



CHAPTER 9

David Oluwale: Making His Memory
and Debating His Martyrdom*Max Farrar*

INTRODUCTION

David Oluwale stowed away on the motor vessel *Temple Bar* which left Apapa Wharf in Lagos, Nigeria, on 16 August 1949. He and two others evaded detection as the ship was preparing to leave but were found during the voyage. They arrived at the port of Hull, on the north-east coast of England, on 3 September. As British citizens who had simply breached maritime regulations, they were merely sentenced to 28 days in jail. Oluwale was transferred to Armley Prison in Leeds, West Yorkshire.¹ He was among the 1600 stowaways estimated to have arrived in Britain between 1945 and 1951, two-thirds of whom came from West Africa and the rest from the West Indies.² Like them, Oluwale soon went to work in the least desirable manual occupations of 1950s Britain. Much of his twenty years in Yorkshire were spent in a psychiatric hospital in Leeds. On 4 May 1969 his body, bearing the marks of assault, was spotted by some children in the weir at Knostrop Cut, in the Aire and Calder canal, a mile or so east of Leeds' city centre.

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21 He was drowned, floating back towards Hull. On 23 November 1971,
22 Inspector Geoffrey Ellerker and Sergeant Ken Kitching were found guilty
23 of assaulting Oluwale, but, on the direction of Judge Hinchcliffe, they
24 were acquitted of his manslaughter.

25 David Oluwale's story was largely forgotten after the publicity gen-
26 erated by the court case died down until two books appeared in 2007:
27 Kester Aspden's *Nationality Wog—The Hounding of David Oluwale* and
28 Caryl Phillips' *Foreigners—Three English Lives*, which included a long
29 chapter titled 'Northern Lights', about Oluwale. To initiate a discus-
30 sion on whether David Oluwale might become a martyr, this chapter will
31 examine in some detail the different ways these books and several other
32 texts, including essays, plays, poems, songs and a film, have responded
33 since 1971 to his complex and tragic life.³

34 In interrogating these texts, the chapter does some of the work that
35 always has to be done in order for a claim of secular martyrdom to be
36 made. It examines the historical record, sifting through the material that
37 might be taken as fact. Crucially, it works through the value-positions
38 that have inflected the various texts, and debates whether or not an
39 account can be produced of the life of a person who may be positioned
40 as a martyr. The premise of this essay is that martyrdom is a sociologi-
41 cal and political process during which a particular narrative about the life
42 and death of the candidate for martyrdom is developed. This account
43 must include certain elements. One of these is the meaning of the candi-
44 date's life, which normally includes his or her moral status and what she
45 or he believed in and stood for. Another is the circumstances in which
46 the person died; martyrs' deaths are untimely and ethically unjustifiable
47 (at least by the standards of the time in which martyrdom is established).
48 Then some agents have to make a concerted effort for the candidate's
49 claim to be widely legitimated. This will involve educational and cam-
50 paigning work, often creating a public memorial of some sort. As this
51 chapter will show, some of these elements seem to be in place for David
52 Oluwale, but others remain moot.

53 POSITIONING DAVID OLUWALE

54 There is a great deal of material in the National Archives which shows
55 how officialdom responded to David Oluwale as he crossed the paths of
56 employers, police and prison officers, and medical and welfare personnel.
57 His friends have been interviewed, providing personality to the narrative.



58 When the police officers were in court, much more information entered
59 the record. But the process of framing this story is more complex,
60 requiring writers to foreground their value standpoints. ‘Martyr’ is one
61 such framing device. But in the case of David Oluwale, there are other
62 ways of contextualising his life which may be more useful.

63 Paul Gilroy’s notion of the Black Atlantic provides one abstract fram-
64 ing of David Oluwale’s story.⁴ David’s life and death bear out some
65 of the key points in Gilroy’s exposition of the Atlantic not simply as
66 an ocean, but as a conceptual space. David was a child of the British
67 Empire, growing up in Lagos, Nigeria. We don’t know whether he was
68 born in 1926, 1929, 1930 or 1931. This tells us straight away that he
69 was born poor, and outside the full rigour of the colonial bureaucracy.
70 His father worked in the fishing trade. In one of the artistic represen-
71 tations of David by Oladipo Agboluaje, his mother is depicted (on
72 stage, though not in the published script) as a lively market trader.⁵
73 In Jeremy Sandford’s 1974 radio play, David is portrayed as ambitious,
74 stowing away on a cargo ship in order to realise his dream of becom-
75 ing an engineer in Britain. But there is little certainty about his early
76 life in Africa. He left school at age 14 and worked as an apprentice tail-
77 or. ‘Subject is not recorded in this country’ is the fitting sign-off when
78 Interpol in Nigeria was asked in 1970 to investigate David’s history in
79 that country.⁶

80 The Atlantic erases black bodies and it erases memory; thus the his-
81 tories of impoverished black people are usually made invisible. David’s
82 ambition to escape poverty and create a new life in the ‘mother coun-
83 try’ relates directly to several aspects of Gilroy’s conceptual scheme.
84 David was forging a thoroughly modern existence out of the tools sup-
85 plied by the industrial West as they merged with an African sensibility, at
86 least partly shaped by a British colonial regime. He secreted himself on a
87 merchant ship in 1949 and was soon labouring to rebuild dirty, derelict
88 post-war Britain. David’s African-ness was already imbued with North
89 American-ness: his West African friends in Leeds in the early 1950s
90 called him Yankee, such was his admiration for the films and music
91 that were pulsing out of the USA and forming their global audience.
92 Agboluaje touchingly imagines David talking to his mother, Alice, saying
93 ‘I’m going to the labour exchange tomorrow.’⁷ They say there is tailoring
94 work for me there. I will sew Yankee trousers and people will say, is that
95 not Alice’s son looking like John Wayne?⁸ As Gilroy has established,
96 and all of Caryl Phillips’s novels exemplify, this crossing of the ocean is



97 also a crossing-over, an interweaving, of bodies and the cultures they
98 carry. In this early post-1945 period of British history, still burdened
99 with Empire, yet to acquire the double-edged sword of ‘postcolonial-
100 ity’, most of the incoming bodies were poor, but physically and mentally
101 agile.

102 Between 1946 and 1948, 102 stowaways came from Nigeria. Between
103 the summer of 1948 and the summer of 1949, 83 stowaways arrived in
104 Hull. Thirty (non-British) were immediately sent home, while 45 of the
105 53 British colonials received, like David, 28 days in jail.⁹ Another source
106 suggests 392 Nigerians arrived as stowaways between 1946 and 1949.¹⁰
107 Michael Banton stated that ‘illiterate’ West Africans were lured to Britain
108 by seamen ‘who spread ... exaggerated tales of a luxurious standard of
109 living’. Some of the earlier stowaways ‘were unemployed, others were
110 adolescent delinquents’; there is no evidence that David or his fellow
111 stowaways were in the latter category. Banton continued: ‘in recent years
112 nearly all the stowaways have been ambitious young literates. The view
113 held by some persons in official positions that stowaways are the “dregs”
114 of their own countries cannot be upheld.’ (As scrutiny tightened, only
115 25 Nigerians made it in 1953, six in 1952.)¹¹ Gabriel Adams explained
116 the situation succinctly in Corinne Silva’s film *Wandering Abroad*.
117 In 1948, in Lagos, he said: ‘There was no prospect of a better life for
118 me in my home town, with no education, so I decided to stow away,
119 with six of us’. They spent 23 days on SS *Duke of Sparta*.¹² Like David
120 Oluwale, Adams got a month in jail. Between 1949 and 1953 David
121 took a succession of unskilled jobs in small tailoring workshops, the rail-
122 ways, engineering factories, on building sites, in an abattoir, in the meat
123 market and at a gas company in Bradford, Sheffield and, mainly, Leeds.
124 One of his friends, Vincent Enyori, said, recalling the job he did with
125 David at Croft Engineering in Bradford: ‘They didn’t allow you to touch
126 machines so that you might have made some money.’¹³ His rapid circula-
127 tion through the labour market was one of many signs that David was
128 not a victim. First generation Caribbean migrants to Leeds have told me
129 that, however bad the jobs were and however noxious the racism they
130 encountered, they always knew they could jack it in and get another,
131 possibly better job a few hours later. Like them, David clearly did not
132 stand still. Nevertheless, these migrants were not the relatively privi-
133 leged African and Caribbean students who came to British universities
134 in this period. David and his friends were blatantly exploited by capital in
135 northern England.



136 After four years in manual jobs, David had a number of short stays
137 in prison, almost ten years (1953–1961 and 1965–1967) in a psychiat-
138 ric hospital, and two years as a destitute rough sleeper. During that last
139 period he was systematically abused by two Leeds policemen, Ellerker
140 and Kitching, who ‘hounded’ him to his death in the River Aire in
141 1969. (‘Hounded’ is the term used by the prosecutor when Ellerker
142 and Kitching came to trial in 1971. Its deliberate ambiguity is discussed
143 below.) With this sorry tale we pick up another point of Gilroy’s con-
144 ceptualisation of the Black Atlantic: David Oluwale provides us with a
145 tour of the hideous underbelly of modernity. If genocide—of Africans
146 and Jews in particular—was the extreme negative point of modernity, the
147 routine brutalisation of working-class, black African and Caribbean bod-
148 ies was its daily operation in David’s time.

149 Gilroy, however, also stresses the positive, syncretic aspects of the
150 Black Atlantic. His notion of a Black Atlantic prompts us to remember
151 David Oluwale as a man who bears a reading of the modern period that
152 highlights both the barbarism and the optimism that can arise when bor-
153 ders are crossed, boundaries are broken and interchange occurs. This
154 conceptual overview is very important. Framing the Oluwale story in this
155 nuanced way is more useful than the simpler notion that David was a
156 victim of racism and police brutality. It is important to record the rac-
157 ism and police violence that marked David’s life and death, but the Black
158 Atlantic frame allows us to include those foul acts while elaborating on
159 David’s agency, his dignity and his moments of pleasure in England’s
160 north.

161 A committee to investigate a memorial to David Oluwale was started,
162 at Caryl Phillips’s suggestion, in 2007–2008. The David Oluwale
163 Memorial Association was established as a charity in 2012. To date, it has
164 not used the terminology of martyrdom. Its framework respects Gilroy’s
165 Black Atlantic but is slightly different.¹⁴ It tells David’s story but also
166 points to the positive changes that have taken place in the city of Leeds
167 since his death in 1971. Black labour is still exploited, but the sites are
168 cleaner and less dangerous. Black people are still the object of racism and
169 police malpractice, but less so than in David’s day. Secondly, it adopts an
170 ‘intersectional’ approach to Oluwale’s life and death. A range of struc-
171 tural forces collided in David’s life and death, particularly institutional
172 racism and class exploitation. If we recall his characterisation (during
173 the trial of the officers accused of his manslaughter) as a biting, fight-
174 ing ‘miniature Mr Universe, as lithe as a panther’,¹⁵ we would add the



175 structuring factor of racialised masculinity to class and race. Oluwale's
176 mental ill health and destitution can be seen as the abject outcomes of
177 the operation of those intersecting forces on one man's body. Thirdly,
178 with the charity's memorial garden it aims to insert a narrative of hope
179 into this story. The garden will be close to the point on the River Aire in
180 the centre of Leeds where it is thought that David was last seen in 1969,
181 pursued by two men in police uniforms. It will be a place of beauty,
182 growth, tranquillity and reflection, containing world-class public art. It
183 will be a site for cultural expression and discussion, using information
184 accessible via smartphones, helping the city of Leeds to think about and
185 redress contemporary exclusions. One of those discussions will be about
186 whether or not David Oluwale might be positioned as a martyr.

187 In staking out these ideas and activities, the charity is doing the kind
188 of work that is done when martyrdom is being proposed. In its early
189 days as a working party, it requested and obtained support from the
190 Christian Bishops in Leeds, the leader of Leeds City Council, the chair
191 of the Leeds West Indian Centre, the president of Nigerian Community
192 Leeds, the Chief Constable and the editor of the *Yorkshire Evening Post*.
193 As a charity, it has carefully assembled a Board composed of people with
194 high credibility in civic life in Leeds. At its opening ceremony, on the
195 land destined to be the interim memorial garden, the Lord Mayor was
196 invited to make the key welcome address, and she enthusiastically agreed.
197 (A photo of Cllr Ann Castle, Lord Mayor (sic), in her chain of office,
198 flanked by Martin Patterson, the charity's first chair and a senior manager
199 at St George's Crypt, the leading homelessness charity in Leeds, launch-
200 ing the charity in 2013, appears below as Fig. 9.1).

201 MARTYRDOM: DOES DAVID OLUWALE FIT THAT FRAME?

202 In creating a garden with an iconic sculpture in the name of David
203 Oluwale, the charity is clearly engaging in another aspect of the work
204 required for martyrs. Its activities legitimate the claim that Oluwale is a
205 person most worthy of our memory, and the charity is mobilising the
206 resources needed to establish a permanent memorial. This work has a
207 significant origin. The idea for an Oluwale memorial in Leeds came to
208 Caryl Phillips as he read a plaque dedicated to the Jews who lived in
209 the ghetto imposed upon them by the Venetians (1516–1797). Phillips
210 grew up in the city of Leeds at the time when Oluwale lived and died
211 there. He researched David Oluwale's life and published his reflections



Fig. 9.1 Councillor Anne Castle, Lord Mayor of Leeds, speaking in support of the Oluwale Memorial at a cultural event on the site of ‘David’s Kitchen Garden’ in January 2013. (Copyright of Max Farrar)

212 in 2007. The Jews exterminated by the Nazis have been established as
213 collective martyrs. Similarly, as described in this volume, the people who
214 were killed at Tolpuddle are a (much smaller) group now seen as secu-
215 lar martyrs. In the religious tradition, however, martyrs were individuals
216 who were persecuted and killed because of their defiance in standing up
217 for their religious beliefs. More recently, martyrdom has been granted to
218 people who died for their political beliefs. David Oluwale was not known
219 for his beliefs. On the face of it, therefore, he only fits one element of
220 that narrative: his utter refusal to give into the police officers’ efforts to
221 beat him out of the city centre. As we shall see, Oluwale was an enor-
222 mously courageous man. But so far as we know, he did not die for any
223 ideology. What we know, and what we can only speculate about in terms
224 of David Oluwale, is investigated in the following sections in order to
225 provide a platform for further discussion of the applicability of martyr-
226 dom to this man. Thus, in discussing whether or not David Oluwale
227 might be added to the pantheon of martyrs, I will address the following



228 questions. What are the sources for our knowledge of David Oluwale?
229 How credible are the portraits that emerge from these sources? Was
230 David Oluwale killed, and if so, under what circumstances? What did
231 David believe in? What did he stand for? Can his death be understood
232 ideologically? In what sense of the term might David Oluwale be seen as
233 a martyr?

234 HOW DO WE KNOW DAVID OLUWALE? THE PROBLEM
235 OF MEMORY, THE PROBLEM OF WRITING

236 *Examining Texts by Jeremy Sandford and Kester Aspden*

237 The evidential status of memory is a key problem when we examine in
238 detail the various representations of David Oluwale. Since this is a relatively
239 recent history, the key texts—which I take as Sandford, Aspden
240 and Phillips—utilise the recorded memories of people who knew David,
241 as well as, in varying amounts, relevant histories of the time, other
242 records (particularly those in the UK's criminal justice archives) and, in
243 Phillips's case, complex shifting points of view, including one which is
244 Phillips's own viewpoint.¹⁶ Corinne Silva's short film *Wandering Abroad*
245 (2009) also employs three first-person narratives reflecting on David
246 Oluwale. So the first issue to be addressed is what we make of personal
247 memories, particularly those of people who are asked to recall events
248 more than 40 years after someone's death.¹⁷

249 The trial in November 1971 of police officers Ellerker and Kitching,
250 accused of David's manslaughter and of actual and grievous bodily
251 harm, made Oluwale something of a cause célèbre in Leeds, and to
252 some extent nationally. Thus, many of those interviewed have had cause
253 to reflect over the years. In the process of reflection, all sorts of things
254 that have been heard, read and thought about on other occasions will
255 interrupt, and interact with, the recall of an incident. Jeremy Sandford
256 relied so heavily on the memory of Maureen Baker that a character called
257 Maureen appears in his play *Smiling David* (broadcast by Brighton BBC
258 radio in May 1972). Sandford had interviewed Maureen extensively just
259 a year after the trial. Maureen Baker was an important figure in anti-racist
260 organising in Leeds from the 1960s until shortly before her death in
261 2012. She formed the Leeds branch of the Congress of Racial Equality
262 and the Campaign Against Racial Discrimination. For many years she was



263 a leading figure in the Council for Community Relations in Leeds. She
264 served as the UK Immigrant Advisory Service officer in Leeds. In con-
265 versation over the years, she told me she was of Irish origin, drawn to
266 the West Indian community in Leeds when she shared the doctor's sur-
267 gery in Chapeltown, Leeds, in the mid-1950s with other young pregnant
268 women. Sandford frames his account of David Oluwale as a 'true story'
269 based on facts provided to him by Maureen and by statements made
270 under oath in court. For Maureen's account, as rendered by Sandford, to
271 be absolute fact, she would have had to be meeting with David Oluwale
272 in Leeds, more specifically in a club in Leeds, some time before he was
273 incarcerated at Menston hospital on 11 June 1953. But, according to
274 my communication with Maureen's daughter Abi Clay, Maureen was in
275 London in 1953. She was pregnant in 1955, which is no doubt when
276 she met the West Indian women she told me about.¹⁸ By this time David
277 was being treated with electroconvulsive therapy (ECT) and largactyl in
278 Menston Asylum.

279 There is a literature on the use of personal narratives in the writing
280 of history which emphasises the problems therein. As Lynn Abrams has
281 pointed out, 'memory is an active process ... a complex, fluid and con-
282 tingent thing'.¹⁹ Working on the personal statements assembled over
283 many years by the Mass Observation archive at Sussex University, James
284 Hinton has observed that people's memories are 'shaped by the public
285 memories of the times they had lived through'. Implying that historians
286 are not so different from the 'mass observers', he added that in writing
287 history we are finding 'meaning in our lives, reflexively standing outside
288 ourselves sufficiently to understand ourselves as creatures of our times'.²⁰
289 Gunter Grass wrote: 'Memory likes to play hide-and-seek, to crawl away.
290 It tends to hold forth, to dress up, often needlessly. Memory contradicts
291 itself; pedant that it is, it will have its way.'²¹ This brings to mind the
292 trickster figure beloved in West African and Caribbean culture.²² The
293 complex interaction between memory, the public discourses of the times
294 when memories are formed and, I would add, the values held by those
295 whose memories are being sought and those making the interpretations,
296 should be born in mind throughout this chapter. Recognising the com-
297 plexity of the process of making history helps us to understand the lacu-
298 nae and even the contradictions among the people interviewed in pursuit
299 of David Oluwale's story, and it explains the wide differences in the anal-
300 ysis of this life among those who have spoken to criminal investigators



301 or written, recited, sung and made films based on the stories they have
302 absorbed.

303 Grass's view that memory dresses itself up is a poetic way of approach-
304 ing Maureen Baker's recollection. The early period that Maureen
305 described—that of the smiling, dancing, would-be engineering stu-
306 dent David Oluwale—was the period before Maureen arrived in Leeds.
307 She can have no memory of this. But she might well have heard that
308 story told by David's early friends. Abi Clay refers, with affection, to
309 her Mum's 'fable history'. The same story, reproduced by Sandford, is
310 spoken by Arthur France, a good friend of Maureen Baker, in Corinne
311 Silva's filmed interview with him: 'David used to like dancing.'²³ Arthur
312 France arrived in Leeds in 1957.²⁴ If David did enjoy dancing, and it is
313 likely from other accounts that he did, this would have been between
314 1949 and 1953, long before Arthur France became aware of him in the
315 1960s.

316 Aspden interviewed Maureen Baker. He simply summarises what she
317 said to him in a brief appendix to his book.²⁵ His main text bears lit-
318 tle or no relation to Maureen Baker's memory, or to Sandford's ver-
319 sion derived from interviews with Baker. Aspden interviewed several of
320 David's contemporaries, who reported their memories of time they spent
321 with David both in the early 1950s and in the 1960s, when he emerged,
322 broken, from Menston Asylum/High Royds Psychiatric Hospital (the
323 latter was the new name for Menston). Since these were David's actual
324 friends, it is understandable that Aspden relies on their accounts, and
325 presents them as true. But it is important to acknowledge that these are
326 still memories, subject to the tricks that memory plays. These friends'
327 accounts do speak to the 'happy' David, in his early years in Leeds, sum-
328 marised in Sandford's title *Smiling David*.²⁶

329 The portrait that emerges here is worth considering since it adds to
330 the bathos of David's life. David seems to have come to Leeds because
331 his fellow stowaway, Johnny Omaghomi, had friends in that city.²⁷
332 Gabriel Adams, known as Gayb, one of Johnny's Nigerian friends in
333 Leeds, told me how much they enjoyed themselves in the pubs and clubs
334 of Leeds.²⁸ They soon found ways around the hostility of white men
335 when white women agreed to dance with them. Aspden also interviewed
336 Gayb, and records him persuading the DJ to announce a 'general excuse
337 me' dance, which allowed the black men to cut in on white couples.²⁹
338 He speaks of this, smiling broadly, in his interview with Corinne Silva.³⁰
339 In Silva's film, Arthur France also talks of wearing his three piece suit



374 in Sandford's text. A happy life with wife and children brutally cut short
375 is not a sufficient criterion for martyrdom, so whether or not this is an
376 entirely true picture of David Oluwale is irrelevant to the wider discus-
377 sion here, but it is important to recognise that there is no objective truth
378 about David Oluwale. The point made by Alessandro Portelli in discuss-
379 ing the importance of oral history is exemplified in these constructions of
380 David's story: 'There are no "false" oral sources.' He wrote that the his-
381 torian checks them against other evidence, and he is correct to say that
382 "wrong" statements are still psychologically "true", and that this truth
383 may be equally as important as factually reliable accounts'.³⁵

384 *Examining Texts by Caryl Phillips*

385 Kester Aspden adopts the voice of a hard-bitten, objective historian,
386 while Caryl Phillips takes an entirely different approach, as enthusiasts for
387 his novels would predict.³⁶ Phillips presents his Oluwale text in several
388 different voices: as imaginative novelist; as historian of the facts about
389 Leeds; as transcriber of the memories of people he has interviewed; as
390 purveyor of retrieved documents (mainly from court statements); and
391 as an omniscient narrator, interrogating his subject, sometimes writing
392 in the first person, taking the stance of a contemporary researcher into
393 David's life in Leeds, even presenting his own opinions. These narra-
394 tive styles sit alongside each other with no subheadings, and the reader
395 is pulled through a variety of viewpoints. The effect is to make each
396 of us a critical reader, continually questioning the ideological status of
397 each section of the text, and thus always being reminded of the precari-
398 ous nature of truth. In this sense, Phillips might appear to have adopted
399 a postmodern approach to writing about past events, but I suggest this
400 is a prime example of the genre-breaking polyphonic form many have
401 enjoyed in his novels. John McLeod's observation that in *Crossing the*
402 *River* (Phillips's 1993 novel) the reader experiences 'a sonic space of dif-
403 ference, polyvocality and variation' applies to Phillips's representation of
404 David Oluwale.³⁷ (Since Phillips writes about Oluwale in many voices,
405 moving between fiction and fact, perhaps we could coin the term 'fac-
406 tion' for his style here?)

407 The chapter on David Oluwale in his book *Foreigners* is titled
408 'Northern Lights'. Phillips's novels are always interested in the particu-
409 larities of place, and when it comes to his northern home city, Leeds,
410 he is even more specific. Phillips arrived in Leeds in from St Kitts in



411 1958. David's territory, as he persistently carved out some warmer space
412 for himself in shop doorways in the centre of Leeds, was not far from
413 Caryl Phillips's childhood home. In those sections of 'Northern Lights'
414 where place is named, particularly where Leeds's history is set out, the
415 text gives the appearance of verisimilitude. Phillips's approach to tell-
416 ing the history of Leeds bears importantly on the ideological context in
417 which any claim to Oluwale's martyrdom might be placed. His first his-
418 torical section on Leeds has two main points. Firstly, we see the crucial
419 importance of water to the city's growth and prosperity. David crossed
420 an ocean and drowned in the River Aire which flows through the city
421 centre. The river is the reason for the first settlements in this part of
422 northern England. (Corinne Silva's beautiful film uses long shots of the
423 River Aire interspersed with her interviews. Phillips's 2009 essay in the
424 catalogue that accompanied the film is called 'The City by the Water'.)
425 Secondly, this passage reminds us all that, since the earliest days of settle-
426 ment, Leeds has been a place of immigration, attracting Celts, Romans,
427 Anglo Saxons, Vikings and Normans.³⁸ A later history section takes us
428 from the eighteenth century to the present, again emphasising the city's
429 connections by water. By 1816 a waterway linked Leeds to Liverpool;
430 the canal to Hull was already in place. Thus Leeds was a global city by
431 the early nineteenth century. Phillips did not feel the need to make the
432 point that this connection to Liverpool was Leeds's connection to slav-
433 ery. In this section Phillips picks up his abiding concern with the wid-
434 ening gap between rich and poor, and the fact that drunkenness, crime
435 and destitution were already rife among the latter. Requiring readers to
436 think of Oluwale, he writes: 'The Leeds Workhouse was always full', and
437 'vagrants and paupers [were] on the streets'. We learn that Armley gaol,
438 one of David's prisons, was built by 1847 'to cope with vagrants and
439 other undesirables'.³⁹ A third historical section (pp. 209–226) brings
440 the migration story up to date. Phillips describes the arrival of the Jews
441 and the Irish in the nineteenth century, noting their status as unwelcome
442 outsiders, and the miserable conditions of existence that they endured.
443 Africans and Caribbeans only settled in very small numbers in David's
444 time (107 from the Caribbean and forty-five from Africa in 1951; by
445 1961 just over 2,000 black people lived in Leeds, which meant they were
446 'visible and vulnerable', but still 'a community was being formed'.)⁴⁰
447 While these history pages mainly take an objective tone, a curious break
448 appears where Phillips includes, with my name attached, an email I sent
449 him in 2006. My comments are manifestly sociological, mixing facts



450 about Chapeltown's buildings with interpretation based on my long
451 study of that area of Leeds in which most black and Asian people had
452 settled since the 1950s.⁴¹ This authored section serves to remind read-
453 ers that Phillips is constructing his history from a variety of texts infused
454 with their writers' values. The emphasis on migration, poverty and vul-
455 nerability in the story of Leeds that he has produced exhibits Phillips's
456 own values.

457 Phillips moves easily from history to speculative reconstruction. The
458 opening few pages of 'Northern Lights' stage a meeting between a West
459 Indian adolescent and David Oluwale on Chapeltown Road. At first the
460 reader might think this was Caryl Phillips's own youthful meeting with
461 David. Then we learn that this is the voice of a young black woman.⁴²
462 So anyone who has taken the trouble to learn that Caryl Phillips is not
463 Carol Phillips is made aware that the author is revisiting his work as a
464 novelist here.⁴³ There are other parts of the complex narrative Phillips
465 has constructed in which readers will assume from the authorial voice
466 that they are getting the facts about David. The home at 209 Belle
467 Vue Road in which Oluwale sometimes lodged is referred to—but, for
468 Phillips, it is a discordant, polyglot place, and he makes no mention of
469 Gladys or children.⁴⁴ Phillips repeats the dubious engineering aspiration,
470 putting him in college on some nights of the week,⁴⁵ probably derived
471 from his own interview with Maureen Baker.

472 The next section, separated only by a blank line, reverts to the first
473 person, but it is not the young girl's voice from the opening section.
474 I can recognise this as the voice of Maureen Baker, constructed from
475 Phillips's interview with her. (This is confirmed by Abi Clay, Maureen's
476 daughter.) We now know that this section is fictitious, because the nar-
477 rator gives the date as 1950 or 1951, and Abi told me that Maureen
478 was in Ireland in those years. In this 'memory', this informant noticed
479 that David was in the Cambridge Pub on North Street, one of the few
480 that did not operate a colour bar, and that he was smartly dressed.
481 There actually was a Cambridge public house, but it was on Chapeltown
482 Road,⁴⁶ not North Street, and it probably did admit black clientele.
483 Baker is transcribed as saying she saw him leave the pub in a different
484 direction to the other Africans. David went, according to Maureen's
485 fable, towards the university area of Leeds, so she assumed he was a stu-
486 dent, while the other Africans were workers.⁴⁷ Again, there are potential
487 truths to be excavated here. David might well have had a drink in the
488 Cambridge in the 1950s and even in the 1960s. (It was demolished in



489 the late 1960s.) Maureen might have seen him there in the mid-1960s.
490 Since he did sometimes live in the Hyde Park area (his occasional lodg-
491 ing place in Belle Vue Road is in Hyde Park), which is where the old
492 university is, he would sometimes have walked off in that direction. The
493 only photo of David, taken by the police, shows him in a suit. There
494 was a group of West African university students in Leeds in the mid-
495 1950s, including Wole Soyinka and Ngugi wa Thiongo. (There were at
496 least 2,548 West African students in UK universities in the academic year
497 1952–1953.)⁴⁸ But Caryl Phillips told me that his friend Wole Soyinka
498 told him that the West African students in Leeds did not drink with their
499 working-class compatriots.

500 Oluwale's friend Gabriel Adams said to me that in this period no
501 Africans walked alone in Leeds, because there was always a chance they
502 would encounter violent racism. That is a view confirmed by one of
503 Phillips's narrators, another Nigerian stowaway who arrived in Leeds
504 just after David. This man fills out David's character, stating that David
505 strongly objected to the racism they were subjected to and could be
506 highly verbally aggressive, especially with the police, 'always telling
507 them to "fuck off"'. He said that David, unlike the rest of them, would
508 walk off on his own, because he was a loner.⁴⁹ The important question
509 of whether or not David was mentally ill before he reached Menston in
510 1953 requires more research, but it is significant that this narrator, as set
511 out by Phillips, said that David 'wasn't crazy, he just didn't understand
512 the system, that's all'. The clear implication is that, in this person's opin-
513 ion, David did not follow the informal rule of the other Africans at this
514 time that you put up with racism and police abuse; you do not contest
515 it. He described David as short and stout; Maureen described him as
516 slim.⁵⁰ Police records imply he was short and stout. Police records are
517 assumed to be accurate—but they are not always necessarily so. It has
518 to be stressed that here, just as with Maureen's eloquence, we are deal-
519 ing with individual memory, which can dress itself up. With the court
520 records, and with the email inserted from me, names are given. This
521 technique again prompts us to ask questions about the truth claims of
522 each section of Phillips's story. Maureen then appears for a third time.
523 ⁵¹ Her account is confusing about dates. Was the meeting she described
524 on Woodhouse Moor with David, now severely ill, in the 1961–1965
525 period, when he was out of hospital, or 1967–1969 after his second spell
526 in hospital? Because Baker mentioned the Black Power movement start-
527 ing in Leeds, and said that David was sleeping rough in the city centre,



528 it is probably the latter period. She said she and her husband sometimes
529 took David into their house near Woodhouse Moor for the night. That
530 is corroborated by Abi, her daughter, who told me that she remembered
531 as a child being frightened by this dishevelled, mute man in her family's
532 kitchen.⁵² Maureen said to Phillips that he would read the *Guardian*,
533 stoutly refuse any further help and go on his way. No one else ever
534 spoke of David as someone who might read the *Guardian*, and it was
535 one of Baker's trademarks to remind everyone that black migrants to
536 Britain were much smarter than white people ever recognised. In Kester
537 Aspden's book we also read of David's pride, dignity and resolute inde-
538 pendence, even at the end of his time. So again I feel that there is some-
539 thing real in Maureen's statement. In her brief fourth appearance in
540 Phillips's account of David Oluwale,⁵³ Maureen makes an observation
541 which strikes me as highly important. She points out that David could
542 have avoided the brutality of Ellerker and Kitching by sleeping outside
543 the city centre. But he kept going back to their city centre beat (pun
544 intended). '[H]e wouldn't give up.' David Oluwale wanted to 'claim his
545 right to be in the city'.

546 THE IDEOLOGICAL CONTEXT

547 The ideological context of Oluwale's story is beginning to emerge.
548 When Baker spoke of Oluwale staking out his claim to the right to stay
549 in the centre of Leeds, the words 'to be' in Maureen Baker's sentence
550 quoted by Phillips hold great poignancy. David Oluwale was denied the
551 right to 'be'. In this he had something in common with all the black
552 people I have interviewed and worked with since the 1970s in Leeds.
553 It was very rare for a black person to go into the city centre at night.
554 The reggae singer Paulette Morris made this very point at the Remember
555 Oluwale Partnership Symposium (in Leeds, on 17 May 15), marvelling
556 when her teenaged daughters blithely announced a few years ago that
557 they were 'off to town'. Some of today's older black people in Leeds
558 remember the physical battles they fought in the mid-1980s with racist
559 whites to stake out their 'right to be' in the city centre's newly burgeon-
560 ing night-time economy. David was their pioneer.

561 Earlier, the politics of Oluwale's story were set out in graffiti. I am
562 one of many who first enquired about David's case because, in 1972,
563 I saw the words REMEMBER OLUWALE, painted in large white let-
564 ters, on the dark Yorkshire stone wall near the Hayfield Hotel on



565 Chapeltown Road. A member of the West Indian Afro Brotherhood, a
566 militant Black Power grouping active in Chapeltown at this time, had
567 written these words some time after the trial of Ellerker and Kitching
568 in November 1971. This stimulates reflection on ‘collective memory’.
569 The Brotherhood (which included women) saw Oluwale’s fate as symp-
570 tomatic of the plight of all black people, not only in Leeds but across
571 the UK in the 1970s. This claim is controversial. Reference to black
572 people as a collective, remembering Oluwale and responding to his life
573 and death as a group, is refuted in Kester Aspden’s account of David
574 Oluwale’s life and death. Responding to his interview with me, Aspden
575 wrote:

576 In Chapeltown, ‘Remember Oluwale’ was daubed on a wall near the
577 Hayfield pub but in truth Chapeltown never really knew him. In what
578 sense was he really part of a ‘black community’, any community for that
579 matter, this man who died on the streets protected by nobody. This man
580 who twice went to the grave unmourned.⁵⁴

581 There is no question mark here because Aspden appears not to accept
582 the notion that people sometimes think collectively and, in this case,
583 advocate active remembering as part of a political project, however they
584 may respond to an individual. (The testimony Aspden quotes in his
585 book from African friends of David, and Maureen Baker and her hus-
586 band Paul, who did try to help him, somewhat contradicts his claim that
587 individuals abandoned him.) But Aspden might be hinting at a wider
588 point about this graffiti. It might allude to guilt that people felt when
589 they recognised, too late, that David had been cruelly failed by individu-
590 als and institutions in the city.⁵⁵ It is clear, however, that Aspden takes a
591 literalist view of ‘community’. He ignores evidence, such as the material
592 I included in an earlier reference to David Oluwale, that not only peo-
593 ple of African origin, but leaders of both the Indian (Sikh and Hindu)
594 and Muslim (Pakistani and Bangladeshi) populations in Leeds placed on
595 record to a 1972 Parliamentary Select Committee that David’s death
596 demonstrated ‘racial prejudice’ and incited ‘the ordinary man’s suspi-
597 cions about the partiality of the police’.⁵⁶ Aspden merely notes their ‘ref-
598 erence’ to Oluwale.⁵⁷ These leaders stretched beyond the boundaries of
599 ethnicity to see the connections between this African man’s brutalisation
600 and the fate of all people of colour in Leeds. For them, ‘community’ is
601 wide. Aspden presumably rejects the argument I and others have made



602 that ‘community’ is an ideal, something yearned for, as well as something
603 with real, practical components. The treatment of David Oluwale by
604 ‘official’ Leeds demonstrates the polar opposite of the ideals of ‘commu-
605 nity’ that so many of us espouse and struggle towards.

606 The ideological context in Leeds in the 1950s, 1960s and 1970s, of
607 racial prejudice and anti-racist solidarity, often crossing colour borders, is
608 crucial to a full understanding of the plight of David Oluwale. That prej-
609 udice was well documented by the time of Oluwale’s death and provided
610 part of the basis for the anti-racist movement that was forming. The
611 most authoritative survey at the time, by Policy and Economic Planning,
612 was reported in 1967. It examined 500 potential discriminators (includ-
613 ing employers, trade unions, housing providers and services such as
614 insurance companies) and showed that discrimination was demon-
615 strated in 90% of the ‘situation tests’ they set up, where the experiences
616 of African, Caribbean, South Asian, Cypriot and Hungarian immigrants
617 were studied. In an employment test, fifteen white English people and
618 ten white Hungarians were told there was a vacancy and they should
619 apply, but only one ‘coloured immigrant’ got that response. Three out
620 of four housing accommodation agencies were practising racial discrimi-
621 nation, while two out of three estate agencies were doing the same.⁵⁸
622 Other surveys were similarly emphatic. One in north London in 1964
623 established that 49% of residents objected to having a black neighbour.
624 In another, 62% of people polled by the Institute of Race Relations jus-
625 tified their hostility to immigrants with the (erroneous) argument that
626 immigrants took more from the welfare services than they put in via
627 taxation.⁵⁹ Racists attacked Asians in Leeds shortly after David Oluwale
628 died. A small white gang set upon Bhupinder Singh, Dian Singh Ball and
629 other Asians in the Burley area of Leeds, just north of the city centre,
630 on 27 July 1969. One of the gang, Kenneth Horsfall, was killed. A few
631 days later, somewhere between 800 and 1000 white men and women
632 surged into Hyde Park Road, attacking Asian-owned shops and setting
633 fire to a car believed to be owned by a Pakistani. Humphry and John
634 reported: ‘Nazi salutes were given and cries of “Sieg Heil” as scuffles
635 between the police and the crowd broke out. Four policemen were hurt
636 making twenty-three arrests.’⁶⁰ This was the context in which Maureen
637 Baker, her friends in the United Caribbean Association and others
638 took up Oluwale’s cause and many other instances of racism in Leeds,
639 often organised under the auspices of the Campaign Against Racial
640 Discrimination.⁶¹ Racism, Black Power and the multicultural anti-racist



641 movement in this period provides one leg on which a claim to martyr-
642 dom might stand. Even if David Oluwale did not actively proclaim a
643 set of beliefs, he might be positioned as representing all those black and
644 brown people who were subjected to vicious racism in the UK from the
645 1950s onwards. ‘He died for us’ might be said of David Oluwale.

646 WAS DAVID OLUWALE MURDERED BY TWO POLICE
647 OFFICERS IN LEEDS?

648 *Examining Texts by Leeds United fans, Ian Dubig, Linton Kwesi Johnson,*
649 *Dave Whittaker, Kester Aspden Jeremy Sandford, Oladipo Agboluaje and*
650 *Caryl Phillips*

651 For Oluwale to be positioned as a martyr, the circumstances of his
652 death have to be agreed upon. If he was murdered by two white police-
653 men because he was black, in a context of widespread racial prejudice,
654 the case would be strengthened for stretching the parameters of martyr-
655 dom to include David Oluwale. Proponents of his martyrdom might
656 argue that David Oluwale stands for the rights of all black people to live
657 in dignity and for the human rights of all members of a society. They
658 could argue that he was murdered by people who denied him his auton-
659 omy and his rights, and that his killers stood for the wider forces of rac-
660 ism operating in Britain. ‘David was martyred because he was black in a
661 racist society’ might run in parallel with those who say ‘the Tolpuddle
662 demonstrators were martyred standing up for the rights of their class in
663 a society where the working class are oppressed and exploited by a ruling
664 class’.

665 Was David Oluwale murdered by Ellerker and Kitching? On this there
666 is a clear contradiction between what the judicial record established and
667 what most commentators, particularly in published poetry and song,
668 have argued. There is no doubt that he drowned in the River Aire. The
669 question that remains for everyone who lacks confidence in the British
670 judicial system is whether or not he was deliberately killed.

671 Leeds United football fans, sections of whom were openly racist at the
672 time, made their answer to that question very clear. In the early 1970s,
673 after the trial of these infamous officers, to the tune of ‘Michael, Row the
674 Boat Ashore’, they chanted this to the force assembled to keep them in
675 order at each home game:



676 The River Aire is chilly and deep—Oluwale
677 Never trust the Leeds Police—Olu-wa-a-le

678 To the tune of ‘My Old Man’, they would sing:

679 Policeman said ‘Get in the van,
680 Don’t dilly dally on the way’
681 The had him in the van and in half a minute
682 They were down by the river and they chucked him in it
683 Cos he dillied and he dallied, dallied and dillied
684 Lost his way and dint know where to roam
685 And you can’t trust a copper if your name is Oluwale
686 When you can’t find your way home.⁶²

687 It is doubtful that the Leeds United fans knew just how poignant was
688 the last line: ‘When you can’t find your way home’. In Yoruba, ‘Oluwale’
689 means ‘God comes home’. The critically acclaimed Leeds poet Ian
690 Duhig included these lines about David Oluwale in his poem ‘from “The
691 Masque of Blankness”’:

692 He was a paradox, a Christian
693 and godson of Oceanus and Oshun
694 whose surname *Oluwale’s* Yoruba
695 in English ‘God Comes Home’—God’s own County
696 Yorkshire! What could be more right than that?
697 His last home was our Holy City Centre
698 final circle of his Christian hell.⁶³

699 Duhig refers directly to the football chant in another poem, ‘Via
700 Negativita’, in its final stanza, the only one which uses Oluwale’s name.
701 This powerful poem does, however, remind us of the ECT and lar-
702 gactyl imposed on David in hospital, and it is redolent of the insult to
703 Christianity that David’s life represents. In Duhig’s poem, Leeds is ‘Not



704 City of God but Motorway City'; David inhabits 'Not My Father's
 705 Mansion but Chapeltown slum'. David is 'Not fisher of men fished from
 706 a weir'. Duhig places David 'Wandering Abroad' in the centre of Leeds.
 707 Since this collection was published the Oluwale paradox in Leeds has
 708 intensified: a glittering new shopping mall called Trinity has arisen at the
 709 rear of the Holy Trinity church on Boar Lane. That church, dating from
 710 1727, was one of David's sleeping places and is close to the river. In
 711 another poem, 'Flooding Back', specifically in memory of David, Duhig
 712 writes, 'masked gods walk among us as a test / for hospitality's a sacred
 713 duty / binding all who claim morality'.⁶⁴ Leeds's 'Holy City Centre'
 714 hardly matched that duty. If a poem about Oluwale the martyr was to be
 715 written, Ian Duhig would be the person to turn to.

716 Ian Duhig doesn't answer the 'murder' question. Two other artistic
 717 responses to Ellerker and Kitching's trial appeared in 1975 and 1979
 718 from an equally illustrious source, but took a different approach. In the
 719 poem 'Night of the Head' Linton Kwesi Johnson wrote:

720 Such a victim of terror as he was,
 721 Oluwale on the last onslaught,
 722 just broke into pieces and died.⁶⁵

723 In his later poem 'Time Come', Johnson, backed by Dennis Bovell's dub
 724 band, went further:

725 When yu fling me inna prison
 726 I did warn yu
 727 When yu kill Oluwale
 728 I did warn yu
 729 When you pick upon de Panthers
 730 I did warn yu.⁶⁶

731 It is important to note that Johnson has no hesitation in saying that
 732 Oluwale was a victim of terror, who died 'in the last onslaught' and, just
 733 in case there is any ambiguity, he adds 'you' killed Oluwale. I read 'you'
 734 here not as 'the police', but as 'you white British'. The second poem,
 735 with its overt reference to the Black Panthers in London, of which



736 Johnson was a member in the early 1970s, is redolent of the political
737 rage of black Britain.

738 Another poetic response from Dave Whittaker, a Leeds taxi driver,
739 appeared in 2013. Whittaker told me he had known Ellerker's son Gary
740 while they were at college learning the printing trade. 'Gary was a com-
741 plete twat', he said.⁶⁷ Like everyone else in the class, Dave knew that
742 Gary's father, Geoffrey Ellerker, had been imprisoned for the abuse of
743 David Oluwale, so when Aspden's book appeared many years later he
744 read it, set up a Facebook page, summarised David's story and wrote his
745 own poem. Whittaker's prose sticks to the material presented in Aspden's
746 book, but in his poem he clearly states what he thought had actually
747 happened:

748 Kicked and battered and abused once more,
749 He lay there helpless at the hands of the law,
750 They'd had their fun and an almighty bash,
751 It was made complete with an almighty splash.⁶⁸

752 'He' in this poem is Oluwale and 'They' are Ellerker and Kitching. After
753 their 'bash' they had chucked David in the river, according to Whittaker.
754 Gabriel Adams concurred: 'Then they chase him into the River Aire, the
755 police.'⁶⁹

756 But the judicial system rejected the charge of murder, proposed
757 by the extremely thorough Metropolitan Police investigator, Chief
758 Superintendent John Perkins. Kester Aspden presents a lucid account of
759 the material he examined in the UK's National Archive at Kew, London,
760 released after being held for the statutory 30 years after the trial. The
761 office of the Director of Public Prosecutions (DPP) argued that,
762 although the court would hear evidence that two men in police uniforms
763 chased an elderly man along the bank of the River Aire in the centre of
764 Leeds, there was no evidence that these men, or anyone else, delib-
765 erately drowned David Oluwale.⁷⁰ Instead, the DPP charged them with
766 manslaughter, actual and grievous bodily harm. Speaking about David
767 Oluwale, the prosecutor, John Cobb QC, told the jury that Ellerker and
768 Kitching 'hounded him, harassed him and assaulted him: they teased
769 him cruelly, and they made a torment of his life ... they unlawfully
770 brought about his death by causing him to fall or jump into the River



771 Aire, whence he never emerged, save sixteen days later as a corpse'.⁷¹
772 His faintly antique prose provided an appropriately macabre tone to
773 his opening address. The *Yorkshire Post* summarised: 'Police hounded
774 "loner" Oluwale to death—QC'.⁷² 'Hounding' is now inserted into one
775 of the key texts that help us approach David's death: the term artfully
776 leaves open the precise circumstances of his death, while capturing the
777 iniquity of these policemen's brutal work on David's body.

778 Several officers gave evidence of a catalogue of assault and other types
779 of abuse by Ellerker and Kitching, including PC Batty who saw him
780 being urinated upon outside the John Peters store, in whose doorway
781 David often slept.⁷³ Ex-police officer Hazel Ratcliffe testified that, while
782 in the custody area at Millgarth station, David had been kicked in the
783 genitals so hard that he was raised off the ground. Hazel said he offered
784 no resistance of any sort. Her husband, Phil, who resigned from the
785 force with his wife because of what they had witnessed, told the court
786 that David was a broken man.⁷⁴ In Corinne Silva's film, Arthur France,⁷⁵
787 a founder of the United Caribbean Association and lifelong campaigner
788 for social justice and equality, who attended the trial and read the press
789 reports, speaks of this incident as though he were there.⁷⁶

790 Bus conductor David Condon's crucial evidence that he had seen two
791 men in police uniform pursuing a scruffy man down Call Lane was chal-
792 lenged in court. Call Lane is adjacent to the River Aire, which is accessi-
793 ble via an alley near the Leeds Bridge, thus Condon's sighting potentially
794 linked Ellerker and Kitching to David's body subsequently being found
795 in the river. Under cross-examination, Condon admitted he could not
796 identify the officers and he could not say whether the man being pur-
797 sued was white or black because it was dark.⁷⁷ Judge Hinchcliffe told
798 the jury that this insubstantial evidence meant that he would direct
799 them not even to consider the charge of manslaughter against Ellerker
800 and Kitching. He also directed them that there was no evidence of griev-
801 ous boldly harm (GBH), merely actual bodily harm, so they must not
802 consider the GBH charges.⁷⁸ In his summing up, Hinchcliffe described
803 David as a 'menace to society', a 'frightening apparition to come across
804 at night', while policing was a 'fine and splendid profession'.⁷⁹ When the
805 jury found them guilty of assault, he admonished Ellerker and Kitching
806 with these words: 'By your wicked misbehaviour to this coloured
807 vagrant, you bring disgrace not only on your wives and family, but on
808 the whole of the police force of this country.'⁸⁰ On 24 November 1971,
809 Ellerker was found guilty of four charges of assault and was sentenced to



810 three years in jail; Kitching was found guilty of three charges of assault
811 and got 27 months.⁸¹

812 Jeremy Sandford's radio script dealt with the 'murder' question by
813 providing these stage directions: 'David is limping along. The TWO
814 POLICEMEN have given chase. Riverside. There is the sound of sin-
815 gular running feet, then DAVID runs towards us, trips and falls into the
816 River Aire. He screams as he falls.'⁸² Here he treats David's death as an
817 accident. But in a stimulating postscript to the publication of his play
818 script, with the subtitle 'Some thoughts on the death of David Oluwale',
819 Sandford lists a series of possible answers to his question 'Who is respon-
820 sible for the death of this man?' His list of culprits includes (all with
821 question marks after them): two 'sadistic' members of Leeds police;
822 David committing suicide; the psychiatric hospital; the prison welfare
823 service; the Mental Health Act (1959); the Supplementary Benefits
824 Commission (for closing down hostels); local authorities; charities; and
825 the 'curious custom of moving vagrants on?' He concluded with a quote
826 from a Midlands councillor who said on BBC radio that 'one must exter-
827minate the impossibles'. This man replied 'Why not?' when asked if he
828 really meant what he said.⁸³ If listeners to Sandford's radio play thought
829 that David simply tripped and fell into the river, reading the postscript to
830 his book would lead to quite different conclusions. Significant to the dis-
831 cussion of the wider context of Oluwale's death, Sandford indicts a series
832 of institutional failures in the health welfare system in the UK, as well as
833 two sadistic policemen.

834 Dramatising Aspden's book for Dawn Walton's Eclipse Theatre,⁸⁴
835 Oladipo Agboluaje dealt with the 'murder' question by giving promi-
836 nence to Chief Superintendent John Perkins's view.⁸⁵ Perkins was certain
837 that Ellerker and Kitching should be charged with the murder of David.
838 On stage, Perkins says this:

839 In my opinion there is evidence to suggest Inspector Ellerker and Sergeant
840 Kitching had continued their pursuit down to Warehouse Hill and as a
841 result David Oluwale had jumped or been forced to jump into the river.
842 These despicable individuals had little or no regard for Oluwale as a human
843 being and as such they desired to get him out of Leeds.⁸⁶

844 The DPP's 'lack of evidence' response is then provided. Agboluaje had
845 already shown the audience a scene with Ellerker and Kitching encoun-
846 tering David in a doorway and beating him. Immediately following,



847 the stage directions are: ‘DAVID escapes and runs clutching his bag.
848 Darkness. The sound of waves lapping against a shore. Then a loud
849 splash.’ At that point, Agboluaje follows Aspden’s agnostic approach
850 to the question of ‘murder’. It is possible that some in the audience
851 will accept Judge Hinchcliffe’s view, while others will side with Chief
852 Superintendent Perkins, Leeds United fans, Linton Kwesi Johnson, Dave
853 Whittaker and Arthur France.

854 Kester Aspden and Caryl Phillips were, coincidentally, writing their
855 books at the same time. The forensic, ‘true crime’ approach taken by
856 Aspden was not Phillips’s. Aspden sticks to what he takes to be the facts,
857 and is non-committal on the question of murder. Phillips, on the other
858 hand, slowly builds his picture of the circumstances of David’s death
859 through interviews he conducted and documents he accessed. A police-
860 man who drove a van and witnessed the ‘merciless, merciless’ beatings
861 described David as ‘courageous’ in coming back into the city.⁸⁷ Straight
862 after that transcript, Phillips presents a man who describes himself as a
863 ‘West Indian community leader’ who said that it ‘created a very bad feel-
864 ing in the West Indian community when we found out [David Oluwale]
865 had been killed’. These are the words of Arthur France, referred to
866 above.⁸⁸ From the 1960s to the present, France has organised politically
867 for black people’s rights. He has also been the originator and backbone
868 of the Leeds West Indian carnival, which he sees as another limb of black
869 emancipation,⁸⁹ and he was among the founders in 2008 of the first
870 Oluwale Memorial committee, established at what is now Leeds Beckett
871 University. He is a man whose memory I know to be prodigious. But
872 here too we are dealing with an individual’s recollections, some from the
873 time of David’s death, when other people’s memories are coming to the
874 surface, which perhaps merge with memories of his own encounters with
875 David. Just as Linton Kwesi Johnson had no doubt about what had actu-
876 ally happened, whatever the judge had decided, Arthur France used the
877 word ‘killed’ in his interview with Caryl Phillips. France said he remem-
878 bered David from the early days at dances, and then noticed him much
879 later, on the side of the road, crying. France’s testimony is crucial for
880 Phillips’s understanding Oluwale’s story, and points to the ideological
881 context of his death:

882 It was very painful when we learned that he had been hunted like a fox by
883 the police ... It just made things got worse for the police. We used to tell
884 them right out, if you want another Oluwale then they were not going to



885 get another one from us. We now knew exactly what we were dealing with
886 when it came to the British policeman.⁹⁰

887 As noted above, militant black people in Leeds had exhorted the city
888 to REMEMBER OLUWALE. Within a couple of months of the trial,
889 another advocate of Black Power, Ron Phillips (no relation to Caryl),
890 wrote that the case demonstrated that ‘racism dominates all the impor-
891 tant institutions of social control in Britain’.⁹¹ Ron Phillips was report-
892 ing in detail on the trial for the publication *Race Today*, published by
893 the first Institute of Race Relations (IRR).⁹² He recorded that PC Seager
894 told the court that Ellerker had said ‘A lot of them would be better off if
895 they went for a swim like David’.⁹³ In his commentary on the case, Ron
896 Phillips argued that:

897 [T]he destruction of David Oluwale represented the inevitable result of
898 contact between a powerful institution and a powerless individual, where
899 that individual is defined as threatening or superfluous ... If Ellerker and
900 Kitching did chase or throw David Oluwale into the river Aire, they would
901 have been acting, as they saw it, in defence of a society which defines black
902 people as a threat.⁹⁴

903 It seems likely that ‘If’ was placed in that last sentence to save the IRR
904 from libel action.

905 Caryl Phillips weaves together a series of documents that form a
906 heart-rending image of David’s life and death in the reader’s mind.
907 There is a list of the dates David went in and out of prison,⁹⁵ a list of
908 his clothing on his final release on 10 April 1969 (‘most ... in poor con-
909 dition’),⁹⁶ the prison discharge report on that date (‘It is increasingly
910 obvious that he is unable to function on the outside’),⁹⁷ and a list of the
911 items found in his pockets when the police frogman pulled him out of
912 the river at Knostrop Weir, including ‘2 Photos’, ‘2 After Care forms’, ‘6
913 Forms 103’ and ‘A Blue bead necklace with a crucifix’.⁹⁸ Then we find
914 a list of places where Sergeant Kitching told Detective Superintendent
915 Fryer (part of the investigatory team) that he had found David sleeping
916 and ‘kicked his behind’. There are seven places, including Holy Trinity
917 Church in Boar Lane, referred to by Ian Duhig.⁹⁹ The central question
918 that every reader must be asking—did they kill him?—is quietly answered
919 among these documents. In the authorial voice, Phillips wrote:



920 At 3 a.m. on the morning of 18 April [1969] former Inspector Ellerker
921 and Sergeant Kitching found David in the doorway of John Peters' furni-
922 ture shop in Lands Lane in the centre of Leeds. They 'moved him on' ...
923 David ran down Call Lane in the direction of Warehouse Hill. He entered
924 the River Aire at the bottom of Warehouse Hill, just by Leeds Bridge. On
925 4 May, 1969, Leeds police frogman Police Constable Ian Haste recovered
926 David Oluwale's body from the River Aire some three miles east of the city
927 centre at a point near Knostrop Sewage Works.¹⁰⁰

928 Phillips's cool prose here is counterpointed by his italicised insertions:
929 ('We dragged him to his feet and I booted his backside. I did not kick
930 him hard, just enough to wake him up. He screamed, but then he always
931 screamed when I dealt with him.' Sergeant Kitching.)¹⁰¹ Phillips waits
932 until the end of his text to offer this answer to the murder question: 'You
933 did not jump, David.' Phillips repeats this three times.¹⁰² Then readers
934 will want to know 'why did they commit this appalling crime?' Phillips
935 signs the book off with another quote from a friend of David's (perhaps
936 the one we heard from before),¹⁰³ who met him when they were about
937 15, and then again in Hatfield Steelworks (in Sheffield)¹⁰⁴ in the early
938 1970s:

939 I was really happy to see a face from Lagos, but I worried about him. He
940 wouldn't let anything go ... and his attitude was getting him into trou-
941 ble. If the foreman said anything to him, it would be 'fuck off' and there
942 wasn't any point in talking to him ... [David] was a stubborn fighting man
943 who simply found it impossible to back down and work the system.¹⁰⁵

944 Caryl Phillips eschews the didactic style of Ron Phillips, nor does he
945 reference the macabre quotation from the councillor quoted by Jeremy
946 Sandford, but their conclusions are similar. David was killed by two
947 Leeds policemen because he was, in their view, a threatening excres-
948 cence. All of Phillips's work is complex and nuanced, and his subtle prose
949 in this essay does not allow for that blunt view. So the book ends with a
950 melancholic rumination on David's pauper's grave in Killingbeck cem-
951 etery, on a rising hill, overlooking the city. This reader at least extracts
952 a glimmer of hope from Phillips's closing words: 'Everybody can rest
953 peacefully. You have achieved a summit, David. Climbed to the top of a
954 hill, and from here you can look down. You are still in Leeds. Forever in
955 Leeds.'¹⁰⁶



WHAT DID DAVID OLUWALE STAND FOR?

956

957 There is no clear evidence of what David Oluwale believed in. The rosary
958 found in his sorry list of possessions implies he was a Catholic, but there
959 is no record of him attending church. Nor do any of his friends speak
960 of connections with social or political causes during the period that we
961 hope was a relatively happy one for him between 1949 and 1953. After
962 the brutal experience of prison, psychiatric hospital, destitution and beat-
963 ings on the streets of Leeds, it is understandable that he had little to
964 say for himself. But a picture has emerged in the testimony and analysis
965 offered above of someone of real substance around whom some impor-
966 tant principles may circulate.

967 At the beginning of this chapter I related the framing of David within
968 the Black Atlantic paradigm and within the ambitions of the David
969 Oluwale Memorial Association. The charity aims to establish a narrative
970 for the city of Leeds based upon the Oluwale story. This speaks of pro-
971 gress, but of much more that has to be done to bring the marginalised
972 and excluded into their proper place within a city, one that we say must
973 speak for social and economic justice. The charity has not considered the
974 question of whether or not David Oluwale might be considered a martyr.
975 Nevertheless, we can begin to set out, schematically, what he stands for:

- 976 • David Oluwale was an agent in his own right, not simply a victim.
977 We have seen that, faced with racism and police brutality, he never
978 backed down.
- 979 • David Oluwale endured a myriad of problems after he decided to
980 seek a better life in Britain. Although he was a British citizen, his
981 plight reminds us of the extraordinary difficulties and hostilities
982 faced by refugees and asylum seekers. His resilience is an inspira-
983 tion. His death is an omen.
- 984 • David Oluwale was an emblem of the struggle for black people to
985 be treated equally and fairly wherever they choose to live.
- 986 • In drawing people of all colours and classes together in a campaign
987 for memory and for social progress, David Oluwale stands for the
988 longing among all types of people for sanctuary, community, con-
989 viviality and equality.



CONCLUSION: THE DAVID OLUWALE MEMORIAL ASSOCIATION AND THE ‘MARTYR’ QUESTION

990
991

992 I am secretary to the charity which is quite deliberately memorialising
993 David. In building a garden containing iconic public art in his name,¹⁰⁷
994 we are engaging in a social practice similar to those who seek legitimacy
995 for their efforts to transform an historic figure into a martyr. We are
996 treating him as an icon, a symbolic marker of an interlocking series of
997 challenges that he faced during his twenty years in the north of England:
998 mental ill health, destitution, homelessness, incarceration in prisons and
999 psychiatric hospitals, possible alcohol problems, police brutality. All these
1000 were predicated on the racism inflicted on him because of his status as an
1001 immigrant from Nigeria. We construct David Oluwale not as a passive
1002 victim but as one, in effect if not by design, who bore steadfast witness
1003 to the cruelty, injustice and inhumanity of British society. In deliberately
1004 intervening in urban space, creating a memorial, and in evaluating the
1005 records and engaging in further research in order to construct a com-
1006 pelling narrative, we are behaving much like those who have already
1007 established the status of martyr for their subjects. The fact that there is
1008 no settled view about whether or not David Oluwale was killed by the
1009 two policemen has implications for the question of whether or not he
1010 is positioned as a martyr. It is my opinion that they did kill him, but I
1011 am unsure if David is best understood as a martyr. I see him more as
1012 a proud man utterly victimised both by two policemen and by welfare
1013 institutions entrapped in prejudice. David Oluwale was a man who was
1014 chewed up and spat out by professionals of various types who would not
1015 rid themselves of the confines of their racialised mentalities. As such, he
1016 can be represented as a model of what happens to people who are relent-
1017 lessly subjected to violently oppressive social structures, but who strug-
1018 gle, in their own ways, against that oppression. Since martyrdom is a
1019 category claimed by the supporters of that person’s or group’s struggle
1020 against terrible odds, and since it requires much historical and contem-
1021 porary work to legitimise that claim, over a period of time it might be
1022 that David Oluwale is inserted within the ‘martyr’ paradigm. But for me,
1023 it suffices to remember him with enormous respect in order to contrib-
1024 ute to a new narrative for the city of Leeds, as a place which welcomes
1025 the Other, and treats everyone, whatever their status, as an equal.



NOTES

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1. See Kester Aspden (2008), *The Hounding of David Oluwale* (London: Vintage), the revised version of his 2007 publication with a similar title. This work contains meticulous research by a professional historian writing in a lively and accessible style. It is the source for most of the facts in this chapter, unless otherwise referenced.
2. Tony Kushner (2012), *The Battle of Britishness—Migrant Journeys 1685 to the Present* (Manchester: Manchester University Press), Chap. 8.
3. David was first inscribed in local consciousness by the words REMEMBER OLUWALE, painted in huge white letters on the wall of Chapeltown Road, Leeds, UK in 1971. At the time of writing, the principal responses to the life and death of David Oluwale are as follows. An article by Ron Phillips (1972), ‘One Lame Darkie’, in *Race Today*, January. There was a song about Oluwale made up by Leeds United fans. After the trial, a radio play by Jeremy Sandford (1974), *Smiling David* (London: Calder and Boyars) was produced. There were also poems by Linton Kwesi Johnson (1975, 1979) (‘Time Come’ on *Forces of Victory* CD, with Dennis Bovell Band, Island Records. track available at <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=chIHgTqX3Dk>). Much later books by Caryl Phillips (2007), *Foreigners—Three English lives* (London: Harvill Secker) and Kester Aspden (2008), *The Hounding of David Oluwale* (London: Vintage) and (2007), *Nationality: Wog—The Hounding of David Oluwale* (London: Jonathan Cape) appeared as well as a stage play by Oladipo Agboluaje (2009), *The Hounding of David Oluwale by Kester Aspden, Adapted for the Stage by Oladipo Agboluaje* (London: Oberon Books). Corinne Silva’s short film *Wandering Abroad* (2009), Leeds Art Gallery, curated by Nigel Walsh, Leeds City Council, was produced and is available at <http://corinnesilva.com/index.php/project/wandering-abroad-2009/>. Ian Duhig’s three important poems reflecting on David’s death appeared (2010) in *Pandorama* (London: Picador Poetry). Leeds-based writer/performer Zodwa Nyone’s poem (2011) dedicated to David’s mother, ‘A Letter for Mama Oluwale’, is available at <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=eZgOtf-SQKk>. Sail Roads (2012), ‘Oluwale’ is available at https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=BlbDvVtc_vg. Leeds taxi driver Dave Whittaker’s synopsis of David’s life and his poem (2013) is available at ‘Remember David Oluwale—Support the Memorial’, a Facebook Group, <https://www.facebook.com/groups/42111313783/?fref=ts>. Gary Kaye’s song about David (2014), ‘Me Fe Lo Le’, available on YouTube at <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=G8PpqjKVqsU>. Historian Tony Kushner (2012), *The Battle of Britishness—Migrant Journeys 1685 to the Present* (Manchester: Manchester University Press), also included



- 1067 David in his account of ‘stowaways and others’ arriving in Britain from
1068 Africa in the 1940s and 1950s.
- 1069 4. Paul Gilroy (1993), *The Black Atlantic: Modernity and Double*
1070 *Consciousness* (London: Verso).
- 1071 5. Agboluaje, *The Hounding*.
- 1072 6. Aspden, *The Hounding*, pp. 41–2.
- 1073 7. Agboluaje, *The Hounding*, p. 111.
- 1074 8. Ibid.
- 1075 9. Kushner, *The Battle of Britishness*, pp. 194–5.
- 1076 10. Michael Banton (1955), *The Coloured Quarter—New Immigrants in an*
1077 *English City* (London: Jonathan Cape), p. 49.
- 1078 11. Ibid., pp. 45–55.
- 1079 12. Silva, *Wandering Abroad*.
- 1080 13. Aspden, *Hounding*, p. 45.
- 1081 14. Information on this charity may be obtained from its website at
1082 <http://www.rememberoluwale.org> and from Facebook and Twitter at
1083 RememberOluwale. The author of this chapter co-founded this charity
1084 and is its secretary.
- 1085 15. Said by defence counsel Gilbert Gray QC, cited by Aspden in *Hounding*,
1086 p. 221.
- 1087 16. Sandford, *Smiling David*; Aspden, *Nationality: Wog*; Aspden, *The*
1088 *Hounding*; Phillips, *Foreigners*.
- 1089 17. Tony Kushner not only provided important facts about stowaways
1090 derived from government reports, he also used the books by Caryl
1091 Phillips and Kester Aspden, Sandford’s and Agboluaje’s plays and a
1092 poem by Linton Kwesi Johnson to set out David Oluwale’s story. These
1093 contribute to his project of restoring the subaltern’s voice to the his-
1094 tory of stowing away. He also referred to the work I’ve been doing in
1095 creating a Memorial Garden for David. Kushner points out that ‘In
1096 spite of the efforts of Sandford, Farrar, Johnson, Phillips, Aspden and
1097 Agboluaje, memory work of this Nigerian stowaway is still in its infancy
1098 and relatively marginal’. By implication, perhaps we know too little to
1099 frame Oluwale as a martyr. See Kushner, *Britishness*, pp. 197–8.
- 1100 18. Abi Clay, email correspondence with me, April 2015.
- 1101 19. Lynn Abrams, ‘Memory as Both Source and Subject of Study: The
1102 Transformations of Oral History’, in Stefan Berger and Bill Niven (eds)
1103 (2014), *Writing the History of Memory* (London: Bloomsbury).
- 1104 20. James Hinton (2016), *Seven Lives from Mass Observation* (Oxford:
1105 Oxford University Press), p. 5.
- 1106 21. Richard Lee and Ben Knight (2015), ‘Gunter Grass, Giant of Literature,
1107 Dies at 87’, citing Grass’s *Peeling the Onion* (2006), *The Guardian*, 14
1108 April 2015.



- 1109 22. Emily Zobel Marshall explains the origins of the trickster Anansi in
1110 West Africa and its transition to the Caribbean. Memory may be best
1111 understood as a trickster. See Emily Zobel Marshall (2012), *Anansi's*
1112 *Journey—A Story of Jamaican Cultural Resistance* (Kingston: University
1113 of West Indies Press).
- 1114 23. Sandford, *Smiling David*; Silva, *Wandering Abroad*.
- 1115 24. Arthur France MBE, a page from the *Moving Here* website of the
1116 National Archives. Available at <http://webarchive.nationalarchives.gov.uk/+http://www.movinghere.org.uk/stories/story125/story125.htm>,
1117 accessed 8 May 2015.
- 1118 25. Aspden, *Hounding*, pp. 231–2.
- 1119 26. Sandford, *Smiling David*.
- 1120 27. Aspden, *Hounding*, p. 43.
- 1121 28. My filmed interview with Gabriel Adams, 27 February 2013.
- 1122 29. Aspden, *Hounding*, p. 35.
- 1123 30. Silva, *Wandering Abroad*.
- 1124 31. 'Rock n Roll Calypso' was released originally by Melodisc, title no. 1400,
1125 some time between 1956 and 1958. On Melodisc, see the Wiki entry
1126 at http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Melodisc_Records, accessed 27 May
1127 2015. Lord Kitchener's career is outlined at [http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Lord_Kitchener_\(calypsonian\)](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Lord_Kitchener_(calypsonian)),
1128 accessed 14 May 2015. The song is available on Vol. 4 of *London Belongs to Me* (Honest Jons Records,
1129 2006), available at <http://honestjons.com/shop/search/london%20is%20the%20place>,
1130 accessed 27 May 2015.
- 1131 32. This quote from Sheffield's Chief Constable's report in 1952 told it so
1132 well: 'the West Africans are all out for a good time, spending money
1133 on quaint suits and flashy ornaments and visiting dance halls at every
1134 opportunity. The Jamaicans are somewhat similar, but they have a
1135 more sensible outlook and rarely get into trouble. They take great
1136 pains with their appearance and use face cream, perfume etc. to make
1137 themselves attractive to the females they meet at dances, cafes etc.
1138 One feels, however, that they only attract a certain type of female by
1139 reason of the fact that they have more money to spend than the average
1140 young Englishman.' Note the representation of Jamaicans as sensible
1141 and law-abiding. See Bob Carter, Clive Harris and Shirley Joshi
1142 (1987), *The 1951-5 Conservative Government and the Racialisation of*
1143 *Black Immigration* (Centre for Research in Ethnic Relations, University
1144 of Warwick, Policy Paper No. 11, October 1987). Available at https://web.warwick.ac.uk/fac/soc/CRER_RC/publications/pdfs/Policy%20Papers%20in%20Ethnic%20Relations/PolicyP%20No.11.pdf,
1145 accessed 23 March 2015.
- 1146 33. Sandford, *Smiling David*.
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- 1151 34. Aspden, *Hounding*, p. 47.
- 1152 35. Alessandro Portelli (1991), *The Death of Luigi Trastulli and Other*
- 1153 *Stories: Form and Meaning in Oral History* (Albany: State University
- 1154 of New York Press), cited by Andrew Perchard (2013), “Broken
- 1155 men” and “Thatcher’s Children”: Memory and Legacy in Scotland’s
- 1156 Coalfields’, *International Working-Class History*, Vol. 84, Fall, 79–98.
- 1157 36. Ibid. *Hounding*; Phillips, *Foreigners*.
- 1158 37. John McLeod (2009), “A Sound that Is Missing”: Writing Africa in
- 1159 the Anglophone Caribbean’, *Journal of Transatlantic Studies*, Vol. 7,
- 1160 Number 3, 329–42, at 337.
- 1161 38. Phillips, ‘Northern Lights’, in *Foreigners*, pp. 176–81.
- 1162 39. Ibid., pp. 194–9.
- 1163 40. Ibid., p. 215.
- 1164 41. Max Farrar (2002), *The Struggle for ‘Community’ in a Multi-Ethnic,*
- 1165 *Inner City Area: Paradise in the Making* (New York and Lampeter:
- 1166 Edwin Mellen Press).
- 1167 42. Phillips, ‘Northern Lights’, p. 169.
- 1168 43. In an interview with Francesca Wade coinciding with the issue of Caryl
- 1169 Phillips’s 2015 novel *The Lost Child*, Phillips makes fun of the confu-
- 1170 sion some people have about his gender. It’s available at [http://www.](http://www.telegraph.co.uk/culture/books/authorinterviews/11470135/Caryl-Phillips-If-they-dont-look-at-my-picture-they-think-Im-a-woman.html)
- 1171 [telegraph.co.uk/culture/books/authorinterviews/11470135/Caryl-](http://www.telegraph.co.uk/culture/books/authorinterviews/11470135/Caryl-Phillips-If-they-dont-look-at-my-picture-they-think-Im-a-woman.html)
- 1172 [Phillips-If-they-dont-look-at-my-picture-they-think-Im-a-woman.html](http://www.telegraph.co.uk/culture/books/authorinterviews/11470135/Caryl-Phillips-If-they-dont-look-at-my-picture-they-think-Im-a-woman.html),
- 1173 accessed 27 April 2015.
- 1174 44. Phillips, ‘Northern Lights’, pp. 182–3.
- 1175 45. Ibid., p. 183.
- 1176 46. The Leeds historian Janet Douglas explained to me: ‘Barry Pepper [a
- 1177 historian of public houses] ... mentions the Cambridge as being above
- 1178 the [St Clement’s] church, and when you look at the OS 1908 map,
- 1179 on the corner of Chapeltown Rd and Barrack St is a building labelled
- 1180 PH [Public House] which I am presuming was the Cambridge. On
- 1181 the opposite side of Chapeltown Rd were Roscoe Terrace, Barrack Rd,
- 1182 Cambridge Place, Cambridge Terrace, Cambridge Row, and the next
- 1183 street off Chapeltown Road was Leopold Street—this helps to orientate
- 1184 you. Barrack Road led to Chapeltown Cavalry Barracks.’ Email from
- 1185 Janet Douglas, 26 April 2015.
- 1186 47. Phillips, ‘Northern Lights’, pp. 183–5.
- 1187 48. Banton, *Coloured Quarter*, p. 56.
- 1188 49. Phillips, ‘Northern Lights’, pp. 190–2.
- 1189 50. Ibid., pp. 190, 186.
- 1190 51. Ibid., pp. 204–8.
- 1191 52. My filmed interview with Abi Clay on 25 September 2014.
- 1192 53. Phillips, ‘Northern Lights’, pp. 218–19.



- 1193 54. Aspden, *Hounding*, p. 223.
- 1194 55. I am grateful to Dr Andrew Warnes, School of English, Leeds University,
- 1195 for this point. Warnes assisted Caryl Phillips in his research on David
- 1196 Oluwale.
- 1197 56. Farrar, *The Struggle for 'Community'*, p. 222.
- 1198 57. Aspden, *Hounding*, p. 224
- 1199 58. W. W. Daniel (1968), *Racial Discrimination in England*
- 1200 (Harmondsworth: Penguin Books).
- 1201 59. Dilip Hiro (1973), *Black British, White British* (Harmondsworth: Pelican
- 1202 Books).
- 1203 60. Derek Humphry and Gus John (1972), *Because They're Black*
- 1204 (Harmondsworth: Penguin), p. 151.
- 1205 61. Maureen Baker's role in CARD is described in Benjamin W. Heineman
- 1206 (1972), *The Politics of the Powerless: A Study of the Campaign Against*
- 1207 *Racial Discrimination* (London: Oxford University Press for the
- 1208 Institute of Race Relations).
- 1209 62. Aspden, *Hounding*, p. 195.
- 1210 63. Duhig, *Pandorama*, p. 19.
- 1211 64. *Ibid.*, pp. 16–18.
- 1212 65. Linton Kwesi Johnson (1975), 'Night of the Head', in *Dread Beat and*
- 1213 *Blood* (London: Bogle l'Ouverture Publications), pp 34–5. This poem is
- 1214 also cited in Kushner, *Britishness*, p. 196.
- 1215 66. Linton Kwesi Johnson (1979), 'Time Come', on *Forces of Victory*, CD,
- 1216 with Dennis Bovell Band, Island Records.
- 1217 67. Conversation with the author, 17 February 2015.
- 1218 68. Whittaker, 'Remember David Oluwale'.
- 1219 69. Silva, *Wandering Abroad*.
- 1220 70. Aspden, *Hounding*, p. 204.
- 1221 71. *Ibid.*, pp. 192–4.
- 1222 72. *Ibid.*, p. 195.
- 1223 73. *Ibid.*, p. 199.
- 1224 74. *Ibid.*, p. 203.
- 1225 75. On Arthur France, see *Arthur France MBE*, a page from the *Moving*
- 1226 *Here* website of the National Archives. Available at <http://webarchive.nationalarchives.gov.uk/+http://www.movinghere.org.uk/stories/story125/story125.htm>, accessed 8 May 2015.
- 1227
- 1228
- 1229 76. Silva, *Wandering Abroad*.
- 1230 77. Aspden, *Hounding*, p. 204.
- 1231 78. *Ibid.*, p. 207.
- 1232 79. *Ibid.*, p. 221.
- 1233 80. *Ibid.*, p. 222.



- 1234 81. *Ibid.*, p. 222. Ian Duhig told Kester Aspden that he met Kitching soon
1235 after Kitching was released from prison. Kitching was the security
1236 man at Hepworth's cloth warehouse, where Duhig worked in 1974.
1237 Duhig said he was a cold man, resented by his workmates because he'd
1238 'shamed their city', and got this 'soft job' straight after his 'short and
1239 soft' spell in prison. Kitching 'treated Oluwale hatefully as a pariah,
1240 then Kitching was a hated pariah', which Duhig took as a moral exam-
1241 ple, reprising the old adage 'You become like what you hate' (Aspden,
1242 *Hounding*, pp. 238–9).
- 1243 82. Sandford, *Smiling David*, p. 88. Sandford seems to have converted his
1244 earlier radio script into a screenplay.
- 1245 83. *Ibid.*, pp. 93–5.
- 1246 84. See <http://eclipsetheatre.org.uk/about-us/> for information on this
1247 important company. Accessed 21 October 2016.
- 1248 85. Agboluaje, *Hounding*.
- 1249 86. *Ibid.*, p. 107.
- 1250 87. Phillips, 'Northern Lights', pp. 227–8. We now know that this per-
1251 son was a former Police Constable named Alex Wooliams. Wooliams,
1252 a young PC, left the Leeds force because of the antipathy between
1253 him and Inspector Kitching. A transcript of Caryl Phillips's extraordi-
1254 nary interview with this brave police officer has been published. See
1255 Caryl Phillips (2010), 'David Oluwale (1930–1969), an interview',
1256 in Kathleen Gyssels and Bénédicte Ledent (eds), *Présence Africaine*
1257 *en Europe et au-delà/African Presence in Europe and Beyond* (Paris:
1258 L'Harmattan), pp. 93–108.
- 1259 88. Arthur France has given me permission to use his name here (telephone
1260 conversation, 8 May 2015).
- 1261 89. See Geraldine Connor and Max Farrar (2004), 'Carnival in Leeds and
1262 London, UK: Making New Black British Subjectivities', in Milla Cozart
1263 Riggio (ed.), *Carnival: Culture in Action—The Trinidad Experience*
1264 (London and New York: Routledge).
- 1265 90. Phillips, 'Northern Lights', p. 229.
- 1266 91. Phillips, 'One Lane Darkie', p. 17.
- 1267 92. Two years later a political challenge to that regime resulted in a Marxist
1268 Institute of Race Relations, led by A Sivanandan, publishing *Race and*
1269 *Class*, and a Jamesian-Marxist collective, led by Darcus Howe, including
1270 Linton Kwesi Johnson, which published *Race Today* (Farrar, 'Carnival in
1271 Leeds and London').
- 1272 93. Phillips, 'One Lane Darkie', p. 17.
- 1273 94. *Ibid.*, p. 18.
- 1274 95. Phillips, 'Northern Lights', pp. 238–9.



- 1275 96. *Ibid.*, p. 240.
1276 97. *Ibid.*, p. 241.
1277 95. *Ibid.*, p. 246.
1278 99. *Ibid.*, p. 254.
1279 100. *Ibid.*, pp. 244–5.
1280 101. *Ibid.*, p. 244
1281 102. *Ibid.*, p. 257.
1282 103. Caryl Phillips informed me (email 27 July 2015) that this man was
1283 Joseph Odeyemi, interviewed in Sheffield on 28 April 2004.
1284 104. ‘Hatfields’ was actually called Hadfield’s Steelworks, in Sheffield, on the site
1285 where the Meadowhall shopping centre now stands. See Sheffield Forum
1286 thread at <http://www.sheffieldforum.co.uk/showthread.php?t=208673>,
1287 accessed 5 May 2015.
1288 105. Phillips, ‘Northern Lights’, pp. 258–9.
1289 106. *Ibid.*, p. 260.
1290 107. The charity aims to open an interim Memorial Garden for David
1291 Oluwale in the centre of Leeds in 2017, near the place where David
1292 Oluwale was last seen. This will provide a different kind of text, as well
1293 as a particular kind of place, in which David’s life and death will be con-
1294 templated. Its planters may be read as signs of productive growth. The
1295 river running nearby might signify David’s passage to Leeds—and that
1296 of so many other migrants from the British Empire. It reminds us of
1297 the centrality of water transport to the emergence of Leeds as a global
1298 city. The web-linked information points in the garden will provide a
1299 cornucopia of texts about David, about the marginalised and excluded
1300 in Leeds today, and about the Remember Oluwale charity’s educa-
1301 tional and campaigning work. In the permanent garden (projected for
1302 2018–2019), world-class public art will be open, as with all great art,
1303 to multiple readings, some of which will further the charity’s vision
1304 of hope, inclusion, equality, diversity and social justice: [http://www.](http://www.rememberoluwale.org)
1305 [rememberoluwale.org](http://www.rememberoluwale.org).
1306