above) to some degree absorbed subject communities (*amahole*) and they collected tribute from, and raided, smaller chieftaincies on their peripheries.

For 1893, Beach suggests 2,000 Ndebele deaths in conflict, Selous 3,000 and the figure of 3-4,000 is sometimes mentioned. Looking at the figures from the three main encounters, and taking account of smaller incidents, the latter figure seems likely. When they could, Ndebele forces took their injured away with them from the battlefield, and these men, some of whom may have died later, were probably not included in colonial estimates. Additional deaths from famine were reported.

In July 1893, a sizeable Ndebele army moved eastward in order to assert authority over Shona communities who were living on or near settler farms around Salisbury. The Ndebele did not threaten white settlers, but they did disrupt labour supplies and captured a limited amount of cattle. Jameson warned them to leave, which they did. On foot, they were construed to be moving too slowly and a mounted Company patrol fired on them, killing about 10. Jameson thought this incident a legitimate reason for attacking Lobengula, because he believed that the remaining authority of the king potentially undermined Company power. A few months of planning and mobilisation were required; the precise motives of the Company and Rhodes's role have been extensively discussed (Keppel-Jones, 1983). Whatever his initial view, Rhodes backed the decision, agreeing that 'Lobengula has forced this question on us' (Ranger, 1967, 94). He gave Jameson £50,000 for war expenses and one rationale offered publicly was to save the Shona from the Ndebele. Lobengula did not want war, nor was he prepared for it. Whites in the Ndebele heartland were not threatened. Rhodes, who travelled from Cape Town to Zimbabwe in September 1893 (Rotberg, 1988, 440), could at this stage have negotiated, as Lobengulawas requesting.

Instead sizeable contingents of white mounted men were mobilised in Salisbury, Victoria, and Tati in the Bechuanaland protectorate. Recruited from the settlers and from South Africa, they were promised land and loot. Colonial forces were supported by African auxiliaries including armed Shona men. In October the Company sent a formidable force, equipped with Maxim guns, from Salisbury towards Bulawayo – then still Lobengula's home and main military encampment. The Ndebele did have a substantial number of rifles, but - as in the case of the Zulu in 1878-9 - they had not succeeded in adapting their military strategies. 'Instead of breaking up their army into small, mobile units, trained to make full use of cover, relying on surprise and speed, and ready to wear down the white man in the bush, they continued to use the old "chest-and-horn" …formation' (Gann, 1965, 116).

On 25 October 1893 the advancing Company army, moving into the Ndebele heartland, set up camp at the Shangani River, about 80 km from Bulawayo, where they were attacked by Ndebele forces generally estimated at 5-6,000 men. In a battle that lasted about four hours, the Ndebele made very little impact and were mown down by the Maxim guns. Most sources, drawing on reports from contemporaries, as well as Hole, a key official under Jameson (1926, 308; Keppel-Jones, 1983, 271), give between 500 and 600 Ndebele casualties; one white man was injured and six wounded; a number of African auxiliaries were killed.

Advancing further, Company forces were attacked again on 1 November 1893 at Bembezi, about 30 km from Bulawayo. Hole (1926, 309) recorded 7,000 Ndebele men involved and very heavy casualties. He mentions that the Imbezu (Imbizo) regiment alone was estimated to have lost 500 out of 900. Subsequent sources often estimate Ndebele deaths at 800. If it is correct that one regiment suffered so badly then it may have been more. While the Imbizo were at the forefront to the attack, other regiments were involved. Again the Maxim guns were, together with rifle fire, the overwhelming factor in the battle; colonial forces lost four killed and seven wounded. 'The carnage lasted not much more than an hour, and it decided the fate of Lobengula's kingdom' (Keppel-Jones, 1983, 274). These two battles were among the first where Maxim guns were used – but only by one side.

Lobengula and the inhabitants of Bulawayo retreated northwards and torched their settlement. On 3rd November 1893, F. R. Burnham, an American fighting with the Company forces, saw hundreds of 'beautifully woven Matabele huts' go up in flames (Ranger, *Bulawayo Burning*, 2010, 14). The ammunition store blew up and the material culture of the capital was largely destroyed. There were probably no deaths in the occupation of Bulawayo, but a column was sent northwards on 16thNovember to capture the king. It moved slowly and a section under Allan Wilson went ahead, withouta machine gun, to encounter the Ndebele army at Pupu near Lupani, about 150 km north of Bulawayoon 4th December.

With the king probably close at hand, the Ndebele attacked Wilson's patrol of 34 men. They were able to defend themselves effectively with rifles and pistols for much of a day until all were killed. Welsh missionary Bowen Rees, at Inyathi, recorded that 'a great number of the Matabele perished in the same battle'. Mjaan (Mtshane Khumalo), a leading Ndebele general, told Rhodes about the encounter a few years later at a Matopos indaba. Perhaps 300 to 400 Ndebele were killed (O'Reilly, 1970, 100) and this was confirmed in other later interviews. Lobengula himself died, probably early in 1894.

It seems likely that at least 2,000 Ndebele men were killed in these major battles. If other smaller incidents and later deaths are included, it is possible considerably more died. Moreover, thousands suddenly migrated northwards with some cattle, but with inadequate food supplies. Selous (1896, 46) wrote: 'Short of food, and living like wild beasts in the rocks and forests, with all the bitter discomfort which such a life entails even on savages during the rainy season in a sub-tropical country, .. [they] saw their women and children sicken and die day by day'. Ndebele soldiers in turn tried to appropriate food from people who lived on these northern fringes of the former kingdom, creating further insecurity (Alexander et al, 2000).

No peace agreement was made. The new Company town of Bulawayo was quickly laid out very close to the old. Though it was not an ideal site, because of lack of water, Rhodes and Jameson wished to underscore the conquest. Rhodes encouraged Jameson to behave 'as the conqueror he was' and 'parcel out Ndebele lands and cattle without waiting for permission from London' (Rotberg, 1988, 448).More than 1,000 large farms were pegged around Bulawayo, an area around the size of Wales, and although most were not immediately occupied, many Ndebele returning to their homes after the war were informed that they were trespassing on European farms (Keppel-Jones, 1983, 391). Rotberg (1998, 448) wrote that 'comparatively quickly the defeated Ndebele were shunted onto outlying, badlywatered, unsuitable lands and condemned to the kind of penury which would make revolt imperative.Whites occupied the whole of the rich terrain around Bulawayo…Africans suddenly found themselves dispossessed, subject to white landlords (because few moved readily into the reserves) and reduced in every imaginable status, income, and attribute'. By no means all were displaced and most of the new landholders did not immediately begin to use their land, but control of resources in the old heartland had changed rapidly.

Cattle and Famine in Matabeleland: 1893-5

The core of the Ndebele kingdom around Bulawayo was good cattle country, free of tsetse fly and trypanosomiasis, and cattle were at the heart of the economy. Estimates vary of their livestock holdings before the war of 1893 and it is not always clear which specific area and people are included. David Carnegie of the London Missionary Society, based at Hope Fountain, close to Bulawayo, estimated that they held about 280,000 cattle (Ranger, 1967, 37-8, 106). He was sufficiently well informed to write a book (*Among the Matabele*, 1894) and was not particularly sympathetic to Ndebeleindependence, so unlikely to exaggerate. Frank Sykes, who worked as an ox-wagon driver in the area, later fought in, and wrote a book about, the 1896-7 campaign, suggested about 250,000. Keppel-Jones(1983, 398), perhaps the most thorough historian of this period, notes that early in 1894, Rhodes gavea '"rough estimate" of 200,000 in the country'. It is probable that there were at least 200,000 cattle inthe Ndebele heartland. With perhaps 100-120,000 people, this is not an unlikely figure compared to similar African societies.

Sabelo Ndlovu-Gatsheni (*Ndebele Nation* 2009) shows that the looting of the cattle began with the invasion of the Ndebele state in October 1893 and was systematised after their defeat in November. Lobengula and the remaining core of his army could take only limited livestock as they retreated northwards and they lost control of their heartland. There were direct seizures by the British South Africa Company and by the volunteers who fought for the Company in the war. 'Loot kraals' were established in Bulawayo and elsewhere. At the same time livestock were taken by the former *amahole*, some descended from pre-Ndebele societies, as also by Shona people beyond the peripheries of Ndebele state. 'Unscrupulous traders' took cattle as far as Botswana and South Africa where they were sold (Keppel-Jones, 1983).

Ndlovu-Gatsheni (2009, 148-9) has used Zimbabwean archives to detail the role of specific individuals: Schultz took over 2,000 head of cattle from Baleni's area near Shiloh; Dawson, nearly five hundred; Goold-Adams of the Bechuanaland Border Police used patrols to loot about 2,000 in the western and northern parts of Matabeleland in February 1894. *The Matabeleland Times* reported in May that a detachment of about 25 British South African Police with a Maxim gun left 'to suppress those refractory natives who refuse to give up their cattle and arms'. Over five thousand Ndebele cattle were auctioned by Napier, Weir and Slater in June 1894 and the British South Africa Company supplied Combrinck and Company, the largest butchers in Cape Town, at cheap prices in July.

The Company used the fiction that all cattle had belonged to Lobengula and that therefore all the remaining cattle belonged to the company by right of conquest. In July 1894, a Commission headed by Joseph Vintcent, newly-arrived judge from the Cape, was appointed to demarcate reserves for the Ndebele and to arrange the distribution of remaining cattle among them. In 1895, the Vintcent Commission reported that they had counted about 74,000: 55 per cent or about 41,000 were earmarked for Ndebele private owners and 33,000 (45 per cent) were to be retained by the Company potentially for distribution or loot. They were registered and branded.

Carnegie thought that the Ndebele had lost 200,000 cattle and Keppel-Jones (1983, 398) accepted that this was near to the mark. Other more conservative estimates suggest that it was something over 100,000. Some homesteads who previously had little control over cattle, only 'milking rights', probably benefitted but on the whole numbers were drastically reduced especially for those who held political power beforehand. The 33,000 retained for company use, temporarily in the possession of African people, were not secure. Each Native Commissioner was expected to send 50 head from his district monthly for the use of the Company, and this number was considerably increased at times. 'Thus the

natives speedily understood that their cattle — the food of their children — were fast disappearing, and as far as they knew would soon all be gone' (C. 8547, 31-2, Carnegie to Martin).

Taxes had to be paid and in the early years these were sometimes in a kind of tribute of maize and livestock (Gann, 1965,124). Younger men, including some from the *amahole* or those who served with the colonial forces, were appointed as 'Native Police' and they provoked particular bitterness. Sykes (1897, 223) quoted chief Sikhombo as complaining: 'the young men….left their kraals, enlisted, and came back the masters of their fathers, and their indunas outraged the women, stole the cattle, and lashed their betters, without rhyme or reason. These men were the chief cause of the mutiny'. Thousands more cattle were purloined by traders.

In February 1896, the devastating African rinderpest panzootic hit Zimbabwe. A strategy then believed to halt its progress was to slaughter infected herds before it spread from them. Hole (1926, 348-9) recorded that the 'Veterinary Officers of the Government advocated the destruction of all teams and herds of cattle in which the infection showed itself, and unfortunately this advice was followed. Thousands of healthy cattle were shot, including many of those which had been allotted to the natives under the recommendations of Mr Vintcent's Commission'. Sykes (1897, 8) explained that the shooting of cattle to contain the outbreak, 'impressed upon the indigenous peoples that the white man had returned their cattle only to kill them "as an act of spite".'

Blake (1977, 123), a conservative historian, wrote : 'By 1897 there were less than 14,000 head of cattle in African possession in the whole of Rhodesia. Four years earlier there had been over 200,000 in Matabeleland alone. This is a measure of the catastrophe'. He probably exaggerated the losses, because those further from white settlements and transport routes were able to isolate their livestock from looters and rinderpest. But for at least four years, a society in which cattle had been central experienced a shattering loss. This had a major impact on their most important source of protein, in the shape of soured milk, and on meat supplies, at a time when diets were fragile due to war and the disruption of the agricultural cycle.

Socially and politically this also fragmented the society. Gatsheni (2009, 148) contests views that the impact on the Ndebele was limited: 'Cattle played a fundamental role in sustaining Ndebele life. Cattle sustained the institution of *amabutho*, they enhanced the legitimacy of the kingship through the king's powers to distribute cattle to his subjects, they enhanced the client-patron relationships in the state, and they played a fundamental role in the Ndebele religious system. Added to this, cattle were a source of national wealth and determined status of individuals in the Ndebele state. Some tributary communities were loyal to the Ndebele State because they were given cattle. The looting of the cattle was therefore a blow to everything in the Ndebele way of life.'

After 1893, the Ndebele were deprived of their king, his capital and significant parts of their homeland. Some were initially able to stay on appropriated land and or to move back to the large farms carved out for settlers as only a limited number were used by colonists for agriculture. To compound the loss of cattle, those on farms had to provide labour and pay tax.

The war of 1893 cast a long shadow in loss of land and cattle as well as the disruption of agriculture. The arrival of rinderpest and poor harvests in some areas created a new crisis of subsistence in the early months of 1896 when famine was again reported. Depending on the specific timescale and area involved, it is likely that there were 4-5,000 deaths from war and war-related famine amongst the core Ndebele nation, estimated at about 100-120,000 people, from 1893 to early 1896. It is possible, as suggested by Selous, that more women and children died – and there may be archives that can inform a fuller assessment (Iliffe, 1990). Those who lived further from the heartland, including the former

subjects and clients of the Ndebele, probably did not suffer so severely. Rhodes had alternative options at the time both to negotiate with the Ndebele in 1893 and to curtail the looting of livestock.

The War of 1896-7: Background

In 1896-7, the military encounters continued for about 15 months, and involved many African societies in the areas called Matabeleland and Mashonaland by the new colonial state. We should be cautious about the names Ndebele and Shona. Both of these areas included diverse political and ethnic communities. There was not a single co-ordinated strategy by Ndebele-speaking people and this applied even more so to the many small chieftaincies in the eastern part of the colony called Mashonaland, where political authority was devolved. My discussion does not address the complexities of African political authority, nor the extensive historical writing about which African groups fought, why they fought, and the significance of African religious movements in the war. It focusses very largely on the nature, scale and cost of colonial violence.

Beach (1990b, 55) suggests 5-10,000 deaths in these protracted military conflicts and Gann (1965, 140) gives 8,000. Both were thorough historians, immersed in the sources, although neither goes in detail about fatalities. Assessment of overall deaths must again take into account losses from starvation and famine. The Company's forces, and the imperial detachments that joined them in 1896, deliberately pursued a scorched earth strategy. There are many records of the burning of huts and the destruction of crops and grain stores. Wikipedia gives total losses as 50,000. I will return to these figures and the deaths from famine.

In addition to undermining African capacity to resist, the capture of grain was valuable for Company and British troops, who sometimes had to feed themselves and also had to provision their horses, critical to their campaign (Baden-Powell, 1896, 24). It was difficult to bring grain to Bulawayo, because the railway still reached only to Mafikeng, about 10 days journey by mule coach and more by ox-wagon. Rinderpest had reduced access to oxen. Some supplies were brought to Salisbury via Beira.

After 1893 the remaining Ndebele chiefs and military leaders had some command over fighting men, and despite the colonial view that ordinary people were keen to throw off their yoke, they found surprisingly widespread, though by no means universal, African support. In March 1896, they attacked African police and also settlers around Bulawayo of whom about 150 were killed in March/April. Most of the rest of the white population, together with some African allies, particularly immigrants from South Africa, withdrew into laagers in Bulawayo, Gwelo, Belingwe and Mangwe.

In the Company and settler writing about this war, there was great emphasis on 'murder' by Africans, especially of white women and children. This term is not used when Africans were killed, even in relation to the far greater number of African women and children who succumbed. In Selous's lists (1896), he records 23 women and children out of 155 Europeans killed before the main military engagements with the Ndebele and 4 in the additional list of 56 who were missing - about 27 out of 211. Hole (1926, 357), reported that official records showed that 'few' women and children were killed in March/April 1896 – 16 out of 143. (Both figures exclude combatants.) This evidence suggests that some constraint was shown.

During the first indaba in the Matopos, in August 1896, Rhodes responded to Somabhulana's forceful statement of Ndebele history, and criticism of colonialism, by asking 'why had they murdered women and children?' (Keppel-Jones, 1983, 500). Somabhulana countered by asking 'who commenced the killing of women' and gave the example of four African women shot by tax collectors. Colenbrander, translating, told Rhodes that this was true and that he should drop the topic if he wanted to secure a peaceful outcome. Rhodes did so.

Nevertheless, Selous (1897, 30-1) reflected broader white sentiments in claiming that the Ndebele attacks 'excited a desire for vengeance, which could only be satisfied by a personal and active participation in the killing of the murderers. I don't defend such feelings, nor deny that they are vile and brutal when viewed from a high moral standpoint …passions which can only be understood by those Europeans who have lived through a native rising, in which women and children of their race have been barbarously murdered by savages; by beings whom, in their hearts, they despise; as rightly or wrongly they consider that they belong to a lower type of the human family than themselves.

I offer no opinion upon this sentiment, but I say that it undoubtedly exists, and must always aggravate the savagery of a conflict between the two races; … the murder of white women and children, by natives, seems to the colonist not merely a crime, but a sacrilege, and calls forth all the latent ferocity of the more civilised race'.

In his view, this produced a 'war of retaliation, … waged with … merciless ferocity'.

The War against the Ndebele in 1896

On this occasion the Ndebele armies did modify their tactics. They camped at some distance from Bulawayo, using rifles to snipe at colonial forces when they left the laager, and avoided direct confrontation. In this context, Maxim guns were valuable in ensuring that the laagers were well-defended but less decisive in the many 'skirmishes' that resulted as Company patrols sought out Ndebele contingents. Maxim guns and artillery were used but this war was largely won by white mounted men with rifles, together with valuable African allies – particularly trained and paid black South African soldiers. Unlike some South African chiefdoms in the nineteenth century, the Ndebele do not seem to have incorporated horses.

There were many more dispersed encounters than in 1893 and mounted platoons were regularly sent out from Bulawayo. As Selous (1896, 64) wrote in his revealing but deeply disturbing record 'I have stated plainly that we fired on these [Africans] at sight, and that although they offered no resistance, but ran away as hard as they could, we chased them and kept on firing at them as long as we could see them, and this action may possibly be cited as an example of the brutality and inhumanity of the Englishmen in Rhodesia'.

In early April 1896, one Company contingent lost 7 men, 20 wounded and 33 horses in 6 hours of fighting (Selous, 1896, 122-3). But helped by a Maxim they estimated that they killed and wounded between two and three hundred. Another patrol, starting on 4th April, was attacked by about 2-300 Ndebele soldiers: 'Colonel Gifford then opened on them with the Maxim at about 600 yards, and this quite quenched their military ardour'. During their retreat, they were attacked, losing twenty or thirty. On Easter Monday 6th April, Gifford's platoon fired on another group of Ndebele and Selous was told that 'the patrol killed at lowest 200 of the enemy, and many more must have been wounded'. By collecting information on each episode of this kind, it is possible to build up some picture of military losses. From 30th March to 9th April, for example, it seems that about 600 Ndebele were killed in sorties made from Bulawayo.

On 10th April, three African men accused of being rebels were arrested, quickly condemned to death, and hanged, their bodies left dangling from the branches of a tree in Bulawayo, as a warning. At least 6 more were hanged soon afterwards 'tried in a somewhat rough-and-ready fashion'. A photograph of the three bodies, with a row of white onlookers behind them, was used in the first edition of Olive Schreiner's *Trooper Peter Halket* (February 1897). Davidson (1984, 214-5) reproduced it in his biography of Rhodes and suggested that it left 'a profound impression' on readers. Massie (2016) quotes the *Guardian* of that time: it 'is very horrible …but we cannot blame the author or publisher

for giving it here. It is only through such shocks that English people can be roused to a sense of the degradation which England is suffering in South Africa'.

Rhodes arrived direct from England, landing at Beira to avoid an enquiry into the Jameson raid in Cape Town. He travelled via Salisbury, joining a relief force to Gwelo laager in early April. There he took on the informal role of 'colonel', to provide leadership for the disparate military groupings, and engaged in operations (Keppel-Jones, 1983, 456). Addressing settlers and soldiers in Gwelo, he was reported to say 'it was intended that no time should be lost in thoroughly thrashing the natives and giving them an everlasting lesson' (*Evening Express*, Wales, 8.5.1896).

On 21 May 1896 a strong mounted patrol routed a Ndebele *impi* at Tabas Induna twelve miles from Bulawayo and met up with Rhodes. Selous (1896, 192) again participated, helped drive many into the bush and 'when it was at last abandoned a long line of corpses marked the track where the whirlwind of the white man's vengeance had swept along. *Vae victis!*—"woe to the conquered!"—woe indeed; for amongst the men who took part … were [those] determined to use their opportunity to the utmost to inflict a heavy punishment'. This single incident probably resulted in the death of 300-500 Ndebele and it is likely that losses were more than 1,000 in May.

The pattern continued in June with a focus on Ndebele contingents near the Umguza river, close to Bulawayo. Kraals were burnt and a good deal of grain destroyed. On 6th June about one thousand armed Ndebele were forced to retreat and, running into the bush, they were shot by men on horseback.Selous (1896, 224) records 'in the chase which followed, a large number of them were shot down …I am of opinion myself that the Matabele lost more heavily on this occasion than at any other fight duringthe campaign, for the very reason that it was not a fight but only a pursuit in which the natives were killed as fast as they were overtaken'. Baden-Powell (1901, 60) estimated that 'at least fifteen indunasand two hundred men' died. But if Selous is right, then many more would have died. Baden-Powell photographed a dead man whom he said had nearly shot him, and kept his knobkerrie.

On July 5 1896, colonial forces attacked Intaba zikaMambo a rocky area about 80 km north east of Bulawayo, which served as a refuge and where some of the remaining Ndebele army had retreated. Plumer was in command of 750 white and 200 black troops with Maxims and seven-pounder guns. Rhodes accompanied the column. 'Everywhere it was a bloody fight, often at close quarters' (Keppel-Jones, 1983, 459). Plumer lost about eighteen men killed and fourteen wounded and estimated Ndebele losses at about a hundred. Another account of Intaba zikaMambo (Sykes, 1897, 147-8) describes fires being lit at the mouths of caves into which people had retreated and vegetation dropped into flames in order to smoke people out. Six hundred women and children were persuaded to give themselves up. Subsequently 'as the suffocating smoke penetrated into the recesses, there was a general rush of concealed rebels to escape, and no sooner did they appear, amidst the flames and smoke, than they were shot down'. These appear to be deaths additional to those in the fighting. Sykes reports that Plumer's force took as loot about 1,000 cattle and 2,200 goats and sheep.

Vere Stent, the *Cape Times* correspondent who was present, thought that the battle at Intaba zikaMambo shocked Rhodes (Blake, 1976, 135; Rotberg, 566), not least because he saw the costs to colonial troops when the Ndebele had well-entrenched defensive positions. Imperial authorities tried to offer a qualified form of amnesty but it was clearly not trusted (or known). Instead colonial forces mounted a similar attack on the last significant Ndebele stronghold in the Matopos, south west of Bulawayo, with over a thousand troops. They joined battle on 20th July and, according to a prisoner, the Ndebele losses were heavy: a 'large number of their best men killed, including five chiefs and Nuntwani, their general, severely wounded in the leg' (Keppel-Jones, 1983, 461). A further assault wasmade on the main Ndebele stronghold on 5th August, which was less successful.

These battles in June and July, with at least four major incidents, probably resulted in another thousand deaths or more, as well as much looting and destruction of food. At this time, Carrington, head of the imperial troops, reported that a patrol to Nyamandlovu, the district to the west of Inyathi, captured all the grain they could took take - 72,000 lbs (360 bags, which were usually measured at 200lb, or about 12 wagon loads) (Keppel-Jones, 1983, 519, note 30). Nyamandlovu and Bulawayo were part of the same district in the Ndebele heartland and both subject to intense conflict. Iliffe (1990, 24-5) argues that 'famine became the core of the Company's strategy'. Famine was taking its toll. In August 1896, a captive taken in the Matopos said 'many women and children had already died for want of food'.

Bulawayo was not the only centre of operations. Tyrie Laing (1897) wrote about his sorties from the Belingwe laager, about 150km to the east. He records (133-4) destroying the kraals of a chief whom he called *amahole*, probably Karanga-speaking, and another expedition against Selemba where the 'enemy's loss was not estimated; it would have taken too long to find out in the thick bush, but it was pretty severe'. Elsewhere an old woman was recorded as saying that they shot the leaders, 'scattered everybody and destroyed all our kraals' (Laing, 1897, 224-5). After another encounter, 40 were seen dead. His column discovered a 'large quantity of grain, hidden away in the thickest part of the bush…stored in grass bags, each of which contained about two ordinary sacks full of grain… This was a most welcome and valuable discovery in more ways than one, because it not only enabled us to replenish our stock of food for the horses and mules, but it reduced the rebels' store to a very considerable extent' (Laing, 1897, 248-9). In July 1896 he went to assist in the Matopos and was attacked at Inugu. Although his position was defended with machine guns, artillery and rifles, his contingent lost 4 whites, 6 severely wounded and 27 Africans allies killed or missing (Laing, 1897, 296). He did not estimate Ndebele losses in his book but a report in a British newspaper recorded 90 (*Evening Express*,Wales, 24.7.1896, from High Commissioner, Cape Town).

Adding Laing's operations in these four months, April to July 1896, to those already noted (roughly 600 in April, 1,000 in May and probably more in June/July), perhaps over 3,000 were killed in conflict. There were other patrols that have not been included.

It was after these battles that Rhodes decided to negotiate. He was well aware that some Shona chiefs had, surprisingly to the Company, rebelled. Moreover, Rhodes was counting the costs of the campaign against the Ndebele both in money and men. It would be costly to lay siege to so large an area as the Matopos and starve the remaining African contingents out. Ndebele leaders, who represented disparate groups were receptive. They were stalked by famine and Rhodes emphasised this in the Indabas starting on 21st August. Hole (1926, 375-6) recorded that for some months the Matabele suffered severely from famine, but after the four indabas were completed, the administration distributed grain and seed, as the new sowing season approached. With access to the press, Rhodes was able to shape the narrative of the war, his central role in peace-making and his generosity in supplying grain. This narrative still has some purchase.

The war in Matabeleland did not cease during the negotiations. In September 1896, Baden-Powell (1901, 287ff) went on patrol north of Bulawayo to an area under a minor chief Uwini. There had been an encounter before he arrived and Baden-Powell thought (probably wrongly) that Uwini, wounded and captured, was a key religious leader whose death might encourage a more general surrender. British and Company forces believed that such leaders had strong influence in sustaining resistance. The American scout Burnham had recently assassinated a man, believed to be a religious leader, in the Matopos, with the same intent. (Burnham is also reputed to have enthused Baden-Powell about the ideas and practices of scouting.)

Baden-Powell (1901, 297-9) subjected Uwini to a quick trial and then had him executed near his former stronghold in front of 'all the natives in camp, both friendlies, refugees, and prisoners' for the 'moral effect'. On this occasion, there were repercussions. The High Commissioner in Cape Town, concerned about the conduct of the war, especially after the recent execution of Shona chief Makoni, had instructed Carrington, head of imperial troops, that African prisoners should not be subject to such summary punishment. Baden Powell (1901, 290), suggests that he did not know this, but Carrington was ordered to initiate a court martial. Sykes wrote at the time that 'the ferocity exhibited on several occasions by the captors towards their victims was anything but an edifying spectacle' and he described an incident where a trooper put a noose around a captive's neck and made him run behind his horse, 'with no other motive than sheer brutality' till he died. Keppel-Jones (1983, 463) records other acts of summary justice, including the shooting of a woman accused of spying.

Some of Uwini's men tried to hold out and Baden-Powell ordered guards to prevent their access to water. Two, perhaps more, were shot, when they tried to quench their thirst and this strategy persuaded some to surrender. 'Large stores of grain' were captured and on this occasion prisoners were taken (Baden Powell, 1901, 301). There was acute food shortage in the area and Baden-Powell also captured women and children in order to prevent them acting as carriers of grain to African fighters. For the rest of September, this patrol moved along the Umvungwe and Shangani rivers, and into the Somabula forest where they believed that Ndebele soldiers had taken refuge. There were few encounters: a village was burnt, 20 Africans were killed in one incident and they blew up a cave shelter. Baden-Powell's court martial took place in Gwelo in late October 1896; the British military court exonerated him.

The War in Mashonaland, 1896-7

The region called Mashonaland was divided into a number of relatively small independent chieftaincies, which in Company thinking were not seen as a military threat. Detailed historical research explains why many rebelled, beginning on 18 June 1896 in the Hartley area of Western Mashonaland (Ranger, 1967; Beach, 1971, 1979; Cobbing, 1977). About 120 whites, including several women and children, were killed in the first few days and the road from Salisbury to Bulawayo temporarily blocked.

A laager was formed in Salisbury and a similar pattern evolved, with colonial forces patrolling out to attack different African chieftaincies and communities. There were few offensive actions by Africans, the rebellion did not involve all of the chieftaincies in the area, nor did they act simultaneously (Beach, 1979). Rhodes did not think it was necessary to make peace with them and 'they were forced into capitulation by the harshest punitive measures' (Davidson, 1984, 309). Such measures preceded the uprising: J.S. Brabant, chief Native Commissioner for Mashonaland, employed strong arm tactics in collecting taxes in 1895, including flogging, burning down villages and the confiscation of livestock (Rotberg, 1988, 553).

From the sources currently consulted, it is more difficult to describe the military encounters systematically, or to provide estimates of deaths. Caves and shelters among the boulders that characterised Zimbabwean hills and mountains were well-known to communities and been used previously as refuges. When there were faced with military threats, they often retreated to these areas. The written records suggest that both villages and these rock and cave shelters were systematically attacked.

In July 1896 patrols were sent out from Salisbury to Enkeldoorn (Chivhu) where they were joined by Afrikaner settlers (Beach 1971, 396-7). De Moleyns, commanding a new force in Mashonaland, led them against chief Chesumba, about 12 miles from Salisbury, who had retreated to a koppie with

boulders and some stone barricades. De Moleyns called out for the chief to surrender but instead was fired at, with the loss of two police. He then used dynamite, a strategy transferred from South Africa – and a material that was available from mining operations: 111 men and 500 women and children gave themselves up.

In August 1896, other villages and fortified shelters were destroyed. A patrol from Salisbury attacked Makoni, one of the leading Shona chiefs, and killed about 60. Most of his people retreated into caves; their homes and livestock kraals were burnt (Keppel-Jones, 1983, 490). Makoni offered to surrender in return for amnesty, but he was not granted it. A further expedition was sent in early September that advanced the use of dynamite by dropping lighted sticks from above into the caves where the community had taken refuge. These were seldom completely blocked off at the top and 'it was usually possible to find some crevice' (Ranger, 1967, 276-7). The effect produced after a few days of dynamiting was 'terrible … and the stench from the dead bodies was over-powering'. Makoni was captured, court-martialled and shot in public. (This, as noted, preceded the shooting of Uwini on Baden-Powell's orders.) Intended as a warning to the other chiefs, it seems to have had the opposite effect because the message they took was that there was no point in surrender, which would likely lead to death.

Manyepera and his people, threatened by a patrol in October 1896, took refuge in caves in Marandellas (Ranger, 1967, 276-7, now Marondera). Company troops saw smoke coming out of a narrow crack in the roof and by removing stones could see the light of fires. They tried throwing down artillery shells and then smoking people out by pulling down nearby huts and using them in fires near the entrance. Receiving a consignment of dynamite they dropped lighted sticks down the cracks. Sixty women and children came out. The contents of several cases of dynamite were then inserted and the explosion 'rent the cave from end to end'; only 2 people survived. 'This terrible encounter', Ranger notes, 'became the pattern for many attacks on Shona strongholds, despite humanitarian outcry in England'.

I have not yet been able to compile a record of all similar incidents that continued for over nine months until July 1897 and the sources less often mention estimates of casualties. But other examples can be cited. In October a chief who was not part of the rising was attacked in error, and when he tried to escape, was shot along with ten of his men (Beach, 1971, 301). Attacks in Mazoe destroyed cave shelters. Chief Mashiangombi (Mashayamombe), whose village became the site of the Kaguvi religious medium, was first attacked in July 1896. Twenty people were killed and 500 head of cattle taken (Ranger, 1967, 283). A further expedition in August burnt parts of the village and the people retreated to cave shelters. In a further assault in October, all the caves that could be located were blown up. Mashayamombe escaped and, seen to have successfully survived three attacks, became a focus for resistance. His remaining gardens and crops were destroyed in February 1897 (the middle of the growing season) but it was not until July that he was finally shot.

In the first week of October 1897, Baden-Powell (1901, 364, before his court martial) moved eastwards from Matabeleland and attacked communities near Wedza mountain about 120 km south of Salisbury. When people retreated to shelters on the mountain, Baden-Powell chose to interpret the response as an act of war. Having burnt some vacated homes as an 'object lesson' he proceeded to 'freely help ourselves' to the grain and livestock of others. 'We began to hammer away with the 7–pounder, the Maxims, and Nordenfeldt, taking each koppie and its kraal in turn. Through the glass I could see the natives move from the kraals into the caves, and when we shelled these, we could see them stealing away through the rocks and bush, evidently anxious to make their escape'; when people tried to escape, they were shot down (Baden Powell, 1896, 380, 387).

The settlements on Wedza mountain were cleared and burned. Baden Powell (1901, 389-95) then blew up a stronghold with dynamite and celebrated 'the complete destruction of the enemy's villages and

the clearing of their grain stores … the blazing evidences of it gleaming out their message to all the rebels for miles round'. Heading east, his patrol then looted and burnt the abandoned defensive village of Monti (Mondi) - this located on a 'bold, upstanding, solitary peak, a regular acropolis'. He continued with a series of attacks described in his narrative: 'We helped ourselves to all the corn that we could carry, as well as to some little bits of loot, such as a Kaffir piano and some tambourines—the piano being a small flat board on which is fixed a row of iron tongues, and these when struck give each a different note of soft, metallic sound… Then we set the village in a blaze'.

'In Monogula's', he wrote, 'we placed thirty-four cases of dynamite, and at one grand burst blew up the whole koppie, so that where there had been hill there remained but a crater. Previous to demolishing the caves, we had of course removed, for our own use, the stores of grain which had been stowed away for the rebel garrison.' (Baden-Powell, 1901, 409-11, 428). Most had been able to escape but they found nine dead. More kraals were burnt and 26 killed en route to Enkeldoorn (Chivhu).

Rhodes, who moved from Bulawayo to Salisbury in late October, was very much involved. He wrote enthusiastically of a sortie: 'we went out and destroyed his [chief Sango's] kraal, killing a good many natives' (Ranger, 1967, 285; Beach 1971, 348). Baden-Powell (1901, 447) met Rhodes in Salisbury on 22nd November and talked to him about 'ways and means or plans of campaign … [Rhodes] full of restlessness and energy'. They both joined a hunt (for wild animals) and as they passed under a telegraph line Rhodes 'at once went into particulars of that'. Rhodes, who was clearly immersed in military planning in Matabeleland (Rotberg, 1988, 553), was equally engaged at the time when villages were being burnt, caves blown up and grain stores destroyed in Mashonaland. In December, Baden-Powell travelled back with Rhodes by ship from Beira to Cape Town and then to England. At Port Elizabeth they were greeted by crowds and treated to a banquet for 500, as well as dinner at the club.

By the time he left, Rhodes and his military leaders mistakenly believed that the rebellion was almost at an end. But Shona chiefs were remarkably persistent despite the devastation that they saw around them. In January 1897, de Moleyns destroyed kraals at Sosve (Svosve); in February he captured 60-70 wagon loads of grain and in April a patrol of volunteers with African allies took a stronghold at Shangwe after cutting off food and water supplies and killing perhaps 90 (Keppel-Jones, 1983, 514; Davidson, 1984, 311). In May 1897 a contingent attacked Chief Mashanganyika who, with his people, retired into caves. Over a week, all the caves were destroyed 'with great loss to the occupants.'

In June a colonial force captured Kunzwi's stronghold in a fortified koppie after two days of hard fighting. Major Gosling thought 'from the amount of grain stored away, and the quantity of pigs, goats, etc., in the stronghold…that Kunzi was confident of repulsing the whites, and had made ample preparations for a long stay; this opinion was confirmed by the determined resistance offered, the engagement being the most severe the police have as yet taken part in'. Ranger (1967, 305) suggests that this was the fiercest action of 1897, but provides no record of casualties. Kunzwi escaped, but surrendered in August.

In the final attack on Mashayamombe in July 1897, 130 men with a Maxim maintained a cordon, shooting anyone who attempted to escape. The chief was killed, trying to move between shelters, and the next day the caves were destroyed. The losses were 'heavy' and 100 men and 320 women and children were captured (Keppel-Jones, 1983, 516). The mediums Kaguvi and Nehanda were apparently in Mazoe district, where they were attacked on 23rd July and their supporters took to caves, which were blown up with many killed. In August, remaining huts at Kaguvi's settlement were burnt (Ranger, 1967, 300) and he surrendered. Nehanda, who had escaped, was captured in December. They were hung in Salisbury, as also 25 men identified as rebels.

I have described briefly about 14 incidents of highly destructive behaviour by the Company and imperial police and troops, including bombarding settlements with artillery, burning villages, shooting those who tried to escape, and dynamiting caves – with the probability of many deaths, perhaps hundreds in some incidents. Patrols against other chiefs and settlements are mentioned in the sources consulted. The names are recorded in various forms: Umtigezam, Simbasotas, Chena, Zimban, Gatzi, Chiquaqua (Chikwakwa?), Gondo, Bonda, Seki and Makombi. Further research would be needed to identify them and their fate and to draw up a complete list. There may have been well over 20 incidents involving the blowing up of shelters. It is likely that losses in conflict in Mashonaland were higher than those in Matabeleland (estimated above at over 3,000). Food was destroyed on a large scale. The new growing season started with the rains, generally around October, with grain only maturing some months after that, so that those whose food supplies were captured or burnt from July to February were in a perilous position over a long period. Growing crops were also destroyed.

Deaths from Conflict and Famine, 1896-7

We cannot be certain of the losses in this protracted conflict, lasting in various phases for over 18 months from March 1896. Sources consulted for this appendix had limited reference to famine and disease and the material seen so far is fuller for the six month war against the Ndebele than the full year of campaigning in Mashonaland. The estimates made here are provisional and should be the subject of more extended research. In addition to material in the Zimbabwean and British archives, and writing by participants, the British forces did report on their campaigns. Some of this material found its way into the public sphere via military routes, the High Commissioner's office in Cape Town and the Colonial Office in London. According to Ken Wilson, who is researching this period, there is a surprising amount of coverage in the British press, including reports from military sources, from soldiers' letters and by journalists. Henry Labouchere published commentaries in *Truth.* It would be possible to construct a far more detailed history of the campaigns and assessment of losses than offeredhere.

As noted above, Beach and Gann estimated deaths from conflict in 1896-7 at about 5-10,000 and 8,000 respectively. In a meeting in early 2016 after the Oxford Union debate, a representative of Rhodes Must Fall mentioned a figure of 60,000 deaths all told in the Zimbabwe wars of the 1890s. At the time I was not able locate a reference but subsequently found that the relevant Wikipedia articles mention 10,000 for the deaths in 1893 and 50,000 for 1896-7, so this was probably the source. These figures are probably taken from Kenneth J. Panton, *Historical Dictionary of the British Empire* (2015), but he does not give a footnote for his sources. These numbers may be inflated, in comparison to the recordsI have found, but a firm conclusion would require further research and better information on war- related famine and disease.

Numbers are important because they serve to raise questions about the scale and character of violence during these wars. Iliffe, a leading British historian of Africa, is one of the few who has looked at the Zimbabwe archives with famine specifically in mind and he paints a bleak picture. He insists that the famine of this period was not primarily caused by natural disasters such as drought, rinderpest and locusts, but 'created by the violence of the rebellion and its suppression' (1990, 23).

Hugh Marshall Hole (1926, 375-6), graduate of Balliol, and a key administrator under Jameson, praised the Company's generosity, but noted that 'for some months the Matabele suffered severely from famine' and 'there were many deaths from starvation' in 1896. This period from July to October was one of intense conflict, when grain supplies were being looted or destroyed and when Ndebele fighting men retreated away from their homesteads to strongholds in Intaba zikaMambo and the Matopos. Those surrendering in October were 'in a horrible state of starvation' (Iliffe, 1990, 26).

Native Commissioner Gielgud wrote of deaths in Inyathi in October 1896, and of a 'very terrible' famine in which 'whole families' were dying in January 1897. He estimated in April 1897 that a quarter of the people in Inyathi died of famine (Iliffe, 1990, 28). In his detailed demographic work, Beach (1990a, 50) gave a figure of about 6,000 in Bubi district, of which Inyathi was part, in1898. The precise reference point of these observations is not clear and the archives are not presently accessible. If a quarter had died, there may have been 8,000 people before the famine with as many as 2,000 deaths. Inyathi was relatively close to Bulawayo, which had become a settler military centre, and in easy reach for colonial forces, so that it may have suffered disproportionately. But such losses only need to have been replicated in a couple of other Matabeleland districts, some of which had larger populations, for the number of deaths in this war to move towards 15,000 – without including Mashonaland deaths from famine.

Proponents of Rhodes's generosity emphasise the Company's distribution of £50,000 of grain to the Ndebele after the Indabas in October 1896 (see below). Some of this was captured grain and most of it was for those in the Matobos. The deaths described by Gielgud in the Ndebele heartland came after this distribution so that it was clearly inadequate. It is worth noting that the Company paid out £250,000 in compensation to the settlers in Matabeleland and £100,000 in Mashonaland. Blake (1976, 147) notes that 'the settlers were very generously treated.'

As noted above, estimates of deaths in a number of different incidents suggest that the Ndebele lost at least 3,000 men in conflict in 1896 and it is likely – if 2,000 died of famine in one district - that the losses from famine were at least twice that number. This would make perhaps 8-9,000 in all. Conflict in Mashonaland lasted longer and the scorched earth tactics by the Company and British forces seem to have been even more destructive. Iliffe does not think that the Shona suffered so badly from famine as the Ndebele, but his treatment of this area is brief and he does not record the scale of destruction of food supplies noted here.

This incomplete survey suggests that deaths in conflict in 1896-7 were at the upper end of the 5-10,000 suggested by Beach – perhaps around Gann's estimated 8,000. Neither go into a detailed analysis of losses. Deaths from famine and disease are likely to have been at least as much, so that 15-20,000 African deaths in 1896-7 may not be unrealistic. To this should be added around 4-5,000 in 1893-5.

If the core Ndebele population is considered separately at around 100-120,000, then the losses of 4-5,000 in 1893, and perhaps 8-9,000 in 1896-7, may amount to two successive blows of about 4 per cent and 8 per cent of the population. Who knows the cost in malnutrition resulting from the loss of so many of their cattle? To those in the UK who may say: if there had been no rebellions there would havebeen fewer deaths, we must surely emphasise that the 1893 war was an invasion by Rhodes and Jameson, not a rebellion. And in relation to 1896, what they would have expected British people to doif invaded and partly dispossessed? Is the argument that it would have been better to accept a Germanconquest in the Second World War? To those who might argue that these numbers were not so great,it is worth recalling that the UK (including Ireland) lost about 800,000, under 2 per cent of the population, in the First World War (1914-18), and little of the fighting was on British land. Yet it was a searing experience for the society.

With respect to the Zimbabwean population as a whole, variously estimated at between 500,000 and 700,000 in the late nineteenth century, the percentage lost in these wars was perhaps closer to 3-4 overall. Conflict was concentrated in specific parts of the country, especially around the Ndebele heartland and Salisbury (Harare). As in some other parts of Africa, conquest could be deeply disruptive and was marked in places by demographic stasis, but over the longer term, the colonial period was

more generally characterised by demographic growth, especially after the Second World War. The latter was also the case in Zimbabwe.

It is also worth remembering that Rhodes, his settlers and soldiers – though by no means of one view - generally held strongly racialized ideas about those whom they were conquering. Selous (1896, 66-7), who guided the original pioneer column in 1890 and fought in both the wars, articulated an extreme version of Social Darwinism: if African people are not 'reduced to a state of submission', he wrote, then they must be 'displaced', must 'go' or 'die'. He wrote that 'the whole question of the colonisation by Europeans of countries previously inhabited by savage tribes must be looked upon from a broad point of view, and be judged by its final results as compared with the primitive conditions it has superseded ....'

Just as in the establishment of the white man's supremacy in the Cape Colony, the aboriginal black races have either been displaced or reduced to a state of submission to the white man's rule at the cost of much blood and injustice to the black man, so also will it be in Matabeleland, and so must it ever be in any country where the European comes into contact with native races, and where at the same time the climate is such that the more highly organised and intelligent race can live and thrive, as it can do in Matabeleland; whilst the presence of valuable minerals or anything else that excites the greed of the stronger race will naturally hasten the process. Therefore Matabeleland is doomed by what seems a law of nature to be ruled by the white man, and the black man must go, or conform to the white man's laws, or die in resisting them. It seems a hard and cruel fate for the black man, but it is a destiny which the broadest philanthropy cannot avert, whilst the British colonist is but the irresponsible atom employed in carrying out a preordained law—the law which has ruled upon this planet ever since, in the far-off misty depths of time, organic life was first evolved upon the earth—the inexorable law which Darwin has aptly termed the "Survival of the Fittest".'

This view seems to legitimate as many deaths as were needed for white minority rule.

A military intelligence report from February 1897, when caves were being blown up and gardens destroyed justified these strategies: 'It seems to me that the only way of doing anything at all with these natives is to starve them, destroy their lands and kill all that can be killed' (Ranger, 1967, 295).

Discussion of Submissions

The Commission received over 800 submissions. This section discusses briefly a limited number that focussed more explicitly on history: largely those by Robert Calderisi, Duncan Clarke and Donal Lowry in favour of retaining the statue and Simukai Chigudu, Shula Marks and Paul Maylam who argued for moving it. This is not of course a representative sample but some key arguments can be addressed. Those submitting were encouraged to keep contributions short and clearly these contributors, who have all written on Rhodes or the history of the region, could have greatly expanded their treatment.

Opinions about the statue have been highly polarised and they have generally been closely related to views of Rhodes. Was he, as proponents of leaving the statue tend to argue, a 'flawed colossus' - a man of his time, who was not particularly racist, helped to lay the foundations of the southern African mining industry, established a progressive central African colony, and left most of his fortune for the public good both in Britain and Southern Africa? In submissions to the Commission, a good deal was made of Rhodes's generosity. So too, they emphasised his peace-making with the Ndebele in 1896.

For some, retaining the statue is less directly related to assessments of Rhodes and more to arguments that the past cannot be changed and statues should be retained as part of heritage. 'It seems to be an invidious exercise', Lowry writes, 'to attempt to weigh Rhodes's moral failings at the distance of more

than a century against any beneficial contributions he may have made to Oriel College, Oxford University and – through the Rhodes Scholarships – the world'. Moreover, Lowry suggests, the statue provides a prism through which to analyse history and arouse interest in further research.

For advocates of removal Rhodes is a deeply problematic figure, directly responsible for racial segregation, violence, conquest and land appropriation as well as exploitative relationships in the mining companies that he controlled. He was certainly a man of his time, who became an emblem of a particularly jingoist phase of late nineteenth-century British imperialism. Whatever the value of his donation to Oriel, he should not have been, nor should he now be, honoured with a prominent, celebratory statue on Oxford's High Street – one that has become, whether the College likes it or not – Oriel's face onto the world.

Rhodes did not require a statue to be built, they suggest, and now is the opportunity to recognise that it should to be moved. Donors can be, and usually are, recognised more discretely. Maylam argues against the view that moving statues amounts to erasing history. On the contrary, statues of the kind that Oriel erected in 1911 say little about history: they 'function as crude symbols. They reduce history to celebrity'. The statue only became the site of debate about history when Rhodes Must Fall called for its removal and explained why they thought this was a priority. Moving the statue, Maylam believes, in direct contradistinction to Lowry, would stimulate further critical research and debate. An interestingway of advancing this debate would be to explore the recent transformation of the Royal Museum for Central Africa in Brussels, including the moving of King Leopold's bust, which has prompted extensive research and an extended national conversation, although by no means a consensus, about the country's colonial past.

Rhodes clearly had an intense interest in new technology and an understanding of its potential in mining. Marks, who was on the whole critical of Rhodes's legacy, noted that he was also an agricultural innovator and 'established the first Ministry of Agriculture' in the Cape. In fact, there was already a budding bureaucracy in the shape of a government veterinary surgeon, an *Agricultural Journal*, an official to deal with the scourge of phylloxera in vineyards, and an agricultural demonstrator. Measures that he supported had their existing champions, including compulsory eradication of scab disease in sheep that diminished the yield of wool – alongside diamonds, the most valuable Cape export. Nevertheless, through his alliance with the Afrikaner Bond, Rhodes was able to get a Scab Act passed in 1894 against widespread opposition (Tamarkin, 1996). He also contributed to the improvement of fruit production and export.

Yet his technical alertness, Maylam argues, went hand in hand with general lack of concern for his black employees; a Kimberley inspector noted his 'reckless disregard for human life'. Marks refers to an episode during the siege of Kimberley (1899-1900), in the early phases of the South African War (1899-1902) when the diamond mines had to close. Rhodes was present and initially deployed African workers on various public works. He tried to persuade them to leave town, so that they would not be a financial burden to De Beers, but the Boers drove many back. Kekewich, commanding the British forces in Kimberley, learned that there was an increasing rate of scurvy and death amongst black workers and it transpired that they were neither being paid nor given adequate food. Marks notes, quoting Rotberg (1988, 630), that when Kekewich raised the matter with Rhodes, the latter told him 'not to meddle in his affairs', adding that if the Africans 'would not leave the town, they must be forcedto, and giving them only bread and salt had this effect'. Yet during the siege whites – in part as a resultof Rhodes's largesse –were 'never short of provisions'. This was a couple of years before Rhodes's bequest to Oriel that included support of high table.

Amongst the submissions received, the fullest defence of Rhodes and the British South Africa Company in the 1890s was offered by Clarke, who focussed not so much on what happened during the conquest, but what the Company replaced and what came afterwards. In this view colonialism halted half a century of predation on the older established, largely Shona-speaking, communities by the Ndebele. Precolonial chiefdoms on the eastern side of present-day Zimbabwe had also been vulnerable to *prazeros* based in Mozambique, who, like the Ndebele, took captives, livestock and grain. Clarke lays emphasis on the brutality of the Ndebele kingdom, and of the kings Mzilikazi and Lobengula.

The British South Africa Company justified its actions at the time in the same way – it was saving the Shona from the Ndebele. The question then arises as to why many chiefs in Mashonaland also rebelled against Company rule in 1896-7 (see above) and why some sustained a dispersed resistance, at enormous cost in lives and resources, for over a year. As noted, there is a large historical literature explaining and debating this (Ranger, 1967). Perhaps H.C. Thomson (1898, 148-9), a correspondent for *The Times*, captured the issue most succinctly at the time when he heard that a Shona chief 'preferred the Matibili rule to ours, because under them they were troubled but once a year, whereas now their troubles come with each day's rising sun'. Though not unsympathetic to colonialism and the settlers, Thomson (1898, 10) believed that 'Mr Rhodes' record in Rhodesia has been written in blood, and cannot be obliterated by the assertion, however emphatic, of his adherents and himself that his motiveshave been disinterested and patriotic'. Ndebele raids did not cover the whole of modern-day Zimbabwe, and some of the devolved chieftaincies reached accommodation with them. Cobbing, Ndlovu-Gatsheni and others argue that Ndebele political authority, though it continued to involve raidsand demands for tribute, became more incorporative and stable in the later decades of the nineteenthcentury.

The conquest of Zimbabwe was justified, Clarke argues further, because Rhodes and the Company established 'a modern state in the heart of central Africa', which became the 'jewel of Africa' facilitating rising population, better infrastructure and real income growth for all. This was bequeathed to an African government in 1980. It helped to secure this area for the British Empire, in competition with German, Portuguese and Boer interests. This view is supplemented by discussion by Clarke, Calderisi and others of Rhodes as peacemaker in the 1896 indabas and his generosity in spending £50,000 to distribute food and 'save the Ndebele from famine'. As a result, some Ndebele, erstwhile enemies of the Company, saluted Rhodes's funeral cortege when it passed to his grave site in the Matopos in 1902.

Rhodesia did achieve considerable economic growth but debates about its history are also polarised. Chigudu notes that many African people experienced this colonial state as highly unequal, characterised by racial discrimination and with nearly half the land appropriated by a small minority of white settlers Their reluctance to relinquish, or even share, power in the era of decolonisation led to a lengthy armed conflict (1964-1979) that was devastating for many who were involved. This appendix cannot debate Zimbabwean history after the 1890s. The key point for this Commission, and for this appendix in particular, is that neither Lobengula's nor Ian Smith's nor Robert Mugabe's statue is at issue. The statue is of Rhodes and it is his record that must be examined.

The question of peace-making has been discussed; there were earlier opportunities and the indabas started when Rhodes was counting the cost of the war; he failed to seek peace with the chiefs of Mashonaland. The distribution of grain to the Ndebele in October 1896 certainly saved some from starvation but, as noted above, it did not stop famine nor did it result in a cessation of scorched earth strategies in Mashonaland. The cost of grain was relatively insignificant compared to the sums distributed to a far smaller number of settlers.

Ranger (1999) analyses in detail the relationship that developed between Rhodes and some Ndebele chiefs after their kingdom had been devastated. Rhodes met them when visiting his newly acquired estates around the Matopos. He allowed some, deprived of their land, to settle on his and arranged for a feast to be held. A relationship was formed and, when Rhodes died, the Ndebele were concernedthat their access to land on his estate and elsewhere may be curtailed. Faced with increasing settler demands they invoked what they understood to be promises by Rhodes that they should retain their new settlements.

With regard to the statue itself, Lowry offers an innovative interpretation of the ensemble above which Rhodes stands. Of the seven statues facing High Street, two are of kings and one of Cardinal William Allen, a leader of exiled English Catholics during the Elizabethan persecution. Of the four facing the interior quadrangle, one is of Cardinal (now Saint) John Henry Newman – a key figure in nineteenth century religious disputes in Oxford, who controversially switched from the Anglican to the Catholic Church. The ensemble, Lowry suggests, was an attempt at religious and political inclusion at a time when Catholics – though allowed to hold posts at Oxford after 1871 - were still the subject of suspicion. Lowry raises the possibility that Oriel was finding a way to honour another controversial son in the shape of Rhodes.

Although I have not seen an archive of Provost Shadwell's intentions, it seems clear that he intended to place Rhodes at the apex of the ensemble, above royalty, in a full-throated celebration of empire. When one of the Fellows challenged Shadwell about locating Rhodes above the two kings, his objections were dismissed. The irony is that the statue may well have been omitted if the building, completed in 1911, had been delayed for a few years. After the First World War (1914-18), the character of public memorials changed in Britain. Far fewer statues were erected of imperial icons; far more generic images were erected to soldiers who died in the war. Henry Alfred Pegram, sculptor of the Rhodes statue, contributed the Welsh National War Memorial in Cardiff and the Edith Cavell memorial in Norwich.

Although Rhodes neither requested nor required the statue in his will, Maylam argues that his behaviour, 'especially towards the end of his life, was shaped by a deep-seated egotism. He craved immortality, once telling Jameson that he expected to be remembered for centuries: "I give myself four thousand years"'. His name has indeed endured and the College could consider 'whether the commemoration of Rhodes at Oxford is overblown'.

For Lowry the ensemble is an act of reconciliation from which we should learn. If it was indeed that, and not simply an assemblage of Oriel's famous alumni, giving their blessing, along with Edward VII and George V, to Rhodes and Empire, Chigudu would ask: who is included in reconciliation? As he notes: 'A former imperial training ground, Oxford is strewn with tributes to the great men of the British empire … In contrast, the histories of conquest, famine and dispossession that these men left in their wake are routinely forgotten. … Rhodes' statue, then, is no mere physical artefact. It is imbued with a noxious history. Its presence at Oriel College reframes Rhodes' conquest as munificence to the university and fails to recognise the exploitation of African labour from which his estate was built. It belongs in a museum, where it can be properly historicised'.

Concluding Points: Debating History, Moving the Statue and Supporting New Initiatives

The forces of the British South Africa Company and the British government used extreme violence in Zimbabwe. These were brutal suppressions of people on their own land following an invasion. They were of no threat to Britain, to its empire, to South Africa or even to British interests in neighbouring territories of southern Africa such as the Bechuanaland protectorate. Lobengula had, up to 1893, very largely protected whites in his area of authority. African chiefdoms in Zimbabwe were perceived by Rhodes to be a barrier to his unencumbered control of the Company's ambitious territorial claims and

to a settler colony. A more careful, less aggressive and less hubristic policy by Rhodes and Jameson may well have averted war.

Rhodes showed that it was possible to negotiate in August 1896 when he was concerned about the costs of a protracted war with the Ndebele and uncertain about the scale of the Mashonaland rising. He could have negotiated earlier and reached an accommodation with the Ndebele; equally he could have ended the war against the Shona far earlier by giving amnesties. He seemed to have no scruples about the violence used in this campaign: unbridled use was made of the Maxim gun: cattle and grain stores were looted on a large scale; fleeing Ndebele soldiers were shot; supposed rebels were sentenced and hung without due process of law; men, women and children sheltering in caves were blown up.

The violence of the British South Africa Company was publicised in the press and Rhodes was criticised in Britain as well as the Cape at the time (see above). Liberal politician Henry Labouchere, who published the weekly *Truth*, was a persistent detractor of 'Mr Rhodes and his pernicious company, a wretched, rotten, bankrupt set of marauderers and murderers'; his fellow liberal MP A.C. Morton, asked in parliament if the government approved 'of this murder to 3,000, or even 500 men, for the purpose of plundering and stealing their land' (Davidson, 1984, 236). Labouchere was a controversial figure, critical of homosexuality, Jewish people, and women's rights as well as the excesses of imperialism. Every detail published by Labouchere in *Truth* may not have been correct. But there was a systematicattempt to counter what influence that he and other critics carried.

In 1892, an honorary doctorate was conferred on Rhodes by the University of Oxford; this preceded the most controversial episodes of his career. When he planned a visit in 1899 to receive it, there was considerable discomfort, led by the Master of Balliol, with the support of about 90 academics including the university proctors. But Kitchener, who was to receive a similar award, threatened to withdraw if Rhodes was not honoured. The Provost of Oriel, the Vice-Chancellor and the majority of staff and students came out in favour; Rhodes received 'an uproarious welcome' (Massie, 2016).

Rhodes must be accorded responsibility for the deaths in Zimbabwe and for the character of extreme violence. He and his company chose to colonise Zimbabwe and other parts of central Africa by force. Leaving aside the legitimacy of the Rudd concession, they could have annexed Zimbabwe on this basis, appropriated less cattle and land, and exercised authority with more care. Even Milner, the High Commissioner from 1897, and Milton – both sympathetic to Rhodes - were alarmed by the practices of the British South Africa Company in the early years. There were alternative models at hand in the Bechuanaland protectorate. A different approach may not have averted conflict entirely but it may have minimised the risk of warfare. Proponents of Rhodes, and/or his legacy, have ignored or glossed this direct responsibility for violence.

Britain, and especially Lord Salisbury's administration, also has to be assigned responsibility. The use of companies in Central and Eastern Africa was a means for the British government to expand colonisation on the cheap. Salisbury secured an area of British control in competition with the Transvaal, Portugal and Germany. Even though the High Commissioner in Cape Town nominally exercised some oversight, this was not effectively used to constrain the excesses of the British South Africa Company. Salisbury certainly associated himself with the enterprise and Rhodesia's first white settlement, and future capital, was named after him.

This appendix focusses on specific issues which should be central to the relationship between Oriel College and the Rhodes legacy. Rhodes did not ask for the statue nor was it a requirement of his legacy to the College. The current Fellows have the opportunity to rethink the decision of their predecessors.

Does the College wish to represent itself to the world with a celebratory, public statue, facing Oxford's High street, of a man who, whatever he may have achieved and donated, was capable of this level of inhumanity on the land of those he attacked. Does the College wish to retain so central a symbol of racial segregation at a time when society, and institutions such as the University of Oxford, are working hard to deal decisively with this legacy? The Fellows have, in the past, made decisions about change that were of great importance - for example the admission of women students to Oriel in 1984, after about 650 years of serving men only. This decision is surely within their powers. As Appendix B shows, it would not be unusual – in global terms - for a statue to be moved at a time of political and social change.

Rhodes has been profusely thanked by the College over about 110 years – including a statue, a named building with inscription, a portrait, a plaque, and an annual dinner that included a toast. With new information, and in the context of changing attitudes to racial segregation and the imperial past, it is surely appropriate for the College to remove the statue to a place where this history can be debated and explored. Moving it would be an important symbolic act that would help Oxford as a whole to celebrate a commitment to global inclusivity, as befits a university that has been ranked amongst the top institutions in the world. Ten other statues would be left in place on the building. The inscription under the statue has not been the specific subject of protest and could be left as a more discrete acknowledgement. The College would have the opportunity to contextualise such changes with inventive historical material. Rhodes will not lack for memorialisation in Oxford and elsewhere.

A number of interesting suggestions were made to the Commission for the empty plinth, including an annual commission for temporary artwork that would address issues raised by the statue. A proposal was made for a Zimbabwean sculpture nearby, perhaps in the grounds of the university church that has an historical link with Oriel. In this or similar ways, gains could be made, both visually and in respect of the historical debate.

If Oriel decides to pursue its decision, then moving the statue will require listed building consent, planning permission and further extensive investigation. Whatever the outcome, the process itself will contribute to inventive thinking about these legacies and about listed buildings. It will advance an understanding of Britain's imperial legacy as well as its impact on, and links with, colonised societies. This would be a bold approach that would help to place Oriel and Oxford at the forefront ofacademic work in respect of an important national debate. Fair-minded people outside the university,involved in such processes, including those in government who may ultimately make the decision, should surely encourage further research into the disturbing evidence outlined here, as well as the broader issues.

The College also has an opportunity to respond with initiatives in respect of posts, scholarships, student intake and academic coverage. These are outlined in the Commission report and should focus especially on the relationship between Britain and Africa, and grow out of such connections, because they are at the heart of the debate about the Rhodes statue and legacy.

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I am very grateful to Dr Stephen Massie, who worked for two months as research assistant in helping me to prepare this appendix. He focussed especially on the Zimbabwean material. We did the research in a short period, under the restricted conditions of the coronavirus pandemic, with very limited resources, and we did not have time to visit archives - many of which were in any case closed. Thanks also to Dr Ken Wilson for comments and references; I benefited greatly from his deep knowledge of Zimbabwe. Neither are responsible for my discussion. Robert Petrie sent material from the Oriel

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Appendix B: A REVIEW OF ISSUES CONCERNING STATUES AND MEMORIALS

This appendix summarises, as background to the Commission's report, some of the main themes discussed in literature concerning contested statues and memorials, including their contextualisation.

Introduction

The discussions that take place today about the retention and moving or removal of statues and memorials are nothing new. Statues and memorials have been contested throughout history. Memorials to Roman emperors who lost the throne were sometimes altered or removed. The French and Russian revolutions destroyed statues of their *anciens régimes*. Representations of colonial rule have been displaced in many post-colonial countries. Since 1990, eastern European countries have stripped out statues of Lenin and Stalin; those of the Shah and of Saddam have been removed in Iran and in Iraq. Statues and memorials today are contested in many places, including those to figures associated with the slave trade and enslavement, with the Confederacy in the United States, with the conquest of indigenous populations, with colonialism and with historic regimes that are now regarded with disfavour in the countries they once ruled.

This appendix is concerned with the different ways in which the impact of statues and memorials can be – and are – considered within the public imagination and relevant academic literature. It raises questions arising from this that are relevant to the Rhodes memorials at Oriel and notes a number of other recent examples of contested statues and memorials. These questions provide a framework for considering the Rhodes memorials and possible courses of action relating to them, as discussed by the Commission.

Much of the public discussion about Oriel's Rhodes memorials has concerned different interpretations of 'history' and 'heritage'. The issues surrounding it, however, are far more complex, concerning not just history but also geography – the place of memorials within the landscape – and social sciences – the relationship between memorials and the people who inhabit the area around them; ethics and aesthetics; politics and culture. There is a large and wide-ranging academic literature concerning these themes in relation to contested statues and memorials in many countries, as well as public opinion, policy and practice to be considered. An academic institution such as Oriel should consider all of these with academic rigour, depth and breadth, and respond to them accordingly.

The appendix seeks to place current issues regarding Oriels' Rhodes memorials in the context of current debates about statues and memorials elsewhere. There is only space to summarise key points from these debates.

History and heritage

History is not something that is either right or wrong. Unlike memorials, it is not cast in stone. Different views of 'history' and 'heritage' underlie discussions of most contested statuary. At the simplest level, opposing perspectives might be summarised as follows. Those who prefer to retain contested statues and memorials *in situ* often argue that (re)moving them represents 'rewriting history,' undermining and rejecting an established narrative or removing it from view, perhaps because what it is seen to represent is no longer fashionable. Those who would move or remove them argue that history is a process rather than a settled account of what happened in the past: that there is no single historical interpretation, that history is about interpreting the past in the light of evidence, and that understanding of it will vary between people and over time, not least because perceptions change of what is thought significant.

Narratives about the actions of 'great men' and (less often) women – such as those generally represented by statues – are no longer driving forces of historical understanding. Social, economic and cultural history, the historical experience of the ruled as well as rulers, are now central to that understanding, including that of 'great men' and their actions.

Memorials do not encapsulate 'history', though they may be 'heritage'. They are partial reflections of some aspects of the past (or, then, present) as it was seen at the time they were erected, by those responsible for them being put in place. Many statues and memorials were erected to represent the power of a particular regime or of one social, racial or economic group over other groupings. That power was often contested (or unrepresentative) at the time and is frequently contested still becauselegacies of the historic exercise of power have lasting impacts and remain deeply felt by communities today (both those nostalgic for the past and those aggrieved by it). An individual commemorated may – like Rhodes – have been far from universally venerated in his own time, let alone regarded as a model for today. Confederate statues in the United States, for instance, remain potent symbols and continual reminders of racial inequality and political polarisation.

Some memorials were erected in recognition of a donation or act of philanthropy, rather than explicit endorsements of the views or actions of those commemorated by them. This was the primary reason for the erection of Rhodes' statue at Oriel. Statues and memorials that were intended as acts of veneration for an individual, or as gestures of gratitude for philanthropy, can still be powerful symbols of views or actions that they are now felt to represent. Opponents of such statues also question the source of funds from which acts of philanthropy were derived – for instance, in the case of slavetraders/holders and others held to have derived their wealth from exploitation.

Finally, perceptions of individuals who are commemorated change alongside values and attitudes within society. Some reputations rise, receiving recognition that they were denied historically – Alan Turing is an obvious current example, his past conviction overturned by royal pardon, his contribution to science and the country celebrated. Other reputations fall, as attitudes have changed or new information about them comes to light.

The underlying question about any statue or memorial, from an historical perspective, concerns whose narrative is told by it and the way that narrative is told. It can be summarised in these generic questions which have been considered by the Commission in reflecting on the Rhodes memorials at Oriel:

- When was the memorial erected, and by whom?
- What was the purpose of the statue or memorial – for instance, was it an assertion of power and authority, a reflection of a vision of society, an attempt to change the prevailing narrative (as with Confederate statuary in the United States), veneration, acknowledgement or a gesture of gratitude for philanthropy?
- What view/vision of the past, present or future was it meant to represent, and who is included or excluded from this view/vision?
- How representative was that vision at the time, and how representative is it today?
- How have perceptions of the individual (and of that individual's values) changed?

Geography

Statues and memorials are not just historic artefacts; they are also part of the contemporary landscape. If the key question for historians concerns who 'owns' the narrative, that for geographers concerns who 'owns' that landscape.

Size and location are crucial factors here. Many statues and memorials were located at specific places and in specific ways in order to dominate their landscape. Individuals who are memorialised are typically set up on pedestals, from which they look down on passers-by while passers-by look up to them. Some are on columns, some on horseback, some (like Rhodes in Oxford) elevated on the front of buildings. Many have been placed at major intersections, in front of public buildings such as courthouses and legislatures, where they remind those entering of where power lay or lies.

Size and location were particularly significant when statues and memorials were erected to assert power or authority, and are particularly important now where their symbolism is contested. The Confederate memorials in Richmond, Virginia, polarising by their nature, were more so because they dominated (and had been placed to dominate) the boulevard called Monument Avenue. Rhodes' statue at the University of Cape Town was polarising by its nature, but more so because it was locatedat an especially prominent place within the university. Each constantly reminded passers-by – the citizens of Richmond, students of UCT – of their country's contested past, admired by some, reviled byothers.

Questions of artistic merit and aesthetics are also often raised in discussions about contested heritage. While some commemorative statues in the past were made by leading artists of the day, the majority were commissioned from less significant artists. The memorialisation of individuals in the past did not encourage artistic innovation in the way that is often expected today in memorials to groups of people (such as those commemorating victims of the holocaust). Nevertheless, artistic merit is a factor in decisions made concerning the retention, removal and relocation of memorials.

Another factor that affects this landscape is the salience of a memorial, the extent to which it is noticed and felt to be significant. Some commentators on the Oriel Rhodes statue suggest that its location, high above the High Street, means that it towers over people; others that it means most people do notsee it, reducing rather than increasing its importance. Salience, however, changes over time. Newsworthiness has made Rhodes' statue much more prominent than it was. Its location matters nowmore strongly, and to more people, than it did, affecting their strength of feeling as to whether it shouldstay or go.

Statues, by their nature, lack nuance and context. They act as forthright symbols in specific places and there is usually no countervailing space for other viewpoints to be heard or alternate symbols to be viewed. That is unimportant where/when a memorial is uncontroversial but much more important where/when it is divisive or polarising: hence the importance of contextualisation, which is addressed in the final part of this appendix.

The underlying question about any statue or memorial from a geographic viewpoint, therefore, concerns the impact which it has through its placement in the landscape. It can be summarised in these generic questions which have been considered by the Commission in reflecting on the Rhodes memorials at Oriel:

- How does a statue or memorial fit into or change the landscape/cityscape around it?
- What are its aesthetic qualities? Does it have significant architectural or artistic standing?
- Where is it located? Is its location an important public space, one that expresses or represents power and authority, or defines the character of an institution?
- How prominent is it, how easy or difficult to notice or ignore?
- How does it fit into the wider environment of memorialisation in the city? In particular:

- Where it represents a particular view of history or set of values, are alternative histories and visions also reflected nearby or elsewhere in its community?

Society

A third set of issues concerns the relationship between statues and memorials and the communities in which they are located. If the key question for historians concerns who 'owns' the narrative, and that for geographers who 'owns' the landscape, the key question here concerns who 'owns' interpretation of the monument today (what some would call the 'text') – those who erected it, perhaps a century ago, or those who live with it today?

Statues and memorials are symbols that reflect particular world views. Mary Robinson summarised the importance of symbols to nations and identity in her inaugural speech as president of Ireland. 'Symbols,' she said, 'are what unite and divide people. Symbols give us our identity, our self-image, ourway of explaining ourselves to ourselves and to others. Symbols … determine the kinds of stories we tell; and the stories we tell determine the kind of history we make and remake.'[97] Symbols, such as statues and memorials, are therefore important in determining the extent to which people feel includedin – or excluded from, perhaps uncomfortable in – the societies (including the cities and the academic communities) in which they live and work.

The extent to which the range of statues and memorials within a place reflects the communities in which they are located also affects people's sense of inclusion. The majority of historic memorials represent people – mostly men, some still familiar, many now largely forgotten – from a relatively narrow period of time and a narrow range of backgrounds. There are far fewer memorials to women or members of minority communities than there are to men who wielded power as politicians or as soldiers. Only relatively recently have monuments been put in place that represent the 'ordinary heroes' who are now (routinely and rightly) included in the honours system, people with whom citizens of today's society, including minorities, can readily identify.

These questions of identity and belonging are important for the cohesion of society. Some aspects of them, concerned with educational inclusion and diversity, are addressed in Chapter 3 of the Commission's report. The strength of feeling demonstrated in arguments and confrontations about statues and memorials shows how important these can be. Some feel strongly that contested memorials represent their sense of personal and national identity. Others feel offended and excluded by memorials that venerate those they consider responsible for historic violence against social groups with which they identify, seeing such memorials as linked to inequality, discrimination and injustice today. Such sentiments (whatever their perspective) should not be trivialised, as they have sometimes been.

Questions of social values are related to this sense of identity and to inclusion. Some values are widely shared throughout society, while others are contested. Some values – and practices derived from them – that were widely shared, accepted or applauded in the past, at least in some communities or parts of communities, are now regarded with distaste or with disgust. (Slavery is often cited in this context, though the observation applies specifically to societies that were responsible for it; enslavement was obviously not accepted or applauded by those most affected by it, the enslaved). Other values that are now embedded in our law and culture (though still in process of realisation), such as women's emancipation and racial equality, have become mainstream only in the relatively recent past.

Some commentators and submissions to the Commission argued, in this context, that historic figures should not be judged by contemporary values, but by those of their own day. Others argued that, because they seek to honour and venerate those they commemorate, memorials should be seen through the eyes of the present instead of, or at least as much as, those of their own time; that their

presence in today's landscape means that they belong to the community that lives with them today, not to the community (or that part of it) which sought to venerate them once. In some cases, the abhorrence with which some past values and practices are regarded now means that contemporary judgements are inescapable for many in today's societies.

The underlying question about any statue or memorial from this societal perspective concerns the impact that it has on those who live with it. It can be summarised in these generic questions which have been considered by the Commission in reflecting on the Rhodes memorials at Oriel:

- What experience do different groups of people (in the literature, sometimes called its 'users') have of a memorial – citizens who pass by it every day, students and academics, tourists and other visitors?
- To what extent are they affected by it? Are they inspired, offended or indifferent? Do they see a reflection of their own or of a national identity, or do they feel intimidated or resentful?
- How relevant are changing values and different historic experiences to perceptions of memorials, including different views of different groups today?
- How strongly do people feel about a memorial (on both sides) and how fiercely, therefore, is it contested? How far is debate about its future seen as a binary choice between incompatible positions?
- What changes have occurred in the reputation of the individual commemorated, either through re-evaluation of that person's record or through new information coming to light (for instance, of sexual misconduct)?
- Would today's society (or, in the case of Oriel's Rhodes statue, the College) consider the individual concerned appropriate for memorialisation now if not already set in stone?

Contested memorials: experience elsewhere

As mentioned at the start of this appendix, discussions concerning the retention and moving/removal of statues are not new. Statues and memorials have been contested throughout history, often removed or replaced as a result of changes in government or in the values or symbols that different societies (or ruling groups within societies) have chosen to embrace.

Nor are statues and memorials the only historically contested symbols in such contexts: just the most visible expressions of a legacy that is also found in the names of streets, buildings and institutions, portraits and busts displayed in public buildings, and many other contexts. Those other legacy expressions have also been subject to debate and sometimes to change. Streets and squares named after past rulers have often been removed, from post-war Germany to post-colonial societies, in much the same way as statues of Lenin and Stalin were toppled following the fall of communism in eastern Europe.

The recent history of contested statuary suggests that three questions have been most important in determining the degree to which contestation matters:

- Who is commemorated?
- What does their commemoration symbolise – both as it was intended, and as it is now understood?
- How contested, disputed and/or polarising is that symbolism?

A brief account of other recent controversies concerning memorials has been helpful in clarifying these, which have also been considered in the Commission's reflections on the memorials in Oriel. Only a few examples can be cited in the brief assessment here.

Statues and memorials to those who are now seen as representing past repression have been most liable to permanent removal, destruction or (at least) to contestation – recent examples of which include the removal of statues representing Soviet rule in Russia and eastern Europe following the fall of communism, of Saddam Hussein in Iraq and Anastasio Somoza in Nicaragua, as well as the more gradual trend towards removal of monuments to Franco in contemporary Spain, and the still contested nature of the many memorials to Chiang Kai-shek in Taiwan.

There is a long history, too, of statues and memorials representing foreign or colonial rule being either rapidly removed or more gradually displaced in countries that experienced such rule. Statues of British monarchs have been removed from public prominence in the Republic of Ireland, for instance, over the period since the Free State was established in 1922. The governments of some Indian states removed colonial monuments at independence while others retained them, at least for a while. Prominent royal and viceregal monuments in Delhi, Mumbai and Kolkata were moved during the 1960s to parks where they now lie, it is reported, neglected and largely unvisited. The French colonial government removed memorials from Algeria in the run-up to its independence. Gordon and Kitchener were removed from Khartoum when Sudan became independent. Prominent statues were removed in Kenya and Mali. King Leopold was taken to a statue graveyard in what is now the DRC.

The most significant removal of statues and memorials in recent European history followed the fall of communism in eastern Europe thirty years ago. Some statues and memorials were torn down during transition, but decisions to remove the majority have been taken by successor democratic governments at national and local level. Few major Soviet-era memorials remain on public display, though the Russian government now seems more inclined to retain those that do as representations of their country's 'historic identity'. In three places in particular – Moscow, Budapest and Vilnius – displaced statues and memorials have been gathered together in memorial parks: in Moscow, as aesthetic artefacts; in Budapest, as recollections of times past; in Vilnius, as representations of rejected ideology.Others have found homes in basements of museums.

In most of eastern Europe, this moving or removal of memorials was largely uncontested, but one country in particular – Estonia – illustrates the extent to which different interpretations of history polarise communities with different views and different historic roots. Many Estonians regarded Soviet memorials as symbols of repression imposed by foreign rule. For many Russian-speakers in the country, however, the same memorials represented liberation from German occupation. The most significant focus of this polarisation has been a memorial known as the Bronze Soldier, disdained by a majority but a focal point for annual commemorations by the minority. Its removal from prominent public display to a military ceremony led to riots, diplomatic stand-offs between Estonia and Russia, and intensified polarisation in national politics. It illustrates the power that symbols have 'to unite and divide people.' Strong sentiments about them should be dealt with carefully.

The last decade, especially the last five years, has seen an upsurge of controversy regarding statues and memorials in a number of countries. Examples have included campaigns against, and in some cases physical removal of, statues and memorials that represent or symbolise slavery and slave-owners (particularly in the United States and Britain), the conquest of indigenous communities (especially in the United States, Canada, Latin America, Australia and New Zealand), colonial rule (in Southern Africa and other countries that experienced colonial rule, and also in former imperial metropoles), racism and discredited ideologies such as eugenics. In some cases, protestors have overthrown statues or memorials, though democratic decision-making processes have more commonly been initiated either

by governments or activists. As well as statues and memorials, demands for change (and actual changes) have concerned the names of streets, parks, buildings and institutions. Some of these have taken place in universities, including some in Britain – such as the measures recently announced by University College London to distance itself from its past association with eugenics.

There has been a good deal of academic as well as public interest in movements associated with these events, including the Black Lives Matter movement in the United States (and elsewhere) and the Rhodes Must Fall movements in South Africa and Britain. A new term, 'fallism', has even emerged in academic literature – though the goals of most movements involved, including Rhodes Must Fall, have reached well beyond statues and memorials themselves to include wider issues of racism and discrimination, inclusion and (in)equality and, in the context of schools and universities, academic representation and the content of curricula.

Two movements among these in particular are relevant to debates, and have contributed to protest, concerning memorials in Britain including the Rhodes memorials at Oriel. The following paragraphs briefly reflect on these.

Confederate memorials in the United States

In the United States, the main focus of dissent has concerned Confederate memorials, of which there are close to 2000. The majority of these were erected not in the aftermath of the civil war but between 1890 and 1920, the period in which segregation and 'Jim Crow' laws restricting African-Americans' rights were introduced in southern states that had been part of the Confederacy. A later flurry of memorials was erected in reaction to the civil rights movement in the 1950s and 1960s. Those erected in the earlier period were a conscious attempt by segregationists to 'rewrite history' by reconceptualising the civil war as a defence of states' rights rather than of slavery, in what American historians call the 'lost cause' narrative. Those who erected them sought to dominate the landscape, locating them at major intersections, outside courthouses and civic buildings, where they could assert segregationist power and authority over African-Americans.

Long-standing contestation over these memorials came to a head following racist murders in Charleston in 2015 and the killing of an anti-statue protestor in Charlottesville in 2017. These incidents have triggered the movement or removal of over 130 statues in more than 30 US cities, some by demonstrations, others by local government decision. These removals have been supported by the American Historical Association on the grounds that the monuments concerned were erected without democratic process and as instruments of intimidation, and that their movement or removal encourages discussion of the contested history concerned while allowing 'American communities [to] decide [what] is worthy of civic honor.'[98] It regards movement or removal of memorials not as changes to history but as reconsiderations of earlier decisions to erect them. The desire of city governments to remove monuments has, however, led to a backlash in their defence by some state governments, with different political orientations, which have legislated to prevent removal.

The most prominent removals have occurred in New Orleans, Louisiana and in Richmond, Virginia, both of whose city governments established formal consultation processes to develop comprehensive approaches for rememorialising their cities. Two quotations illustrate their goals. New Orleans' mayor described the city's existing memorialisation as 'an inaccurate recitation of our full past, … an affront to our present, and … a bad prescription for our future,' and the removal of statues as 'an acknowledgement that now is the time to take stock of, and then move past, a painful part of our history.'[99] Richmond's Memorial Committee recommended 'a comprehensive approach that creates an environment (and City) that celebrates the contributions of many diverse groups and acknowledges

the darker chapters of the City's past.'[100] Both, therefore, sought to build greater understanding of the complex historic past as well as the current values (and demographics) of their city populations.

Memorials in South Africa

South Africa, like the southern United States, demonstrates how the memorial landscape can be dominated by one narrative which fails to represent the nation's complex history or identity. In 1992, as apartheid was coming to an end, it was estimated that 97% of its 3600 declared historic monuments were symbols of white rule, only 3% (mostly rock art) associated with its black majority. The democratic government that followed the end of apartheid accepted the retention of monuments associated with minority rule as part of its approach to reconciliation, while authorising the creation of new memorials to African figures and some juxtaposition of old and new memorials.

This approach has been challenged, most notably in 2015 following the student-led Rhodes Must Fall campaign for removal of a statue of Cecil Rhodes at the University of Cape Town. This statue was located prominently within the university, where it was seen by protestors as representing South Africa's history of white rule and continued inequality in education and society at large. The campaign explicitly identified removal of the statue as a symbolic starting point for addressing racial inequality in the University and beyond, including changes in educational practice. Repeated demonstrations against the statue led to its removal by the University's Council, and inspired protests in other universities (including Oxford).

Southern Africa has had numerous memorials to Cecil Rhodes. Some remain, both in South Africa – notably at his Groote Schuur estate, where his statue has been damaged by protestors, and in Zimbabwe at his mausoleum in Matopos. Statues of Rhodes in Harare, Bulawayo and Mafikeng were removed when Zimbabwe and Namibia became independent.

Contested statues in Britain

There have been instances and campaigns for the movement of contested statues in Britain recently in addition to the Rhodes Must Fall campaign in Oxford, though actual removals have been few in number. The most prominent have concerned memorials to slave-traders:

- Protestors toppled a statue of the slave-trader Edward Colston in Bristol in June 2020. The mayor has since appointed a commission to consider Bristol's historic links with slavery and make recommendations about their future.
- The Trustees of the Museum of London Docklands removed a statue of the slave-trader Robert Gilligan from outside their building, also in June 2020, citing 'the crimes Milligan committed against humanity.'[101]
- The City of London Corporation has announced its wish to move two statues of figures associated with the slave trade – William Beckford and Sir John Cass – from its headquarters at the Guildhall and to replace them with alternative artworks that will be commissioned.
- Cardiff City Council voted to seek the removal of a statue of the slave-owner and colonial governor Thomas Picton from its Grade I listed civic centre, and covered it pending determination of an application for listed building consent.
- A degrading sculpture of a kneeling black man holding a sundial has been removed during review from its position in front of Dunham Massey Hall in Cheshire.
- The trustees of the Museum of the Home (formerly the Geffrye Museum) have decided not to move a statue of Sir Robert Geffrye on the frontage of its building, contrary to the majority view expressed in local consultation, but stated their intention to ''reinterpret the statue honestly and

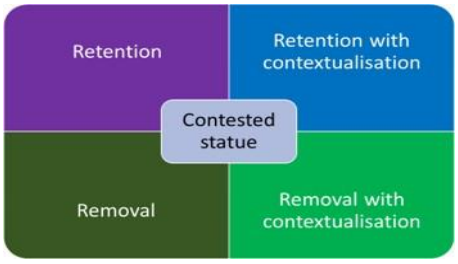
transparently to tell the history of Geffrye's career and his connections with the forced labour and trading of enslaved Africans,' acknowledge that it is 'the subject of fierce debate,' 'confront, challenge and learn from the uncomfortable truths of the origins of the Museum buildings,' and fulfil the Museum's 'commitment to diversity and inclusion.'[102] The location of this statue on the building is not dissimilar to Rhodes at Oriel, but the surrounding open space makes contextualisation much easier to accomplish.

- The Mayor of London and local authorities in some London boroughs, in Edinburgh and elsewhere have initiated local reviews of statuary and memorialisation in their jurisdictions, as has the Welsh government.

While some commentators have argued that the movement or removal of particular statues because of specific associations (for instance with slavery) will lead to demand for the movement or removal of a large number of statues for a variety of reasons, this does not seem to be justified by experience. The widespread removal of communist statuary in eastern Europe following the fall of communism and calls for the widespread removal of Confederate memorials in the United States have stemmed from their generic character as symbols of past repression and/or the roots of present inequality and injustice. Generally, however, it has been statues and memorials that are seen as especially salient or egregious that have been contested, while others have been mostly left alone.

Options for retention, movement and contextualisation of memorials

The final part of this chapter is concerned with the different outcomes that have arisen from or been proposed for contested statues and memorials. Literature and practice divides these into four broad categories, illustrated in Figure 2.



Those on the left of this diagram represent, in effect, a binary choice between retention and removal without contextualisation and therefore either the *status quo* or its outright rejection.

Retention of a memorial without contextualisation, should that occur, may well not be the end of the matter. Highly contested memorials are likely to remain potential sites of confrontation, particularly where local preferences have been overruled (as, for example, some state governments have sought to overrule city governments in relation to Confederate memorials). Some memorials, like the Bandeirantes monument in Sao Paolo, have been repeatedly defaced and required police protection. Even if protests tail off, opposition to contested memorials can be triggered again by incidents that take place later or elsewhere.

Outright removal of a memorial has remained quite rare, even in the United States. In most cases, campaigns have called for the movement of memorials from their existing locations to others where they will have less prominence and can be appropriately contextualised. Where outright removal has occurred, it has taken a number of forms, sometimes without contextualisation but often associated with other changes as part of a decision-making process by local government. Sometimes – usually where removal has been uncontentious – memorials have been removed and stored out of public view, either deliberately concealed or abandoned to dereliction out of prominence. Some have been sold or

given away – that of Queen Victoria, which once stood outside the Dail in Dublin, for instance, was relocated to Sydney at the time of Australia's bicentenary. Some Confederate memorials have found new homes in cemeteries or on private land. Some have been removed and quietly destroyed, like the unlamented statue of Jimmy Savile that once stood outside a Glasgow leisure centre. Sometimes destruction has been public – either at the hands of demonstrators (in eastern Europe at the fall of communism, most famously in Iraq, occasionally in the United States); very occasionally this might occur in a cathartic public ceremony.

Proposed resolutions in most instances of contested memorials, however, whether for retention or movement/removal, have been concerned with relocation and contextualisation. As noted earlier, statues and memorials lack nuance. They were usually erected with a purpose, often veneration or endorsement of a world view that was symbolised by the individual concerned, which did not admit or reflect alternative perspectives in their own time, let alone divergent views or different values that prevail today. Slaves are unrepresented alongside slave-holders and slave-traders. African-American experience of the Confederacy is absent from Confederate memorials. The victims of the gulag did not feature in Stalin's iconography. The statues of liberal and conservative politicians from the massive expansion in statue erection that took place during the nineteenth century represented their individual liberal or conservative perspectives rather than the contest that took place between them.

The histories to which statues and memorials belong are much more complex and multifaceted than the memorials themselves. Understanding both the memorials themselves and those histories requires an understanding of the whole societies of which they form a part: women as well as men, subjects as well as rulers, coalminers as well as coal owners, poor as well as rich, colonised as well as colonisers, the enslaved as well as the slave-holders, victims as well as victors. Enabling that contextualisation has been fundamental to both academic and popular history, to educational theory and practice, and to museums and the heritage sector, for at least a generation.

The importance of contextualisation has been emphasised by those with different viewpoints on specific statues and memorials because they tell such a partial story.

- Those who argue for moving memorials usually do so with the explicit aim of stimulating debate and understanding of the complex histories involved. Most calls for removal do not call for destruction but for relocation of memorials to sites where they can be properly contextualised, such as museums. The American Historical Association, for instance, 'urge[s] communities faced with decisions about monuments to draw on the experience of historians both for understanding the facts and chronology underlying such monuments and for deriving interpretive conclusions based on evidence.' It encourages communities 'to remember that all memorials remain artifacts of their time and place,' to record and photograph their original location, and to preserve them 'like any other historical document, whether in a museum or some other appropriate venue.'[103]
- Those that support retention likewise do so on the basis that retention, rather than movement, of memorials should provide a context for enhanced debate and understanding. . Historic England recommends 'thoughtful, long-lasting and powerful reinterpretation that responds to … contested history and tells the full story,' perhaps including 'new artworks, displays and counter-memorials, as well as intangible interventions, such as education programmes.'[104] The Secretary of State for Digital, Media, Culture and Sport, has made clear that public bodies should 'contextualise or reinterpret [memorials] in a way that enables the public to learn about them in their entirety and 'use them to educate people about all aspects of Britain's complex past, both good and bad.'[105]

Developing appropriate contextual material requires research and analysis that deepens understanding of historic sites and artifacts. Recognition of the need for contextualisation implies encouragement and

endorsement of that research and of the more extensive interpretation required to foster and spread the deeper understanding of complex histories that is then gained by both historians and the wider public. It is particularly important that academic institutions such as Oriel address them in understanding and interpreting their past. It is disappointing that some initiatives by heritage organisations to undertake the necessary research have been misrepresented or dismissed. They should be welcomed.

Contextualisation can take many different forms, irrespective of whether a statue or memorial is retained or removed. The nature of the space surrounding a monument is an important factor in determining what contextualisation is possible and what may need to be done to make it so. It is much more feasible to introduce substantive contextualisation or nuanced reinterpretation in large open spaces than it is, for example, on the facades of buildings in conservation areas. Removing statues to alternative locations is one way in which governments and institutions (such as museums and universities) can create opportunities to contextualise where local geography has made this difficult.

Explanatory notices which reflect contested histories and provenance are now commonplace in museums (not least in those that are part of Oxford University) and have increasingly been placed beside contested memorials. These represent the simplest form of contextualisation, but more substantial interventions have been proposed or implemented in some instances. Retained statues can be made less dominant within the landscape, for instance, by moving them from the centre to the periphery of public spaces, taking them down from pedestals, repositioning them or relandscaping areas around them. New features can be added to locations that complement or countervail memorials, adding different layers of understanding and interpretation, including displays providing information and representing different viewpoints, information kiosks or separate exhibition spaces, interactive educational resources, counter-memorials (for example juxtaposing images of victims of slavery alongside slavers) or contemporary artworks commissioned to foster interest, debate and broader understanding.

Some memorials have been repurposed or become sites for cultural events. Some have been appropriated to convey messages opposed to their first purpose, either officially or unofficially (as, for instance, in the nightly projection of Black Lives Matters images onto the statue of Confederate general Robert E. Lee in Richmond, Virginia).

Proposals for moving or removing memorials are usually associated, too, with contextualising text. A vacant niche or empty pedestal both requires explanation and provides an opportunity for it, including replacement with explanatory material, a counter-memorial or memorial to an alternative, uncontroversial figure, an unrelated contemporary artwork or (as on the fourth plinth in Trafalgar Square) changing artworks commissioned for the site. Memorials can be removed from outside buildings for relocation inside where contextualisation may be easier to accomplish (as proposed for the statue of the eugenicist Theodore Roosevelt at the American Museum of Natural History). They can be removed, redisplayed and recontextualised in museums that have the space and interest to takethem. They can be removed to other, less prominent, locations elsewhere in their host city, for exampleto existing parks (as in India), to cemeteries (as with some Confederate memorials) or to new public venues set up for the purpose (as in several towns in eastern Europe). Unofficial recontextualisation may emerge, such as the shadow of Rhodes' former statue painted on steps beside the plinth that it once occupied inside the University of Cape Town).

The basic question of movement/removal or retention *in situ* of a memorial is therefore only a starting point for consideration. As recognised by those on all sides of debates about memorialisation, including public authorities, contextualisation is fundamental to enabling broader understanding of its meaning and relevance, whatever the outcome reached regarding retention or removal.

Appendix C: Discussions with Oxford schoolchildren

Introduction

More than 30 000 young people aged 17 or younger are estimated to live in Oxford.[7] The Commission held three online events inviting school students in the city of Oxford to share their views as stakeholders in the future of the city. The first event was held with Year 5s at an Oxford primary school, while the subsequent events engaged two groups of Key Stage 4 and 5 students at an Oxford secondary school.

In preparation for these events, these schools were provided with an introductory PowerPoint for teachers to describe the contemporary context of 'contested spaces' which included the debates surrounding particular statues in the UK such as Edward Colston and Cecil Rhodes. During this introductory lesson, teachers informed students about the tasks of the Commission. Students were encouraged to think of questions they might have for the commissioners in the following live sessions.

Diversity and inclusion in Oxford University was the subject of the first half of each online event, giving students further context to the Commission's terms of reference. Thereafter students were given the opportunity to pose questions and comments to a group of commissioners and feed into the report. Surveys were distributed to students asking for their thoughts on the question of the Oriel Rhodes statue, on diversity and inclusion within educational institutions as well as how Oriel might strengthen its relationship with the city of Oxford.

Pupils strongly agreed (93% of respondents) that it was important for residents to be consulted on such matters by Oxford University and its colleges. One secondary pupil added "because it is our city and us Oxonians should decide too". When asked what Oriel should take into consideration when deliberating on the statue, another secondary student replied, "They should consider the opinions of the future generation." Both schools are within a four mile radius of Oriel College.

Embedding Equality, Diversity and Inclusion

The students were asked to reflect on what happens in their school which makes them feel included and then to suggest what they would expect at an inclusive higher education institution. Many of them identified the supportive nature of their pastoral structure at school and the importance of inter-personal relationships. School students often have a very close pastoral team who they will 'know' from Year 7 to Year 13. By naming the individual staff members they had turned to for help, students demonstrated that trust also played a strong role in how the system supported young people to succeed whilst overcoming any barriers they may face. This came across in sentiments such as, "They [the school] make you feel welcome and you can go to the head of year if you need any help or support." A suggestion by one of the primary pupils was around pairing students – which is common in both primary and secondary schools – explaining that a new person at the college should be shown around by a slightly less new person, for example, a person who had come to the college the year before, because they will remember what it's like to be new.

Pupils also identified the importance of having a diverse student body and staff as well as a diversity of cultural representation within the institution. A secondary school student explained that "We have many supportive staff and multicultures are special as it makes us feel connected to the world." Another suggested, "They could bring more cultural activities to help bring diversity to the university." While affirming these values, students also pointed out several complexities as one student, for example, noted that while it was important to have members of staff from different backgrounds, the student

[7] Office for National Statistics, 2019. Nomis Population Estimates, Oxford Local Authority.

worried that “that is problematic if the members of staff won’t feel like they are part of that community” at their place of work. Another student also warned against “performative action”, suggesting that gestures which only reflected surface-level interventions in the absence of deeper commitment or sincerity were found to be transparent and off-putting.

Relationship between Town and Gown

Connections to the university were highly unevenly distributed among pupils, with those with a parent who had an academic role in the university more often describing a high degree of engagement with colleges and many other students, particularly at secondary level, describing the university and colleges as more remote. Even for children of college employees (academic and non-academic), the degree of engagement varied considerably. For example, a student stated that he does not visit the college at which his father works while another described how she had met her fathers’ students and been to graduation events at the college. She also expressed how she appreciated the kids’ packs at graduation events “so it’s not only for adults”. A third of the primary students had these differing familial connections to colleges but more broadly all the primary school students had been on class trips to colleges and attended children’s events hosted by colleges (e.g. Christingle, Easter Egg Hunts). These gestures were important to younger members of the local community, making the college space more accessible.

By contrast almost half of the secondary students responded that they had never been to an Oxford college. More than three-fifths of secondary respondents answered that they did not know anyone who had attended Oxford University. A few students said they would personally prefer to apply to an HE institution further from home but also that they felt they lacked the academic ability to successfully apply to Oxford. One student said, “I’m not that intelligent for Oxford.” It appears that for these older students, Oxford’s reputation as an elite institution strongly shapes their relationship with the university.

Positioning of the Rhodes statue

While there was a diversity of views about how the college should respond to the question of the Rhodes statue, the majority of students expressed a wish for it to be removed from its current plinth. Students argued that statues should be ‘earned’ and a reflection of good deeds and that Rhodes did not merit such an endorsement. As one student put it, “They should take down the statue because a statue is an object used to glorify someone’s abilities and there isn't anything to glorify about him.” Another said, “isn't it obvious that you don't have statues of bad people?" Most students expressed that they didn’t feel the Rhodes statue reflected the values or aspirations of their community or wider society, what one student called “our current society’s motivations of moving past inequality." This sentiment was distilled in remarks such as:

- “I think Rhodes benefited the British people when he did what he did, but now in the modern day, we can come to accept what he did wasn't right."
- “I think they should remove the statue because yes he was well known but what he was known for goes against what we stand for as a society.”
- “I feel like keeping his statue portrays an image that Oxford wants to glorify somebody who exploited people of colour and it seems a bit bizarre since Oxford is a multicultural city."

Students also expressed concern about the impact of the statue, especially that such an emblem would be unsettling. One student reasoned, “They should take down the statue because it is hurtful for people of colour. It doesn't matter how powerful he was he chose to exploit innocent people and that shouldn't be commended." Similarly, another pupil said, “they should remove it because it has affected some

people and maybe their students. It can also affect their [Oriel's] reputation." In this context the removal of the statue could be a reparative gesture according to some students: "I think they should take down the statue because of the things he did and this will help give some people some justice to what he has done."

Secondary students were asked "Assume that you are applying to Oxford University and that you're choosing between colleges – would the presence of the statue put you off applying to Oriel College?" Two thirds of respondents stated that it would. One student added, "I don't want to be picked on for going to a potential bad person's college." Pupils also emphasised many other factors as important in their decision-making about applications to higher education institutions generally such as the courses offered, the diversity of the student body and their friends' choices.

A minority of students thought the statue should remain in situ. They were concerned about whether this would mean a loss of history, that "if you take it down it is a bit like getting rid of history." A secondary student argued that "They should not take it down. Was he a racist? Probably, but we must consider our history as we can teach what happened in our history and learn so we do not repeat what happened again." However, removing the statue was not seen as a loss of history by many of the other students. As a primary student reasoned, "The statue should be removed and put into a museum. He will still be remembered as an important part of history by Oriel College and others." Another agreed that "they should put the statue in a museum so people can see that in the olden days people did bad things and nobody should do them again."

While some students emphasised their feeling that the statue lacked any value at all by proposing that it should be relegated to the dump, others suggested a range of relocation options: a museum, High Street, Port Meadow, South Parks, the University Parks and Frideswide Square. A secondary student added that placing it somewhere near the train station would be suitable as tourists would still be able to see it. These responses implied that many students who wanted the statue moved felt that its current position atop Oriel was especially problematic and that there were more appropriate alternative placements for it. One student asked, "can't we move the statue, elsewhere, somewhere less significant?" Another explained "I think it needs to be taken down as people do feel uncomfortable with it being there and being so high up to almost imply that he's still using his white supremacy to dominate over the lives of others." Also emphasising the placement of the statue was a student who criticised the way such a symbol was "standing over one of the most prestigious universities in the world, wheresome may feel he is almost still dominating over them."

One primary student expressed concern that removing the statue would leave "an arch over nothing" and that replacements such as a window would lack meaning while "the statue has a meaning". A few students put forward ideas for what might replace the current statue on the plinth, such as a lion (to represent the Oriel crest). A secondary pupil proposed, "They should cover it up with a new design or statue, or even replace it with a historical figure who has helped developed racial equality or world peace as a respectable role model." Another suggestion was from a primary school student who said, "I would replace the statue with a Black Lives Matter fist." This reflects how young people are often aware of recent events as well as wider discussions in society.

However, a few pupils in both the primary and secondary groups assumed Rhodes was involved in the transatlantic slave trade, possibly due to the association with statues such as Colston's as well as discussions in the United States.[8] This demonstrates that there are opportunities for the university and Oriel to support the development of these topics in schools as well as to create additional spaces for learning and discussion.

[8] Another misperception was that Rhodes established Oriel.

Conclusion

Students' responses suggested that after primary school there were fewer opportunities for engagement with colleges despite their physical proximity (especially for students without familial connections to them). By the later years of secondary school, students viewed the university as a space which was 'not for us'. However, students felt strongly that their views should be considered in the topics discussed here, not only as residents of the city but also as a new generation articulating their values.

While students put forward a similar range of arguments about the topic as their older counterparts (such as the importance of learning from the past, the fear of erasing history and statues as means to glorify individuals), a major difference was the relatively stronger emphasis young people placed on understandings of racism as a lens for thinking about these issues. They argued not only for the importance of learning about the ways racism shaped the past and the need to address racism in the present but also for educational institutions to reflect these values. They wanted to see "what we stand for as a society" in the spaces around them. Some students emphasised that there was a particular onus on Oxford as an institution to consider the meaning of its symbols: "Even though he [Rhodes] has passed on, racism is still very much alive today and to move on we need people like him to be, yes, spoken about so that future generations can see that people like Rhodes were part of the problem … but not so obviously shown as a statue in a very famous university. In my opinion it should be taken down."

Questions of inclusivity do not only come about when a new cohort of students arrive at a college for the start of the academic year, but often long before this in the impressions and relationships built between young people and colleges. Oriel should develop opportunities to further engage with the young people of the city, through building partnerships with local schools and through considering the ways they are already connected to young people through college employees. This is a small part of a wider agenda of university access across the higher education sector. Opportunities need to be identified to attract the most talented students, irrespective of their background, to Oriel, to Oxford University and to Higher Education. As the students here have emphasised, encouraging diversity within institutions is not only a matter of equity but an enrichment of student life through engagement with a variety of views and life experiences.

Endnotes

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